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the Right Reverend Samuel

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND

SAMUEL SEABURY, D.D.

FIRST BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT, AND OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

BY

E. EDWARDS BEARDSLEY, D.D., LL.D.

RECTOR OF ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH, NEW HAVEN.

SECOND EDITION.

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To

THE MOST REVEREND ROBERT EDEN, D. D.,

PRIMUS, BISHOP OF MORAY, ROSS, AND CAITHNESS,

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE BENEFITS WHICH HAVE FLOWED FROM THE

ACT OF HIS PREDECESSOR IN CONSECRATING THE

FIRST BISHOP FOR THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH

IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA;

AND IN TESTIMONY OF THE BOND OF INTEREST AND FELLOWSHIP

WHICH SHOULD EVER BIND TOGETHER CHURCHES OF THE ONE FAITH,

This Volume

IS RESPECTFULLY AND CORDIALLY DEDICATED

BY

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

To very many persons it has been a matter of wonder that so distinguished a prelate as Seabury, who bore a most important part in the organization and establishment of the Church in this country, should be left so long without an extended biography. It is not necessary to inquire into the causes of this neglect. A brief and imperfect outline of his character has been given in various publications; but this is the first attempt to bring together the leading events of his earlier and his later life, and to trace him, as he may be seen in his works and correspondence, from colonial times to the end of his episcopate.

The lapse of a century has carried away some of the materials for such a biography, and one may therefore regret that it had not been commenced before all the great actors, with whom he was intimately associated, had descended to the grave. I have no doubt that the Bishop himself, like other public men, destroyed many papers which he did not believe essential to the history of the period in which he lived, or which he did not care to have fall into other hands. Those that have been preserved and

gathered by me are much more abundant and satisfactory than was anticipated when the preparation of this volume was projected. While the first part of his journal as Bishop, ending with May, 1791, is missing, there are contemporary documents to supply, in a sufficient measure, the details of his Episcopal acts and complete the view of his character and services.

He began life as an enthusiastic royalist, and asserted his political opinions with a sturdiness and ability which, in the heats of the Revolution, put him in great peril and distress. As a fair historian, I have allowed him to tell the story of his own sufferings at the outbreak of the war which led to the independence of the colonies; and the candid reader will observe that no effort has been made to conceal in the least degree this portion of his history, or to distort the plain meaning of his words or his acts. The time has long since gone by when there need be any timidity or hesitation in speaking freely of those upon whom obloquy was once heaped for conscientiously espousing the cause of the crown.

The name of Bishop Seabury is identified with the Church in Connecticut. It was in making researches and collecting materials for the two volumes of history, which have already been published, that I first conceived the idea of writing his life. I found valuable letters and documents which could not well be used in the historic narrative, and it seemed to me that it was due to his cherished memory to give them the greater prominence of a distinct consideration and

a separate work. Full justice cannot be done to the character of an illustrious individual without presenting, as far as possible, a complete picture of what he thought and how he acted; what he was in himself, in his principles, in his purposes, and in the deeper sanctities of his inner life.

Not only is Bishop Seabury identified with the Church in Connecticut: he belongs to the whole Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, and the interest, therefore, in his biography should be general, not local. No one who wishes to understand thoroughly the character of the men who, in our early ecclesiastical councils, held fast to great principles, and worked steadily and prayerfully for the union and consolidation of what appeared for a time to be opposing parties, will fail to appreciate this effort to bring out the influence of the first Bishop of Connecticut, and to present the main facts of his history in unbroken chronological order.

I am indebted to several gentlemen for kindly answering letters of inquiry and furnishing me with interesting incidents. My thanks are especially due to the Rev. William J. Seabury, D. D., a great grandson of the Bishop, for the loan of the MS. Letter-book, and for information which has been of much service to me; to the Rt. Rev. Dr. William Stevens Perry, Bishop of Iowa, for the use of the MS. volume of the Society's letters, New York, now in his possession as historiographer of the Church; and to the Rev. Samuel Hart, M. A., Professor in Trinity College,

Hartford, for valuable pamphlets and free access to the archives of the diocese. The Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Coit, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown; Rev. William Walker, of Monymusk, Scotland, and Mr. George Grub, LL. D., of Aberdeen, should be included in my acknowledgments, as they have favored me with facts and papers which add interest and value to the work. Due credit has been given in the foot-notes for all the matter drawn from "The Historical Notes and Documents" which constitute the third volume of Perry's "Half Century of the Legislation of the American Church," or "Journals of General Conventions."

The frontispiece was made expressly for this work. The original portrait, now in the Library of Trinity College, was engraved in 1786 by the celebrated English engraver, William Sharp, and the plate affectionately inscribed to Benjamin West, Esq., by Duché, his grateful friend and pupil. Copies of this print have become exceedingly rare, and the engraving which forms the frontispiece of the present volume will supply, what many have long wished to obtain, a good likeness of Bishop Seabury.

New Haven, *November*, 1880.

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LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SAMUEL SEABURY.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND PARENTAGE; EDUCATION OF HIS FATHER, AND CONFORMITY TO EPISCOPACY; MISSIONARY AT NEW LONDON, AND REMOVAL TO HEMPSTEAD; THE SON GRADUATES AT YALE COLLEGE, AND IS APPOINTED A CATECHIST; GOES ABROAD AND IS ORDAINED FOR NEW BRUNSWICK; PROMOTION TO THE LIVING OF JAMAICA, AND MARRIAGE; RELIGIOUS CONDITION OF HIS CURE, AND WHITEFIELD'S ITINERANCY.

A. D. 1729–1764.

THE name of Samuel Seabury occupies an important place in the early history of our American Church, and it will be the object of the following pages to bring together the memorials of his life, and present them in their due sequence and order.

He was born in Groton, Conn., November 30, 1729, and was the second son of Samuel Seabury, by his wife Abigail, daughter of Mr. Thomas Mumford. Groton was also the native place of his father, a son of John Seabury who removed from Duxbury, Mass., about the year 1700, and first settled at Stonington; but in 1704 he exchanged his plantation in that place for one in Groton, opposite New London. Congrega-

tionalism was then the only form of religion in the colony, and John Seabury, being its earnest supporter and holding the office of deacon in the society at Groton, taught his family the doctrines which he himself accepted, and, with a view to educating him for the ministry, sent his fourth son, Samuel, to college.

It has been stated that he first entered Yale, and was a member of that institution when Rector Cutler and others announced their withdrawal from the Congregational order, and their conformity to Episcopacy. Much excitement and controversy ensued, and during the disturbance, several students left, and among them young Seabury, who is enrolled with the graduating class of Harvard College, in 1724, being at that time eighteen years of age.[1] It is proper to mention, however, that while this statement may be entirely correct, nothing has been found to verify it upon the records of either institution. Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, in recommending him to the "Honorable Board," spoke of him as having "been educated and graduated in the colleges in this country," and Seabury himself, afterwards, in a letter introducing Ebenezer Punderson, who took his bachelor's degree in 1726, said, "He hath been educated at Yale College, Connecticut, where I had a particular acquaintance with him, and where he always had the character of a sober person."

In 1726, he became the first preacher to "the Second Ecclesiastical Society," organized by permission of the General Assembly of Connecticut, in that part of the town called North Groton. About this time he married and was brought in contact and as-

[1] Hallam's *Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, p. 31.

sociation with members of the Church of England. His father-in-law, Thomas Mumford, came originally from Narragansett, R. I., and was the uncle by marriage of Dr. McSparran, the celebrated missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in that region. When the New London parish was formed under the auspices of this missionary, who was the nearest and most accessible clergyman of the English Church, Mr. Mumford as one of the founders figured conspicuously, and subsequently, in the appointment of officers, he was chosen the first warden. The religious predilections of his wife's family, or the public agitation of the subject, perhaps both, led Mr. Seabury to examine the claims of Episcopacy, and early in the spring of 1730, he had ceased to officiate for the Congregationalists in North Groton, and declared his intention of crossing the ocean to obtain Holy Orders. He appeared before the Honorable Society on the 21st of August, 1730, was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of London, and returned to Connecticut with the appointment of a missionary to New London, on a salary of £50 per annum,[1] the churchmen of that place, Groton, and other parts adjacent having built a church and petitioned for his services as a gentleman born and bred in the colony, whom they well knew and in whom they had great confidence.

His son, the future bishop, was born while he was ministering to the Congregationalists at North Groton, and was but an infant in the arms of his mother when the father embarked for England. He was baptized December 14, 1729, by Rev. John Owen,

[1] Hawkins's *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 294.

Congregational minister at Groton; but his nurture was wholly in the Episcopal Church, and his boyhood was passed amid scenes of extraordinary religious excitement. The followers of Whitefield, ignorant and fanatical, seduced many of the inhabitants of New London and its vicinity into the wildest extravagances, and on one occasion, in the midst of their religious delirium, they assembled in a public street on a Sunday, and burnt rich apparel and a large number of theological books, among which was included Bishop Beveridge's "Private Thoughts on Religion."

The mission at Hempstead, on Long Island, became vacant in 1742 by the removal of Dr. Jenney to Philadelphia, and the elder Seabury, who had done good service at New London, was transferred to this important sphere of duty, where he was called to encounter a spirit of religious frenzy and intolerance not unlike that which he had witnessed in Connecticut. He passed the remainder of his days in Hempstead, and as grammar schools had not then been established in every important town, he did what many of the clergy of the time were constrained to do: he added to his pastoral work the duties of a teacher.

His son Samuel was admitted a member of the freshman class in Yale College in 1744, and, soon after he took his degree, the father informed the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, that a number of people at Huntington, a town about eighteen miles from his mission, had conformed to Episcopacy, and built an edifice for the worship of Almighty God according to the Liturgy of the Church of England. He had frequently officiated in that place, and at the desire of the people, his son had read prayers and

sermons there under his direction. The following extract from a letter to the secretary, dated September 30, 1748, shows that he had already dedicated him to the work of the ministry, and was giving him the best advantages in his power for becoming useful in that vocation.

My son is now studying Physic, and before he be of age to present himself to the Society in person, I intend, God willing, that he shall spend one or two years at Edinburgh in the study of Physic. I have been led into this manner of educating him, from an hint taken from one of the Honorable Society's Abstracts concerning their designed economy of their College at Barbadoes. I shall therefore esteem it a great favor if the Society will be pleased to approve this method, and give him a place on their books, and grant what may be recommended in his favor by our Rev^d. Commissary in regard to Huntington.

My son is not yet nineteen years of age, and as I believe he may be employed at Huntington in reading prayers and sermons, and in catechising to good purpose, before he will be of age for Holy Orders, I presume to hope the Society will employ him at Huntington with some small allowance.[1]

He served in the capacity of a catechist nearly four years, and was allowed a salary of £10 per annum. His relinquishment of the position is thus noted by his father in a letter dated at Hempstead, October 13, 1752: "Agreeable to the Honorable Society's instructions to him, my son laid down his place of catechist in July last, and embarked from New York for Edinburgh in August, in order to spend one year there in the study of physic and anatomy; after that intending to present himself to the Honorable Society in order to make a tender of his future life to the

[1] MSS. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

service of his great Master, under their direction. With this intent he left me, and I hope he may be found worthy of their notice and regard. The church has gained in Huntington by his assistance."[1] It was not a very uncommon thing for clergymen in America at that period to acquire a certain degree of medical science as a means of accomplishing good, and the regular practitioners then, as now, had a right to be displeased with this encroachment upon the business of their profession. In an anonymous letter to the Bishop of London, 1763, complaint was made that some of the missionaries in the country parishes acted as physicians and surgeons, to the detriment of the Church.

No evidence has been discovered in the records of the University of Edinburgh that Seabury even enrolled, and he is not in the list of those who have graduated in medicine from that institution. "As regards enrollment or matriculation, the absence of his name is not so decisive; for the records of the university at that time were not so sufficient as evidence of at least *occasional attendance* by a student as they would be now."[2] A little more light is shed upon his connection with the institution in the Society's Abstracts, where mention is made of his appointment as a missionary to New Brunswick "out of regard to the request of the inhabitants, and to the united testimony of the Episcopal clergy of New York in his favor, as a youth of good genius, unblemished morals, sound principles in religion, and one that had made as good proficiency in literature while in America, as the

[1] MSS. Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
[2] MS. Letter, Prof. A. C. Fraser, March, 1879.

present state of learning there would admit of; and he was gone for further improvement to the University of Edinburgh; and Mr. Seabury, being of full age for Holy Orders, presented himself to the Society in the latter end of last summer from the University of Edinburgh, and upon examination being found worthy, he was ordained deacon and priest, and soon after set out for New Brunswick, where the Society hopes he will follow the example of his worthy father, and prove a very diligent and useful missionary in his station."[1] It seems quite evident that while at Edinburgh he first became acquainted with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, with whose College of Bishops he was afterwards so closely identified.[2]

He had attained the age of twenty-four years when he applied for admission to Holy Orders. Dr. Sherlock, then occupying the metropolitan see, was bending under the weight of age and bodily infirmities, and incapable of performing the functions of his office, though his mind was still unclouded, and he retained his powerful faculties and discriminative judgment. Dr. John Thomas, Bishop of Lincoln,

[1] Abstract of Proceedings from February, 1753, to February, 1754, p. 57.

[2] The story has often been told that, on the Sunday after his arrival, he inquired of his host where he might find an Episcopal service. The penal laws were then in force which prohibited the Episcopal clergy in Scotland from officiating except in private houses for four persons only, besides the family; or, if in an uninhabited building, for a number not exceeding four. His host replied, "I will show you; take your hat and follow me, but keep barely in my sight, for we are watched with jealousy by the Presbyterians." He led him through winding, narrow lanes and unfrequented streets, and finally disappeared suddenly into an old building several stories high, followed by Seabury, to an upper room where a little band had gathered to worship God in the forms of the Liturgy according to the dictates of their conscience.

therefore, acting in his behalf, ordained Mr. Seabury a deacon on St. Thomas's day, 1753, and two days after (Sunday, December 23d), he was advanced to the priesthood by Dr. Richard Osbaldiston, Bishop of Carlisle, acting also for the Bishop of London.

The Rev. J. Wetmore, of Rye, N. Y., who had sent a testimonial to the venerable Society in his favor, recommended him for the cure of New Brunswick, in New Jersey, vacant by the removal of Rev. Mr. Wood to Nova Scotia, and the Bishop of London, under date of December 23, 1753, licensed and authorized him to perform the office of a priest in that province; and the Society accordingly gave him the appointment to New Brunswick with a salary of £50 per annum. He returned to America and arrived at his mission on the 25th of May, 1754, where he found a stone church "nearly finished," and a congregation that greeted him with a hearty welcome.

His ministry in this place was too short to be productive of much good or to be marked by many events. Having been promoted to the living of Jamaica, L. I., he was duly inducted into that parish on the 12th of January, 1757, by Sir Charles Hardy, at that time the provincial governor of New York. This change brought him back to the neighborhood of his youthful associations and "nearer to a most excellent father, whom he dearly loved and whose conversation he highly valued." It must have been acceptable to him on other accounts, for he had assumed new responsibilities and entered into the domestic relations. On the 12th of October, 1756, just three months prior to his induction into the living of Jamaica, he married Mary, daughter of Mr. Edward Hicks, of New York.

He found enough to do in the sphere to which he had been transferred, and evils to contend with that taxed his best energies and abilities. The circuit of his ministerial labors reached out beyond his immediate cure, and Flushing, in the same county, was one of the stations where he was frequently called to officiate. He gave a sad picture of its religious condition in his report to the Society in 1759. "Flushing," said he, "in the last generation the grand seat of Quakerism, is in this the seat of infidelity, — a transition how natural! Bred up in an entire neglect of all religious principles, in hatred to the clergy and in contempt of the sacraments, how hard is their conversion, especially as they disown the necessity of any redemption! At Jamaica, open infidelity has not made so great a progress; a general remissness in attending divine service, however, prevails, though I know not from what particular cause."

This indifference to Christian truth and Christian ordinances was a source of grief to him in his ministrations. No measure of fidelity on his part seemed at first to awaken any direct interest in his work, or to turn aside the broad current that was carrying everybody along towards the awful vortex of unbelief. Six months after he made the report referred to above, he wrote again to the Society in the same melancholy and discouraging strain: "Such is the effect of deism and infidelity (for the spreading of which Quakerism has paved the way), which have here been propagated with the greatest zeal and the most astonishing success, that a general indifference towards all religion has taken place; and the too common opinion seems to be that they shall be saved

without either of the Christian sacraments, without any external worship of God, — in short, without the mediation of Christ, as well as with; and even among those who profess themselves members of the Church of England, a very great backwardness in attending her service prevails, and particularly with regard to the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper; so great is their aversion to it, or neglect of it, that I fear the number of communicants at present scarce exceeds twenty."

It is easy to see that a young and zealous clergyman, who had the prosperity of the Church so much in his heart, could not fail to be deeply affected by the gloomy prospects of his mission. A new country in a forming state needed, in a marked degree, all the supports of a right faith and a right practice, and hence he felt that any doctrine or set of principles which led people to look with indifference upon religious rites was deleterious in its influence, and corrupting in its nature. He saw no good in the absence of liturgical worship, — at least, in his view, there was no good in a negative system of faith which referred everything to the inward light, and rejected alike the voice of the Church and all external revelation. His patient and steady ministrations, however, after a time began to tell upon the inhabitants, and at a later date, he was enabled to make a better report of the spiritual condition of his cure. "Things are considerably mended," he wrote, "especially at Flushing, which has ever been the seat of Quakerism and infidelity. Many young people of both sexes have steadily attended divine service the past summer (whose parents are either Quakers or deists), and behaved with great decency."

Mr. Seabury was acquiring experience in his ministerial work, and fitting himself more and more to grapple with the evils by which he was surrounded. While he could not discern all the fruits which under God he had hoped would come from his labors, he saw improvement in many things, and in 1762 informed the Society that the church was gradually gaining in strength, and that a more serious turn of mind began to manifest itself, — particularly in Flushing, where the white congregation had increased from twenty to eighty. At Jamaica, his principal charge, there were one hundred and twenty families connected with the church, from which came twenty-nine communicants, — more than one sixth of the whole number of families resident in the place. The missionaries of the Society were required by its rules to transmit a statement of the number of their families, baptisms, and communicants, together with such general information in regard to the sects as might show their relative strength; and thus the history of each mission, as it was presented from time to time, was before the authority at home, and carefully considered. This rendered them exceedingly vigilant and observing, and their details became something more than dry statistics.

Whatever may now be thought of Seabury's opinion of the tendency of Quakerism, it was deliberately formed and honestly entertained. But a new source of disquietude arose in 1764. In that year, Whitefield, who for the sixth time had lately arrived in America from England, visited his mission, and produced the usual excitement which everywhere attended his ministrations. The populace followed him

and hung with enthusiasm upon his extraordinary eloquence. Large congregations continually gathered to hear him, and Whitefield himself, in a letter to a friend, speaking of this visit, said, "My late excursions upon Long Island I trust have been blessed. It would surprise you to see above one hundred carriages at every sermon in the New World."[1]

There was no turning, for the time, the current of popular feeling which set in the direction of Whitefield's ministrations. Some from sympathy with his doctrines, some from admiration of his earnestness and power, and more from curiosity to hear the wonderful man and join with the crowds, were drawn to his sermons and helped to stimulate and extend the public sensation. He was under no restraint, and though episcopally ordained, such had been his erratic course that the clergy of the Church of England in the American colonies had opposed his policy and refused to admit him to their pulpits. He was in no way connected with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and was only mentioned in its proceedings as his letters and conduct reflected upon the character of its missionaries, and interfered with their work. He left a legacy of discord and confusion behind him wherever he went. No measure of zeal and earnestness as a preacher, and no pretense of spiritual illumination, could justify his neglect of the solemn obligations assumed at his ordination, and his disregard of the ritual and usages of the Book of Common Prayer. His extravagances, great as they were, excited the displeasure of those in England who had befriended and aided him, and his censori-

[1] *Memoirs of Whitefield*, p. 181.

ousness and want of charity, added to his irregularities, alienated him from their confidence and affections. It was in reply to charges which he sent home to the Society against its missionaries in this country, that Secker, then Bishop of Oxford, wrote him in 1741: "You must permit me to say, and I do it with sincere good will to you, that I am persuaded you are much too severe in what you have printed concerning your brethren of the clergy in this nation, and therefore you may have been too severe in what you have written concerning those abroad, especially as I find that many accounts different from yours are sent to the Society, concerning their missionaries, by persons in all appearance well deserving of credit."

Whitefield had lost his reverence for the teaching and authority of the Church, and, like all enthusiasts, he could discover defects in the theology of others from which he fancied himself to be free. He assailed the works of Tillotson, and "The Whole Duty of Man," — affirming that the archbishop "knew no more of Christianity than Mahomet," and he impugned the authority of writings which had been a guide and solace to thousands of Christians of undoubted intelligence and piety. His followers improved oftentimes upon his illiberality and enthusiasm, and the Presbyterians, or Congregationalists, especially in New England, who at first favored his evangelism, became divided in opinion, and, while some adhered to him firmly, others rejected him as interfering with the customs of the churches and the peace and usefulness of the settled pastors. The opposition to him among them was as violent as among

the clergy and members of the Church of England. The General Association of Connecticut, which met in June, 1745, expecting that he would make a tour through the colony during the summer, passed a resolution, declaring him to be "the faulty occasion of many errors in doctrine and disorders in practice," and "that if the said Mr. Whitefield should make his progress through this government, it would by no means be advisable for any of our ministry to admit him into their pulpits, or for any of our people to attend his administrations."[1] The Old and New Lights were parties which grew out of his itinerancy.

The feeling towards Whitefield at the time he visited Long Island appears to have changed with some of the southern clergy of the Church of England. He had either become less denunciatory of those who differed from him in regard to the system of itinerancy and certain points of doctrine, or a score of years had accustomed people to the effects of his extravagances and worn away the edge of their resistance. The Rev. Hugh Neill, a missionary at Oxford, Pa., writing to the secretary of the Society, October 17, 1763, and speaking of the unity in his parish, said: "How long it will continue so, God only knows. For Mr. Whitefield arriving lately among us, and meeting with a most cordial reception from the Episcopal clergy of Philadelphia, has thrown the clergy and laity in the country into a very great consternation. The unanimity among the Church clergy, both in city and country, for this three and twenty years past in opposing him prevented his hurting the Church (a few individuals excepted). The divisions

[1] Trumbull's *History*, vol. ii., p. 190.

that he created among the dissenters in this province, and all over America, were examples sufficient to warn us from splitting upon the same rock. But such has been the fatality of our city brethren that they have received him with open arms and still continue to follow him from the church to the meeting-houses, and from thence to the church again, with a greater degree of veneration (I really believe) than if his Grace of Canterbury was to condescend to pay them a visit." [1]

Seabury, like his northern brethren, was in entire sympathy with the views of the writer of this letter. His early education and love of order, to say nothing about his abhorrence of canonical and rubrical irregularities, led him to disapprove of Whitefield's course, and to dread the effects of his preaching within the limits of his parish. He knew too much of that "continual succession of strolling preachers" among the other religious bodies who had adopted his sentiments and method of instruction, and who misrepresented the Church as popish, to believe that no mischief would come to the cause of truth by the introduction of the great revivalist. He reported, however, that none of his own people were finally led astray, while many of them appear to have been more seriously impressed by his earnest, yet conciliatory manner of presenting and defending the doctrines of the Church. A letter addressed to the secretary, and dated October 6, 1764, very well expresses his fears, and the actual result of this visit of Whitefield: —

Since my last letter to the Honorable Society, we have

[1] *Hist. Collections*, Penn., p. 354.

had a long visit from Mr. Whitefield in this colony, where he has preached frequently, especially in the city of New York, and in this island, and I am sorry to say he has had more influence than formerly, and I fear has done a great deal of mischief; his tenets and method of preaching have been adopted by many of the dissenting teachers, and this town in particular has a *continual*, I had almost said a daily, succession of strolling preachers and exhorters; and the poor Church of England is on every occasion misrepresented as popish, and as teaching her members to expect salvation on account of their own works and deservings. I have in the most moderate manner endeavored to set these things in their true light, and I think not without success: none of my people have been led away by them, though I have not been without apprehensions on their account, and I hope that friendly disposition and mutual intercourse of good offices which have always subsisted between the Church people and dissenters since I have been settled here, and which I have constantly endeavored to promote, will meet with but little interruption.

An acquaintance of more than six years with the people of his parish had led Mr. Seabury to look with alternate hope and fear to its future condition. His own support was not as liberal as he had anticipated, and promises made when he first entered upon his ministry in the place were still unfulfilled. The influence of the Quakers had corrupted the principle of Christian generosity, for they "considered it as a mark of an avaricious and venal spirit for a minister to receive anything of his people by way of support." Men in all periods of Christendom have, for the most part, shown themselves too ready to take advantage of the least encouragement, to withhold from the Lord the offerings which, in some shape, are justly his due.

CHAPTER II.

DEATH OF HIS FATHER AND SCARCITY OF CLERGYMEN; PLEAS FOR AN AMERICAN EPISCOPATE AND DR. CHANDLER'S PUBLICATIONS; REMOVAL TO WESTCHESTER AND INSTITUTION INTO THE RECTORSHIP OF ST. PETER'S CHURCH; MISSIONARY WORK AND STATE OF HIS PARISH; POLITICAL TROUBLES AND CONTINENTAL CONGRESSES; DEFENSE OF THE CROWN AND ANONYMOUS PAMPHLETS; CLERICAL FRIENDS AND THEIR INTIMACY.

A. D. 1764–1775.

THE death of his father, on the 15th of June, 1764, was an event which not only filled him with personal sorrow, but deprived the neighboring parish at Hempstead of its faithful missionary. More than twenty years he had filled that post, and during seven of them the son had been favored with the opportunity of taking his immediate counsel and guidance in troublesome matters. The following letter, written by the bereaved widow to her brother-in-law in Rhode Island, sheds some light upon the family history, and the condition in which the children were left.

HEMPSTEAD, *July* 15, 1764.

DEAR BROTHER, — As you are to me in a double capacity, both in regard to the relation between us, and in regard to our unhappy condition, for I heard by report that my sister is dead, but I have not had a line from you, at which I am somewhat surprised. As to my own deplorable state, my dear husband left me and his family, the 19th of June, to go

to England, from whence he returned the 7th of June, a sick, and I may say, a dying man, for he lived one painful week, and then resigned his soul into the arms of his dear Saviour.

Dear Sir: Your own heart will better suggest to you what I feel than any words I can make use of. I can only say, I have lost one of the best husbands, and am left with six children; the eldest son and daughter married; the youngest son with a merchant in New York, and the other three with me, — one of which is a daughter of nineteen, one a son of seventeen, and the other a daughter of six years.

Dear Sir: I am both a widow and a stranger. My husband did not lay up treasures on earth; though, I have reason to think, he did in Heaven, where no rust doth corrupt; and my whole trust is in Him who hath said, "He is the Father of the fatherless," and the widow's God.

Sir, as there is in your hands a legacy left me by my mother, I should be glad to know of you what I may expect from it, for I shall be in want of it by next May.

If you write to me, please direct to the care of Mr. Henry Remsen, Jr., Hanover Square, New York, the gentleman with whom my son lives, and he will forward the letter.

I have no more to say, sir, but to commend you and your children to God Almighty, and, begging your prayers for me and mine,

I am, sir, your affectionate sister and humble servant,

ELIZABETH SEABURY.[1]

TO JAMES HELME, ESQ., SOUTH KINGSTOWN.

The vacancy at Hempstead very naturally imposed upon Mr. Seabury the duty of looking out for a suitable minister to supply the place. For twelve years he had been acquainted with Leonard Cutting, — educated at Eton and Cambridge, and for a long time a tutor in King's (now Columbia) College, but then

[1] Updike's *History Narragansett Church*, pp. 134, 135.

serving as a missionary in his former cure at New Brunswick, N. J. In the summer of 1765, he inclosed to the Society a petition from the church wardens and vestrymen of the parish of Hempstead, asking that Mr. Cutting might be transferred to that place. The people much desired him for their minister, and Seabury supported the petition with a statement that he was well qualified to supply the parish, and would do "real service therein to the cause of virtue and religion in general, and to the interest of the Church in particular." Accordingly the change was authorized, and Mr. Cutting continued in charge at Hempstead till 1784.

The want of clergymen of the Church of England in the American colonies became more urgent as death made inroads into their ranks. The necessity of going home for Holy Orders deterred many from entering the ministry, and of those who ventured on the voyage so large a proportion fell by the way that it was disheartening to think of the sacrifice. Seabury did not hesitate to speak out his mind on this subject, and, like other missionaries, to plead, as occasion offered, for an American Episcopate. He was present at the meeting of a voluntary association of the Episcopal clergy of New York and New Jersey, when the matter was fully discussed and the unanimous opinion reached, 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."

The Rev. Dr. Johnson, of Stratford, had previously suggested to Dr. Chandler, the rector at Elizabethtown, the preparation of an appeal to the public in behalf of the Church of England in America, and this action of the clergy ripened the suggestion and led him to write and publish the works which appeared successively in 1767 and 1771, and provoked so much opposition from the enemies of Episcopacy in this country. "The Appeal to the Public," "The Appeal Defended," and "The Appeal farther Defended" were issued at a period when the minds of men were agitated in the colonies with contests and jealousies about political rights and privileges. Those who wrote against the object of the Appeal endeavored to take advantage of the existing troubles, and represented that the taxation of the colonies and the proposal of sending bishops to America were parts of one general system, and unfriendly to political and religious liberty.

It was before the controversy which sprung up on the appearance of Dr. Chandler's publications, that Seabury addressed a letter to the secretary of the Society, dated April 17, 1766, from which the following extract is made: —

We have lately had a most affecting account of the loss of Messrs. Giles and Wilson, the Society's missionaries, the ship they were in being wrecked near the entrance of Delaware Bay, and only four persons saved out of twenty-eight; their death is a great loss in the present want of clergymen in these colonies, and indeed, I believe one great reason why so few from this continent offer themselves for Holy Orders is because it is evident from experience that not more than four out of five who have gone from the northern colonies have returned. This is one unanswerable argument for the

necessity of bishops in the colonies. The poor Church of England in America is the only instance that ever happened of an Episcopal Church without a bishop, and in which no orders could be obtained without crossing an ocean of three thousand miles in extent; without bishops the Church cannot flourish in America, and unless the Church be well supported and prevail, this whole continent will be overrun with infidelity and deism, Methodism, and New Light, with every species and every degree of skepticism and enthusiasm; and without a bishop upon the spot, I fear it will be impossible to keep the Church herself pure and undefiled.

The clergy did their utmost to preserve the true faith and convince the authorities at home of the unwisdom of leaving the colonies in such a deplorable condition. Those in New York, with some of their brethren from Connecticut and New Jersey, adopted the plan of "holding voluntary and annual conventions" for the purpose of considering the best methods of promoting the welfare of the Church of England and thwarting the schemes of her adversaries.[1]

The decease of the elder Seabury sundered one strong tie that bound the son to Jamaica. Besides this, the living was insufficient to meet the demands of his growing family. The people had not redeemed the pledge which they gave him on coming among them, to provide a suitable parsonage, and there was no prospect of any immediate effort in this direction. He received, therefore, with favor, the overtures made to him by the wardens and vestrymen of St. Peter's Church, at Westchester, and intimated to the Society his wish to accept the offer of that mission. The proposition was readily acceded to, and he removed to Westchester, and on the 3d of December,

[1] Appendix A.

1766, was in due form "admitted, instituted, and inducted" into the rectorship of the parish under the authority of Sir Henry Moore, then captain-general and governor-in-chief in and over the province of New York and territories depending thereon. Here he had an average congregation of about two hundred, and adopted, as one means of imparting religious instruction, the practice of preaching at funerals in the more remote districts, when people assembled who never came together at other times.

His settlement at Westchester did not separate him from association with his clerical friends, for access to those who dwelt in New York and New Jersey was as convenient as before, and with greater care than in these days, the clergy, then few in number, visited each other to interchange hopes and fears and confer together in a private way on the best interests of the church. After he had been in this mission nearly a year he wrote to the Society to give information of its state, and the following extract from his letter has its bright and its dark sides: —

The congregation at Westchester is very unsteady in their attendance; sometimes there are more than the church, which is a small, old, wooden building, can contain, at other times very few, generally near two hundred. The communicants are few, the most I have had has been twenty-two; two new ones have been added since I have been here. At Eastchester, which is four miles distant, the congregation is generally larger than in Westchester. The old church in which they meet as yet is very small and cold. They have erected, and just completed the roof of a large, well-built stone church, in which they have expended, they say, seven hundred pounds currency; but their ability seems to be exhausted, and I fear I shall never see it finished. I applied

last winter to his excellency Sir Henry Moore, for a brief in their favor, but the petition was rejected. Since I came into this parish I have preached every other Sunday at Westchester in the morning, and have, after prayers in the afternoon, catechised the children and explained the Catechism to them. I was the more inclined to do this, as they have never been used to any evening service at all, and as there seemed to be but little sober sense of religion amongst the lower sort of people, I was in hopes by this means to lay some foundation of religious knowledge in the younger part of the congregation. I cannot yet boast of the number of my catechumens, which is but ten, but most of them repeat the Catechism extremely well. There are also a considerable number of young people who attend to hear, and are very attentive. I should be very much obliged to the Society for a number of Lewis's Catechisms, and some small Prayer Books, and such other tracts as they think proper; these things presented to the children and younger people by their minister, I have found by my own experience, give them impressions in his favor, and dispose them to come to church and to make their responses.

At Westchester I have baptized six white children, and one mulatto adult; at Eastchester eight white, and at New Rochelle seven white and two negro children. Before I left Jamaica, I baptized there four adults and three infants. I have made two visits there since, and baptized one adult, two white children, and three black ones; and I must do the people at Newtown the justice to inform the Society, that since my removal they sent me £20 currency. With regard to the income of this parish, the salary, by an act of assembly, is £50 currency — the exchange from New York to London being generally from £70 to £80 for £100 sterling. Burial fees there are here none; but the more wealthy families sometimes give the minister a linen scarf on these occasions. Marriage fees from one to four Spanish dollars; but far the greater number go to an Independent teacher in the parish of Rye, because his ceremony is short and they have nothing

to say. Possibly these fees may amount to £5 or £6 a year. The parsonage house is so much out of repair that it will cost £100 currency to make it comfortable, and the glebe has cost me near £20 to repair the fences; when it is put in good order, it would, I believe, rent for £25 per annum. Some of the principal people have been endeavoring to prevail on the congregation to make up the deduction from the Society's salary by subscription, but have not succeeded, owing to the great expense they have been and must be at here in buying and repairing their parsonage house, for which they are yet in debt £100, and to the necessity they will shortly be under of rebuilding their church; and the Eastchester people are exhausted by the church they have undertaken to build. I must defer writing concerning that part of the parish which is under Mr. Munroe's care till my information is more correct. The professed dissenters in this parish are not numerous; some Calvinistic or Presbyterian French at New Rochelle, a few Presbyterians at Eastchester, and some Quakers; at Westchester a good many Quakers. But there are many families, especially among the lower classes, who do not even pretend to be of any religion at all.

The missionaries, by the instructions of the Society, were required to encourage the setting up of schools for the teaching of children, and an important advantage was gained where these were successfully established. The Society appointed schoolmasters in some places, and appropriated annually small stipends towards their support. A brother of the rector, Nathaniel Seabury, held such a position in Westchester and retired in 1768, when another gentleman was appointed, who continued his services in that capacity for several years. The rector subsequently reported this school to be in a prosperous condition and the children to be advancing in knowledge.

The impolitic measures of the British government

were beginning to agitate the colonies and to foreshadow the troubles of the Revolution. The Stamp Act had been passed and a Congress had been held in New York, composed of delegates from nine of the thirteen colonies, who considered the grievances of the people and sent petitions to the king and Parliament for its immediate repeal. A year elapsed from the time of its enactment before the odious measure was rescinded, and then the repeal was accompanied by a declaratory act, asserting the right of Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever, and, as a consequence, the public irritation was by no means allayed. Liberty was a word upon which many changes were rung, and political questions were discussed with excited feelings and widely opposing views. Americans, for the most part, claimed the rights of British subjects and denied the power or authority of Parliament to tax the colonies without their consent. This was the real foundation of the whole dispute which resulted in independence.

Seabury did not sympathize with the vehement advocates for liberty. He knew that "unbounded licentiousness in manners and insecurity to private property" must be the unavoidable consequence of extreme measures. So early as March, 1770, he wrote the secretary of the Society: "The violent party heats which prevail in this colony as well as in the others engross at present the attention of the people. But I think that even the disturbances will be attended with some advantage to the interests of the Church. The usefulness and truth of her doctrines, with regard to civil government, appear more evident from those disorders which other principles have led the

people into. This is particularly remarked and publicly mentioned by the more candid and reasonable people, who seem heartily tired with the great clamors for liberty." And he added in the same letter: "I hope the time is not far off when these matters will be settled upon a firm and permanent foundation; but however that may be, I am confident the behavior of the Church people, considered as a body, has been such as has done her honor, and will be remembered many years in this country with approbation."

An uneasy state of public feeling continued, though appearances indicated that the colonies had been brought into subjection and would not attempt immediately any armed resistance to the British government. Lord North was prime minister at the time, and had popular tumults at home to look after, as well as dissensions on this side of the Atlantic. He believed in the omnipotence of the king and Parliament, and failed to see that coercion, if successful at first, might end in uniting the colonies in a steady and unyielding defense of their civil rights.

The missionary at Westchester in January, 1771, reported the condition of his charge to be much the same as at the date of his last letter. It was difficult to draw the attention of the people to the subject of religion or to persuade them that it was of any real importance. The political animosities and disturbances occupied their thoughts, and they seemed to be more anxious about the future of the colonies than about the interests of their souls and the advancement of the Church. He endeavored to perform his duty, hoping for better results from his labors, and

according to the abstracts of the Society, the number of his baptisms in 1774 was forty-nine and of admissions to the holy communion three.

New York was the most quiet and loyal of all the colonies, — at least, it had more friends of the British government in the beginning than any which favored the proceedings of the Continental Congress. Her Assembly declined to take into consideration the acts of that body at its first meeting in Philadelphia, September, 1774, and refused to choose delegates to the second Congress, which was to convene in the same city the following May. The policy of the province was conservative; and Seabury, from the impulses of his nature and the convictions of his conscience, took the side of the crown and resolutely defended its measures, and used his influence in Westchester County to quiet the people and prevent them from joining the Sons of Liberty. He was one of a number of persons who assembled at White Plains in April, 1775, and his name is the third on the list of three hundred and twelve signatures affixed to an emphatic protest which the meeting adopted as follows: "We, the subscribers, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of Westchester, having assembled at the White Plains in consequence of certain advertisements, do now declare that we met here to declare our honest abhorrence of all unlawful Congresses and committees, and that we are determined, at the hazard of our lives and properties, to support the King and Constitution; and that we acknowledge no representatives but the General Assembly, to whose wisdom and integrity we submit the guardianship of our rights, liberties, and privileges."

The protest and the proceedings of the meeting were published in "Rivington's Gazette," a newspaper printed in the city of New York, which warmly espoused the royal cause, and had a great influence on the public mind. Rivington was an Englishman by birth, who had an extensive foreign correspondence and a large acquaintance in Europe and America, and he published, as he claimed, what was conformable to his ideas of true liberty; but he became obnoxious to the patriots and was denounced, and finally "his press was destroyed by a mob from Connecticut, who carried off a part of his types, converted them into Whig bullets, and compelled him to suspend the publication of his paper."[1]

Prior to this, the colonial interests had been discussed in two pamphlets printed without the name of the author or publisher, and one of them, entitled "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress," was signed "A. W. Farmer,"[2] and attributed at the time and since to Isaac Wilkins, then an influential member of the loyal Provincial Assembly of New York, and an intimate friend of the rector of the church in Westchester. He was a fearless leader on the ministerial side in that body, and when it was proposed to appoint delegates to the second Continental Congress, he made a speech against the proposition which was greatly admired by his friends for its eloquence, clearness, and precision. A bitter feeling was excited towards the unknown author of these pamphlets, which were extensively and gratuitously circulated among the people

[1] Sabine's *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 216.

[2] A Westchester farmer.

of New York and other provinces. Vengeance was denounced upon him, and failing to find him, copies of the pamphlets were gathered and burnt, and in some instances they were tarred, feathered, and nailed to the whipping-post, as an indication of the treatment which their author would receive if he were detected.

A month had scarcely passed away before an anonymous answer to the "Farmer" appeared, written with prudence and skill, and vindicating the measures of the Congress from the calumnies and misrepresentations of their enemies. Almost simultaneously with this answer was issued another pamphlet entitled "An Examination into the Conduct of the Delegates at their Grand Convention," and addressed to the merchants of New York; and the "Farmer," who wrote it, announced in an Appendix that he should be pleased to defend his former publication and this in the same reply, and he would therefore wait ten days for his antagonist's remarks, which he supposed would be ample time for so accomplished a writer. The date of its publication — Christmas Eve, 1774 — shows that he was ready with his reply at the appointed moment, and it came from the press of Rivington, and excited anew the curiosity of the public to discover the authorship of the anonymous pamphlets. The controversy thickened, and a rejoinder on the side of the colonies was eagerly anticipated, and it soon appeared; and to the surprise of some and the delight of others, this too was issued from the notorious press of James Rivington. The credit of thus defending the colonies was given in the public estimation to such men as John Jay, of Westchester County, and his father-in-law, William Livingston;

but neither of these gentlemen held the polemic pen in the dispute with the "Farmer." It was Alexander Hamilton, so celebrated in American history, but at that time a gifted youth, not yet nineteen years old, born, like Isaac Wilkins, in the West Indies, and just completing a course of academical instruction at King's College under the presidency of that ardent loyalist, Dr. Myles Cooper.

But who was the spirited writer that signed himself "A. W. Farmer"? Seabury, at an earlier day, had entered into a compact with his clerical friends, Dr. Chandler, of New Jersey, and Dr. Inglis, rector of Trinity Church, New York, to watch and confute all publications in pamphlets or newspapers that threatened mischief to the Church of England and the British government in America. Out of this compact undoubtedly sprung "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Congress at Philadelphia," which was from his pen, as were the other publications that immediately followed on the same side of the question. His object, as stated by himself, was "to point out, in a way accommodated to the comprehension of the farmers and landowners, the destructive influence which the measures of the Congress, if acted upon, would have on them and the laboring part of the community," and he endeavored to persuade the New York Assembly that "if they acceded to them, as other assemblies had done, they would betray the rights and liberties of their Constitution, set up a new sovereign power in the province, and plunge it into all the horrors of rebellion and civil war."[1]

The struggle for independence had actually begun,

[1] Shea's *Life and Epoch of Hamilton*, p. 299.

and the battle of Lexington, on the 19th of April, 1775, thrilled through the land, and the people in different places were preparing for united resistance to the king's troops. The suspicion which had fallen upon Seabury as the author of the obnoxious publications grew in strength, and his known intimacy with leading loyalists brought him under the surveillance of his enemies, and a body of troops, stationed at Rye, a neighboring town, was sent to arrest him at his residence, together with Isaac Wilkins, then a member of the Provincial Assembly from Westchester. They both escaped, having been advised of the attempt upon their personal liberty, and kept themselves for a time in concealment.[1] Wilkins fled from his home and embarked for England, issuing to his countrymen at the moment of his departure, May 3, 1775, an address in which, among other things, he said: "I leave America, and every endearing connection, because I will not raise my hand against my sovereign, nor will I draw my sword against my country; when I can conscientiously draw it in her favor, my life shall be cheerfully devoted to her service." His wife and children were left behind. The following letter from Seabury, dated the 30th of the same month, is a brief but graphic description of his own condition and of the feeling in the vicinity of New York: —

[1] "In the old Wilkins mansion on Castle Hill Neck, Westchester, is still shown the place where Drs. Cooper, Chandler, and Seabury managed to secrete themselves for some time, notwithstanding the most minute and persevering search was made for them; so ingeniously contrived was the place of their concealment in and about the old-fashioned chimney. Food was conveyed to them through a trap-door in the floor." Bolton's *History of the Church in Westchester County*, p. 86, ed. 1855.

My ever dear Wilkins, — I hope you are safe in London; may every blessing attend you. Mrs. Wilkins was well last evening. Isabella has had a rash, but is better. Everything here quiet. Reported that two thousand men are ready in Connecticut for any operation for which they may be wanted in this province. The Asia is arrived — reported that she has demanded a supply of provisions for Boston and it is agreed that they shall be furnished. The associations went on very heavily at W. C.; very few signed. The Provincial Congress have agreed to raise money upon the province, as the representatives of the people. Mr. L. Morris has published his remarks upon the Protest, etc., — poor me — you are safe — I think I am too. If I knew anything worth writing, I would write it. I think the present scene will not last long. Drs. Cooper and Chandler sailed last week. Tell Dr. Cooper I received his letter, and I will write to him. When I can collect anything worthy your notice you shall have it. God bless you, says your ever affectionate Seabury.

As often happens in perilous political revolutions, families became divided on the question between Great Britain and her colonies, parents being arrayed against their children, and children against their parents. Wilkins married a sister of Lewis Morris, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and of Gouverneur Morris, a distinguished patriot also, but the mother espoused the royal cause, and remained within the British lines during the continuance of hostilities. Her correspondence at this period with her sons excited suspicion and occasioned them some difficulty, notwithstanding their labors and sacrifices in behalf of the colonies.[1]

[1] *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. ii., p. 433.

CHAPTER III.

LETTER TO THE SECRETARY; FIRMNESS OF ALLEGIANCE; ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT; MEMORIAL TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF CONNECTICUT; RELEASE AND RETURN TO HIS FAMILY; FRESH TROUBLES AND DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; CLOSE OF HIS CHURCH AND ACCOUNT OF HIS PERSECUTIONS.

A. D. 1775–1776.

THE same day on which Seabury wrote to his friend Wilkins he addressed a letter to the secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and expressed his fears about being able to perform his duties in his parish. "We are here," he said, "in a very alarming situation. Dr. Cooper[1] and Dr. Chandler have been obliged to quit this community, and sailed for England last week. I have been obliged to retire a few days from the threatened vengeance of the New England people who lately broke into this province. But I hope I shall be able to keep my

[1] The Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, President of King's College, was threatened with personal violence by a mob which went to his residence to seize him; but the collegians had no sympathy with the attempt, and Hamilton, one of them, spoke to the crowd from the steps of the porch and remonstrated against such disgraceful conduct. It has been said that at first Dr. Cooper supposed that he was inciting the turbulent people, and cried out from an upper window: "Don't listen to him, gentlemen; he is crazy." While Hamilton detained the crowd with his address, the president escaped by the rear of the building to the river, and was rowed to the Asia, — a British vessel of war, riding at anchor in the harbor. Vide Shea's *Life and Epoch of Hamilton*, p. 354.

station. The charge against the clergy is a very extraordinary one, — that they have, in conjunction with the Society and the British ministry, laid a plan for enslaving America. I do not believe that those people who raised this calumny believe one syllable of it, but they intend it as an engine to turn the popular fury upon the Church, which, should the violent schemes of some of our Eastern neighbors succeed, will probably fall a sacrifice to the persecuting spirit of independency."

The influence of New England, especially of Massachusetts, and its defensive measures was extending, and some men, who at first were lukewarm and inclined only to plans for reconciliation, began to assume a bolder front, and to say that the dispute with Great Britain must end in the separation of the colonies, and the acknowledgment of their independence. The course of Seabury as a citizen and a minister of the Church was dignified and determined. If others wavered or changed, he was firm, and, like his clerical brethren, felt it to be his duty to pray for the king and his government, in obedience to the oath which he had taken at his ordination.

It is true, his language in his political pamphlets was more in the style of a violent partisan than of a discreet and godly clergyman; but he was writing in the disguise of a farmer, and addressed himself to the plain yeomanry of the land in a way which would be sure to arrest their attention and work upon their honest convictions. Speaking in his first pamphlet of the recommendation to appoint committees in the several colonies to inspect the conduct of the inhabitants and see whether they violated the agreement of the

"grand Continental Congress," he said: "Will you be instrumental in bringing the most abject slavery on yourselves? Will you choose such committees? Will you submit to them, should they be chosen by the weak, foolish, turbulent part of the country people? Do as you please; but by Him that made me, I will not! No, if I must be enslaved, let it be to a king at least, and not by a parcel of upstart, lawless committee-men. If I must be devoured, let it be by the jaws of a lion, and not *gnawed* to death by rats and vermin."[1]

This was the strong language which the disturbances of the times evoked, and the bitterness of the controversy between the crown and the people seemed to justify its use. The worst treatment fell upon the clergy of the Church of England, and though no greater opponents to the war for independence than many of their sectarian brethren, they were marked for closer restraint and subjected to sharper trials and persecutions. The fears which Seabury had expressed in his letter to the secretary were soon realized. He had been serving, as best he could, his two diminished congregations, and working in another way to obtain a partial support for his family, when an armed force from Connecticut invaded the territory of New York, seized him at his school-room, and carried him to New Haven. The particulars of his arrest and the recital of his wrongs and of the cruelties inflicted upon him are so well stated in his petition to the General Assembly, asking for relief, that no apology is necessary for printing it here in full. It is headed, —

[1] *Free Thoughts*, etc., p. 18.

To the General Assembly of the Governor and Company of the Colony of Connecticut, now sitting in New Haven, in said Colony, by special Order of his Honor, the Governor.

The memorial of Samuel Seabury, Clerk, A. M., Rector of the Parish of West Chester, in the County of West Chester and Province of New York, humbly showeth : —

That on Wednesday, the 22d day of November last, your memorialist was seized at a house in West Chester where he taught a grammar school, by a company of armed men, to the number, as he supposes, of about forty ; that after being carried to his own house and being allowed time to send for his horse, he was forced away on the road to Kingsbridge, but soon meeting another company of armed men, they joined and proceeded to East Chester.

That a person styled Captain Lothrop ordered your memorialist to be seized. That after the two companies joined, the command appeared to your memorialist to be in Captain Isaac Sears, and the whole number of men to be about one hundred. That from East Chester your memorialist, in company with Jonathan Fowler, Esq., of East Chester, and Nathl. Underhill, Esq., of West Chester, was sent under a guard of about twenty armed men to Horseneck, and on the Monday following was brought to this town and carried in triumph through a great part of it, accompanied by a large number of men on horseback and in carriages, chiefly armed. That the whole company arranged themselves before the house of Captain Sears. That after firing two cannon and huzzaing, your memorialist was sent under a guard of four or five men to the house of Mrs. Lyman, where he has ever since been kept under guard. That during this time your memorialist hath been prevented from enjoying a free intercourse with his friends ; forbidden to visit some of them, though in company with his guard ; prohibited from reading prayers in the church, and in performing any part of divine service, though invited by the Rev. Mr. Hubbard so to do ; interdicted the use of pen, ink, and paper, except for the pur-

pose of writing to his family, and then it was required that his letters should be examined and licensed before they were sent off; though on Friday last, Captain Sears condescended that your memorialist should be indulged in writing a memorial to this Hon. Assembly. That your memorialist hath received but one letter from his family since he has been under confinement, and that was delivered to him open, though brought by the post.

Your memorialist begs leave further to represent, that he hath heard a verbal account that one of his daughters was abused and insulted by some of the people when at his house on the 22d of November. That a bayonet was thrust through her cap, and her cap thereby tore from [her] head. That the handkerchief about her neck was pierced by a bayonet, both before and behind. That a quilt in the frame on which the daughters of your memorialist were at work was so cut and pierced with bayonets as to be rendered useless. That while your memorialist was waiting for his horse, on the said 22d day of November, the people obliged the wife of your memorialist to open his desk, where they examined his papers, part of the time in presence of your memorialist. That he had in a drawer in the desk three or four dollars and a few pieces of small silver. That he hath heard that only an English shilling and three or four coppers were found in the drawers after he was brought away. That your memorialist thinks this not improbable, as Jonathan Fowler, Esq., informed him that a new beaver hat, a silver mounted horsewhip, and two silver spoons were carried off from his house on said day. Mr. Meloy, also, of this town, informed your memorialist, that he, the said Meloy, had been accused by some people of pointing a bayonet at the breast of a daughter of your memorialist, desiring your memorialist to exculpate him from the charge, to which request your memorialist replied that he was not at his house but at his school-house, when the affair was said to have happened; but that a daughter of your memorialist met him as he was brought from the school-house, and told him that one of the men had pushed a bayonet against

her breast and otherwise insulted her; and your memorialist remembers that when he left his house in the morning his daughter had a cap on, but when she met him near the school-house, she had none on, and her hair was hanging over her shoulders.

Your memorialist, also, begs leave further to represent that after he had been eight or ten days at New Haven, he was carried by Mr. Jonathan Mix, to whose care he was committed, to the house of Mr. Beers, innkeeper, in said town, where were Captain Sears, Captain Lothrop, Mr. Brown, and some others, whose names he did not know, or does not recollect. That several questions were asked him, to some of which he gave the most explicit answers, but perceiving some insidious design against him by some of the questions, he refused to answer any more. That Captain Sears then observed to him, if he understood him right, that they did not intend to release him, nor to make such a compromise with him as had been made with Judge Fowler and Mr. Underhill, but to keep him a prisoner till the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and America were settled. That whatever your memorialist might think, what they had done they would take upon themselves and support. That your memorialist then asked an explicit declaration of the charges against him, and was told that the charges against him were: —

That he, your memorialist, had entered into a combination with six or seven others to seize Captain Sears as he was passing through the county of West Chester, and convey him on board a man-of-war.

That your memorialist had signed a protest at the White Plains, in the county of West Chester, against the proceedings of the Continental Congress.

That your memorialist had neglected to open his church on the day of the Continental Fast.

And that he had written pamphlets and newspapers against the liberties of America.

To the first and last of these charges your memorialist

pleads not guilty, and will be ready to vindicate his innocence, as soon as he shall be restored to his liberty in that province to which only he conceives himself to be amenable. He considers it a high infringement of the liberty for which the virtuous sons of America are now nobly struggling, to be carried by force out of one colony into another, for the sake either of trial or imprisonment. Must he be judged by the laws of Connecticut, to which as an inhabitant of New York he owed no obedience? or by the laws of that colony in which he has been near twenty years a resident? or, if the regulations of Congress be attended to, must he be dragged from the committee of his own county, and from the Congress of his own province, cut off from the intercourse of his friends, deprived of the benefit of those evidences which may be necessary for the vindication of his innocence, and judged by strangers to him, to his character, and to the circumstances of his general conduct in life?

One great grievance justly complained of by the people of America, and which they are now struggling against, is the Act of Parliament directing persons to be carried from America to England for a trial. And your memorialist is confident that the supreme legislative authority in this colony will not permit him to be treated in a manner so destructive to that liberty for which they are now contending. If your memorialist is to be dealt with according to law, he conceives that the laws of Connecticut, as well as of New York, forbid the imprisonment of his person any otherwise than according to law. If he is to be judged according to the regulations of the Congress, *they* have ordained the Provincial Congress of New York, or the committee of the county of West Chester, to be his judges. Neither the laws of either colony nor the regulations of the Congress give any countenance to the mode of treatment which he has met with. But considered in either light, he conceives it must appear *unjust*, *cruel*, *arbitrary*, and *tyrannical*.

With regard to the second charge, viz.: That your memorialist signed a protest against the proceedings of the Con-

gress, he begs leave to state the fact as it really is. The General Assembly of the province of New York, in their sessions last winter, determined to send a petition to the king, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the House of Commons, upon the subject of American grievances; and the members of the house, at least many of them, as your memorialist was informed, recommended it to their constituents to be quiet till the issue of those applications should be known. Sometime in the beginning of April, as your memorialist thinks, the people were invited to meet at the White Plains to choose delegates for a Provincial Congress. Many people there assembled were averse from the measure. They, however, gave no other opposition to the choice of delegates than signing a protest. This protest your memorialist signed in company with two members of the assembly, and above three hundred other people. Your memorialist had not a thought of acting against the liberties of America. He did not conceive it to be a crime to support the measures of the representatives of the people, measures which he then hoped, and expected, would have had a good effect by inducing a change of conduct in regard to America. More than eight months have now passed since your memorialist signed the protest. If his crime was of so atrocious a kind, why was he suffered to remain so long unpunished? or why should he be now singled out from more than three hundred, to endure the unexampled punishment of captivity and unlimited confinement?

The other crime alleged against your memorialist is, that he neglected to open his church on the day of the Continental Fast. To this he begs leave to answer: That he had no notice of the day appointed but from common report. That he received no order relative to said day either from any Congress or committee. That he cannot think himself guilty of neglecting or disobeying an order of Congress, which order was never signified to him in any way. That a complaint was exhibited against your memorialist to the

Provincial Congress of New York, by Captain Sears, soon after the neglect with which he is charged, and that after the matter was fully debated, the complaint was dismissed. That he conceives it to be *cruel*, *abitrary*, and in the highest degree *unjust*, after his supposed offense has been examined before the proper tribunal, to be dragged like a felon seventy miles from home, and again impeached of the same crime. At this rate of proceeding, should he be acquitted at New Haven, he may be forced seventy miles farther, and so on without end.

Further your memorialist begs leave to represent: That he has a wife and six children, to whom he owes, both from duty and affection, protection, support, and instruction. That his family in a great measure depend, under the providence of God, upon his daily care for their daily bread. That there are several families at West Chester who depend on his advice as a physician, to which profession he was bred. That as a clergyman he has the care of the towns of East and West Chester. That there is not now a clergyman of any denomination nearer than nine miles from the place of his residence, and but one within that distance without crossing the Sound; so that in his absence there is none to officiate to the people in any religious service, to visit the sick, or bury the dead.

Your memorialist also begs leave to observe: That in order to discharge some debts which the necessity of his affairs formerly obliged him to contract, he, about a year ago, opened a grammar school, and succeeded so far as to make it worth one hundred pounds, York money, for the year past. That he was in a fair way of satisfying his creditors and freeing himself from a heavy incumbrance. That he had five young gentlemen from the Island of Jamaica, one from Montreal, four children of gentlemen now in England, committed to his care, among others from New York and the country. That he apprehends his school to be broken up, and his scholars dispersed, probably some of them placed at other schools, and that it may be difficult, if not impracticable,

again to recover them. That if there should be no other impediment, yet if the people of West Chester are to be liable to such treatment as your memorialist hath lately endured, no person will be willing to trust his children there. That in this case, your memorialist must lie entirely at the mercy of his creditors to secure him from a jail, or must part with everything he has to satisfy their just demands.

Your memorialist, thinking it his duty to use all lawful and honorable means to free himself from his present confinement, mentioned his case to the judges of the superior court, lately sitting in this town. Those honorable gentlemen thought it a case not proper for them to interfere in; he has, therefore, no remedy, but in the interposition of the Honorable House of Assembly.

To them he looks for relief from the heavy hand of oppression and tyranny. He hopes and expects that they will dismiss him from his confinement, and grant him their protection, while he passes peaceably through the colony. He is indeed accused of breaking the rules of the Continental Congress. He thinks he can give a good account of his conduct, such as would satisfy reasonable and candid men. He is certain that nothing can be laid to his charge so repugnant to the regulations of the Congress, as the conduct of those people who in an arbitrary and hostile manner forced him from his house, and have kept him now four weeks a prisoner without any means or prospect of relief. He has a higher opinion of the candor, justice, and equity of the Honorable House of Assembly, and shall they incline to inquire more minutely into the affair, he would be glad to appear at the bar of their house, and answer for himself; or to be permitted to have counsel to answer for him; or, in such way as they in their wisdom shall think best, to grant him relief. And your memorialist, as in duty bound, shall ever pray.

SAMUEL SEABURY.

DATED IN NEW HAVEN THE 20TH DAY OF DECEMBER, 1775.

A letter from the President of the Provincial Con-

gress of New York to the Governor of Connecticut, demanding his "immediate discharge," and dated the 12th of December, was read before the Lower House of the Assembly, and six of its members, with Dr. Wm. Samuel Johnson, of the Upper House, were appointed to take it into consideration and report how it should be answered. The memorial of Mr. Seabury was subsequently referred to the same committee, and, after due deliberation, they recommended as expedient and proper that all parties concerned in the matter of it "be heard by themselves or counsel before both Houses of Assembly," and the question being put in the Lower House on accepting the report, it was decided in the negative.

The memorialist, however, was speedily released from his confinement, and he returned to his family after Christmas, arriving in Westchester on the 2d of January. His absence had occasioned much anxiety and perplexity, and his private affairs were in a distracted condition. He seems to have had little hope that he could retain his place without further molestation; but he determined to perform his ministerial duties at any sacrifice until he was driven away. His papers were in a confused state, so that he could make no formal report to the Society, but he wrote to the secretary eleven days after his return to Westchester, and briefly mentioned, as it was his duty to do, the hardships which had befallen him and the personal inconveniencies to which he had been subjected.

"Since my last letter," said he, "I have been seized by a company of disaffected people in arms from Connecticut, in number about one hundred, and

carried to New Haven. This happened on the 22d of November, and I was kept under a military guard till the 23d of December. The particulars of this affair I will send you when I find a safe opportunity. On the 2d of this month I returned to my family. How long I shall be able to continue here is very uncertain; but I am determined to stay as long as I am permitted to discharge the duties of my mission, whatever personal inconvenience it may subject me to. My private affairs have suffered much on this occasion. I was compelled to bear my expenses, and that has not been less than £10 sterling. My papers were all examined, and are thrown into such confusion that I can find none of my memoranda relating to my mission or correspondence with the Society."

The critical state of the times made him exceedingly cautious, and he did not write again to the Society until the close of the year. The quiet of a few weeks after his return to his mission was succeeded by fresh insults, and a perpetual watch was kept on his movements to find new causes for treating him with severity. His ecclesiastical character, though venerated by many on the side of the colonies, did not save him from persecution, and he was filled with gloomy forebodings for himself and his brethren. "God's providence," said he, "will, I hope, protect his Church and clergy in this country, the disorder and confusion of which are beyond description. But it is his property to bring order out of confusion, good out of evil; and may his will be done."

The Declaration of Independence on the 4th of July, 1776, left no longer any room for the Provincial Assembly of New York to hesitate about with

drawing from the support of the crown, and falling in with the measures of the General Congress. The popular voice was setting in the strong current of united resistance to the invasion of the British troops, and steps were taken to maintain, at any cost, the war which had been for some time in progress. An edict was proclaimed by the Provincial Assembly forbidding persons to contribute in any way to the support or comfort of the king and his forces under penalty of death. This added to the terror of the times, and compelled Seabury to discontinue his public services, — at least it was construed as prohibiting him from the use of the full Liturgy of the Church of England. His conscience would not allow him to mutilate it; and he therefore absented himself from the sanctuary, and directed the sexton to notify the people who might come to worship of his determination not to officiate until he was at liberty to pray for the king. His own account of his trials and sufferings at this period, contained in the letter already referred to, dated December 29, 1776, is so complete, that at the risk of repeating some things, it is introduced to close this chapter.

Since my last letter I have undergone more uneasiness than I can describe; more, I believe, than I could well support again.

When the present unnatural rebellion was first beginning, I foresaw evidently what was coming on the country, and I exerted myself to stem the torrent of popular clamor, to recall people to the use of their reason, and to retain them in their loyalty and allegiance. Several pamphlets appeared in favor of government, among others, some written under the character of a Farmer, which gave great offense to the Sons of Liberty, as the rebels then styled themselves.

These were attributed to me, and were the principal reason of my being carried into Connecticut the last year. If I would have disavowed these publications I should have been set at liberty in a few days; but as I refused to declare whether I were, or were not, the author, they kept me till they sent to New York and New London, and wherever they could hear of a journeyman printer who had wrought for Mr. Rivington at the time when those pamphlets were published, and had them examined; but, finding no sufficient proof, upon my putting in a memorial to the General Assembly at Connecticut, the gang who took me prisoner thought proper to withdraw their guard and let me return. I continued tolerably quiet at home for a few weeks, till after the king's troops evacuated Boston, when, the rebel army passing from thence to New York, bodies of them, consisting of twenty or thirty men, would, every day or two, sometimes two or three times a day, come through West Chester, though five miles out of their way, and never failed to stop at my house, I believe only for the malicious pleasure of insulting me by reviling the king, the Parliament, Lord North, the Church, the bishops, the clergy, and the Society, and, above all, that vilest of all miscreants, A. W. Farmer. One would give one hundred dollars to know who he was, that he might plunge his bayonet into his heart; another would crawl fifty miles to see him roasted; but, happily for the farmer, it was not in the power of any person in America to expose him. This continued about a month. Matters then became pretty quiet, till they got intelligence that General Howe was coming to New York. Independency was then declared by the grand Congress at Philadelphia; and the petty Congress at New York published an edict, making it death to aid, abet, support, assist, or comfort the king, or any of his forces, servants, or friends. Till this time I had kept the church open. About fifty armed men were now sent into my neighborhood.

I was now in a critical situation. If I prayed for the king the least I could expect was to be sent into New Eng-

land; probably something worse, as no clergyman on the continent was so obnoxious to them. If I went to church and omitted praying for the king, it would not only be a breach of my duty, but in some degree countenancing their rebellion, and supporting that independency which they had declared. As the least culpable course, I determined not to go to church, and ordered the sexton, on Sunday morning, to tell any person who should inquire, that till I could pray for the king, and do my duty according to the rubric and canons, there would be neither prayers nor sermon. About half a dozen of my parishioners and a dozen rebel soldiers came to the church. The rest of the people, in a general way, declared that they would not go to church till their minister was at liberty to pray for the king.

Soon after this, the British fleet and army arrived at Staten Island. The rebels then became very alert in apprehending the friends of government. Many had retired to West Chester from New York. These were first sought after; some escaped; many were seized. My situation became daily more critical, as they began to take up the inhabitants of the country. At length two ships of war came into the Sound and took their station within sight of my house. Immediately the whole coast was guarded that no one might go to them. Within a few days the troops landed on Long Island, and the rebels were defeated. A body of them then took post at the heights near Kingsbridge, in my parish, and began to throw up works. Another body fixed themselves within two miles of my house.

For some time before I had kept a good deal out of sight, lodging abroad, and never being at home for more than an hour or two at a time, and having a number of people whom I could depend upon engaged, who punctually informed me of every circumstance that was necessary for me to know.

CHAPTER IV.

ESCAPE TO LONG ISLAND, AND DESECRATION OF HIS CHURCH; LETTER TO THE SOCIETY, AND DEATH OF MISSIONARIES; RESIDENCE IN NEW YORK CITY, AND MISSIONARY AT STATEN ISLAND; APPOINTED CHAPLAIN, AND BURNING OF TRINITY CHURCH; SUFFERINGS AND LOSSES OF THE CLERGY.

A. D. 1776–1780.

AFTER the British troops had effected a landing on Long Island and defeated the American forces, Seabury contrived to escape from Westchester, and sought protection within the lines of the king's army. He could not have prevented the lawlessness and ravages had he remained; but it was a sad day for his church and family when he withdrew. A company of cavalry, having been quartered at his residence, consumed all the produce of his glebe, and the colonial troops, after burning the pews in his church and injuring it in other ways, converted it into a hospital. The school, which had been moderately prosperous under his charge, was completely broken up, and he and his family were deprived of all visible means of support. Great as his privations and distresses were, he did not abate an atom of his loyalty to the home government; but continued to uphold its designs and to hope for deliverance and the return of peace and better days.

When the royal army passed over from Long Isl-

and into Westchester County, his familiarity with the roads and rivers of the region enabled him to furnish maps and plans which were of essential service to the commanding general. He knew the sentiments of the bulk of his people, and believed that he was right in doing everything to encourage their loyalty and to deter them from embarking in a revolution that was surrounded by so many terrors.

"I must observe," wrote he at this time, "that but few of my congregation are engaged in the rebellion. The New England rebels used frequently to observe, as an argument against me, that the nearer they came to West Chester the fewer friends they found to American liberty, — that is, to rebellion; and, in justice to the rebels of East and West Chester, I must say, that none of them ever offered me any insult or attempted to do me any injury that I know of. It must give the Society great satisfaction to know that all their missionaries have conducted themselves with great propriety, and, on many occasions, with a firmness and steadiness that have done them honor. This may, indeed, be said of all the clergy on this side the Delaware, and, I am persuaded, of many on the other. But the conduct of the Philadelphia clergy has been the very reverse. They not only rushed headlong into the rebellion themselves, but perverted the judgment and soured the tempers and inflamed the passions of the people by sermons and orations, both from the pulpit and the press. Their behavior hath been of great disadvantage to the loyal clergy."

It was impossible for Seabury to resume his clerical duties or be safe in Westchester unless under military

protection; and, accordingly, when the king's troops departed from the neighborhood, he gathered what little he could carry and retired with his family to New York. His retirement was not a day too soon, for scarcely had he reached the city when many persons in his parish and its vicinity were seized and carried away, and the whole region for thirty miles around was pillaged and laid waste by the marches and depredations, sometimes of one army and sometimes of the other.

His next letter to the secretary of the Society was dated at New York, March 29, 1777, and opened with an apology for not giving in the previous one information of the death of the neighboring missionary at Rye, the Rev. Mr. Avery. He detailed the sad circumstances as he had received them, and placed the cause of his death, whether justly or not is uncertain, among the barbarities of civil war.

When the king's army was about to leave the county of West Chester, the latter end of October last, our brigade, under the command of General Agnew, pushed forward about two miles beyond Rye, in hopes of bringing a large detachment of the rebel army, which lay there, to an engagement; but not being able to come up with them, they returned on a Sunday afternoon to join the royal army near the White Plains. That evening the rebels returned to Rye, and as Mr. Avery and many of the loyalists had shown particular marks of joy when the king's troops came there, they became very obnoxious to the rebels, who showed their resentment by plundering their houses, driving off their cattle, taking away their grain, and imprisoning some of them. Among the rest, Mr. Avery was a sufferer, and lost his cattle, horses, etc. On Tuesday morning he desired a maid-servant to give the children their breakfast, and went out.

Some time after, he was found, some say, under a fence or in an out-house, with his throat cut, either dead or just expiring. Many people are very confident that he was murdered by the rebels; others suppose that his late repeated losses and disappointments, the insults and threats of the rebels, and the absence of his best friends, drove him into a state of desperation, too severe for his strength of mind. He had, last spring, a stroke of the palsy, which deprived him of the use of one hand, and affected his reason a good deal. He also, about the same time, lost his wife, — a prudent and cheerful woman, which affected him so much, that when I attended at her funeral I did not think it right to leave him suddenly, but tarried with him several days till he was more composed. I visited him again a fortnight after and found him much better, and would have repeated my visits; but the times became too critical to admit of it. He has left five or six helpless orphans, I fear, in great distress; indeed, I know not what is to become of them. I have only heard that the rebels had humanity enough to permit them to be carried to Mr. Avery's friends at Norwalk, in Connecticut.

In the same letter he reported the death of another missionary, the Rev. Luke Babcock, who for six years had been stationed at the manor of Philipsburg (now Yonkers), and, like himself, was a sincere and active loyalist. From his allegiance to the king sprung the calamities which hurried him to the grave. "The latter end of October," wrote Seabury, "he was seized by the rebels at his house and carried off to the Provincial Congress at Fishkill. His papers and sermons were also seized and examined, but as nothing appeared on which they could ground any pretense for detaining him, he was asked whether he supposed himself bound by his oath of allegiance to the king: upon his answering in the affirmative, he

was deemed an enemy to the liberties of America, and ordered to be kept in custody. About the middle of February he was taken sick, and as his confinement had produced no change in his sentiments, he was dismissed with a written order to remove within ten days within the lines of the king's army, being adjudged a person too dangerous to be permitted to continue where his influence might be exerted in favor of legal government. He got home with difficulty in a raging fever, and delirious. In this state he continued about a week (the greatest part of the time delirious), and then died, extremely regretted. Indeed, I knew not a more excellent man, and I fear his loss, particularly in that mission, will scarcely be made up."

As for himself and his people, it has already been seen that the bitter fruits of civil war were reaped by them in abundance. His description of the treatment of women and children is too painful to be repeated. This treatment must be ascribed to that spirit of lawlessness which unhappily in times of great excitement and disorder is somewhat beyond the control of magistrates and military commanders. New York was their place of refuge, where they found protection, if not support. "Many families of my parishioners," said he, "are now in this town, who used to live decently, suffering for common necessaries. I daily meet them, and it is melancholy to observe the dejec tion strongly marked on their faces, which seem to implore that assistance which I am unable to give. To pity and pray for them is all I can do. I shall say nothing more of my own situation at present, than that I have hitherto supported myself and

family with decency, and will not distrust the goodness of God which has hitherto preserved me, nor render myself unworthy of it by repining and discontent."

On the 12th of November, 1777, he wrote again to the secretary and mentioned that about a month before, he had visited Westchester, and thought of spending the winter there, but was compelled to relinquish his purpose and return to New York. He requested that he might be allowed to remove to Staten Island, if he found it safer than Westchester, and the Society, "sensible of his great worth," readily consented to his request and promised a continuance of his salary of £50 per annum until the existing disturbances should cease. In December of the same year he officiated on Staten Island, administered the sacrament of baptism, and preached to a devout congregation of nearly three hundred people; but his removal thither was felt to be unsafe, and he continued to reside in New York, and applied himself, for the support of his family, to the practice of medicine, as he had done to a limited extent in Westchester.

His eye, however, was still on his work as a minister of the gospel, and he watched every opportunity to resume his duties and serve the Church. It was some compensation for being deprived of access to his parish that Dr. Seabury,[1] on the 14th of February, 1778, was appointed, by Sir Henry Clinton, chaplain to the king's American regiment, raised and commanded by Col. Edmund Fanning, and while act-

[1] The degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred upon him by the University of Oxford, December 15, 1777.

ing in that capacity, he preached a sermon in camp from the text, "Fear God, honor the king," which was printed by request of Gov. William Tryon. His belief in the success of the British arms was strong, but he admitted the formidableness of the opposition, as appears from the following letter to the secretary, dated

NEW YORK, *November* 22, 1778.

REVEREND SIR, — I am obliged still to continue at New York, it being impracticable for me to return to West Chester or reside with safety on Staten Island; and though I am strong in hope that the commotions in this country will soon subside, yet I confess the present appearances seem to indicate a fixed resolution in the Congress to support their independency, as long as they possibly can. I am, however, confident it could not be supported against the vigorous efforts of Great Britain for one campaign, as the resources of this country must be nearly exhausted.

The unhappy war went on four years longer, and although the chances for American independence often trembled in the balance, there were no signs of a disposition to lay down arms and submit to the demands of the British ministry. Shut up in New York, Dr. Seabury knew but little of what was transpiring outside, and having no intelligence to communicate concerning any missionary labors, he wrote no letters to the Society, and he could send none to his brethren over the lines. It was only by reports, not always to be relied upon, that any information could be obtained of the condition of the clergy and Church of England in the other colonies. Dr. Inglis sent home a detailed account of the calamities which befell both as far as he had been able to learn them, and described the great conflagration that destroyed

one fourth part of the city of New York, about a thousand houses, including Trinity Church, its rectory and charity school, large and expensive buildings, together with two hundred dwellings that stood on church ground. The origin of the conflagration was attributed to evil-minded patriots who, upon the occupancy of the city by the king's forces, secreted themselves in the houses; and on Saturday, the 21st of September, 1776, a little after midnight, when the weather was dry and the wind blowing fresh, they kindled fires in several places at the same time, and but for the providence of God, and the vigorous efforts of the officers and men belonging to the army and navy, the whole city would have been destroyed.

Trinity Church was not rebuilt until 1788; but the corporation had two chapels, St. Paul's and St. George's, which had escaped destruction, and these were opened again for regular services, which had been suspended for nearly three months, while General Washington was holding the city. The death of Dr. Auchmuty, the rector, which was thought to have been hastened by the persecutions and hardships he underwent from the patriots, occurred about this time,[1] and Dr. Inglis, the senior assistant, was elected his successor March 20, 1777. He was duly admitted and instituted into his office according to the forms and custom of those days, and as there was no edifice for him to enter, he was conducted to Trinity Church and the ceremony made valid "by placing his hand on the wall of the said church, the same being then a ruin."[2]

[1] March 4, 1777.

[2] Berrien's *History of Trinity Church*, p. 152.

The friendship between Dr. Inglis and Dr. Seabury was cemented by a participation in common trials, and their political transgressions were so much alike that they were equally hated and persecuted. Both had used their pens vigorously in defense of the measures and authority of the British government, and in opposition to publications which they regarded as virulent, artful, and pernicious. Dr. Inglis wrote an answer to the famous pamphlet of Thomas Paine, entitled "Common Sense," which advocated an independent republic, and was perhaps more widely circulated than any political publication in America up to that time. The first edition of the answer was seized and committed to the flames, but a copy was sent to Philadelphia and another edition issued, which put the author in so great peril that he attributed his deliverance and safety to the hand of an overruling Providence.

It has been seen how Dr. Seabury wrote against the schemes of the Continental Congress and brought on himself the hostility and persecution of the promoters of American independence. His loyalty was founded on the deepest convictions of duty, and he adhered to it at the expense of his peace and comfort. What he did to eke out his living by the practice of medicine in New York while the city was in possession of the king's troops was a matter of necessity, and enabled him to support his family with that degree of decency of which he had spoken in one of his letters to the venerable Society. But nowhere in America during those troublous times was there any luxury to be enjoyed by the clergy and members of the Church of England. The clergy especially were

thrown into great embarrassment and distress, and the sympathy of their brethren at home was so much excited that a subscription was set on foot and money contributed and sent over to be distributed among a certain number for the relief of their immediate necessities.

"At the breaking out of the war," says Hawkins, "the Society was contributing towards the maintenance of nearly eighty missionaries, at an average little exceeding £40 a year for each. But in proportion as the violence of party feeling increased, the clergy, against whom it was more especially directed, and who, with hardly an exception, remained unshaken in their allegiance to the king, were either driven from their parishes by actual force, or induced for the safety of their families to retire."[1]

New York was the stronghold to which those who had no other refuge fled for security, and in that expensive city many of them tarried, hoping that the gloomy clouds of war would soon disappear and allow them to return to their families and their flocks, and resume the duties of their sacred calling. Their hearts sickened at the prospect as months and years passed on without bringing the deliverance hoped for, or any mitigation of their sufferings and sorrows. The Rev. Thomas Barton, a missionary of the Society in Delaware, was forced to surrender his loyalty or find protection within the British lines; and in a letter to the secretary dated New York, January 8, 1779, he said: "The clergy of America, the missionaries in particular, have suffered beyond example, and indeed beyond the records of any history in this day

[1] *Missions of the Church of England*, p. 343.

of trial. Most of them have lost their all, many of them are now in a state of melancholy pilgrimage and poverty; and some of them have lately (from grief and despondency, it is said) paid the last debt of nature. . . . . We may exclaim, *Quis furor, O cives!* What have we done to deserve this treatment from our former friends and fellow-citizens? We have not intermeddled with any matters inconsistent with our callings and functions. We have studied to be quiet and to give no offense to the present rulers. We have obeyed the laws and government now in being, as far as our consciences and prior obligations would permit. We know no crime that can be alleged against us, except an honest avowal of our principles can be deemed such, and for these have we suffered a persecution as cruel as the bed of Procrustes." [1]

It was in midsummer, 1779, that a fleet of vessels of war under Sir George Collier, and transports with troops under General Tryon, left New York, and, arriving off New Haven, soon took possession of the town, and scenes of bloodshed, plunder, and destruction followed. The same expedition, two days later, July 7th, sailed away from New Haven, and the next morning the troops disembarked at Fairfield, plundered the houses of the inhabitants and then burnt them, together with the two churches and all the principal buildings of the place. The Rev. John Sayre, who had been the missionary of the Society at Fairfield for five years, endeavored to use his influence with General Tryon and prevent an indiscriminate conflagration; but his efforts were unsuccessful, and

[1] *Historical Collections*, Delaware, pp. 131, 132.

with his church and dwelling in ashes, his library, furniture, and other valuables entirely destroyed, and no food and no means of support for his wife and eight children, he was obliged to avail himself of the military protection offered, and retire with them to New York, where he obtained subsistence in part by the practice of medicine.

The end of this cruel expedition had not yet been accomplished; for, after crossing the Sound to Huntington Bay, and remaining over Sunday, it returned to Norwalk on the 11th of July, and again applied the torch of the invader, burning a larger number of houses, barns, and shops than at Fairfield, together with the meeting-house and the Episcopal church. The Rev. Jeremiah Leaming, the worthy missionary at this place, was the victim of sufferings from both friends and foes. Everything he possessed, except the clothes on his back, was lost. "My loss on that fatal day," said he in a letter to the Society, dated New York, the 29th of the same month, "was not less than £1,200 or £1,300 sterling. Although in great danger, my life has been preserved, and I hope I shall never forget the kind providence of God in that trying hour. In this situation I was brought by His Majesty's troops to this city, at which I shall, with the greatest pleasure, obey the Society's commands."

These clergymen, thus driven to a place of common refuge, must have often conferred together and interchanged thoughts about the probable issue of the struggle for independence. Every day it was prolonged made them more uneasy; but Seabury, with the practice of medicine and his duties as chap-

lain, had better opportunities than his brethren of rising above the depths of despondency. He had little or nothing to communicate to the Society, of general interest, and his correspondence, like that of other missionaries at this time, was confined to a simple report of himself and of the unchanged condition of public affairs.

"Think not, good sir," said he in one of his letters to the secretary, "that I repent of my loyalty to my king, or of my attachment to the Church of England or to the British government. Under the same circumstances I would again act as I have done, even were I sure the consequences would be worse." Notwithstanding the general treatment of the clergy had been unkind and often severe without provocation, they were distressed at the public calamities, and could not but pity the sorrowful condition of their countrymen who took the other side in the contest, and were patiently waiting for peace and independence. It was a terrible time for all. "The judgments of God," said Isaac Brown, one of the refugee clergymen, "fall very heavy on the inhabitants of this land in general, and seem to be yet increasing daily. Even the brute creation groans and travails in pain; for all manner of cruelties are practiced upon the beasts of the field, as well as their owners, in this day of common calamity, and no prospect of redress that I can see, either from heaven or men; for the inhabitants have not yet learned righteousness, and consequently remain very proper instruments to execute the divine vengeance on one another."

Such a fearful state of things is hardly conceivable

by those who have never known from experience the evils of civil war. The generation has passed away that could tell the thrilling tales of the Revolution, and stir up with painful memories the feelings of children gathered around the old domestic firesides.

CHAPTER V.

CONTINUED RESISTANCE OF THE COLONIES; TREACHERY OF ARNOLD, AND HIS PLOT TO DESTROY THE AMERICAN CAUSE; EXPEDITION AGAINST NEW LONDON, AND MASSACRE OF THE GARRISON IN FORT GRISWOLD; SIEGE OF YORKTOWN, AND SURRENDER OF LORD CORNWALLIS; TREATY OF PEACE, AND INDEPENDENCE OF THE COLONIES; LOYALISTS AND THEIR TREATMENT; THE CLERGY AND THE CHURCH.

A. D. 1780–1783.

It is impossible to forecast the varying events and fortunes of war. The strength of armies is often strangely broken, and victory is not always given to the side which has the best troops and the heaviest artillery. "The rebellion," wrote Dr. Inglis to the Society, May 20, 1780, "declines daily, and is near its last gasp;" but there was more inherent life in it than he was willing to acknowledge, or had any means of ascertaining. Earlier than this, Jacob Duché, a clergyman of the Church of England, in Philadelphia, who made the first prayer in the Continental Congress and read the Psalter for the seventh day, so remarkably appropriate, addressed a letter to General Washington, in which he pictured in gloomy colors the utter hopelessness of resistance, and besought him to cease his desperate and destructive efforts. The letter was sent to Congress, and the author was obliged to flee the country, and his estate was confiscated.

As time went on, the colonies became more firm and determined, and submission to the king and his ministry was further than ever from the mind of the congressional government. Too much had been done and too many sacrifices made to think of taking any backward steps, and the advantages gained now and then by the American troops were full of encouragement, and enlivened their hopes.

In the autumn of 1780, the military posts along the Hudson River above New York, as far as West Point, presented a scene of unparalleled and surprising movements. The treachery of Benedict Arnold and his artfully contrived plan to make it easy for Sir Henry Clinton to capture the fortress and army under his command were startling facts, developed just in time to save the American cause and inspire its promoters with new vigilance and energy. Had West Point and the forces within and around it fallen into the hands of the British general through the treason of Arnold, the hopes of the colonies would have been blighted, and the vision of their independence, for years at least, must have disappeared. The unfortunate Major André — not more beloved by his friends than lamented by his enemies — would have indeed escaped the ignominious death of the gallows, and all the region where Seabury had ministered and was well known would have had a somewhat different history and been consecrated to other memories.

But Providence was in the way of these results. The conspiracy to surrender West Point was not destined to succeed or to have any place in our American annals, except one as dishonorable to the head and heart of the projector as to the commander who

should be willing to accept the laurels of victory won by such atrocious treachery. Sir Henry Clinton ought not to be held responsible for the violation of the flag of truce, or for the course imposed upon Major André, without alternative, when Arnold sent him back to New York by a circuitous route with a pass under a fictitious name. He refused, however, to save his adjutant-general at the price of surrendering the traitor, and perhaps he was bound by honor and every military principle to protect an officer who had deserted from the enemy and openly espoused the cause of the king. All the bravery which Arnold had before shown and all the service he had rendered to the American cause were at once forgotten, and contempt and disgust were the only emotions excited by his treason. With a folly equal to his wickedness, he warned General Washington not to execute the sentence of death upon the victim of the complot. "If this warning," said he in his insolent letter, "should be disregarded and he suffer, I call heaven and earth to witness that your excellency will be answerable for the torrent of blood that may be spilt in consequence."

The threat thus uttered was, in a measure, executed, when, a year later, Arnold was put in command of an expedition fitted out at New York, — the headquarters of Sir Henry Clinton and the British army, — and sent to New London, Conn., fourteen miles below Norwich, the place of the traitor's birth and the scene of his boyhood. The town, by his order, was burnt, Whigs and Tories suffering alike from the conflagration, and the little garrison in Fort Griswold, on the opposite side of the Thames, which

stood heroically to its guns and kept the enemy for a time at bay, was finally forced to surrender, and the indiscriminate massacre which followed forms one of the bloodiest and most horrible chapters in the whole history of the war.

Almost simultaneously with the movements of this expedition, were commenced the investment and siege of Yorktown by the combined French and American armies under the command of General Washington. For twenty days the siege was continued, and the investment was so complete and the batteries on the colonial side so strong that nothing was left Lord Cornwallis, the British commander, but to capitulate, and then to surrender his whole force, consisting of nearly eight thousand men, with all the munitions of war. This happened on the 19th of October, and virtually decided the struggle for independence in favor of the colonies. The capture of so large a part of the British army in America occasioned great rejoicings throughout the land, and at home it made the people more clamorous for the end of a war which was destroying commerce and bringing no glory to the realm of England. "It is all over," said Lord North, with a fainting heart, when he heard of the catastrophe.

The ministry hesitated about attempting to raise troops to replace the army surrendered by Lord Cornwallis, and early in 1782, a motion was made in Parliament that an address be presented to His Majesty praying that the war with the colonies should terminate and measures be taken to restore tranquillity and effect a reconciliation. An earnest and animated debate was entered into on both sides, but

the motion was finally lost by a majority of only one in favor of the ministry and for the prosecution of the war. Such a vote was indicative of the public sentiment of the English nation. It was the signal for an immediate dissolution of the cabinet, and the resignation of Lord North was followed by a total change of ministry and measures. Gleams of peace began to be seen in the near future, and the Congress of the colonies appointed commissioners to negotiate a treaty whenever the temper of the crown should be ready for such an event.

Early in May of this year, Sir Guy Carleton arrived at New York to relieve General Clinton as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, and the pacific tone of his first letter to Washington showed, if nothing more, a change in the views of Parliament respecting the principles on which the war for seven years had been conducted and the policy of its continuance. The clergy of the Church of England in the city do not appear to have been at once apprised of this change. Dr. Inglis wrote to the secretary of the Society under date of May 6, 1782: "Our new commander-in-chief, Sir Guy Carleton, is arrived and indicates a disposition to act with vigor; and this with a little judgment and common sense will soon change the face of affairs here."

He had said before, in the same letter: "Our prospects in Europe and America are rather gloomy at present; but they are not such as should make us despond, nor do I by any means think our affairs are irretrievable. It may be some satisfaction to you to hear that the Church of England, notwithstanding the persecutions it suffers, gains ground in

some places, particularly in Connecticut. This I can assure you of as an indubitable fact. The steady, uniform conduct of the Society's missionaries and of a few clergymen who are not in their service, in that province, their adherence to the dictates of conscience by persevering in loyalty and preaching the gospel unadulterated with politics, raised the esteem and respect even of their enemies, whilst the pulpits of dissenters resounded with scarcely anything else than the furious politics of the times, which occasioned disgust in the more serious and thinking. The consequence is that many serious dissenters have actually joined the Church of England. The increase in some places has been surprisingly great."

So far as the Church in New York was concerned, there was little to report. The refugee clergy continued to keep up good hopes and to encourage their people with the prospect of better days. It was about this time that a room was secured in the City Hall, to accommodate those who could not obtain pews in the churches, and the refugee clergy officiated in turn to large and respectable audiences. It must have been in view of the religious and not of the military and political condition of the colonies that Seabury wrote to the Society on the 24th of June, 1782: "The situation of affairs in this country has, for the last year, continued so much the same, that I have nothing new of which to inform the Society. Both West Chester and Staten Island remain in the same ruined state, as much exposed to the incursions of the rebels as ever, though these incursions have not lately been so frequent as formerly.

"By what we can learn of the Society's mission-

aries they seem to be in a more quiet state at present, and suffer no personal abuse unless perhaps from some disorderly individuals."

This, however, was not for them the quiet that precedes the storm, but rather the forerunner of unexpected and surprising events. In the beginning of August, General Washington received a communication from Sir Guy Carleton, informing him that negotiations for a general peace had been entered upon at Paris, and though from that time preparations for war ceased, and no further acts of hostility were committed by either party, yet the American army was not disbanded nor the posture of defense relinquished. So long as the result of the negotiations was in suspense, it was necessary to maintain the same caution and vigilance as before.

It was this intelligence which alarmed the loyalists in New York, especially the clergy of the Church of England. "It is impossible," wrote the Rev. John Sayre, to the Society, August 14, 1782, "for words to describe the universal consternation which was produced here by the communication of a letter from His Majesty's Commissioner to General Washington, in consequence of directions from England informing him of the king's command to his minister plenipotentiary at Paris, to propose the independency of the thirteen provinces in the first instance, instead of making it the subject of a general treaty. As there can be little doubt of the acceptance of this proposal, it is obvious that it must greatly affect the affairs of the Church as well as those of the state." Others expressed themselves in similar terms, and not only looked to the venerable Society for advice and in-

struction, but some of them, utterly hopeless of finding any provision for their families in this country, began to think of removing to England.

The rights and the tranquillity of France, Spain, and Holland were involved in the settlement of the many questions between the two great belligerents, and before the fundamental articles of a definitive treaty were agreed upon and a time for signing fixed, the summer and autumn had passed. Dr. Franklin, John Adams, John Jay, and Henry Laurens were the commissioners to act for the colonies, and they resisted the attempt of the British envoys to obtain compensation for the loyalists whose property had been confiscated, and many of whom had been driven out of the country. Franklin claimed that Congress had no power in the case, as the property of the loyalists had been confiscated by the States, and the remedy, if any, was to be sought from the States. The utmost which was finally accomplished was simply to get an article inserted in the treaty by which it was made the duty of Congress to recommend to the States an indemnification of the loyalists; but the recommendation was of no force, and it was declared at the time that there was not the least probability that the States would be governed by it or offer any restitution.

After all the preliminaries and articles had been settled, the treaty of peace was signed at Paris by both parties in due form on the 30th of November, 1782. It was approved and ratified by Congress, and hailed with demonstrations of gratitude and joy by the weary colonies. An official proclamation that peace had been secured was made to the American

army on the 19th of April, 1783, precisely eight years from the day of the memorable battle of Lexington, when the first blood of the Revolution was shed. "The treaty," says Bancroft,[1] "was not a compromise, nor a compact imposed by force, but a free and perfect solution and perpetual settlement of all that had been called in question. By doing an act of justice to her former colonies, England rescued her own liberties at home from imminent danger, and opened the way for their slow and certain development. The narrowly selfish colonial policy which had led to the cruel and unnatural war was cast aside and forever by Great Britain, which was henceforward, as the great colonizing power, to sow all the oceans with the seed of republics."

The supreme question for the clergy of the old Church of England and their friends to consider was, what to do in the changed position of civil affairs. No notice had been taken of their religious rights in the final treaty, but they were given over wholly to the tender mercies of those who had been their enemies, and who, at this time, seem to have had no generous sympathy for them in their ruined circumstances. "At the peace," says Sabine, "*a majority* of the Whigs of several States committed a great crime. Instead of repealing the proscription and banishment acts, as justice and good policy required, they manifested a disposition to place the humbled and unhappy loyalists beyond the pale of human sympathy."[2] He cites Massachusetts, Virginia, and New York, as "adopting measures of inexorable severity."

[1] *History of the United States*, vol. x., p. 591.

[2] *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, vol. i., p. 88.

Such was the violence threatened in New York that Sir Guy Carleton, before evacuating the city, wrote to the President of Congress that the loyalists "conceived the safety of their lives depended on his removing them," and the crown, by way of doing what could not be accomplished in the negotiations for peace, offered them inducements to emigrate to Nova Scotia and other British territory, where they might begin settlements and found cities. Upwards of twelve thousand men, women, and children are said to have embarked from New York for Nova Scotia and the Bahamas, before Sir Guy Carleton withdrew his forces. Many of the clergy followed their people and were appointed to new missions by the venerable Society, with increased salaries, besides receiving grants of land.

Dr. Inglis, whose private fortune through his wife was ample, was included in the confiscation act of New York, and, being compelled to abandon his church and rectory, accompanied some loyalists of his congregation to Annapolis in Nova Scotia. The instrument by which he relinquished his rights, sealed and delivered in the presence of credible witnesses, ran thus: "For certain just and lawful causes, me and my mind hereunto specially moving, without compulsion, fear, fraud, or deceit, [I] do purely, simply, and absolutely resign and give up the said rectory of the parish of Trinity Church and my office of rector in the said corporation."[1] And "agreeable to the desire of the Whig Episcopalians," the Rev. Samuel Provoost was subsequently called and inducted into the office which he had in this manner vacated.

[1] Berrien's *History of Trinity Church*, p. 161.

It was the 25th of November, 1783, before Sir Guy Carleton was ready to evacuate New York and deliver it into the charge of General Washington. He had been delayed in this purpose by his care for the loyalists and for the large amount of goods, stores, and military supplies which had accumulated in the city. The number that desired to be sent to Nova Scotia was so great that their removal could not be accomplished in a shorter time with the transports at his command.

Dr. Seabury, whatever may have been his course hitherto, had no disposition to flee from his country; but his parish at Westchester was so broken and ruined that he could not return to it and resume his ministry, and Staten Island was in a condition scarcely better. He remained with his family in New York, doing what he could for their support and not yet knowing what work, in the providence of God, he might be called to undertake.

Among the refugee clergy with whom he had been in frequent association were Jeremiah Leaming and Richard Mansfield, both having been driven from their missions in Connecticut, and both deeply interested in the revival of the Church in that State. It has been seen from the reports to the Society that it was less depressed and deranged here than elsewhere, though all the clergy, with the exception of John Beach, of Newtown, had been compelled to disregard the oaths assumed at their ordination, and to omit, in using the Liturgy, the prayers for the king and royal family. By nothing, however, which they did and suffered, was their opinion of the Church and its organization changed. They were all men who had crossed the

ocean to obtain Holy Orders, and they believed the first step to be taken at this crisis was to secure the apostolic office. They might think that the old opposition of Presbyterians and Congregationalists to the plan of an American Episcopate, so effectual with the authorities at home before the Revolution, would be renewed; but they could not be restrained from attempting to supply the Church in Connecticut with a head, more necessary now than ever, before proceeding to revise the Book of Common Prayer, and adapt it to the new civil circumstances.

No such establishment as existed in England was expected or desired in this country. It was said by Dr. Chauncy, before the revolt of the colonies, that the Episcopalians "had in view nothing short of a complete Church hierarchy after the pattern of that at home, with like officers in all their various degrees of dignity, with a like large revenue for their support, and with the allowance of no other privilege to dissenters but that of a bare toleration." It was the fear of such an imaginary hierarchy that kept the adversaries of the Church perpetually on the watch to prevent its consummation. In vain was it denied to be any part of the plan. "The bishops proposed," said Dr. Chandler, "were to have no temporal power, and consequently to hold no courts for the exercise of it; they were to have no jurisdiction at all over any of the dissenters, but to govern the Episcopal clergy only; they were to have no maintenance from the colonies in any form; they were not to interfere in any matters of civil government, but to be confined to the exercise of their spiritual functions only."[1]

[1] Chandler's *Appeal farther Defended*, p. 233.

England finally lost her most valuable possessions in America, notwithstanding her efforts by a subtle state policy to retain them. The British cabinet might acknowledge that an American Episcopate was a measure right in itself, but the representations of dissenters that sending bishops to this country would be offensive to the people and incline them to independence were strong enough to keep the simple question in abeyance. There appeared to be no separation of Church from state in the diplomatic mind of that day, and men on this side detected a foe under the mitre and the Episcopal robes. "If Parliament," said John Adams, "could tax us, they could establish the Church of England, with all its creeds, articles, tests, ceremonies, and tithes, and prohibit all other churches as conventicles and schism-shops."[1]

Undoubtedly the clergy in New York, after the dismemberment of the colonies, came together in a casual way and consulted about the course to be pursued. Nothing was publicly or formally done, but suggestions how to bring order out of confusion must have been made, and thoughts interchanged on the propriety of renewing the effort to obtain from English bishops the consecration of some suitable American clergyman to the apostolic office. Mansfield returned to his church and family in Derby, Conn., before the cessation of hostilities; but Leaming and John Sayre had only waste fields to re-occupy, and they were deterred from going back to these and beginning anew their self-sacrificing work. Graves, of New London, another refugee, whose church was also laid in ashes at the burning of the town by Arnold,

[1] *Works*, vol. x., p. 287.

had died in New York during the war; and Peters, of Hebron, who fled to England at the outbreak of the Revolution to escape popular violence, remained there, and published, in 1781, a "General History of Connecticut," which is more of a curiosity for its fabulous descriptions than a reliable authority for its statements.

CHAPTER VI.

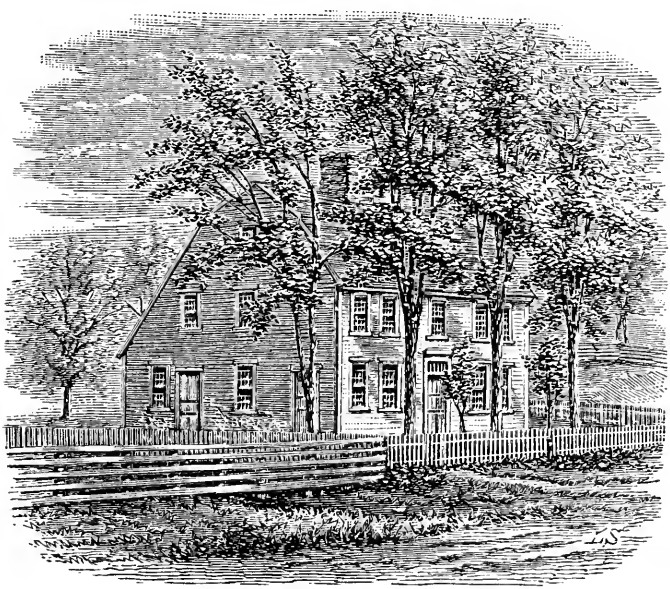
CLERGY IN CONNECTICUT BEFORE THE WAR, AND AT ITS CLOSE; CONVENTION IN WOODBURY, AND APPOINTMENT OF A BISHOP; TESTIMONIALS FROM REV. MR. JARVIS AND THE CLERGY OF NEW YORK IN FAVOR OF DR. SEABURY; LETTERS TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND DEPARTURE OF DR. SEABURY FOR ENGLAND.

A. D. 1783.

THERE were twenty clergymen of the Church of England in Connecticut, with twice that number of parishes or missions, when the war began. Besides those mentioned in the previous chapter, we find Samuel Andrews of Wallingford, Richard S. Clark of New Milford, Ebenezer Dibblee of Stamford, Daniel Fogg of Brooklyn, Bela Hubbard of New Haven, Abraham Jarvis of Middletown, Ebenezer Kneeland of Stratford, John Rutgers Marshall of Woodbury, Christopher Newton of Ripton, now Huntington, James Nichols of Plymouth, James Scovill of Waterbury, John Tyler of Norwich, Roger Viets of Simsbury, and to these must be added Gideon Bostwick of Great Barrington, Mass., who always acted and was reckoned with the Connecticut clergy. Of these, Kneeland died a prisoner to the patriots in his own house on the 17th of April, 1777; and the venerable Beach, of Newtown, who had never ceased to pray for the king, lived till March 19, 1782, when he went to his welcome rest in the grave. Mr. Mansfield, of

Derby, preached the sermon at his funeral, which was printed, — the text being the significant one: "I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith," — words in which the heroic and saintly servant of God triumphed a few hours before his death.

Fourteen clergymen were to be found in Connecticut at the close of the war. They were ministering in some way to their feeble and impoverished flocks, and in the last week of March, 1783, ten of this number met in the quiet village of Woodbury, at the house



House in which Dr. Seabury was chosen Bishop.

then occupied by the Rev. John Rutgers Marshall, a missionary of the venerable Society and rector of St. Paul's Church in that place. The house is still standing, an interesting relic and reminder of an im-

portant event which was the head of a great epoch in American ecclesiastical history.

No laymen were admitted to the gathering, and it was so secret as to be known only to the clergy. Who of the fourteen in the State were absent cannot now be ascertained, for though Mr. Jarvis was the secretary, no minutes were kept to be made public, and consequently the names were not preserved. The fear of opposition, and perhaps the fear of not having the hearty concurrence of their lay brethren, led to the secrecy of the movement. "Ten clergymen met," says Daniel Fogg, one of this number, in a brief note to the Rev. Mr. Parker, of Boston, dated July 2, 1783. "The Connecticut clergy have done already everything in their power, in the matter you were anxious about: would write you the particulars, if I knew of any safe opportunity of sending this letter, but as I do not, must defer it till I do."

They met in the lower front room of the house, on the left side of the main entrance, and on the 25th of March, without a formal election, selected two persons, the Rev. JEREMIAH LEAMING and the Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, as suitable, either of them, to go to England and obtain, if possible, Episcopal consecration. Their secretary was commissioned and sent to New York to consult the clergy in that city and submit the letters which had been prepared and adopted for their examination, and, if approved, to request their concurrence and aid in the proposed applications.

The two candidates were in New York, and Mr. Leaming, to whom the appointment was first offered, shrank at his time of life and with his infirmities from

undertaking responsibilities and burdens so great. There was good reason for giving him the opportunity to decline the high and sacred office. For twenty-one years he had been the faithful missionary at Norwalk and had used his pen vigorously in defending the Church against the bitter attacks of her enemies. He was well known to the Connecticut clergy and a long intercourse with him had won their entire respect and confidence. As one of them said at the time, "He is indeed a tried servant of the Church and carries about him in a degree the marks of a confessor." Though he had suffered much for his loyalty, both in person and in estate, he was as little prepared to accept a comfortable home and support in the British provinces as to return to the scene of his former ministrations, now laid waste, or to take up the burden of an office which he believed to be as necessary to the Church as the head to the body.

On the other hand, Dr. Seabury, though born and educated in Connecticut, had exercised no part of his ministry in that colony. He was twelve years younger than Leaming, without bodily infirmity, and had all his boldness and zeal and all his unflinching adherence to primitive truth and apostolic order. It was wisely ordered in the providence of God that he should be the man to go on a voyage to England for Episcopal consecration. He was every way qualified to meet the emergencies of the time and to overcome the obstacles that were to be thrown in his path; and if he failed in England, his original instructions authorized him to apply to the non-juring bishops of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, with which he became acquainted many years before, while pursuing his studies at the University of Edinburgh.

The following documents, addressed to the Archbishop of York, state very clearly the object of the clergy of Connecticut, and give forcible reasons for the success of their application: —

NEW YORK, *April* 21, 1783.

MY LORD, — The Clergy of Connecticut, deeply impressed with anxious apprehension of what may be the fate of the Church in America, under the present changes of empire and policy, beg leave to embrace the earliest moment in their power to address your Grace on that important subject.

This part of America is at length dismembered from the British Empire; but, notwithstanding the dissolution of our *civil* connection with the parent state, we still hope to retain the *religious polity*, the primitive and evangelical doctrine and discipline, which, at the Reformation, were restored and established in the Church of England. To render that polity complete, and to provide for its perpetuity in this country, by the establishment of an *American Episcopate*, has long been an object of anxious concern to us, and to many of our brethren in other parts of this continent. The attainment of this object appears to have been hitherto obstructed by considerations of a political nature, which we conceive were founded in groundless jealousies and misapprehensions that can no longer be supposed to exist; and therefore, whatever may be the effect of independency on this country, in other respects, we presume it will be allowed to open a door for renewing an application to the spiritual governors of the Church on this head; an application which we consider as not only seasonable, but more than ever necessary at this time; because if it be now any longer neglected, there is reason to apprehend that a plan of a very extraordinary nature, lately formed and published in Philadelphia, may be carried into execution. This plan is, in brief, to constitute a nominal Episcopate by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen. The peculiar situation of

the Episcopal Churches in America, and the necessity of adopting some speedy remedy for the want of a regular Episcopate, are offered, in the publication here alluded to, as reasons fully sufficient to justify the scheme. Whatever influence this project may have on the minds of the ignorant or unprincipled part of the laity, or however it may, possibly, be countenanced by some of the clergy in other parts of the country, *we* think it our duty to reject such a spurious substitute for Episcopacy, and, as far as may be in our power, to prevent its taking effect.

To lay the foundation, therefore, for a valid and regular Episcopate in America, we earnestly entreat your Grace, that, in your Archiepiscopal character, you will espouse the cause of our sinking Church; and, at this important crisis, afford her that relief on which her very existence depends, by consecrating a Bishop for Connecticut. The person whom we have prevailed upon to offer himself to your Grace for that purpose is the Reverend Doctor *Samuel Seabury*, who has been the Society's worthy missionary for many years. He was born and educated in Connecticut — he is personally known to us — and we believe him to be every way qualified for the Episcopal Office, and for the discharge of those duties peculiar to it, in the present trying and dangerous times.

All the weighty considerations which concur to enforce our request are well known to your Grace: we therefore forbear to enlarge, lest we should seem to distrust your Grace's zeal in a cause of such acknowledged importance to the interests of religion. Suffer us then to rest in humble confidence that your Grace will hear and grant our petition, and give us the consolation of receiving, through a clear and uninterrupted channel, an overseer in this part of the household of God.

That God may continue your life and health, make you in his Providence an eminent instrument of great and extensive usefulness to mankind in general, a lasting blessing to the Church over which you preside in particular; and that

the present and future sons of the Church in America may have cause to record and perpetuate your name as their friend and spiritual father, — and, when your sacred work is ended, that you may find it gloriously rewarded, is and shall be the devout prayer of the Clergy of Connecticut, by whose order (in convention assembled) and in whose behalf this letter is addressed to your Grace by your Grace's most obedient, humble servant,

ABRAHAM JARVIS,

Minister of the Episcopal Church in Middletown, and Secretary to the Convention.

TESTIMONIAL.

WHEREAS our well beloved in Christ, Samuel Seabury, Doctor of Divinity, and missionary of Staten Island in this Province, is about to embark for England, at the earnest request of the Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut, and for the purpose of presenting himself a candidate for the sacred office of a Bishop; and that when consecrated and admitted to the said office, he may return to Connecticut, and there exercise the spiritual powers, and discharge the duties which are peculiar to the Episcopal character, among the members of the Church of England, by superintending the Clergy, ordaining candidates for Holy Orders, and confirming such of the Laity as may choose to be confirmed. We the subscribers, desirous to testify our hearty concurrence in this measure, and promote its success; as well as to declare the high opinion we justly entertain of Doctor Seabury's learning, abilities, prudence, and zeal for religion, do hereby certify, that we have been personally and intimately acquainted with the said Doctor Seabury for many years past — that we believe him to be every way qualified for the sacred office of a Bishop; the several duties of which office, we are firmly persuaded, he will discharge with honor, dignity, and fidelity, and consequently with advantage to the Church of God.

And we cannot forbear to express our most earnest wish

that Doctor Seabury may succeed in this application, as it will be the means of preserving the Church of England in America from ruin, and of preventing many irregularities which we see approaching, and which, if once introduced, no after care may be able to remove.

Given under our hands, at New York, this twenty-first day of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-three.

JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D.;
CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.,
Rector of Trinity Church, New York;
BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D.,
Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York; and others.

NEW YORK, *May* 24, 1783.

MY LORD, — The Reverend Doctor Samuel Seabury will have the honor of presenting this letter to your Grace. He goes to England, at the request of the Episcopal Clergy of Connecticut, on business highly interesting and important. They have written on the subject to your Grace, and also to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London. But, as they were pleased to consult us on the occasion, and to submit what they had written to our inspection, requesting our concurrence in their application, their letters are dated at New York, and signed only by the Rev. Mr. Jarvis, the secretary to their convention, whom they commissioned and sent here for that purpose.

The measure proposed, on this occasion, by our brethren of Connecticut, could not fail to have our hearty concurrence. For we are decidedly of opinion, that no other means can be devised to preserve the existence of the Episcopal Church in this country. We have therefore joined with Mr. Jarvis in giving Doctor Seabury a testimonial, in which we have briefly, but sincerely, expressed our sense of his merit, and our earnest wishes for the success of his undertaking.

Should he succeed and be consecrated, he means (with the approbation of the Society) to return in the character, and perform the duties of a missionary, at New London, in Connecticut; and on his arrival in that country, to make application to the Governor, in hope of being cheerfully permitted to exercise the spiritual powers of his Episcopal office there; in which, we are persuaded, he will meet with little, if any opposition. For many persons of character in Connecticut, and elsewhere, who are not members of the Episcopal Church, have lately declared they have no longer any objection to an American Episcopate, now that the independency of this country, acknowledged by Great Britain, has removed their apprehensions of the Bishops being invested with a share of temporal power by the British government.

We flatter ourselves that any impediments to the consecration of a Bishop for America, arising from the peculiar constitution of the Church of England, may be removed by the King's royal permission; and we cannot entertain a doubt of his Majesty's readiness to grant it.

In humble confidence that your Grace will consider the object of this application as a measure worthy of your zealous patronage, we beg leave to remind your Grace, that several legacies have been, at different times, bequeathed for the support of Bishops in America, and to express our hopes that some part of those legacies, or of the interest arising from them, may be appropriated to the maintenance of Doctor Seabury, in case he is consecrated, and settles in America. We conceive that the separation of this country from the parent state can be no reasonable bar to such appropriation, nor invalidate the title of American Bishops, who derive their consecration from the Church of England, to the benefit of those legacies. And perhaps this charitable assistance is now more necessary than it would have been, had not the empire been dismembered.

We take this opportunity to inform your Grace, that we have consulted his excellency Sir Guy Carleton on the sub-

ject of procuring the appointment of a Bishop for the province of Nova Scotia, on which he has expressed to us his entire approbation, and has written to administration, warmly recommending the measure. We took the liberty, at the same time, of mentioning our worthy brother, the Rev. Doctor Thomas B. Chandler, to his excellency, as a person every way qualified to discharge the duties of the Episcopal office in that province, with dignity and honor. And we hope for your Grace's approbation of what we have done in that matter, and for the concurrence of your influence with Sir Guy Carleton's recommendation in promoting the design.

We should have given this information sooner to your Grace, but that we waited for Doctor Seabury's departure for England, which we considered as affording the best and most proper conveyance.

If Doctor Chandler and Doctor Seabury should both succeed, as we pray God they may, we trust that, with the blessing of Heaven, the Episcopal Church will yet flourish in this western hemisphere.

With the warmest sentiments of respect and esteem, we have the honor to be, my Lord, your Grace's most dutiful sons, and obedient humble servants,

JEREMIAH LEAMING, D. D.;
CHARLES INGLIS, D. D.,
Rector of Trinity Church, New York;
BENJAMIN MOORE, D. D.,
Assistant Minister of Trinity Church, New York; and others.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK.

The letters written by the Rev. Mr. Jarvis and the clergy of New York, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, were longer and more detailed in their statements than those addressed to the Archbishop of York. They were the same in spirit and yet so different in the text as to make it desirable to give them a place in this chapter. Mr. Jarvis, who was

particularly skillful in the preparation of ecclesiastical documents, drew up, as their secretary, the letters for the clergy of Connecticut, and the original draught of the one to the Archbishop of Canterbury contained a few passages which were erased when it came to be submitted to the inspection of the friends in New York. This was an omitted passage, referring to the war of the Revolution: "During the arduous struggle, the Church in this country was passed over without notice, and we grieve to find that in the conclusion she was not thought worth regarding. In the severest season of the conflict, none of her faithful members conceived of this as possible, much less did they dream of it as probable. But we mean not here to dwell on unavailing complaint."

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE, — In this day of anxiety for the Church in America, the clergy of Connecticut, deeply impressed with apprehensions of what will be her fate under the present changes of empire and policy, beg leave to embrace the earliest moment in their power to address your Grace with all the unaffected freedom which may become the ministers of Christ when pleading the cause of that Church; a cause wherein not only her interest is greatly concerned, but on which her very existence depends.

America is now severed from the British empire; by that separation we cease to be a part of the national Church. But although political changes affect and dissolve our external connection, and cut us off from the powers of the state, yet we hope a door still remains open for access to the governors of the Church; and what they might not do for us without the permission of government, while we were bound as subjects to ask favors and receive them under its auspices and sanction: they may, in right of their inherent spiritual powers, grant and exercise in favor of a Church planted and nurtured by their hand, and now subjected to other

powers. As it is our only refuge, we are persuaded no just exceptions can lie against the attempt to avail ourselves of it; and the uniform benevolent part the Bishops have taken in order to transfer the Episcopal authority into America fills us with the greater confidence of success in the application.

To secure to our Church a valid and undoubted Episcopate, and that the several vacant churches may be furnished with ministers as soon as possible, are what we have much at heart.

A further reason, we beg leave to observe, that induces us to take this early and only measure we can devise for this purpose, is effectually to prevent the carrying into execution a plan of a very extraordinary nature, lately come to our knowledge, formed and published in Philadelphia, and, as we suppose, circulating in the Southern States, with design to have it adopted. The plan is, in brief, to constitute a nominal ideal Episcopate, by the united suffrages of presbyters and laymen. The singular and peculiar situation of the American Church, the exigence of the case, and the necessity of adopting some speedy and specious remedy, corresponding with the state of affairs in the country, are some of the pleas which are adduced as adequate to give full sanction to this scheme. To what degree such a plan may operate upon the minds of the uninformed, unstable, or unprincipled part of the Church, we can at present form no opinion; equally unable are we to conjecture what may be the lengths to which the rage for popular right, as the fountain of all institutions, civil and ecclesiastical, will run; sufficient for us it is, that while we conscientiously reject such a spurious substitute for episcopacy, we also think it our duty to take every step within our power to frustrate its pernicious effects. Thus are we afloat, torn from our anchor, and surrounded with shelves and rocks, on which we are in danger of being dashed to pieces, and have but one port into which we can look, and from whence expect relief.

The distinguished light in which we have been always

taught to view your Grace as an able and zealous patron of the American Church, decidedly points out to whom, in this crisis, we are instantly to make our request. Accordingly, to your Grace we have recourse, and humbly present our petition, that in your archiepiscopal character you will espouse the cause of our sinking Church, and afford her relief by consecrating the person for our bishop whom we have prevailed upon to offer himself to your Grace for that purpose.

The gentleman we beg leave to present to your Grace is the Reverend Doctor Samuel Seabury, who has been the Society's worthy missionary for many years. He was born and educated in Connecticut; he is personally known to us, and we believe him to be every way qualified for the Episcopal office, and for the discharge of those duties peculiar to it in the present trying and dangerous times.

Permit us to suggest, with all deference, our firm persuasion that a sense of the sacred deposit committed by the great Head of the Church to her bishops, is so awfully impressed on your Grace's mind, as not to leave a moment's doubt in us of your being heartily disposed to rescue the American Church from the distress and danger, which now more than ever threatens her for want of an Episcopate. We rely on your Grace's indulgence for the liberty we take to assert that it is a real act of charity, while we humbly trust, the blessing of her that is ready to perish will come upon those that befriend her in this necessity. Well known unto your Grace are all those irrefutable arguments that have been so clearly stated, and strongly urged by the illustrious prelates who have, as our fathers in God, advocated for us.

Wherefore as the whole of our case, and all the weighty considerations which concur to enforce it, are present with you, we forbear to enlarge, lest the multitude of our words should imply a diffidence of success in the thing we ask. Suffer us then to rest in humble confidence, that this our solicitude for a matter in itself so important to the Church of

God, will meet with your fullest approbation, and that your Grace will feel affectionately for us, and from a pious zeal to advance real religion, and propagate the true Church of Christ, will judge it clearly your duty, in the exercise of your high and holy office, to hear and grant our petition, and give us the consolation of receiving, through a clear and uninterrupted channel transmitted to us by your Grace's hands, an overseer in this part of the household of God.

That God may continue your life and health, make you, in his providence, an eminent instrument of great and extensive usefulness to mankind in general, a lasting blessing to the church over which you preside in particular, and that the present and future sons of the Church in America may have cause to record and perpetuate your name as their friend and spiritual father, and when your sacred work is ended that you may find it gloriously rewarded, is and shall be the devout prayer of the clergy of Connecticut, by whose order and in whose behalf this letter is signed by your Grace's most obedient, humble servant,

ABRAHAM JARVIS,

Minister of the Episcopal Church in Middletown, and Secretary to the Convention.

NEW YORK, *May* 24, 1783.

MY LORD, — The Reverend Doctor Samuel Seabury will have the honor of presenting this letter to your Grace. At the request of the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut, he goes to England on business highly interesting and important, namely: to be consecrated by your Grace, and admitted to the sacred office of a bishop; after which, he purposes to return to Connecticut, and there exercise the spiritual powers which belong to the Episcopal character.

Although the letter which Doctor Seabury carries from the clergy of Connecticut to your Grace, and the testimonial with which he is furnished, set forth his design, and point out the necessity of carrying it into execution; yet we conceived it to be our duty, in a matter of such moment, to give every support in our power to Doctor Seabury, by writing

to your Grace (as we have also done to his lordship of London, and his Grace of York), and laying our sentiments on the subject before you, especially as the clergy of Connecticut chose to consult us on the occasion, and submit their letter to our inspection, that we might act in concert with them; and this is the reason why their letter to your Grace is dated at New York, and is only signed by the Reverend Mr. Jarvis, the secretary to their convention, whom they commissioned and sent here for the purpose.

The separation of these colonies from the parent state leaves the Church of England here in a most deplorable situation. For as the event was unexpected, no provision was made to guard against its consequences. Whilst the colonies were dependent on England, they were thence supplied with clergymen. The supply indeed was scanty, and inadequate to the wants of the colonists; yet the Church was preserved in existence, and, through the blessing of Providence, increased in many places. To remove the hardships under which the Church labored, particularly in the affair of ordination, and to procure a more ample supply of clergymen, which would greatly promote the growth of the Church, the clergy of several provinces repeatedly applied that one or more bishops might be appointed to reside in America. Their applications, though approved and warmly supported by many illustrious dignitaries of our Church, and others; yet, either through inattention in government or mistaken maxims of policy, were disregarded. Hereby the Church in America is now utterly helpless, and unable to preserve itself. As the colonies are become independent, no ordination in the usual way can, as we presume, be procured from England. A few years must carry off such of the present clergy as can remain in the United States, and with them the Church of which they are members will be extinct.

This melancholy event is inevitable if some remedy is not applied; and the only expedient that could be devised to prevent it is the one now proposed. Should Doctor Seabury succeed, and be consecrated, he means to return in the char-

acter and perform the duties of a missionary at New London, in Connecticut. This, we apprehend, will secure to him at least a safe reception there, and prepare the way gradually for exercising the spiritual powers of a bishop, by superintending the clergy, ordaining candidates for Holy Orders, and administering confirmation to such of the laity as shall choose to be confirmed. To which, we are persuaded, the minds of people will be reconciled by the time his Episcopal character is generally known. For, consistently with our original plan for an American Episcopate, he will have no temporal power or authority whatever. If a bishop is once established in Connecticut, we are confident that bishops will soon be admitted into the other colonies; so that the fate of all the churches in the united colonies is virtually involved in the success of this application.

Such, my lord, is our state, and such are our views. It remains now with your Grace to afford that relief to the Church of God here, which it stands so much in need of, and save it from utterly perishing in the United States of America, by consecrating Doctor Seabury, and thereby conveying to us a valid and regular Episcopate. We have the fullest persuasion of your Grace's zeal in whatever concerns the cause of religion, as well as reliance on your firmness to support that cause against groundless objections or intervening difficulties. We consider the political impediments, which formerly obstructed the appointment of bishops in America, as now entirely removed, — they no longer exist. England can have no apprehensions from the disgust that may be given to dissenters by this measure. Whatever risk shall attend it can only be incurred by Doctor Seabury and the other members of the Church here; and however hazardous the attempt, they are willing to embark in it rather than by their lukewarmness to become accessory to the ruin of the Church of God. Indeed, it is but justice to mention that many eminent dissenters in Connecticut and other provinces have lately declared that they have no objections to bishops here now, when the independency of America is acknowl-

edged by Great Britain. It is not from such, but from men of an illiberal turn, in whom prejudice gets the better of a sense of justice and right, that danger is to be apprehended; and of this latter sort there are too many in all places.

We flatter ourselves that the impediments to the consecration of a bishop, who is to remove out of the British dominions, will be got over, when the necessity of the case and the peculiarity of our situation are considered. Regulations which are merely local, and designed to preserve order in a particular state, should certainly be observed with regard to bishops who are to reside in that state. But we humbly conceive they do not apply to extraordinary emergencies like the present; nor ought they to interfere with the general interests of Christianity, especially when no inconvenience can ensue. On this principle the practice of the Christian Church, for many ages, seems to have been founded. For the light of the gospel has been diffused and the Christian Church planted and established in most nations of Christendom, by bishops and other missionaries from such as had no temporal jurisdiction in those nations. But should it be thought that peculiar difficulties, in the present instance, must arise from the constitution of the Church of England, we doubt not but the king, as supreme head of that church, is competent to remove them. His royal permission would fully authorize your Grace to consecrate Doctor Seabury. And when we reflect on his majesty's undeviating regard, as well to the practice as to whatever may tend to promote the influence of true religion, we cannot hesitate to believe that his permission for the purpose may be obtained. Give us leave to add, that such an indulgence, in a matter so earnestly desired by people, whose attachment to his royal person and government has involved them in many and great difficulties, would be worthy of his princely disposition and paternal goodness.

It may be proper to inform your Grace that the late confusions have been fatal to great numbers of the American clergy. Many have died; others have been banished; so

that several parishes are now destitute of incumbents. In the four colonies of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, we know at this time of no less than *seventy* vacant churches, to say nothing of many large tracts of country, where several congregations might immediately be formed and churches built were there clergymen to officiate. We believe the case of other colonies, in this respect, to be nearly similar, and it would be very difficult, perhaps impossible, to procure such a number of clergymen from England as are wanted, even supposing the former intercourse were restored; yet we are of opinion that all those vacancies would soon be filled were bishops here to confer Holy Orders. The demand for clergymen will be further increased by the general disposition that prevails among dissenters at present, to join the Church of England. This is most remarkable in Connecticut, where numbers are daily added to the Church, and from the best information we are assured that a similar disposition appears in other colonies.

We cannot omit another circumstance which is of great moment. Some alterations in the Liturgy must be made in consequence of independency; particularly in the collects for the king and royal family. The offices for November 5th, January 30th, May 29th, and October 25th must be omitted. A revision of the canons will be expedient, because many of them, as they now stand, are wholly inapplicable to the state of things here. But it must be the wish of every sound churchman that no alteration may take place, except where it is indispensably necessary, and that an entire uniformity be preserved among all the churches in the several colonies. How these desirable objects can be obtained without bishops, we are unable to see. It would be improper for presbyters to make those alterations, supposing they were perfectly unanimous. But divisions will be unavoidable where all are equal, and there is no superior to control. The common bond which united the clergy being now dissolved, some will think themselves at liberty to use only such parts of the Liturgy, and adopt such rules as they

choose; and hence the several congregations may become so many independent churches, each varying from the other, as the fancy of the clergyman may direct. We are sorry to inform your Grace that some symptoms of this kind have already appeared, though it is only in a few individuals. The superintending authority of a bishop will guard against those evils; it will secure unanimity and submission, prevent dangerous innovations and all unnecessary departure from the established articles, rules, and forms of our excellent Church.

But we shall not protract this letter by inserting more particulars relative to the state of the clergy and Churches here, of which Dr. Seabury will be able to give you any information your Grace may desire. We shall only beg leave to remind your Grace that several legacies have been successively bequeathed for the support of bishops in America; and to express our hopes that some part of those legacies, or of the interest arising from them, may be appropriated to the maintenance of Dr. Seabury, in case he is consecrated, and returns to Connecticut. We do not conceive that the separation of these colonies from the parent state can be a bar to this appropriation, or invalidate the title of bishops of the Church of England to the benefit of those legacies. And perhaps this charitable assistance is more necessary now, than formerly; since American bishops must have more difficulties to struggle with, in consequence of the separation; and no other mode of support can be provided for them, until our confusions subside, and the government of this country assumes a more settled form.

Having thus with all plainness and sincerity represented our case, we shall urge no further arguments for a compliance with our request, as it would imply a doubt of your Grace's readiness to promote a measure, in which the interests of Christianity in general, and of the Episcopal Church in particular, are so much concerned. A miscarriage on this occasion would preclude all hope of succeeding hereafter in England, where duty and inclination lead us to apply

for an episcopate, and many bad consequences would unavoidably follow. It would forward the pernicious scheme alluded to by the clergy of Connecticut in their letter to your Grace; it might probably give rise to applications for an episcopate to foreign states, which must be attended with many inconveniences; or possibly the issue might be a total extinction of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

We shall only add, that we have consulted his excellency, Sir Guy Carleton, the commander-in-chief, on this subject, and on the appointment of a bishop to Nova Scotia; both of which have his entire approbation. As Nova Scotia is to remain a part of the British dominions, it was necessary that application should be made to government before the appointment there could take place; and the commander-in-chief has, at our request, written very pressingly to administration, and warmly recommended the measure. We took the liberty at the same time to recommend our worthy brother, the Rev. Dr. Thomas B. Chandler, as a person well qualified to discharge the duties of the Episcopal office in that province with dignity and honor. And we hope for your Grace's approbation of what we did in this matter, and for your kind assistance in promoting the design; of which we should have given information to your Grace sooner, had we not waited for Dr. Seabury's departure for England, and we judged *that* the safest and best conveyance. If both these appointments should succeed, we trust that, with the blessing of Heaven, the Church of England will yet flourish in this western hemisphere.

With sincerest wishes for your Grace's health and happiness, that you may long continue an ornament and blessing to the Church over which you preside, and with the most perfect respect and esteem, we have the honor to be your Grace's most dutiful sons and obedient, humble servants.

The foregoing letter was printed without signature in "The Churchman's Magazine" for February, 1807.

It bears internal and unmistakable evidence of having proceeded from the same clergymen who signed the letter to the Archbishop of York, of even date. A letter was also written by the clergy of Connecticut in convention assembled, imploring the venerable Society to continue the stipends to its missionaries, and urging this support as necessary in the present emergency, but with how little success will be seen hereafter. Taking these letters and others that might be of service to him, Dr. Seabury departed for England in the flag-ship of Admiral Digby, and many prayers went up to the "Eternal God who alone spreadeth out the heavens and ruleth the raging of the sea," that He would keep him under His protection, and conduct him in safety to the end of his journey.

CHAPTER VII.

SCHEME OF THE REV. MR. WHITE AND OPPOSITION OF THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT; CONVENTION IN WOODBURY AND NUMBER PRESENT; SYMPATHY IN MASSACHUSETTS, AND LETTERS OF REV. MR. FOGG; ARRIVAL OF DR. SEABURY IN LONDON, AND IMPEDIMENTS TO HIS CONSECRATION; CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE CLERGY, AND CONVENTION IN WALLINGFORD.

A. D. 1783–1784.

One of the motives which influenced the clergy of Connecticut in moving so early after the acknowledgment of independence to secure a bishop in this country was the publication of a pamphlet in Philadelphia which recommended a plan of a very extraordinary nature. It was written by the Rev. William White, afterwards the Bishop of Pennsylvania, and issued from the press without his name, in the summer of 1782. It does not appear to have reached the Northern States until peace had been declared, but it was circulated in the region which gave it birth and where the Episcopal atmosphere was less impregnated with high views of the Christian ministry. According to the interpretation of the author, the pamphlet "proposed the combining of the clergy and of representatives of the congregations, in convenient districts, with a representative body of the whole, nearly on the plan subsequently adopted. This ecclesiastical representative was to make a declara-

tion approving of Episcopacy, and professing a determination to possess the succession when it could be obtained; but they were to carry the plan into immediate act." [1]

To this scheme, as they had a right to understand it, the Connecticut clergy were decidedly opposed. The argument from necessity did not, in their opinion, exist. For more than half a century candidates from the colony had been sent three thousand miles to obtain Holy Orders, and it would have been a reversal of all their history, and all their teaching and belief in regard to the Church of Christ, to consent for one moment to the main proposition of the pamphlet. At the meeting, therefore, in Woodbury, the following document, addressed to Mr. White, was prepared and adopted as an expression of their views and as a reason for the steps they had taken to secure a bishop.

Reverend Sir, — We, the clergy of Connecticut, met at Woodbury in voluntary convention, beg leave to acquaint you that a small pamphlet, printed in Philadelphia, has been transmitted to us, of which you are said to be the author. This pamphlet proposes a new form of government in the Episcopal Church, and points at the method of erecting it. As the thirteen States have now risen to independent sovereignty, we agree with you, sir, that the chain which connected this with the mother Church is broken; that the American Church is now left to stand in its own strength, and that some change in its regulations must in due time take place. But we think it premature and of dangerous consequence, to enter upon so capital a business, till we have resident bishops (if they can be obtained) to assist in the performance of it, and to form a new union in the Ameri-

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 91.

can Church, under proper superiors, since its union is now broken with such superiors in the British Church. We shall only advert to such things in the pamphlet as we esteem of dangerous consequence. You say the conduct you mean to recommend is to include in the proposed frame of government a general approbation of Episcopacy, and a declaration of an intention to procure the succession as soon as conveniently may be; but in the mean time to carry the plan into effect, without waiting for the succession. But why do you include a general approbation of Episcopacy in your proposed new frame of government? not because you think bishops a constituent part of an Episcopal Church, unless you conceive they derive their office and existence from the king's authority; for though you acknowledge we cannot at present have bishops here, and propose to set up without them, yet you say no constitutional principle of our Church is changed by the Revolution, but what was founded on the authority of the king. Your motives for the above general approbation seem, indeed, to be purely political. One is, that the general opinion of Episcopalians is in favor of bishops, and therefore (if we understand your reasoning) it would be impolitic not to flatter them with the hopes of it. Another reason is, that too wide a deviation from the British Church might induce future emigrants from thence to set up independent churches here. But could you have proposed to set up the ministry, without waiting for the succession, had you believed the Episcopal superiority to be an ordinance of Christ, with the exclusive authority of ordination and government, and that it has ever been so esteemed in the purest ages of the Church? and yet we conceive this to be the sense of Episcopalians in general, and warranted by the constant practice of the Christian Church. Really, sir, we think an Episcopal Church without Episcopacy, if it be not a contradiction in terms, would, however, be a new thing under the sun; and yet the Episcopal Church, by the pamphlet proposed to be erected, must be in this predicament till the succession be obtained. You plead

necessity, however, and argue that the best writers in the Church admit of Presbyterian ordination where Episcopal cannot be had. To prove this, you quote concessions from the venerable Hooker, and Dr. Chandler, which their exuberant charity to the reformed churches abroad led them to make. But the very words you quote from the last mentioned gentleman prove his opinion to be, that bishops were as truly an ordinance of Christ, and as essential to his Church, as the sacraments; for, say you, he insists upon it (meaning the Episcopal superiority) as of divine right; asserts that the laws relating to it bind as strongly as the laws which relate to baptism and the holy Eucharist, and that if the succession be once broken, not all the men on earth, not all the angels in heaven, without an immediate commission from Christ, can restore it; but you say he does not, however, hold this succession to be necessary, only where it can be had. Neither does he or the Christian Church hold the sacraments to be necessary, where they cannot be had agreeable to the appointment of the Great Head of the Church. Why should particular acts of authority be thought more necessary than the authority itself? Why should the sacraments be more essential than that authority Christ has ordained to administer them? It is true that Christ has appointed the sacraments, and it is as true that He hath appointed officers to administer them, and has expressly forbid any to do it but those who are authorized by his appointment, or called of God, as was Aaron. And yet these gentlemen (without any inconsistency with their declared sentiments) have, and all good men will express their charitable hopes, that God, in compassion to a well-meant zeal, will add the same blessings to those who, through unavoidable mistake, act beside his commission as if they really had it. As far as we can find, it has been the constant opinion of our Church in England and here, that the Episcopal superiority is an ordinance of Christ, and we think that the uniform practice of the whole American Church, for near a century, sending their candidates three thousand miles for Holy

Orders, is more than a presumptive proof that the Church here are, and ever have been, of this opinion. The sectaries, soon after the Reformation, declared that the book of consecration, etc., was superstitious and contrary to God's word, and the moderation you mention in the articles and canons consists in affirming that this declaration was entirely false; and would you wish to be more severe? The instances you adduce, wherein Presbyterian ordination has been tolerated in the Church, have, by its best writers, been set in such a point of view as to give no countenance to your scheme, and the authorities you quote have been answered again and again. If you will not allow this superiority to have an higher origin than the apostles; yet since they were divinely inspired, we see not why their practice is not equal to a divine warrant; and as they have given no liberty to deviate from their practice in any exigence of the church, we know not what authority we have to take such liberties in any case. However, we think nothing can be more clear, than that our Church has ever believed bishops to have the sole right of ordination and government, and that this regimen was appointed of Christ himself, and it is now, to use your own words, humbly submitted to consideration, whether such Episcopalians as consent even to a temporary departure, and set aside this ordinance of Christ for conveniency, can scarcely deserve the name of Christians. But would necessity warrant a deviation from the law of Christ, and the immemorial practice of the Church, yet what necessity have we to plead? Can we plead necessity with any propriety, till we have tried to obtain an Episcopate, and have been rejected? We conceive the present to be a more favorable opportunity for the introduction of bishops than this country has before seen. However dangerous bishops formerly might have been thought to the civil rights of these States, this danger has now vanished, for such superiors will have no civil authority. They will be purely ecclesiastics. The States have now risen to sovereign authority, and bishops will be equally under the control of civil law with other

clergymen; no danger, then, can now be feared from bishops, but such as may be feared from presbyters. This being the case, have we not the highest reason to hope, that the whole civil authority upon the continent (should their assistance be needed) will unite their influence with the Church, to procure an office so essential to it, and to render complete a profession, which contains so considerable a proportion of its inhabitants? And on the other hand, is there any reason to believe that all the bishops in England, and in all the other reformed Churches in Europe, are so totally lost to a sense of their duty, and to the real wants of their brethren in the Episcopal Church here, as to refuse to ordain bishops to preside over us, when a proper application shall be made to them for it? If this cannot be, why is not the present a favorable opportunity for such an application? Nothing is further from the design of this letter than to begin a dispute with you; but in a frank and brotherly way to express our opinion of the mistaken and dangerous tendency of the pamphlet. We fear, should the scheme of it be carried into execution in the Southern States, it will create divisions in the Church at a time when its whole strength depends upon its unity; for we know it is totally abhorrent from the principles of the Church in the Northern States, and are fully convinced they will never submit to it. And indeed should we consent to a temporary departure from Episcopacy, there would be very little propriety in asking for it afterwards, and as little reason ever to expect it in America. Let us all then unite as one man to improve this favorable opportunity, to procure an object so desirable and so essential to the Church.

We are, dear sir, your affectionate brethren, the clergy of Connecticut.

Signed by order of the Convention,

ABRAHAM JARVIS, *Secretary.*

WOODBURY, *March* 25, 1783.

An answer to this communication was duly re-

turned, but when it was received in July, 1783, such had been the change of circumstances since the pamphlet was published, that Mr. White no longer defended his proposed scheme.[1] He asked for the indulgence of his Connecticut brethren on the ground of a supposed necessity, which, he now admitted, had ceased to exist. He affirmed that he had been misunderstood, but "no personal animosity," said he, "became the result of this misapprehension, and other events have manifested consent in all matters essential to ecclesiastical discipline." Some twenty-five years later the use made of statements in the pamphlet by a writer controverting Episcopacy in a secular newspaper[2] led the author to write two or three letters to that publication for the purpose of counteracting the mischievous effects which an incorrect citation was likely to produce.

Other clergymen in New England besides those from Connecticut were interested in the proceedings at Woodbury. The Rev. Samuel Parker, of Boston (afterwards Bishop of Massachusetts, who died before performing a single Episcopal act), appears to have put himself in communication with the Rev. Daniel Fogg, one of the ten clergymen who composed the voluntary convention, and the brief letters which passed between them, especially those of Mr. Fogg, shed some light upon that important gathering. The following was the second of these letters, the first having given no particulars: —

POMFRET, *July* 14, 1783.

DEAR SIR, — I wrote you a few lines the 2d instant by an uncertain conveyance, in which I mentioned that the

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, pp. 282–286. [2] *Albany Centinel.*

Connecticut clergy had done all in their power respecting the matter you were anxious about; but they keep it a profound secret, even from their most intimate friends of the laity.

The matter is this: After consulting the clergy in New York how to keep up the succession, they unanimously agreed to send a person to England to be consecrated Bishop for America, and pitched upon Dr. Seabury as the most proper person for this purpose, who sailed for England the beginning of last month, highly recommended by all the clergy in New York and Connecticut, etc. If he succeeds, he is to come out as missionary for New London or some other vacant mission, and if they will not receive him in Connecticut, or any other of the *States of America*, he is to go to Nova Scotia. Sir Guy highly approves of the plan, and has used all his influence in favor of it.

The clergy have even gone so far as to instruct Dr. Seabury, if none of the regular bishops of the Church of England will ordain him, to go down to Scotland and receive ordination from a nonjuring bishop. Please to let me know by Mr. Grosvenor how you approve of the plan, and whether you have received any late accounts from England.

From your affectionate brother, D. FOGG.[1]

Mr. Parker accepted, in general, the action of the clergy of Connecticut, and only raised one or two objections, which had been thought of and met. He was a prominent and influential presbyter in Massachusetts, and deeply solicitous for the proper organization and establishment of the Church in this country. It was natural for him to turn to Connecticut, one of the New England States, where the battle for Episcopacy had been early and well fought, and where men understood and were prepared to assert its claims. Another letter from Mr. Fogg gave ex-

[1] *Church Documents*, Connecticut, pp. 212, 213.

planatory reasons in support of the action at Woodbury, and indicated to Mr. Parker that he and his brethren would not be compelled to come under the jurisdiction of Dr. Seabury, if he succeeded in obtaining Episcopal consecration. This appears to have closed the correspondence on the subject.

DEAR SIR, — I am very glad that the conduct of the Connecticut clergy meets with your approbation in the main. Dr. Seabury's being a refugee was an objection which I made, but was answered, they could not fix upon any other person who they thought was so likely to succeed as he was, and should he succeed and not be permitted to reside in any of the United States, it would be an easy matter for any other gentleman who was not obnoxious to the *powers that be*, to be consecrated by him at Halifax. And as to the objection of not consulting the clergy of the other States, the time would not allow of it, and there was nobody to consult in the State of New York, for there is not one clergyman there except refugees, and they were consulted. And in the State of Connecticut there are fourteen clergymen. And in your State and New Hampshire, you know how many there are, and you know there is no compulsion in the matter, and you will be left to act as you please, either to be subject to him or not. As to the matter of his support, that must be an after consideration.

Your affectionate friend and brother, D. FOGG.

POMFRET, *August* 1, 1783.

Dr. Seabury arrived in London on the 7th of July, and entered earnestly upon the business of his mission. He found that the dismemberment of the colonies and the acknowledgment of their independence had not removed the obstacles hitherto thrown in the way of an American Episcopate. The old policy of preferring political expediency to religious right still

paralyzed the energies of the Church of England, and diminished the fervency of her zeal and the extent of her charity. The bishops differed somewhat in their views, and while they sympathized with the plan and hoped for its success, they all saw impediments that hindered them from proceeding to consecrate. The dispensation of the king, or, yet more, an act of Parliament, they thought, was necessary to justify "the omission of the state oaths in the ordination offices," and Dr. Seabury, therefore, was at once convinced that he could not soon return to America if he waited for the boon which he was then seeking from the Church of England. His first letter to the clergy of Connecticut after his arrival let them into the spirit with which his application was met, and was dated

LONDON, *July* 15, 1783.

GENTLEMEN, — In prosecution of the business committed to me by you, I arrived in this city on the 7th inst. Unfortunately the Archbishop of York had left this city a fortnight before, so that I was deprived of his advice and patronage. I waited on the Bishop of London and met with a cordial reception from him. He heartily approved of the scheme, and wished success to it, and declared his readiness to concur with the two Archbishops in carrying it into execution: but I soon found he was not disposed to take the lead in the matter. He mentioned the State Oaths in the Ordination offices, as impediments, but supposed that the King's dispensation would be a sufficient warrant for the Archbishops to proceed upon. But upon conversing with His Grace of Canterbury, I found his opinion rather different from the Bishop of London. He received me politely, approved of the measure, saw the necessity of it, and would do all he could to carry it into execution. But he must proceed openly and with candor. His Majesty's dispensation he feared would

not be sufficient to justify the omission of oaths imposed by act of Parliament. He would consult the other bishops; he would advise with those persons on whose judgment he thought he could depend. He was glad to hear the opinion of the Bishop of London, and wished to know the sentiments of the Archbishop of York. He foresaw great difficulties, but hoped there were none of them insurmountable. I purpose to set out for York in a few days to consult the Archbishop, and will do everything in my power to carry this matter into a happy issue; but it will require a great deal of time, and patience, and attention. I endeavored to remove those difficulties that the Archbishop of Canterbury mentioned. And I am not without hopes that they will all be got over. My greatest fear arises from the matter becoming public, as it now must, and that the Dissenters here will prevail on your government to apply against it: this I think would effectually crush it, at least as far as it relates to Connecticut. You will therefore do well to attend to this circumstance yourselves, and get such of your friends as you can trust, to find out, should any such intelligence come from hence. In that case, I think it would be best to avow your design, and try what strength you can muster in the Assembly to support it. But in this matter your own judgment will be a much better guide to you than any opinion of mine.

I will again write to you on my return from York, and shall then be able to tell you more precisely what is like to be the success of this business.

I am, reverend gentlemen, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obliged humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

Nearly a month passed away before he wrote again to the clergy of Connecticut and detailed the difficulties which embarrassed the action of the English bishops. To us who look back upon their course from this point of time, and in the light of later his-

tory, it seems strange that they should have felt themselves to be so hampered by political considerations as not to venture upon a spiritual act which was intended to preserve the existence of the Episcopal Church in America. They could not separate their office from the circumstances by which they were surrounded, and though in apostolic days there was no waiting for the consent of the Roman government, they gravely made it an impediment to the consecration of Dr. Seabury, that "it would be sending a bishop to Connecticut, which they had no right to do without the consent of the State." But read his second letter to the clergy: —

LONDON, *August* 10, 1783.

REVEREND GENTLEMEN, — In the letter which I wrote to you after my interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury, I informed you of the objections made, and difficulties mentioned by him, with regard to the business on which I came to England. I also informed you of my intention to take a journey to York that I might have the full benefit of his Grace of York's advice and influence. This journey I have accomplished, and I fear to very little purpose. His Grace is now carrying on a correspondence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, on the subject; what the issue will be is not certain; but I think, unless matters can be put on a different footing, the business will not succeed. Both the Archbishops are convinced of the necessity of supplying the States of America with Bishops, if it be intended to preserve the Episcopal Church there; and they even seem sensible of the justice of the present application, but they are exceedingly embarrassed by the following difficulties:

1. That it would be sending a bishop to Connecticut, which they have no right to do without the consent of the State.

2. That the bishop would not be received in Connecticut.

3. That there would be no adequate support for him.

4. That the oaths in the ordination office cannot be got over, because the king's dispensation would not be sufficient to justify the omission of those oaths. At least there must be the concurrence of the king's council to the omission; and that the council would not give their concurrence without the permission of the State of Connecticut to the bishop's residing among them.

All that I could say had no effect, and I had a fair opportunity of saying all that I wished to say.

It now remains to be considered what method shall be taken to obtain the wished-for Episcopate.

The matter here will become public. It will soon get to Connecticut. Had you not, gentlemen, better make immediate application to the State for permission to have a bishop to reside there? Should you not succeed, you lose nothing, as I am pretty confident you will not succeed here without such consent. Should there be anything personal with regard to me, let it not retard the matter. I will most readily give up my pretensions to any person who shall be agreeable to you, and less exceptionable to the State.

You can make the attempt with all the strength you can muster among the laity: and at the same time I would advise that some persons be sent to try the State of Vermont on this subject. In the mean time I will try to prepare and get things in a proper train here. I think I shall be able to get at the Duke of Portland and Lord North, on the occasion. And should you succeed in either instance, I think all difficulty would be at an end.

I am, worthy gentlemen, with the greatest respect and esteem, your much obliged and very humble brother and servant, SAMUEL SEABURY.

By this time Mr. Leaming, whom Dr. Seabury left in New York when he sailed for England, had returned to Connecticut and was assisting the clergy in shaping their movements and conducting their cor-

respondence with reference to the Episcopacy. At Easter, 1784, he was chosen rector of the venerable parish in Stratford, the oldest in the State, which Dr. Johnson served for about forty years, and where he, as one of his successors, faithfully ministered until 1790. The letter to him which follows is more frank than any written to the other clergymen, and breathes with affectionate remembrances of former days.

LONDON, *September* 3, 1783.
No. 91 WARDOUR STREET.

MY DEAR SIR, — Though I have so lately written to you, as well as to the clergy of Connecticut, explaining the situation of the business on which I came to England; yet I must more fully open my mind to you, and you are to be the judge, whether any, and how much of this letter is to be shewed to any one else.

With regard to my success, I not only think it doubtful, but that the probability is against it. Nobody here will risk anything for the sake of the Church, or for the sake of continuing Episcopal ordination in America. Unless therefore it can be made a ministerial affair, none of the bishops will proceed in it for fear of clamor; and indeed the ground on which they at present stand, seems to me so uncertain, that I believe they are obliged to take great care with regard to any step they take out of the common road. They are apprehensive that my consecration would be looked on in the light of *sending* a bishop to Connecticut, and that the State of Connecticut would resist it, and that they should be censured as meddlers in matters that do not concern them. This is the great reason why I wish that the State of Connecticut should be applied to for their consent. Without it, I think nothing will be done. If they refuse, the whole matter is at an end. If they consent that a bishop should reside among them, the grand obstacle will be removed. You see the necessity of making the attempt, and of making

it with vigor. One reason, indeed, why I wished the attempt to be made in Connecticut, relates to myself. I cannot continue here long: necessity will oblige me to leave it in March or April, at furthest. If this business fails, I must try to get some provision made for myself: and indeed the State of Connecticut may consent that a bishop should reside among them, though they might not consent that I should be the man. In that case, the sooner I shall know it the better: and should that be the case, I beg that no clergyman in Connecticut will hesitate a moment on my account. The point is, to get the Episcopal authority into that country; and he shall have every assistance in my power.

Something should also be said about the means of support for a bishop in that country. The bishops here are apprehensive that the character will sink into contempt, unless there be some competent and permanent fund for its support. Please let your opinion of what ought to be said on that subject be communicated by the first opportunity, that is, provided you think anything can be done in Connecticut.

Dr. Chandler's appointment to Nova Scotia will, I believe, succeed. And possibly he may go thither this autumn, or, at least, early in the spring. But his success will do no good in the States of America. His hands will be as much tied as the bishops in England; and I think he will run no risks to communicate the Episcopal powers. There is, therefore, everything depending on the success of the application to the State of Connecticut. It must be made quickly, lest the dissenters here should interpose and prevent it; and it should be made with the united efforts of clergy and laity, that its weight may be the greater; and its issue you must make me acquainted with as soon as you can. Please to send me one or two more testimonials from the copy which Dr. Inglis has. Mr. Moore and Mr. Odell will assist in copying and getting them signed; and I may want them.

By Captain Cowper I expect to be able to acquaint you with the result of the interview of the two archbishops in

my business. In the mean time, may God direct and prosper all the endeavors of his faithful servants, to the establishment of his true religion in the western world. Adieu, friend of my heart! May I see thee again in peace! May I again enjoy the pleasure of thy converse, and with thee be instrumental in promoting the welfare of Christ's kingdom.

Adieu! says thy ever affectionate, S. SEABURY.

Let application be made also to the State of Vermont, lest that to Connecticut should fail.

The clergy of Connecticut assembled in convention at Wallingford on the 13th of January, 1784, when the Rev. Mr. Leaming was chosen president and Mr. Jarvis secretary. The object of the meeting was to take into consideration the suggestions of the foregoing letter, and on the 14th it was "voted that Mr. Leaming, Mr. Hubbard, and Mr. Jarvis be a committee to collect the opinions of the leading members of the Assembly concerning an application by the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut for the legal protection of a bishop for said Church, when they shall be able to procure one agreeable to the common rights of Christians, as those rights are now claimed and understood by all denominations of Christians in the State." The duty imposed upon these gentlemen was promptly discharged, and the results communicated to Dr. Seabury in the following letter, under date of Middletown, February 5, 1784: —

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — Since the receipt of your letters, addressed to the clergy in Connecticut, we have, by your letter to the Rev. Mr. Leaming, a more explicit information of the difficulties suggested by the bishops in England, and which appear to operate upon their minds, against

complying with our petition, and to their giving you Episcopal consecration.

The clergy were immediately made acquainted with what you had written, and shortly after met at Wallingford. In convention it was voted that the leading members of both Houses of Assembly, which was then sitting at New Haven, should be conferred with, so far as the proposed difficulties had reference to the civil government. We the subscribers were appointed a committee of convention for the above purpose, and, as a conventional answer to your letters, communicate to you the result of that conference, together with our opinion, and what we could do, to obviate the objections made by the bishops. Mr. Leaming and Mr. Hubbard conversed freely and fully with a number of principal members of both Houses of Assembly, and collected their sentiments on the subject. They met with a degree of attention and candor beyond our expectation; and in respect of the need, the propriety, or the prudence of an application to government for the admission of a bishop into the State, their opinions appeared fully to coincide with our own.

Your right, they said, is unquestionable. You therefore have our full concurrence for your enjoyment of what you judge essential to your Church. Was an act of Assembly expedient to your complete enjoyment of your own ecclesiastical constitution, we would freely give our vote for such an act. We have passed a law which embraces your Church, wherein are comprehended all the legal rights and powers, intended by our Constitution to be given to any denomination of Christians. In that act is included all that you want. Let a bishop come; by that act, he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do, or the Church at large. It was remarked that there were some, who would oppose and would labor to excite opposition among the people, who, if unalarmed by any jealousies, will probably remain quiet. For which reason it would be impolicy, both in us and them, for the Assembly to meddle at all with the business. The introduction of a bishop on

the present footing, without anything more, in their opinion would be the easiest and securest way in which it could be done, and we might be sure of his protection. This they thought must be enough to satisfy the bishops, and all concerned in the affair in England. We are further authorized to say that the legislature of the State would be so far from taking umbrage, that the more liberal part will consider the bishops in this transaction as maintaining entire consistency of principle and character, and by so doing merit their commendation.

The act above alluded to, you will receive inclosed in a letter from Mr. Leaming, attested by the clerk of the lower House of Assembly. It is not yet published. The clerk was so obliging as to copy it from the journals of the House. You were mentioned as the gentleman we had pitched upon. The secretary of the state, from personal knowledge, and others, said things honorable and benevolent towards you. Now if the opinion of the governor and other members of the council, explicitly given in entire agreement with the most respectable members among the representatives, who must be admitted to be competent judges of their own civil polity, is reasonably sufficient to remove all scruples about the concurrence of the legislature, we cannot imagine that objection will any longer have a place in the minds of the archbishops. We here understand, as we suppose, the part which the government established among us, means to take in respect of religion in general, and the protection it will afford to the different denominations of Christians under which the subjects of it are classed: and the lowest construction, which is all we expect, must amount to a permission that the Episcopal Church enjoy all the requisites of her polity, and have a bishop to reside among them. We feel ourselves at some loss for a reply to the objection which relates to the limits and establishment of a diocese, because the government here is not Episcopal; and because we do conceive a civil or legal limitation and establishment of a diocese, essentially attached to the doctrine of Episcopacy,

or the existence of a Bishop in the Church. The Presbyters who elect the Bishop, and the congregations to which they minister, may naturally direct his active superintendence, and prescribe the acknowledged boundaries of his diocese.

Under existing circumstances, and utterly unable to judge with any certainty what, in the course of divine providence, may be the future condition of the Church in this country, we can contemplate no other support for a Bishop, than what is to be derived from voluntary contracts, and subscriptions and contributions, directed by the good will and zeal of the members of a Church who are taught, and do believe, that a Bishop is the chief minister in the kingdom of Christ on earth. Other engagements, it is not in our power to enter into, than our best endeavors to obtain what our people can do, and we trust will continue to do, in proportion to the increase of their ability, of which we flatter ourselves with some favorable prospect. A Bishop in Connecticut must, in some degree, be of the primitive style. With patience and a share of primitive zeal, he must rest for support on the Church which he serves, as head in her ministrations, unornamented with temporal dignity, and without the props of secular power.

An Episcopate of this plain and simple character, amid the doubts and uncertainties which at present in a measure pervade everything, we hope may pass unenvied, and its sacred functions be performed unobstructed. Should what we have now written be thought sufficient to do away the objections which have been advanced, as a bar to your consecration: yet if you cannot find yourself disposed to come to us under these circumstances, painful necessity must compel us to wait patiently, until divine providence shall open a door propitious to our wants. But in the mean time, with the help of God, we will not remit in our endeavors to persevere, and, as far as in us lies, cherish this remnant of his Church.

We herewith transmit to you two copies of our letter, and two of the general testimonial, attested by the Secretary

Continuing fervently desirous of your success; and with our best wishes for your personal health and prosperity; we are, in behalf of convention, your affectionate brethren,

JEREMIAH LEAMING.
ABRAHAM JARVIS.
BELA HUBBARD.

CHAPTER VIII.

SETTLEMENT OF HIS FAMILY IN NEW LONDON AND LETTERS TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT; SCOTTISH EPISCOPACY AND DR. BERKELEY'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP SKINNER; WAITING FOR AN ACT OF PARLIAMENT AND NOTHING ACCOMPLISHED FOR HIS AID; THE DANISH SUCCESSION AND CARTWRIGHT OF SHREWSBURY; APPLICATION TO THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS.

A. D. 1784.

THE letter which closed the previous chapter raised the clergy of Connecticut in the estimation of the English bishops, but did not satisfy them that the way was yet clear for their action. It was now twelve months since Dr. Seabury had left America, and he was becoming impatient of the delays to which he was constantly subjected. His family — his wife died September, 1780 — had been settled in New London, and he was anxious to complete his mission and return and take them again under his personal care and protection. He worked vigorously and used every argument in his power to overcome the objections to his consecration. He admired the frankness of the English bishops in stating their reasons for not proceeding to comply with his request; but he was as little able to see their force as they were to comprehend the feelings and the political and religious situation of the people in this country. Everything, both encouraging and discouraging, was com-

municated to his friends in Connecticut, and they promptly sent back all the information that might be needed to help him in the accomplishment of his object. The two letters which follow, one written to the Committee of the Convention at Wallingford, and the other to Mr. Jarvis, show his activity and contain the history of his movements.

LONDON, *April* 30, 1784.

GENTLEMEN, — Your letter dated at Middletown, Feb. 5, with the papers that accompanied it, came duly to me by the packet. I also received a letter from Mr. Leaming, but no copy of the act of the legislature to which in your letter you refer. I hope it is on the way.

I have communicated your letter to the Archbishop of York, and the Bishops of London and Oxford; the last did not seem to think it quite satisfactory, but said the letter was a good one, and gave him an advantageous opinion of the gentlemen who wrote it, and of the Clergy of Connecticut in general; and that it was worthy of serious consideration. The Bishop of London thought it removed all the difficulties on your side of the water, and that nothing now was wanting but an act of Parliament to dispense with the state oaths, and he imagined that would be easily obtained. The Archbishop of York gave no opinion, but wished that I would lose no time in showing it to the Archbishop of Canterbury. This happened yesterday. This morning I went to Lambeth, but his Grace was gone out about ten minutes before I got there. I shall go again to-morrow; but if I stay till I have seen him, I shall lose this opportunity of writing, which I am not willing to do.

Upon the whole, your letter will do good. It attacks the objections in the right place, and answers them fairly; and will enable me to take up the business upon firmer ground. I have determined with myself, that if the Bishops hang back, to bring the matter before Parliament by petition, and if that shall fail, the scheme will be at an end here, I

fear forever. Capt. Cowper will sail from hence in three weeks, and by him I hope to be able to give you some satisfactory accounts of my procedure.

You will, Gentlemen, inform my friends at New London how matters are situated. I hope to be with them in the course of this summer, and shall not hesitate to trust my future prospects to God's good providence, and the kind endeavors of my brethren to render my life comfortable, nay, happy.

This is a very hasty letter. I have had only twenty minutes to write it in. My best wishes attend the Clergy of Connecticut. Nova Scotia affairs, civil and ecclesiastical, go on heavily. The Parliament is to meet May 18th. Mr. Leaming will forgive my not answering his letter now, because it is impossible. All the American Clergy here are well.

Accept, my good, my dear friends, the most affectionate regards of your most obliged humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

LONDON, *May* 3, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — I embrace an opportunity, by the way of Rhode Island, to address you as Secretary of the Convention, and to inform you that I have received a letter of the 5th of February, signed by yourself and my very good brethren Leaming and Hubbard, for which you all have my most hearty thanks. I am also to inform you that I wrote to you and them, as a committee, on the 30th of April, under cover to Mr. Ellison, by a vessel bound to New York (the ship Buccleugh), acknowledging the receipt of the letter above mentioned. Mine was a very hasty letter — but in it I acquainted you that I had shown your letter to the Archbishop of York. We were broken in upon by company and he gave me no opinion on the letter; but desired that I would communicate it to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and to the Bishop of London, as soon as I conveniently could. I called, in my way, on the Bishop of Oxford, who

has been very attentive to me, speaks his mind without reserve, and is communicative, and hears me with patience and candor, is much of a gentleman, and a man of learning and business. He read the letter with attention — said he hardly thought it sufficient ground to proceed upon. I endeavored to explain the arguments you had used, and to confirm them from the particular circumstances of the Church in Connecticut. He read the letter again, commended it, spoke handsomely of the gentlemen who wrote it, and of the Clergy of Connecticut, who so anxiously strove to perpetuate the Episcopal Church — said it would be a great pity that so much piety and zeal in so good a cause should not obtain the wished for object — that the letter certainly gave an opportunity for reconsidering the matter, and merited attentive deliberation, and that possibly he should yet come into the opinion of its writers. I am sorry that he leaves town next week, as I shall thereby lose the benefit of his advice and assistance.

From him I went to the Bishop of London, who is an amiable man, but very infirm, and I think his memory and other faculties are declining; he avoids business as much as possible. Having read the letter, he asked many questions, and when he fully apprehended the matter, he said that he thought that every objection was removed on the part of the Connecticut Clergy, and that an act of Parliament, which he thought might be easily obtained, would remove the impediment of the state oaths, and that he hoped the Archbishop of Canterbury would see the matter in the same light that he did.

The next morning I went to Lambeth, but missed of seeing his Grace. On the first of May I went again. His Grace's behavior, though polite, I thought was cool and restrained. When he had read the letter, he observed that it was still the application only of the Clergy, and that the permission was only the permission of individuals, and not of the legislature. I observed that the reasons why the legislature had not been applied to were specified in the

letter, and that they appeared to me to be founded in reason and good sense — that had his Grace demanded the concurrence of the laity of the Church last autumn, it might easily have been procured. That it was the first wish both of the Episcopal Clergy and laity of Connecticut to have an Episcopate through the clear and uninterrupted channel of the Church of England, and my first wish that his Grace and the Archbishop of York might be the instruments of its conveyance — but that if such difficulties and objections lay in the way as it was impossible to remove, it was but lost time for me to pursue it further; but that I hoped his Grace would converse with the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of London on the subject. He said he certainly would as soon as he was able, but that he was then very unwell. I thought it was no good time to press the matter while the body and mind were not in perfect unison, and rose to withdraw, offering to leave the letter, as it might be wanted. I will not, said he, take the original from you lest it should fare as the letter you brought from the Clergy of Connecticut has fared. I left it with Lord North when he was in office, and have never been able to recover it; but if you will favor me with copies of both letters I shall be obliged to you. I promised compliance, and took my leave.

Dr. Chandler has been with him to-day on the subject of the Nova Scotia Episcopate, which, I believe, will be effected. His Grace introduced the subject of Connecticut; declared his readiness to do everything in his power, complimented the Clergy of Connecticut, and your humble servant, talked of an act of Parliament, and mentioned that some young gentlemen from the Southern States, who were here soliciting orders, had applied to the Danish Bishops, through the medium of the Danish ambassador at the Hague, upon a supposition that he was averse to conferring orders on them; but that the supposition was groundless, he being willing and ready to do it when it could be consistently done. These young gentlemen had met with every encouragement to tempt them to a voyage to Denmark.

Upon the whole, you will perceive that your letter has done great service of itself; and it has enabled me to open a new battery, which I will mount with the heaviest cannon and mortars I can muster, and will play them as vigorously as possible.

I anxiously expect the next arrival from New York, in hopes I shall receive the act you refer to respecting the Church in Connecticut, and which his Grace thinks will be necessary to enable him to proceed.

I hope, my dear friend, that I shall be with you in the course of this summer, and be happy with you in the full enjoyment of our holy religion. Make my most affectionate regards to the Clergy as you have opportunity. No one esteems them more, or loves them more than I do. They are the *salt* which must now preserve our Church from all decay, and in perfect health and soundness.

I shall wait on his Grace on Wednesday — this is Monday — and if I am fortunate enough to see him, shall put a note for you into the mail which will close on Wednesday night for New York.

Believe me to be your ever affectionate friend, and very humble servant, SAMUEL SEABURY.

Dr. Seabury was wearied with words and longed for action. To go repeatedly over the same ground and find no real progress made was disheartening. The two archbishops, when all other obstacles were removed, would come back to the point of the king's dispensation or an act of Parliament, and there was no meeting this with any effective reasons. The ministry in power cared less for the Church than the State, and could not be induced to take up matters which were not calculated to promote the interests of their own party. "This is certainly the worst country in the world," said Seabury, "to do business in. I wonder how they get on at any rate." The

tempting offers of the British government led several of the clergy in Connecticut to remove with a portion of their congregations to Nova Scotia. This fact was referred to in a letter to Mr. Jarvis, dated

LONDON, *May* 24, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — By the last packet I wrote to you as Secretary of the Episcopal Convention in Connecticut, under cover to Mr. Ellison at New York, and a day or two after by a vessel to Rhode Island, under cover to Mr. Jona. Starr, of New London. Both which letters, I flatter myself, will get safe to you. Since those letters I have had two interviews with his Grace of Canterbury, the last this morning. He declares himself ready to do everything in his power to promote the business I am engaged in ; but still thinks that an act of Parliament will be necessary to enable him to proceed ; and also that the act of the Legislature of your State, which you mentioned would be sent me by Mr. Leaming, is absolutely necessary on which to found an application to Parliament. I pleased myself with the prospect of receiving the copy of that act by the last packet, the letters of which arrived here the 15th inst. ; but great was my mortification, that no letter came to me from my good and ever dear friends. What I shall do I know not, as the business is at a dead stand without it ; and the Parliament is now sitting. If the next arrival does not bring it, I shall be at my wit's end. Send it, therefore, by all means, even after the receipt of this letter ; or if you have sent it, send a duplicate.

His Grace says he sees no reason to despair ; but yet that matters are in such a state of uncertainty that he knows not how to promise anything. He complains of the people in power ; that there is no getting them to attend to anything in which their own party interest is not concerned. This is certainly the worst country in the world to do business in. I wonder how they get along at any rate. But if I had the act of your State which you refer to in your letter, I should

be able to bring the matter to a crisis, and it would be determined, one way or the other. And as it is attended with uncertainty whether I shall succeed here, I have, in two or three letters to Mr. Leaming, requested to know, whether in case of failure here, it would be agreeable to the Clergy in Connecticut that I should apply to the nonjuring Bishops in Scotland, who have been sounded and declare their readiness to carry the business into execution. I hope to receive instructions on this head by the next arrival, and in the mean time must watch occasions as they rise.

Believe me, there is nothing that is not base that I would not do, nor any risk that I would not run, nor any inconvenience to myself that I would not encounter, to carry this business into effect. And I assure you, if I do not succeed, it shall not be my fault.

There is one piece of intelligence we have heard from Nova Scotia that gives me some uneasiness, viz: that Messrs. Andrews, Hubbard and Scovil are expected in Nova Scotia this summer, with a large proportion of their congregations. This intelligence operates against me. For if these gentlemen cannot, or if they and their congregations do not choose to stay in Connecticut, why should a Bishop go there? I answer one reason of their going is the hopes of enjoying their religion fully, which they cannot do in Connecticut without a Bishop.

I beg my most respectful regards may be made to the Clergy of Connecticut, and that they will believe me to be anxiously engaged in the fulfillment of their wishes in the business of the Episcopate proposed.

Believe me to be, dear Sir, your hearty well wisher, and very humble servant, SAMUEL SEABURY.

The foregoing letter had scarcely reached its destination when he wrote again to Mr. Jarvis, acknowledging the receipt of the act of the General Assembly, which he had been expecting with so much solicitude. Liberal as it was, it was insufficient, in

the view of his Grace of Canterbury, to enable him to proceed to consecrate without an act of Parliament; but it was the very thing that Dr. Seabury felt he needed on which to found the application for such an act. He was encouraged to wait for the issue of this step, and in the mean time, he resolved, in case of failure, which he had reason to anticipate, to turn his face to Scotland and seek consecration there, where the true succession derived of old time from English bishops was carefully preserved.

It has been seen that this plan entered into his original instructions from the clergy of Connecticut before crossing the Atlantic; but he desired the renewal of these instructions, or rather, he wished to know if the clergy were ready to relinquish their preferences for the Episcopacy in the direct English line, and allow him to obtain it from a legitimate branch of the Church of Christ, which fortunately was not hampered by the entanglements of a state alliance. They could not ask him to prosecute negotiations that might involve him in further personal sacrifices. The voyage to England was undertaken solely at his own expense, and all the property which he had was embarked in the enterprise. Their communion in this country was known as the English Church, and while they were strongly attached to it and its succession of bishops, and had reason to be grateful to the venerable Society for stipends, which they hoped would be continued for a time at least, they did not wish him to abandon the object for which he had gone, and return to America without the Episcopacy.

He knew the disposition of the Scottish bishops.

The Rev. Dr. George Berkeley, the second son of the celebrated Bishop of Cloyne, who had been interested in the American Church from his early youth, wrote to the Rev. John Skinner, of Aberdeen, in October, 1782, and expressed the hope "that a most important good might erelong be derived to the suffering and nearly neglected sons of Protestant Episcopacy on the other side of the Atlantic from the suffering Church of Scotland. . . . . I would humbly submit it," he went on to say, "to the bishops of the Church *in* Scotland (as we style her in Oxford), whether this be not a time peculiarly favorable to the introduction of the Protestant Episcopate on the footing of universal toleration, and before any anti-Episcopal establishment shall have taken place. God direct the hearts of your prelates in this matter."[1]

This letter was addressed to Mr. Skinner as a presbyter, for Dr. Berkeley was not aware that he had been raised a few days before to the Episcopal office, having been consecrated September 25, 1782, as coadjutor to the Primus in the see of Aberdeen, at Luthermuir, a secluded chapel near Laurencekirk in the Diocese of Brechin, one of the few chapels which escaped the ravages of the Hanoverian soldiers after the insurrection of 1745.[2] The correspondence was continued, and in answering objections which had been made to the proposal, Dr. Berkeley said: "I am as far removed from Erastianism and from democracy as any man ever was; I do heartily abominate both of those anti-scriptural systems. Had my hon-

[1] MS. Seabury papers quoted in Wilberforce's *Hist. of American Church*, p. 149, Am. ed.

[2] Grub's *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 91.

ored father's scheme for planting an Episcopal college, whereof he was to have been president, in the Summer Islands, not been sacrificed by the worst minister that Britain ever saw, probably under a mild monarch (who loves the Church of England as much as I believe his grandfather hated it), Episcopacy would have been established in America by a succession from the English Church, unattended by any invidious temporal rank or power. But the dissenting miscellaneous interest in England has watched with too successful a jealousy, over the honest intentions of our best bishops. . . . .

"From the churches of England and Ireland, America will not now receive the Episcopate; if she might, I am persuaded that many of her sons would joyfully receive bishops from Scotland. The question then, shortly, is, Can any proper persons be found who, with the spirit of confessors, would convey the great blessing of the Protestant Episcopacy from the persecuted Church of Scotland to the struggling persecuted Protestant Episcopalian worshippers in America? If so, is it not the duty of all and every bishop of the Church in Scotland to contribute towards the sending into the New World Protestant bishops before general assemblies can be held and covenants taken, for their perpetual exclusion? *Liberavi animam meam.*"

Bishop Skinner could not but listen with deep interest to the suggestions of one so distinguished and prominent among the clergy of the English Church. Still he saw difficulties in the way, and said in his reply: "Nothing can be done in the affair with safety on our side, till the independence of America be fully

and irrevocably recognized by the government of Britain; and even then the enemies of our Church might make a handle of our correspondence with the colonies as a proof that we always wished to fish in troubled waters, and we have little need to give any ground for an imputation of this kind." [1]

On the 24th of March, 1783, at the very time when the clergy of Connecticut were assembled in Woodbury and were considering the plan of sending abroad a presbyter to obtain the apostolic office, Dr. Berkeley wrote again to Bishop Skinner, and, with becoming deference, renewed his endeavor to bring about a consecration in Scotland for the American Church. "I believe," he added, "a secret subscription could be raised adequate to the purposes of supporting one pious, sensible, discreet bishop, at least for a season after his arrival in Virginia; and I think I know *one* person competent and willing for the great work."

Thus the way was opened for Seabury in Scotland before he left his own country. Men, without knowing the movements of each other, were taking steps to accomplish the same object, and a wise Providence controlled events and directed them to successful issues. No sooner had Dr. Seabury reached London than he began to act on his primary instructions, and applied, as his letters and testimonials required him to do, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for consecration. It does not appear that his affair was made known in North Britain until the November subsequent to his arrival, when "a letter was dispatched by Mr. Elphinstone, a man of literary repu-

[1] MS. Seabury papers quoted by Wilberforce.

tation, the son of a Scotch clergyman, in which the following question was put to the Primus or presiding bishop of the Church in Scotland: 'Can consecration be obtained in Scotland for an already dignified and well-vouched American clergyman, now at London, for the purpose of perpetuating the Episcopal reformed church in America, particularly in Connecticut?'"

At the same time, Dr. Berkeley wrote again to Bishop Skinner with much earnestness, and said: "I have this day heard, I need not add with the sincerest pleasure, that a respectable presbyter, well recommended, from America, has arrived in London, seeking what, it seems, in the present state of affairs, he cannot expect to receive in our Church.

"Surely, dear sir, the Scotch prelates, who are not shackled by any *Erastian Connection*, will not send this suppliant empty away.

"I scruple not to give it as my decided opinion that the king, *some* of his counsellors, all our bishops (except, peradventure, the Bishop of St. Asaph), and all the learned and respectable clergy of our Church, will at least secretly rejoice, if a Protestant bishop be sent from Scotland to America; but more especially if Connecticut be the scene of his ministry. It would be waste of words to say anything by the way of stirring up Bishop Skinner's zeal."[1]

Dr. Berkeley gave a ready and satisfactory reply to inquiries about the personal fitness of the candidate, as well as an assurance that nothing need be apprehended in the style of "opposition from the English government to their granting a consecration,

[1] *History of the American Church*, pp. 153, 154.

which can contradict no law, for a foreign and independent State."

Other clergymen interested themselves in the matter, and the Scottish bishops must have signified their willingness to comply with the proposal when Dr. Seabury wrote his letter to Mr. Jarvis, dated

LONDON, *June* 26, 1784.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have now to inform you that I received on the 17th inst. Mr. Leaming's letter, inclosing the act of the legislature of Connecticut, respecting liberty of conscience in that State. Upon the whole, I think it a liberal one; and, if it be fairly interpreted and abided by, fully adequate to all good purposes. I have had a long conversation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and another with the Archbishop of York, on the act. They seem to think the principal objections are removed as far as you or I are concerned. They spoke handsomely of the clergy of Connecticut, and declared themselves satisfied with your humble servant, whom the clergy were pleased to recommend to them. But I apprehend there are some difficulties here that may not easily be got over. These arise from the restrictions the Bishops are under about consecrating without the King's leave, and the doubt seems to be about the King's leave to consecrate a Bishop who is not to reside in his dominions; and about the validity of his dispensing with the oath, in case he has power to grant leave of consecration. I have declared my opinion, which is, that as there is no law existing relative to a Bishop who is to reside in a foreign state, the Archbishops are left to the general laws of the Christian Church, and have no need either of the King's leave or dispensation. But the opinion of so little a man cannot have much weight. The Archbishop of Canterbury supposes that an act of Parliament will be necessary; yet he wishes to get through the business, if possible, without it, and acknowledged that the opinion of the majority of the Bishops differed from his. The ques-

tions are referred to the attorney and solicitor-general, and their opinion, should they agree, will, I presume, determine the point. This opinion, I hope, will be obtained in a short time, as the Archbishop of Canterbury has promised to consult them. Should I know the result time enough, I will give it you by the next packet, which will sail in a fortnight.

I have had opportunities of consulting some very respectable clergymen in this matter, and their invariable opinion is, that should I be disappointed here, where the business had been so fairly, candidly, and honorably pursued, it would become my duty to obtain Episcopal consecration wherever it can be had, and that no exception could be taken here at my doing so. The Scotch succession was named. It was said to be equal to any succession in the world, etc. There I know consecration may be had. But with regard to this matter, I hope to hear from you in answer to a letter I wrote to Mr. Leaming, I think in April. Should I receive any instructions from the clergy of Connecticut, I shall attend to them; if not, I shall act according to the best advice I can get, and my own judgment.

Believe me, there is nothing I have so much at heart as the accomplishment of the business you have intrusted to my management; and I am ready to make every sacrifice of worldly consideration that may stand in the way of its completion. I am, reverend Sir, with the greatest esteem, your and the Clergy's most obedient servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

A month passed away, and he wrote again, addressing his letter this time to the clergy of Connecticut, and showing that he was near the end of his importunities with the English bishops. If the enabling act, which he was encouraged to believe would be introduced into Parliament then in session, should be rejected, or, which was tantamount to the same

thing, should not be reached before adjournment, in the press of purely political measures, it would be useless for him to prosecute his undertaking further in England. He would be justified in that case in seeking consecration elsewhere, unless instructions in the mean time came from the clergy of Connecticut, directing him to wait still longer.[1] And so he expressed his intention under date of

LONDON, *July* 26, 1784.

GENTLEMEN, — I take the opportunity by Mr. Townsend to write to you, although I have little more to say than I have already said in my late letters.

On the 21st inst. I had an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. I was with him an hour. He entered fully and warmly into my business; declared himself fully sensible of the expediency, justice, and necessity of the measure; and also of the necessity of its being carried immediately into execution. An act of Parliament, however, will be requisite to enable the Bishops to proceed without incurring a *Præmunire*. A bill for this purpose I am encouraged to expect will be brought in as soon as the proper steps are taken to insure it an easy passage through the two Houses. The previous measures are now concerting, and I am flattered with every prospect of success. But everything here is attended with uncertainty till it is actually done. Men or measures, or both, may be changed to-morrow, and then all will be to go through again. However, I shall patiently

[1] The Rev. Tillotson Bronson, ordained in this country a deacon September 21, 1786, closed the publication of the original documents in the periodical of which he was editor, by stating that a letter from the clergy of Connecticut directing Dr. Seabury, in case he failed with the English bishops, to proceed to Scotland, and another from him to the clergy communicating an account of his failure, were known to have been written; but they did not appear on file, and all attempts to recover them had been unsuccessful.

See *Churchman's Magazine* for 1806, p. 276.

wait the issue of the present session of Parliament, which, it is the common opinion, will continue a month longer. If nothing be done, I shall give up the matter here as unattainable, and apply to the North, unless I should receive contrary directions from the Clergy of Connecticut.

The various difficulties I have had to struggle with, and the various steps I have taken to get through them, are too long to communicate by letter; but I hope to spend the next winter in Connecticut, and then you shall know all, at least all that I shall remember.

My best regards attend the Clergy and all my friends and the friends of the Church. I hope yet to spend some happy years with them. Accept, my good brethren, the best wishes of your affectionate humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

The act of Parliament referred to in this letter enabled the Bishop of London to admit foreign candidates to the order of deacons and priests, but gave no permission to consecrate a bishop for Connecticut or for any of the American States. That permission was placed on a different footing, though it is difficult to see wherein there was any real difference in principle. It was said that before it would be granted, the formal consent of Congress, or of the authority of some particular State, was necessary, and that before a bishop would be consecrated, a diocese must be formed and provision for his support secured.

"A few young gentlemen to the southward,"[1] who had been educated for the ministry, but were detained by the troubles of the Revolution, embarked for England after the acknowledgment of American independence, and applied to Dr. Lowth, then Bishop of London, for Holy Orders. The oaths of allegiance

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 20.

were required, and he could not, without an act of Parliament allowing him to dispense with them, proceed to ordain. Before the passage of the act above mentioned, an offer from the Danish government and clergy was received through Mr. Adams, Minister at the Court of St. James, to ordain candidates from America who should sign the Thirty-nine Articles, "with the exception of the political parts of them, the service to be performed in Latin, in accommodation to the candidates, who might be supposed unacquainted with the language of the country." The offer had no reference to the Episcopacy, and the Church in Denmark does not appear to have been thought of in connection with the consecration of Dr. Seabury. It has recently been stated to the contrary in a memoir of Dr. Routh,[1] but we have not found a particle of evidence in his own letters and papers that he ever dreamed of betaking himself to that quarter, if he failed in his application to the English bishops.

Overtures were made for him, without his knowledge, to Cartwright, of Shrewsbury, an irregular nonjuror of the Separatist party in England, who with Price was consecrated uncanonically in 1780 by a single bishop, just as Robert Welton was consecrated by Ralph Taylor, and John Talbot by Taylor and Welton; these men, Welton and Talbot, never being recognized as bishops, however, by the rest of the body, yet both coming to America and exercising secretly Episcopal functions.[2] Providentially the application to Cartwright was unnecessary, but Dr. Sea-

[1] *London Quarterly Review*, July, 1878.

[2] See Lathbury's *History of the Non-Jurors*, ch. ix.

bury acknowledged his kindness in the following letter, dated

LONDON, *October (supposed) the 15th*, 1784.

RIGHT REV. SIR, — Some time ago a letter from you to the Rev. Dr. Chandler respecting some queries proposed by the Rev. Mr. Boucher was put into my hands. This was the first information I had received concerning yourself or Bishop Price. And as I am in spiritual matters totally independent OF ANY CIVIL POWER, and have no manner of objection; but a sincere inclination to conform myself, as near as possible, to the primitive Catholic Church, in doctrine and discipline, that letter would have been immediately attended to by me, had I not primarily entered into a negotiation with the Bishops in the North, to obtain through them a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy for the Church in Connecticut. Till within a few days I have had no decided answer from the North, and therefore did not sooner write to you because I could make no certain reply to your letter. But as the issue of the negotiation I was engaged in is such that I cannot in honor retreat, I can only at present return you my hearty and unfeigned thanks for the candid communication and liberal sentiments which your letter contained; and to assure you that I shall ever retain the highest esteem and veneration, both for yourself and Bishop Price, on account of the ready disposition which you both show, to impart the great blessing of a primitive Episcopacy to the destitute Church in America. Should any circumstances render it convenient to open a further correspondence on this, or any other subject in which the interest of Christ's Church may be concerned, I flatter myself with a continuance of that spirit of liberality and Christian condescension which your letter manifested; and shall make it my study to return it in the most open and unreserved manner.

Be pleased to present my best respects to Bishop Price, and to accept the tender of unfeigned regard and esteem from, Right Rev. Sir, your most obedient and very humble servant, S. S.[1]

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

On the 31st of August, 1784, Dr. Seabury wrote from London to the Rev. Dr. Myles Cooper, his friend and former fellow-sufferer for loyalty in this country, and through him applied to the Scottish bishops for the boon which he had failed to obtain in England. His letter, transcribed from the copy in his own handwriting, reads: —

My dear Sir, — I hope this letter will find you safe at Edinboro' in good health and spirits. Here everything, in which I have any concern, continues in the same state as when I saw you at your castle. I have been for some time past, and yet am, in daily expectation of hearing from Connecticut, but [there] have been no late arrivals, nor shall I wait for any provided I hear any favorable account from you, but shall hold myself in readiness to set off for the North at twenty-four hours' notice. With regard to myself, it is not my fault that I have not done it before, but I thought it my duty to pursue the plan marked out for me by the clergy of Connecticut, as long as there was any probable chance of succeeding. That probably is now at an end, and I think myself at liberty to pursue such other scheme as shall insure to them a valid Episcopacy, and such I take the Scotch Episcopacy to be in every sense of the word; and such I know the clergy of Connecticut consider it, and have always done so; but the connection that has always subsisted between them and the Church of England, and the generous support they have hitherto received from that Church, naturally led them, though no longer a part of the British dominions, to apply to that Church in the first instance for relief in their spiritual necessity. Unhappily the connection of this Church with the State is so intimate that the Bishops can do little without the consent of the Ministry, and the Ministry have refused to permit a Bishop to be consecrated for Connecticut, or for any other of the thirteen States, without the formal request, or at least consent, of Congress, which there is no

chance of obtaining, and which the clergy would not apply for were the chance ever so good. They are content with having the Episcopal Church in Connecticut put upon the same footing with any other religious denomination. A copy of the law of the State of Connecticut, which enables the Episcopal congregations to transact their ecclesiastical affairs upon their own principles, to tax their members for the maintenance of their clergy; for the support of their worship; for the building and repairing of churches, and which exempts them from all penalties, and from all other taxes on a religious account, I have in my possession. The Legislature of Connecticut know that a Bishop is applied for; they know the person in whose favor the application is made, and they give no opposition to either. Indeed, were they disposed to object, they have more prudence than to attempt to object to it. They know that there are in that State more than forty Episcopal congregations, many of them large, some of them making the majority of the inhabitants of large towns, and, with those that are scattered through the State, composing a body of near, or quite, forty thousand; a body too large to be needlessly affronted in an elective government.

On this ground it is that I apply to the good bishops in Scotland, and I hope I shall not apply in vain. If they consent to impart the Episcopal succession to the Church of Connecticut, they will, I think, do a good work, and the blessing of thousands will attend them. And perhaps for this cause, among others, God's providence has supported them, and continued their succession under various and great difficulties; that a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy may from them pass into the Western world.

As to anything which I receive here, it has no influence on me and never has had any. I indeed think it my duty to conduct the matter in such a manner as shall risk the salaries which the missionaries in Connecticut receive from the Society here as little as possible, and I persuade myself it may be done so as to make that risk next to nothing.

With respect to my own salary, if the Society choose to withdraw it, I am ready to part with it.

It is a matter of some consequence to me that this affair be determined as soon as possible. I am anxious to return to America this autumn, and the winter is fast approaching, when the voyage will be attended with double inconvenience and danger, and the expense of continuing here another winter is greater than will suit my purse. I know you will give me the earliest intelligence in your power, and I shall patiently wait till I hear from you. My most respectful regards attend the Right Reverend gentlemen under whose consideration this business will come, and as there are none but the most open and candid intentions on my part, so I doubt not of the most candid and free construction of my conduct on their part. Accept, my dear sir, of the best wishes of your ever affectionate, etc., S. S.[1]

Dr. Cooper lost no time in transmitting this letter to Bishop Kilgour, the Primus of the Scottish Episcopal Church, and acquainting him that to his knowledge Dr. Seabury was recommended by several worthy clergymen in Connecticut as a person fit for promotion, and to whom they were willing to submit as a bishop. Pains were taken to remove any fears that had been suggested about the risk of proceeding to the consecration. The zealous and kind-hearted Dr. Berkeley, who knew the state of Episcopacy in Scotland and the principles of the Scotch Episcopalians better than any man at that time in England, wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, informing him that Dr. Seabury had applied to the Scottish bishops to be consecrated, and if his Grace thought that there would be any risk in yielding to the application, he begged that he would be so good as to re-

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

turn an immediate reply; but if satisfied that no danger would accrue, a reply was unnecessary. No answer was sent, and it was a fair inference that while the English primate was not ready to give it a formal sanction, he had nothing to say in opposition to the consecration.[1]

A careful writer stated the position of Dr. Seabury, wearied with the long delay in England, thus: "Having known before that there was a continued succession of bishops in Scotland, and finding, where he then was, no objection to the validity of their Episcopal powers, whatever there might be to the propriety of their political scruples, he contrived to have it inquired at second hand, what prospect there might be of speedy success in an application to that quarter, if such application should be formally made."[2]

[1] Wilberforce, in his *History of the American Church*, cites a MS. note of Bishop Skinner on Dr. Seabury's letter of application as authority for this statement. The note was copied by Dr. Seabury in his MS. Letter-Book.

[2] Skinner's *Ecclesiastical History*, vol. ii., pp. 685, 686.

CHAPTER IX.

BISHOP KILGOUR'S LETTER, AND DR. SEABURY'S REPLY; ARRIVAL IN ABERDEEN, AND OPPOSITION OF DR. SMITH; CONSECRATION, AND SYNOD OF BISHOPS; CONCORDATE, AND ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT; PREACHES IN ABERDEEN, AND BISHOP JOLLY'S PRAYER; RETURN TO LONDON, AND LETTER TO MR. BOUCHER.

A. D. 1784–1785.

ALL objections on the part of the Scottish prelates had been previously overcome. As one of them said, "I do not see how we can account to our great Lord and Master, if we neglect such an opportunity of promoting His truth and enlarging the borders of His Church." Bishop Kilgour wrote immediately to the Rev. John Allan, of Edinburgh, by whom Dr. Cooper forwarded the request of Seabury, and renewed in the following letter the offer to proceed to the consecration: —

REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I acknowledge by the first opportunity the receipt of yours of the 14th ult., inclosing Dr. Seabury's letter to Dr. Cooper, which I doubt not you have received in course.

Dr. Seabury's long silence, after it had been signified to him that the Bishops of this Church would comply with his proposals, made them all think that the affair was dropped, and that he did not choose to be connected with them; but his letter, and the manner in which he accounts for his conduct, give such satisfaction, that I have the pleasure to in-

form you that we are still willing to comply with his proposal; to clothe him with the Episcopal character, and thereby convey to the Western world the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy; not doubting that he will so agree with us in doctrine and discipline, as that he and the Church under his charge in Connecticut will hold communion with us and the Church here on catholic and primitive principles; and so that the members of both may with freedom communicate together in all the offices of religion.

We are concerned that he should have been so long in determining himself to make this application, and wish that in an affair of so much importance he had corresponded with one of our number. However, as he appears open and candid on his part, he may believe the bishops will be no less so on their part, and will be glad how soon he can set out for the North.

As I cannot undertake a journey to Edinburgh, and it would also be too hard on Bishop Petrie in his very infirm state, the only proper place that remains for us to meet in is Aberdeen.

How soon Dr. Seabury fixes on the time for his setting out, or at least how soon he comes into Scotland, I hope he will address me; as the Bishops will settle their time of meeting for his consecration as soon thereafter as their circumstances and distance will permit. With a return of the Bishops' most respectful regards to Dr. Seabury, please advise him of all this. May God grant us a happy meeting and direct all to the honor and glory of His name and to the good of His church. To His benediction I ever heartily commend you, and am, Rev. and dear sir, your affectionate brother and humble servant, ROBERT KILGOUR.[1]

PETERHEAD, 2d *October*, 1784.

In response to this communication, Dr. Seabury thus addressed Bishop Kilgour from London, October 14, 1784.

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

RIGHT REV^D. SIR, — Three days ago I was made happy by the receipt of a letter from my friend in Edinburgh, inclosing one from you to the Rev^d. Mr. John Allan, signifying the consent of the Bishops in Scotland to convey, through me, the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy to the Western world. My most hearty thanks are due to you, and to the other Bishops for the kind and Christian attention which they show to the suffering Church in North America in general, and that of Connecticut in particular, and for that ready and willing mind which they have manifested in this important affair. May God accept and reward them freely; and grant that the whole business may terminate in the glory of His name and the prosperity of His church.

As far as I am concerned, or my influence shall extend, nothing shall be omitted to establish the most liberal intercourse and union between the Episcopal Church in Scotland and in Connecticut, so that the members of both may freely communicate together in all the offices of religion, on catholic and primitive principles.

Whatever appearances there may have been of inattention on my part, they will, I trust, when I shall have the happiness of a personal conference, be fully, and to a mind so candid and liberal as yours, satisfactorily explained.

I propose, through the favor of God's good providence, to be at Aberdeen by the 10^th^ of November, and shall there wait the convening of the Bishops who have so humanely taken this matter under their management. My best and most respectful regards attend them.

Commending myself to your prayers and good offices, I remain, Right Rev^d. Sir, with the greatest respect and esteem, your most obedient and humble servant, S. S.

On his arrival in Aberdeen, Dr. Seabury met with new and unexpected opposition. A letter had been addressed to the Scottish bishops by an American clergyman, appealing to them, if they valued their

own peace and advantage as a Christian society, not to meddle with the consecration. He affirmed that it was "against the earnest and sound advice of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, to whom Dr. Seabury's design was communicated; they not thinking him a fit person, especially as he was actively and deeply engaged against Congress; that he would by this forward step render Episcopacy suspected there, the people not having had time, after a total derangement of their civil affairs, to consider as yet of ecclesiastical; and if it were unexpectedly and rashly introduced among them at the instigation of a few clergy only that remain, without their being consulted, would occasion it to be entirely slighted, unless with the approbation of the State they belong to; which is what they are laboring after just now, having called several provincial meetings together this autumn, to settle some preliminary articles of a Protestant Episcopal Church, as near as may be to that of England or Scotland."[1]

The author of this letter was the Rev. Dr. William Smith, a Scotchman by birth, formerly provost of the college and academy of Philadelphia, but then at the head of Washington College, in Maryland. He had views of his own to promote, and hoped and made efforts to be raised to the Episcopate in Maryland, which he seems to have feared that the consecration of Seabury might frustrate. The Scottish bishops had too many evidences of the Christian character of the candidate, and were too well persuaded of the unreasonableness of not complying with his request, to be hindered by such a communication.

[1] MS. Seabury papers cited by Wilberforce, p. 157.

The severe penal laws under which the non-juring bishops in Scotland and their clergy fell, for not disowning submission to the house of Stuart and swearing allegiance to the house of Hanover, had not been repealed a century ago. They were forbidden to officiate except in private dwellings, and then only for four persons besides those of the household; or, if in an uninhabited building, for a number not exceeding four.[1] In many rural places their houses of worship were burnt by military detachments, and in towns where burning was unsafe, they were shut up or demolished. While these severe laws against them had not been repealed, their edge had worn away, and they had become almost wholly inoperative, so that new churches were erected, and larger assemblies gathered.

In the year 1775, the Rev. John Skinner (afterwards bishop) was invited to fill a vacancy in the city of Aberdeen, and such was his zeal in his holy calling that his charge, from being composed of but three hundred people, had increased so much in twelve months that additional accommodation was needed. "But in 1776, even the idea of erecting an ostensible church-like place of worship dared not be cherished by Scotch Episcopalians. Hence was Mr. Skinner obliged to look out for some retired situation, down a close, or little alley, and there, at his own individual expense, to erect a large dwelling-house; the two upper floors of which, being fitted up as a chapel, were devoted to the accommodation of his daily in-

[1] A clergyman violating these laws was liable, for the first offense, to six months' imprisonment, and for the second, to transportation for life.

creasing flock, and the two under floors to the residence of his family."[1]

This large dwelling-house was erected in Long-acre, a narrow lane of the city, where public carriages never passed, and in its sequestered chapel the Rev. SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D., was publicly consecrated on Sunday, the 14th of November, 1784, by Robert Kilgour, *Primus*, assisted by Bishops Arthur Petrie and John Skinner. The service was not performed in secret and with bated breath. It was performed "in the presence of a considerable number of respectable clergymen and a great number of laity," and the sermon preached on the occasion was afterwards printed and extensively circulated.[2] The last four verses of the ninetieth Psalm, in the old version of Tate and Brady, were sung at the conclusion of the sermon, and were as applicable to the depressed condition of the Scottish Church as to the infant communion in America:—

"To satisfy and cheer our souls,
Thy early mercy send;
That we may all our days to come
In joy and comfort spend.

"Let happy times, with large amends,
Dry up our former tears,
Or equal, at the least, the term
Of our afflicted years.

"To all thy servants, Lord, let this
Thy wondrous work be known;

[1] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 16, 17.

[2] Two editions were printed, one in Aberdeen, the other in London, the latter on fine paper, small quarto.

And to our offspring yet unborn,
Thy glorious power be shown.

"Let Thy bright rays upon us shine,
Give Thou our work success;
The glorious work we have in hand,
Do Thou vouchsafe to bless."

The documents connected with the consecration, though long, and before given to the public, are too valuable and shed too much light upon the precise history of the whole affair, not to be reproduced in this place. They were recorded in the "Minute-Book of the College of Bishops in Scotland," and a duplicate of the original Concordate and of the letter to the clergy of Connecticut, upon vellum, came to this country, and both are still carefully preserved.

SYNOD 1784.

In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity. Amen.

The American States having been by the Legislature of Great Britain declared independent, the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in the State of Connecticut, who had long been anxiously desirous to have a valid and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy established among them, thought they had now a favorable opportunity of getting this their desire effected.

With this view, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, one of the Episcopal clergy in that State, was sent over to England with ample certificates of his piety, abilities, and learning, and fitness for the Episcopal office, and recommendations by his brethren, both in Connecticut and New York, to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, requesting that he might be consecrated for Connecticut. After a long stay in England and fruitless application for consecration, Dr. Seabury wrote and made application to the Bishops of Scotland, who, after having seriously considered the matter, readily

concurred to encourage and promote the proposal. In consequence of this, Dr. Seabury came to Scotland; and having notified his arrival, a day was fixed for his consecration, and the place appointed was Aberdeen. On Saturday, the 13th of November of the year of our Lord 1784, the following Bishops, viz: The Right Rev. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus; the Right Rev. Mr. John Skinner, his coadjutor; and the Right Rev. Mr. Arthur Petrie, Bishop of Ross and Moray (the Right Rev. Mr. Charles Rose, Bishop of Dunblane,[1] having previously signified his assent, and excused his absence by reason of his state of health and great distance), convened at Aberdeen, where Dr. Seabury met them, and laid before them the following letters and papers, viz: (1.) An attested copy of a letter from the clergy of Connecticut to the Archbishop of York, recommending Dr. Seabury in very strong terms, and requesting he might be consecrated for Connecticut. (2.) Another copy of a letter from the clergy of New York to both the Archbishops, signifying their concurrence, and highly approving of the measure. (3.) A full and ample testimonial from the clergy of Connecticut and New York, jointly certifying Dr. Seabury's learning, abilities, prudence, and zeal for religion, and that they believed him to be every way qualified for the sacred office of a Bishop. (4.) A letter from the Committee of the clergy in Connecticut to Dr. Seabury, acquainting him that they had made application to the Assembly of the State of Connecticut as to what protection might be expected for a Bishop in that State if they should be able to procure one. That their application met with a degree of candor and attention beyond their expectation; and that the opinion of the leading members of the Assembly appeared to coincide fully with theirs in respect of the need, propriety, and prudence of such a measure. That these members told them they had passed a law concerning the Episcopal Church, and invested her with all the

[1] The Scottish bishops at this time were reduced to these four, and their presbyters numbered but forty-two.

legal powers and rights that is intended by their constitution to give to any denomination. That the protection asked for was necessarily included in the act; that let a Bishop come; when he is there he will stand upon the same ground that the rest of the clergy do, or the Church at large. That the Legislature of the State would be so far from taking any umbrage, that in this transaction the Bishops would meet their generous wishes, and do a thing for which they would have their applause. (5.) A letter from the Committee of Convention in Connecticut to Dr. Seabury, amongst other things, signifying their reliance on his zeal and fortitude to prosecute the affair in such way as he can, and begging he will remember that, however glad they shall be to see him, and wish speed to the opportunity that may enable them to bid him a happy welcome, yet that his coming a Bishop will only prevent its being an unhappy meeting. (6.) A letter from Mr. Jarvis, Secretary of the Committee, to Dr. Seabury, accompanying the above letter, wherein Mr. Jarvis says, You may depend upon it you will be kindly treated in this State, let your ordination come from what quarter it will. (7.) An attested copy of the above mentioned Act of the State of Connecticut for securing the rights of conscience in matters of religion to Christians of every denomination, passed in the January session, 1783.

The said Bishops thus convened, after reading and considering these papers, and conversing at full length with Dr. Seabury, were fully satisfied of his fitness to be promoted to the Episcopate, and of the reasonableness and propriety of the request of these papers; and, therefore, the day following, being Sunday, the 14th of the said month of November, after morning prayers, and a sermon suitable to the occasion, preached by Bishop Skinner, they proceeded to the consecration of the said Dr. Samuel Seabury in the said Bishop Skinner's Chapel in Aberdeen, and he was then and there duly consecrated with all becoming solemnity by the said Right Rev. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Mr. Arthur Petrie, and Mr. John Skinner, in the presence of a considerable

number of respectable clergymen and a great number of laity, on which occasion all testified great satisfaction.[1] On Monday, the 15th, a Concordate betwixt the Episcopal Church in Scotland and that in Connecticut was formed and agreed upon by the Bishops of Scotland and Bishop Seabury, to their mutual satisfaction; and two duplicates thereof, wrote upon vellum, were duly signed and sealed by all the four. One duplicate, together with the above mentioned letters and papers respecting Dr. Seabury, was kept by the Bishops of Scotland, to be preserved among the records; and the other double, together with a letter from the Bishops of Scotland to the clergy of Connecticut, wrote also upon vellum, and duly signed and sealed, was delivered to Bishop Seabury: and so the Synod broke up. Copies of the Concordate and letter are herein inserted and are as follows:[2]—

[1] In Dei Nomine. *Amen.*

Omnibus ubique Catholicis per Presentes pateat, Nos Robertum Kilgour Miseratione Divina Episcopum Aberdonien. Arthurum Petrie Episcopum Rossen. et Moravien. et Joannem Skinner Episcopum Coadjutorem, Mysteria Sacra Domini nostri Jesu Christi in Oratorio supradicti Joannis Skinner apud Aberdoniam celebrantes, Divini Numinis Præsidio fretos (presentibus tam e Clero, quam e Populo Testibus idoneis) Samuelem Seabury Doctorem Divinitatis, sacro Presbyteratus Ordine jam decoratum, ac Nobis præ Vitæ integritate, Morum probitate, et Orthodoxia commendatum, et ad docendum et regendum aptum et idoneum, ad sacrum et sublimem Episcopatus Ordinem promovisse, et rite ac canonice, secundum Morem et Ritus Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ, Consecrasse, Die Novembris Decimo Quarto, Anno Æræ Christianæ Millesimo septingentesimo octagesimo quarto. In cujus rei Testimonium, Instrumento huic (Chirographis nostris prius munito) Sigilla nostra apponi mandavimus.

Robertus Kilgour *Episcopus et Primus.* [L. S.]
Arthurus Petrie *Episcopus.* [L. S.]
Ioannes Skinner *Episcopus.* [L. S.]

[2] See *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, October 16, 1851.

CONCORDATE.

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST, ONE GOD, BLESSED FOR EVER. AMEN. —

The wise and gracious Providence of this merciful God, having put it into the hearts of the Christians of the Episcopal persuasion in Connecticut in North America, to desire that the Blessings of a free, valid and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy, might be communicated to them, and a Church regularly formed in that part of the western world upon the most ancient, and primitive model: And application having been made for this purpose, by the Reverend D^r^ Samuel Seabury, Presbyter in Connecticut, to the Right Reverend the Bishops of the Church in Scotland: The said Bishops having taken this proposal into their serious Consideration, most heartily concurred to promote and encourage the same, as far as lay in their power; and accordingly began the pious and good work recommended to them, by complying with the request of the Clergy in Connecticut, and advancing the said D^r^ Samuel Seabury to the high order of the Episcopate; at the same time earnestly praying that this work of the Lord thus happily begun might prosper in his hands, till it should please the great and glorious Head of the Church, to increase the number of Bishops in America, and send forth more such Laborers into that part of his Harvest. — Animated with this pious hope, and earnestly desirous to establish a Bond of peace, and holy Communion, between the two Churches, the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, whose names are underwritten, having had full and free Conference with Bishop Seabury, after his Consecration and Advancement as aforesaid, agreed with him on the following Articles, which are to serve as a Concordate, or Bond of Union, between the Catholic remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut. —

Art. I[st.] They agree in thankfully receiving, and humbly and heartily embracing the whole Doctrine of the Gospel, as revealed and set forth in the holy Scriptures: and it is their earnest and united Desire to maintain the analogy of the common Faith once delivered to the Saints, and happily preserved in the Church of Christ, thro' his divine power and protection, who promised that the Gates of Hell should never prevail against it.

Art. II[d.] They agree in believing this Church to be the mystical Body of Christ, of which he alone is the Head, and supreme Governour, and that under him, the chief ministers or Managers of the affairs of this spiritual Society, are those called Bishops, whose Exercise of their sacred Office being independent on all Lay powers, it follows of consequence, that their spiritual Authority, and Jurisdiction cannot be affected by any Lay-Deprivation.

Art. III[d.] They agree in declaring that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut is to be in full Communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland; it being their sincere Resolution to put matters on such a footing as that the Members of both Churches may with freedom and safety communicate with either, when their Occasions call them from the one Country to the other: Only taking Care when in Scotland not to hold Communion in sacred Offices with those persons, who under pretence of Ordination by an English, or Irish Bishop, do, or shall take upon them to officiate as Clergymen in any part of the National Church of Scotland, and whom the Scottish Bishops cannot help looking upon, as schismatical Intruders, designed only to answer worldly purposes, and uncommissioned Disturbers of the poor Remains of that once flourishing Church, which both their predecessors and they have under many difficulties, laboured to preserve pure and uncorrupted to future Ages.

Art. IV. With a view to the salutary purpose mentioned in the preceding Article, they agree in desiring that there may be as near a Conformity in Worship and Discipline established between the two Churches, as is consistent with

the different Circumstances and Customs of Nations: And in order to avoid any bad Effects that might otherwise arise from political Differences, they hereby express their earnest Wish and firm Intention to observe such prudent Generality in their public Prayers, with respect to these points, as shall appear most agreeable to Apostolic Rules, and the practice of the primitive Church.

Art. V. As the Celebration of the holy Eucharist, or the Administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal Bond of Union among Christians, as well as the most solemn Act of Worship in the Christian Church, the Bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little Variance here as possible. And tho' the Scottish Bishops are very far from prescribing to their Brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can consistently with peace and prudence, to make the Celebration of this venerable Mystery conformable to the most primitive Doctrine and practice in that respect: Which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion office, and which it has been the Wish of some of the most eminent Divines of the Church of England, that she also had more closely followed, than she seems to have done since she gave up her first Reformed Liturgy used in the Reign of King Edward VI., between which, and the form used in the Church of Scotland, there is no Difference in any point, which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right Ministration of the holy Eucharist. In this capital Article therefore of the Eucharistic Service in which the Scottish Bishops so earnestly wish for as much Unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious View of the Communion office recommended by them, and if found agreeable to the genuine Standards of Antiquity, to give his Sanction to it, and by gentle methods of Argument and persuasion, to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the Compulsion of Authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former Custom on the other.

Art. VI. It is also hereby agreed and resolved upon for the better answering the purposes of this Concordate, that a brotherly fellowship be henceforth maintained between the Episcopal Churches in Scotland and Connecticut, and such a mutual Intercourse of Ecclesiastical Correspondence carried on, when Opportunity offers, or Necessity requires as may tend to the Support and Edification of both Churches.

Art. VII. The Bishops aforesaid do hereby jointly declare, in the most solemn manner, that in the whole of this Transaction they have nothing else in view, but the Glory of God, and the Good of his Church; And being thus pure and upright in their Intentions, they cannot but hope that all whom it may concern, will put the most fair and candid construction on their Conduct, and take no Offence at their feeble but sincere Endeavours to promote what they believe to be the Cause of Truth and of the common Salvation.

In Testimony of their Love to which, and in mutual good Faith and Confidence, they have for themselves, and their Successors in Office cheerfully put their names and Seals to these presents at Aberdeen, this fifteenth day of November, in the year of our Lord, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop & Primus.* [L. S.]
ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop.* [L. S.]
JOHN SKINNER, JR., *Bishop.* [L. S.]
SAMUEL SEABURY, *Bishop.* [L. S.]

The following letter from the bishops of Scotland "to the Episcopal Clergy in Connecticut, in North America," is copied from the original document on vellum, now in the archives of the Diocese of Connecticut, and, like the Concordate, is in the handwriting of Bishop Skinner.

REVEREND BRETHREN, AND WELL-BELOVED IN CHRIST, — Whereas it has been represented to us the Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, by the Reverend Dr.

Samuel Seabury, your fellow Presbyter in Connecticut, that you are desirous to have the blessings of a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy communicated to you, and that you do consider the Scottish Episcopacy to be such in every sense of the word; and the said Dr. Seabury having been sufficiently recommended to us, as a person very fit for the Episcopate; and having also satisfied us that you were willing to acknowledge and submit to him as your Bishop, when properly authorized to take the charge of you in that character; KNOW, therefore, DEARLY BELOVED, that WE the BISHOPS, and under Christ, the governours, by regular succession, of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, considering the reasonableness of your request, and being entirely satisfied with the recommendations in favour of the said Dr. Samuel Seabury, HAVE accordingly PROMOTED him to the high order of the Episcopate, by the laying on of our hands, and have thereby invested him with proper powers for governing and performing all Episcopal offices in the Church in Connecticut. And having thus far complied with your desire, and done what was incumbent on us, to keep up the Episcopal succession in a part of the Christian Church, which is now by mutual Agreement loosed from, and given up by those who once took the charge of it, permitt us therefore, Reverend Brethren, to request your hearty and sincere endeavours to further and carry on the good work we have happily begun. To this end, we hope you will receive and acknowledge the Right Reverend Bishop Seabury as your Bishop and spiritual governour, that you will pay him all due and canonical obedience in that sacred character, and reverently apply to him for all Episcopal offices, which you, or the people committed to your pastoral care, may stand in need of at his hands, till thro' the goodness of God, the number of Bishops be increased among you, and the State of Connecticut be divided into separate Districts or Dioceses, as is the case in other parts of the Christian world. This Recommendation, we flatter ourselves, you will take in good part from the governours of a Church which cannot be sus-

pected of aiming at Supremacy of any kind, or over any people. Unacquainted as we are with the politicks of Nations, and under no temptation to interfere in matters foreign to us, we have no other Object in view but the interest of the Mediator's kingdom, no higher ambition than to do our duty as messengers of the Prince of Peace. In the discharge of this duty, the example we wish to copy after is that of the Primitive Church, while in a similar situation, unconnected with, and unsupported by the temporal Powers. On this footing, it is our earnest desire that the Episcopal Church in Connecticut be in full communion with the Episcopal Church in Scotland, as we, the underwritten Bishops, for ourselves, and our successors in office, agree to hold communion with Bishop Seabury and his successors, as practised in the various provinces of the Primitive Church, in all the fundamental Articles of Faith, and by mutual intercourse of ecclesiastical correspondence and brotherly fellowship, when opportunity offers, or necessity requires. Upon this plan, which, we hope, will meet your joint approbation, and according to this standard of primitive practice, a CONCORDATE has been drawn up and signed by us, the Bishops of the Church in Scotland, on the one part, and by Bishop Seabury on the other, the Articles of which are to serve as a bond of union between the Catholic Remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland, and the now rising Church in the State of Connecticut. Of this Concordate a copy is herewith sent for your satisfaction; and after having duly weighed the several Articles of it, we hope you will find them all both expedient and equitable, dictated by a spirit of Christian meekness, and proceeding from a pure regard to regularity and good order. As such we most earnestly recommend them to your serious attention, and with all brotherly love intreat your hearty and sincere compliance with them.

A Concordate thus established in mutual good faith and confidence, will, by the blessing of God, make our Ecclesiastical union firm and lasting: And we have no other desire

but to render it conducive to that peace, and agreeable to that truth, which it ever has been, and shall be, our study to seek after and cultivate. And may the God of Peace grant you to be like-minded. May He, who is the Great High Priest of our profession, the Shepherd and Bishop of our souls, prosper these our endeavours for the propagation of his Truth and Righteousness: May He graciously accept our imperfect services, grant success to our good designs, and make His Church to be yet glorious upon earth, and the joy of all lands. To his divine Benediction we heartily commend you, your Flocks, and your Labors, and are, Reverend Sirs, Your affectionate Brethren and Fellow-servants in Christ,

ROBERT KILGOUR, *Bishop & Primus.*
ARTHUR PETRIE, *Bishop.*
JOHN SKINNER, JR., *Bishop.*

ABERDEEN, *November* 15, 1784.

Bishop Seabury preached in the upper room[1] at Aberdeen, on the afternoon of the day of his consecration, and produced a favorable impression. His earnestness and manner of address, accompanied with gesticulations, were somewhat new to the Scotch

[1] The building in which the consecration took place is not now standing. In the minute-book of St. Andrew's Chapel, under date of May 13, 1794, is an entry "that the present *chapel*, *dwelling-house* and *ground* in Long-acre, belonging to Bishop Skinner, be purchased from him, and that with the materials of said house, as far as they can be useful, a new chapel be built on said piece of ground for . . . . 780 people." See *The Scottish Guardian*, January 30, 1880.

The "new chapel" was erected on the site of the former *dwelling-house* and *chapel*, and, like its predecessor, was never consecrated. It was sold to the Wesleyans when the congregation removed, in 1817, from Long-acre to the present St. Andrew's Church, in King Street. The foundations for a new chancel to this church were begun in January last, and it has been proposed to place in it, with the aid of contributions from this country, a suitable memorial of the consecration of Bishop Seabury, as a testimony of the benefit derived from the Scotch Church in giving us the first American bishop. See Appendix B.

Episcopalians. "My father," says the author[1] of "An Ecclesiastical History of Scotland," "then a boy, was present, and has often spoken to me about it. He recollected particularly that the bishop used more gesture than was common in Scotland, and that he waved a white handkerchief while he preached."

A deep and holy interest was felt in the results of the consecration, and many blessings were invoked, both publicly and privately, upon the person and work of the first American bishop. He was not forgotten after leaving the chapel in Long-acre. The Rev. Alexander Jolly, afterwards Bishop of Moray, compiled a special prayer which may have been used in the services of the Church, and which was in these words: —

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, who hast purchased to thyself an universal Church by the precious Blood of thy dear Son, and by whose Spirit it is sanctified and united into one body, of which Jesus Christ is the Head, let the virtue and efficacy of His death and passion be extended far and wide; let thy ways be known upon earth and thy saving health among all nations: Bless and prosper the endeavors of all, who, by thy divine aid, labor and endeavor to propagate thy truth and promote the interest and enlargement of the Church and kingdom of Christ. In an especial manner bless and prosper the labors and endeavors of the Bishops and laity of that portion of the Church, whereof I am an unworthy member, and of him who by thy divine Providence, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ, is now commissioned and appointed to promote the interests of that Church and kingdom in the western parts of the habitable world. Grant him a safe and prosperous journey and voyage, and a happy arrival in that country. Inspire him, and us, and all who are, or shall be

[1] Dr. Grub, MS. Letter, November 20, 1879.

commissioned for that great work, with an apostolical zeal for thy glory in maintaining that doctrine, government, worship, and discipline, entire, pure, and unblemished, which Thou hast committed to their trust. Give us grace to consider from whom we are sent, and whose successors we are, and endue us with the apostolical spirit of courage and boldness, together with such a holy and heavenly suffering frame of mind, that we may be ready, not only to be bound, but to die for the Lord Jesus, and for the doctrines which He hath revealed, for the institutions which He hath appointed, and for the principles and rights which He hath left to his Church. Then shall thy people praise Thee, O God: Then shall Kings fall down before Thee and all nations do Thee service.

Hear us, O Lord, we beseech Thee, and receive these our prayers and intercessions, which in faith and charity we present unto Thee through his merits alone, who is the Head of the Catholic Church and the High Priest of our profession, Jesus Christ. Amen.[1]

Thirty-two years later, when Bishop Jolly was an old man, "whose business now," to use his own words, "after a long day, was to say his penitential prayers and go to bed in the dust," he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Washington (Trinity) College, Hartford. It was an entirely unexpected honor, which "humbled him under a sense of his own emptiness," and in writing to Bishop Kemp, of Maryland, to thank him for his good offices in obtaining it, he referred with delight to its source and recalled an incident of the consecration in the upper room at Aberdeen: "Connecticut has been a word of peculiar endearment to me since the happy day when I had the honor and joy of being introduced to the first ever

[1] Walker's *Memoir of Bishop Jolly*, pp. 35, 36, and MS. Letter, August 19, 1879.

memorable bishop of that highly favored see, whose name ever excites in my heart the warmest veneration. With a glad and thankful heart, I witnessed his consecration, held the Book while the solemn words were pronounced, and received his first Episcopal benediction."

On his return to London, Bishop Seabury stopped at Edinburgh and must have preached in that city, where his friend Dr. Myles Cooper and others were ready to congratulate him on the accomplishment of his mission. He addressed a letter to the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, who, like himself, took the side of the crown in the war of the Revolution, and conscientiously believed that the resistance of the colonies was unwise and against their best interests. In consequence of his loyalty, he was ejected from his parish in Maryland and returned to England, of which he was a native, and was appointed vicar of Epsom, in the county of Surrey, and, as will be seen hereafter, made himself useful to Bishop Seabury and served as a medium of communication with his friends. The letter gives ample proof of the bishop's spirit and self-sacrifice, and mentions that, failing to obtain consecration in England, "it was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English." It is copied in full from the MS. Letter-Book.

EDINBURGH, *December* 3, 1784.

MY VERY DEAR SIR, — I promised to write you as soon as a certain event took place, and I have not till now made good my promise. In truth, I have not had opportunity to collect my thoughts on the subject on which I wished to

write you; and even now, I expect every minute to be called upon, and probably this letter will go unfinished to you.

Dr. Chandler, I suppose, has informed you that my consecration took place on the 14th of November at Aberdeen. I found great candor, piety, and good sense among the Scotch Bishops and also among the clergy with whom I have conversed. The Bishops expect the clergy of Connecticut will form their own Liturgy and Offices; yet they hope the English Liturgy, which is the one they use, will be retained, except the Communion Office, and that they wish should give place to the one in Edward the Sixth's Prayer Book. This matter I have engaged to lay before the clergy of Connecticut, and they will be left to their own judgment which to prefer. Some of the congregations in Scotland use one and some the other Office; but they communicate with each other on every occasion that offers. On political subjects not a word was said. Indeed, their attachment to a particular family is wearing off, and I am persuaded a little good policy in England would have great effect here.

Upon the whole, I know nothing, and am conscious that I have done nothing that ought to interrupt my connection with the Church of England. The Church in Connecticut has only done her duty in endeavoring to obtain an Episcopacy for herself, and I have only done my duty in carrying her endeavors into execution. Political reasons prevented her application from being complied with in England. It was natural in the next instance to apply to Scotland, whose Episcopacy, though now under a cloud, is the very same, in every ecclesiastical sense, with the English.

His Grace of Canterbury apprehended that my obtaining consecration in Scotland would create jealousies and schisms in the Church, that the Moravian Bishops in America would be hereby induced to ordain clergymen, and that the Philadelphian clergy would be encouraged to carry into effect their plan of constituting a nominal Episcopacy by the joint suffrages of clergymen and laymen.

But when it is considered that the Moravian Bishops can-

not ordain clergymen of our Church, unless requested so to do, and that when there shall be a Bishop in America, there will be no ground on which to make such a request; and that the Philadelphian plan was only proposed on the supposition of real and absolute necessity; which necessity cannot exist when there is a Bishop resident in America, every apprehension of this kind must, I think, vanish and be no more. My own inclination is to cultivate as close a connection and union with the Church of England, as that Church and the political state of the two countries shall permit. I have grown up and lived hitherto under the influence of the highest veneration for and attachment to the Church of England, and in the service of the Society, and my hope is to promote the interest of that Church with greater effect than ever, and to establish it in the full enjoyment of its whole government and discipline.

And I think it highly probable that I may be of real service to this country, by promoting a connection with that country in religious matters without any breach of duty to the State in which I shall live. I cannot help considering it as an instance of bad policy, that my application for consecration was rejected in England; and I intend no offense when I say, that I think the policy would still be worse should the Society on this occasion discharge me from their service, which his Grace of York, in my last interview with him,[1] said would certainly be the case. That indeed would make a schism between the two Churches, and put it out of my power to preserve that friendly intercourse and communion which I earnestly wish. It might also bring on explanations which would be disagreeable to me, and, I imagine, to the Society also. However, should the Society itself be obliged to take such a step, though I shall be sorry for it,

[1] Before leaving for Scotland he called on the archbishop, and frankly stated to him the object of his journey. "Why, Dr. Seabury!" he exclaimed, "do you not know that these Scottish bishops are Jacobites?" "Yes, my Lord," was the quick reply, "and if report says true, your Grace's non-juring principles are the brightest jewel in your Grace's mitre." The archbishop smiled and was silent.

and hurt by it, I shall not be dejected. If my father and mother forsake me, if the Governors of the Church and the Society discard me, I shall still be that humble pensioner of Divine Providence which I have been through my whole life. God, I trust, will take me up, continue his goodness to me, and bless my endeavors to serve the cause of his infant Church in Connecticut. I trust, sir, that it is not the loss of £50 per annum that I dread, — though that is an object of some importance to a man who has nothing, — but the consequences that must ensue, the total alienation of regard and affection.

You can make such use of this letter as you think proper. If I can command so much time, I will write to Dr. Morice on the subject. If not, I will see him as soon as I return to London, which will be in ten days.

Please to present my regards to Mr. Stevens and all friends, and believe me to be, with the greatest esteem, your affectionate, humble servant, S. S.

CHAPTER X.

ARRIVAL IN LONDON, AND NEW PERPLEXITIES; OPPOSITION OF GRANVILLE SHARPE AND OTHERS; LETTER TO THE CLERGY OF CONNECTICUT, AND FRIENDSHIP OF AMERICAN LOYALISTS; PECUNIARY SUPPORT, AND LETTER TO THE VENERABLE SOCIETY; BISHOP SKINNER'S INTEREST, AND LETTERS OF DR. CHANDLER.

A. D. 1785.

AFTER his arrival in London from Scotland, Bishop Seabury began to make preparations for returning to America. He had succeeded in obtaining consecration, but his path was not yet cleared of trials and perplexities. There were those high in authority in England who manifested dissatisfaction with the step and presumed to think that it had been taken too hurriedly. Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury and the commentator on the Psalms, wrote to him on the 3d of January, 1785, and said: "You do me but justice in supposing me a hearty friend to the American Episcopacy. I am truly sorry that our cabinet here would not save you the trouble of going to Scotland for it. There is some uneasiness about it, I find, since it is done. It is said you have been *precipitate*. I should be inclined to think so too, had any hopes been left of obtaining consecration from England. But if none were left, what could you do but what you have done?"

To this letter Bishop Seabury in reply, after briefly

referring to obstacles which have been noted in these pages, remarked: "God grant that I may never have greater cause to condemn myself than in the conduct of this business. I have endeavored to get it forward easily and quietly, without noise, party, or heat; and I cannot but be pleased that no fault but precipitancy is brought against me. *That* implies that I have needlessly hurried the matter, but is an acknowledgment that the measure was right in itself." And it showed his kindly spirit when he went on to affirm: "From education and habit, as well as from a sense of her real excellence, I have a sincere veneration for the Church of England, and I am grieved to see the power of her bishops restrained by her connection with the state. Had it been otherwise, my application, I am confident, would have met with a very different reception."

A man so distinguished in the cause of suffering humanity as Granville Sharpe, grandson of Dr. John Sharpe, Archbishop of York, was opposed on political grounds to the non-juring bishops in Scotland, and attempted to throw discredit on the validity of the Scottish consecrations. His biographer states that Dr. Seabury, on coming to England, called on the Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration, and as his Grace hesitated, fearing to offend the Americans, with whom peace had just been established, and wished time to consider the request, "Dr. Seabury very abruptly left the room, saying, If your Grace will not grant me consecration, I know where to obtain it; and immediately set off for Aberdeen." [1]

A statement so wide of the truth was properly cor

[1] Prince Hoare's *Memoirs of the Life of Granville Sharpe*, p. 213.

rected years ago. Mr. Sharpe, being a loyal Englishman, was desirous, and afterwards used his good offices to this end, that the Episcopacy for America should be obtained from the bishops of his own Church. Five days after the consecration of Dr. Seabury, he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and expressed his regret at the limitation of the late act, authorizing only the ordination of priests and deacons for independent States. "I should not," said he, "have troubled your Grace with so long a letter on this subject, had I not lately been informed that an American clergyman, who calls himself a LOYALIST, is actually gone down to Scotland, with a view of obtaining consecration from some of the remaining NON-JURING Bishops in that kingdom, who still affect among themselves a nominal jurisdiction from the Pretender's appointment; and he proposes, afterwards, to go to America, in hopes of obtaining jurisdiction over several EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONS in Connecticut."[1]

It has already been mentioned that Dr. Seabury found unexpected opposition at Aberdeen from Dr. Smith, and not long after reaching London, he received a letter from Bishop Skinner, in which he referred again to the course of that gentleman, especially in the Episcopal conventions in the United States, and expressed the hope that he had "overshot his mark in America, as his warm friend," the Rev. Dr. Alexander Murray, had "lately done in London by his opposition to him. These bustling spirits," he continued, "often hurt their own cause by an overkeenness to promote it." Dr. Murray was a loyalist,

[1] Hoare's *Memoirs, etc.*, p. 213.

a clergyman of Reading, Penn., and fled to England, where in his zeal to further the interests of Dr. Smith, who aspired to the Episcopate of Maryland, he disparaged Bishop Seabury and his work, and represented that it was not to have been expected that the English bishops would consecrate him "upon the recommendation of a few missionaries in their obscure private capacity."

Dr. Berkeley was not altogether satisfied with the documents which were signed at Aberdeen, and in the same letter, Bishop Skinner quoted the words he had written to him thus: "With all due deference to the prelates who have signed the Concordate and pastoral letter, I beg leave to observe that (from my knowledge both of the principles and prejudices of the American Protestant Episcopalians) some parts of that Concordate and letter, apparently calculated for the conduct of a bishop to be employed in the first publication of the gospel, rather than as Bishop Seabury is to be occupied, may occasion schisms where unity is most desirable."

The parts to which he excepted were not given, and it is supposed that he referred to the articles concerning the Eucharistic service. Bishop Skinner felt that the cautious way in which everything was worded ought to convince any unprejudiced person that while they had a high regard for primitive doctrine and practice, their desire for peace and unity was equally fervent, and they had no intention of creating schisms. "If you think," he added, "it will answer any good end to communicate this to the worthy doctor, you may take a convenient opportunity of doing it, as I do not choose, for obvious rea-

sons, to enter into any altercations with him on the subject, unless he had desired a further explanation of the passages to which he alluded."[1]

Six weeks had now passed away since his consecration, and Bishop Seabury had been waiting to arrange his affairs, and fix upon a time for his departure, before writing to the clergy of Connecticut. They knew, however, by his last letter, the step he was about to take, and they would not, therefore, have been surprised to hear at any moment of his arrival in this country clothed with apostolic authority. The following is his first pastoral letter to them, dated

LONDON, *January* 5, 1785.

MY VERY DEAR AND WORTHY FRIENDS, — It is with great pleasure that I now inform you, that my business here is perfectly completed, in the best way that I have been able to transact it. Your letter, and also a letter from Mr. Leaming, which accompanied the act of your Legislature, certified by Mr. Secretary Wyllys, overtook me at Edinburgh, in my journey to the north, and not only gave me great satisfaction, but were of great service to me.

I met with a very kind reception from the Scotch Bishops, who having read and considered such papers as I laid before them, consisting of the copies of my original letters and testimonial, and of your subsequent letters, declared themselves perfectly satisfied, and said that they conceived themselves called upon, in the course of God's providence, without regard to any human policy, to impart a pure, valid, and free Episcopacy to the western world; and that they trusted that God, who had begun so good a work, would water the infant Church in Connecticut with his heavenly grace, and protect it by his good providence, and make it the glory and pattern of the pure Episcopal Church in the world; and

[1] MS. Letter-Book under date January 29, 1785.

that as it was freed from all incumbrance arising from connection with civil establishments and human policy, the future splendor of its primitive simplicity and Christian piety would appear to be eminently and entirely the work of God and not of man. On the 14th of Nov. my consecration took place, at Aberdeen (520 miles from hence). It was the most solemn day I ever passed; God grant I may never forget it!

I now only wait for a good ship in which to return. None will sail before the last of February or first of March. The ship Triumph, Capt. Stout, will be among the first. With this same Stout, commander, and in the Triumph, I expect to embark, and hope to be in New York some time in April; your prayers and good wishes will, I know, attend me.

A new scene will now, my dear Gentlemen, in all probability, open in America. Much do I depend on you and the other good Clergymen in Connecticut, for advice and support, in an office which will otherwise prove too heavy for me. Their support, I assure myself I shall have; and I flatter myself they will not doubt of my hearty desire, and earnest endeavor, to do everything in my power for the welfare of the Church, and promotion of religion and piety. You will be pleased to consider whether New London be the proper place for me to reside at; or whether some other place would do better. At New London, however, I suppose they make some dependence upon me. This ought to be taken into the consideration. If I settle at New London, I must have an assistant. Look out, then, for some good clever young gentleman who will go immediately into deacon's orders, and who would be willing to be with me in that capacity. And indeed I must think it a matter of propriety, that as many worthy candidates be in readiness for orders as can be procured. Make the way, I beseech you, as plain and easy for me as you can.

Since my return from Scotland, I have seen none of the Bishops, but I have been informed that the step I have

taken has displeased the two Archbishops, and it is now a matter of doubt whether I shall be continued on the Society's list. The day before I set out on my northern journey, I had an interview with each of the Archbishops, when my design was avowed; so that the measure was known, though it has made no noise.

My own poverty is one of the greatest discouragements I have. Two years' absence from my family, and expensive residence here, has more than expended all I had. But in so good a cause, and of such magnitude, something must be risked by somebody. To my lot it has fallen; I have done it cheerfully, and despair not of a happy issue.

This, I believe, is the last time I shall write to you from this country. Will you then accept your Bishop's blessing, and hearty prayers for your happiness in this world and the next? May God bless also, and keep, all the good Clergy of Connecticut!

I am, reverend and dear brethren, your affectionate brother, and very humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

REV. MESSRS. LEAMING, JARVIS, AND HUBBARD.

Among the American loyalists in England, who looked with favor upon the consecration of Dr. Seabury, and tried to smooth the way for his reception in the States, was the Rev. Jacob Duché. At the outbreak of the Revolution he was on the side of the colonies, and was rector of Christ and St. Peter's Churches, Philadelphia. Writing from the Asylum at Lambeth, of which he was chaplain, December 1, 1784, to his friend, the Rev. Wm. White, who had been one of his assistants, and succeeded him as rector after his flight from this country, he spoke of the consecration of Dr. Seabury, and said it was the sincere wish of all who desired to see the American

Episcopal Church formed on the model of the Church of England, that he should be received with open arms by the American clergy, and thus prevent division and the growth of sects. "Much more I have to say to you on this subject," said Mr. Duché. "Your American Bishop, for so I must now call him, is a SCHOLAR, a GENTLEMAN, and, I am happy to be able to say (what I only believe to be true), a REAL CHRISTIAN. I hope you will take the earliest opportunity of calling together a Convention, or Synod, or Convocation, or some general Ecclesiastical meeting from the several States, to receive him, and at the same time, to fix upon an Ecclesiastical constitution for your future union and comfort. I have not time to add more. I shall write again by Capt. Mercer, as I expect Bishop Seabury in London the 17th of this month."

Dr. Inglis, who was then in London, joined Mr. Duché in recommending this course, and communicated his views to Mr. White in a separate letter. He had been his correspondent in this country, and on the 22d of October, 1783, when he was hurrying preparations to embark for England, with no hope of ever returning to settle in any of the States, he wrote him a long and candid letter, disapproving of the manner in which he proposed to organize the Church in America, and showing with much wisdom and disinterestedness the plan which ought to be adopted to make it conform to primitive truth and Apostolic order. Political questions were entirely put aside, and the plea of necessity as stated in the pamphlet of Mr. White was as stoutly opposed by Dr. Inglis as it had been by the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut.

These letters undoubtedly had their influence in shaping the course of subsequent events. The consecration of Dr. Seabury was not recognized in London, for reasons obvious to those who understand the connection of Church and state. No English clergyman, however friendly he might be to his mission, could ask him to preach for him, and if it had been tendered him, he would not, as a matter of prudence and propriety, have accepted an invitation. He considered himself, and was considered by others, as a foreign bishop, and under the law as it then stood, he was shut out from officiating in any public service.

His detention in England afforded him the opportunity to consult his personal friends and interest them in his support after reaching Connecticut. Should the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel see fit to withdraw the annual stipend which had been allowed him as one of its missionaries from the date of his ordination, he would be left with little or nothing to maintain the dignity of his office or to meet the wants of his family. He seems to have apprehended that this might be the case, and took pains to prevent it, if possible. The following noble letter to the secretary of the venerable Society is at once a concise history of his mission to England and a pathetic appeal for future remembrance and consideration. A transcript in the bishop's own handwriting was made in his letter-book, from which our copy is taken: —

LONDON, *February* 27, 1785.

REV. SIR, — When the Articles of the late peace were published in America, it is natural to suppose that the mem-

bers of the Church of England must have been under many anxious apprehensions concerning the fate of the Church. The great distance between England and America had always subjected them to many difficulties in the essential article of ordination; and the independency of that country gave rise to new ones that appeared insurmountable. Candidates for Holy Orders could no longer take the oath required in the English Ordination Office, and without doing so, they could not be ordained. The Episcopal Church in America must, under such circumstances, cease, whenever it should please God to take their present ministers from them, unless some adequate means could be adopted to procure a regular succession of Clergymen. Under these impressions the Clergy of Connecticut met together as soon as they possibly could, and on the most deliberate consideration, they saw no remedy but the actual settlement of a Bishop among them. They therefore determined to make an effort to procure that blessing from the English Church, to which they hoped, under every change of civil polity, to remain united, and commissioned the Rev. Mr. Abraham Jarvis, of Middletown, in Connecticut, to go to New York and consult such of the Clergy there as they thought prudent on the subject, and to procure their concurrence. He was also directed to try to prevail on Rev. Mr. Leaming or me to undertake a voyage to England, and endeavor to obtain Episcopal Consecration for Connecticut. Mr. Leaming declined on account of his age and infirmities; and the Clergy who were consulted by Mr. Jarvis gave it as their decided opinion that I ought, in duty to the Church, to comply with the request of the Connecticut Clergy. Though I foresaw many and great difficulties in the way, yet as I hoped they might all be overcome, and as Mr. Jarvis had no instruction to make the proposal to any one besides, and was, with the other Clergy, of opinion the design would drop if I declined it, I gave my consent, and arrived in England the beginning of July, 1783, endeavoring, according to the best of my ability and discretion, to accomplish the business on which I

came. It would be disagreeable to me to recapitulate the difficulties which arose and defeated the measure, and to enter on a detail of my own conduct in the matter is needless, as his Grace of Canterbury, and his Grace of York, with other members of the Society, are well acquainted with all the circumstances.

Finding at the end of the last Session of Parliament, that no permission was given for consecrating a Bishop for Connecticut, or any of the American States, in the Act enabling the Lord Bishop of London to ordain foreign candidates for Deacon's and Priest's orders; and understanding that a requisition, or at least a formal acquiescence of Congress, or of the supreme authority in some particular State, would be expected before such permission would be granted; and that a diocese must be formed, and a stated revenue appointed for the Bishop, previously to his consecration, I absolutely despaired of ever seeing such a measure succeed in England. I therefore thought it not only justifiable, but a matter of duty, to endeavor to obtain, wherever it could be had, a valid Episcopacy for the Church in Connecticut, which consists of more than 30,000 members. I knew that the Bishops in Scotland derived their succession from England, and that their Liturgy, Doctrines, and Discipline scarcely differ from those of the English Church. And as only the Scriptural, or purely Ecclesiastical power of Episcopacy was wanted in Connecticut, I saw no impropriety in applying to the Scotch Bishops for consecration. If I succeeded, I was to exercise the Episcopal authority in Connecticut out of the British dominions, and therefore could cause no disturbance in the ecclesiastical or civil state of this country.

The reasons why this step should be taken immediately appeared also to me to be very strong. Before I left America a disposition to run into irregular practices had showed itself; for some had proposed to apply to the Moravian, some to the Swedish Bishops, for ordination; and a pamphlet had been published at Philadelphia, urging the appointment of a number of Presbyters and Laymen to ordain

Ministers for the Episcopal Church. Necessity was pleaded as the foundation of all these schemes; and this plea could be effectually silenced only by having a resident Bishop in America.

I have entered into no political engagements in Scotland, nor were any ever mentioned to me. And I shall return to America, bound indeed to hold communion with the Episcopal Church of Scotland, because I believe that, as I do the Church of England, to be the Church of Christ.

It is the first wish of my heart, and will be the endeavor of my life, to maintain this unity with the Church of England, agreeably to those general laws of Christ's Church, which depend not on any human power, and which lay the strongest obligations on all its members to live in peace and unity with each other. And I trust no obstacle will arise or hinder an event so desirable and so consonant to the principles of the Christian religion, as the union of the Church of England and the Episcopal Church of America would be. Such a union must be of great advantage to the Church in America, and may also be so at some future period to the Church of England. The sameness of religion will have an influence on the political conduct of both countries, and in that view may be an object of some consideration to Great Britain.

How far the venerable Society may think themselves justifiable in continuing me their Missionary, they only can determine. Should they do so, I shall esteem it as a favor. Should they do otherwise, I can have no right to complain. I beg them to believe that I shall ever retain a grateful sense of their favors to me during thirty-one years that I have been their Missionary; and that I shall remember with the utmost respect the kind attention which they have so long paid to the Church in that country for which I am now to embark. Very happy would it make me could I be assured they would continue that attention, if not in the same, yet in some degree, if not longer, yet during the lives of their present Missionaries, whose conduct in the late commo-

tion has been irreproachable, and has procured esteem to themselves and respect to that Church to which they belong.

The fate of individuals is, however, of inferior moment when compared with that of the whole Church. Whenever the Society shall wholly cease to interest itself in the concerns of religion in America, it will be a heavy calamity to the Church in that country. Yet this is to be expected; and the calamity will be heavier, if proper steps be not previously taken to secure to that Church various property of lands, etc., in the different States (now, indeed, of small value, but gradually increasing), to which the Society alone has a legal claim. It is humbly submitted to them how far it may be consistent with their views to give men authority to assert and secure to the Church there the lands in Vermont and elsewhere. This, it is hoped, might now be easily done, but a few years may render their recovery impracticable. The Society has also a library of books in New York, which was sent thither for the use of the Missionaries in the neighborhood. As there is now only one Missionary in that State, and several in Connecticut, I beg leave to ask their permission to have it removed into Connecticut, where it will answer the most valuable purposes, there being no library of consequence in that State to which the Clergy can resort on any occasion.

Whatever the Society may determine with regard to me, I hope it will not be thought an impropriety that I should correspond with them. I think many advantages would arise from such a correspondence, both to the Church and to the Society. Their interests are indeed the same, and I trust that the Society will do me the justice to believe, that with such ability as I have and such influence as my station may give me, I shall steadily endeavor to promote the interests of both.

I am, with the greatest respect and esteem, Rev. Sir, your and the Society's most obedient and very humble servant,

S. S.

The secretary of the Society, Dr. Morice, briefly replied, and, without recognizing his official character, addressed his letter "To the Rev. Dr. Seabury, New London, Connecticut." This, too, was copied by the bishop in his letter-book, direction and all, and ran thus: —

HATTON GARDEN, *April* 25, 1785.

REV. SIR, — Your letter of February 27th was read to the Society, etc., at their first meeting subsequent to my receiving it.

I am directed by the Society to express their approbation of your service as their Missionary, and to acquaint you that they cannot consistently with their charter employ any Missionaries except in the plantations, colonies, and factories belonging to the kingdom of Great Britain; your case is of course comprehended under that general rule.

No decided opinion is yet formed respecting the lands you mention. For the rest, the Society without doubt will always readily receive such information as may contribute to promote their invariable object, the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

I am, Rev. Sir, your affectionate Brother and most humble Servant, WM. MORICE, *Secretary*.

The sermon preached by Bishop Skinner at the consecration of Dr. Seabury was printed, and the author, who desired to send some copies of it to the American prelate, wrote to Dr. Chandler, residing at the time in the British metropolis, both to get directions and to invite his correspondence upon the result of the effort to establish a pure and primitive Episcopacy in the western world. He expected that Bishop Seabury, on his arrival in this country, would fulfill his promise and write; "But," said he to Dr. Chandler, "as you will perhaps have occasion to

hear more frequently from him, I shall think myself highly obliged to you for any intelligence respecting him or his affairs which you may be pleased to communicate. For, besides my being very much interested in his matters, from a similarity of office and character, the short time I had the pleasure of seeing and conversing with him here has given me such a high opinion of his personal worth, as must ever entitle him to my warmest esteem and most affectionate remembrance."

Dr. Chandler dispatched an answer to this letter as follows, from

LONDON, *April* 23, 1785.

About three days ago, I was honored with your very friendly and obliging letter of the first instant. I feel myself greatly indebted to my excellent friend, Bishop Seabury, for having mentioned me in such a manner as to occasion the offer of so reputable a correspondence as is presented in your letter; and were I to remain in a situation that favored it, I should embrace it with all thankfulness. But I am soon to embark for America, and for a part of it where, during my continuance there, I shall be unable to answer your expectations.

You may, perhaps, have heard that after having been separated eight years from my family, which I left in New Jersey, I have been detained here two years, with the prospect of being appointed to the superintendency of the Church in our new country. This business, though the call for it is most urgent, is still postponed; and it appears to be in no greater forwardness now than it did a year ago. In the mean while I am laboring under a scorbutic disorder, which renders a sea-voyage and change of climate immediately necessary. I therefore thought proper to wait upon the archbishop a day or two since, to resign my pretensions to the Nova Scotia Episcopate, that I might be at liberty to

cross the Atlantic and visit my family, consisting now of a most excellent wife and three amiable daughters. His Grace would not hear of my giving up my claim to the above-mentioned appointment, but readily consented to my visiting my family, on condition that I would hold myself in readiness to undertake the important charge whenever I might be called for, which I promised in case my health should admit of it. Accordingly, I have engaged a passage in a ship bound to New York, which is obliged to sail by this day fortnight. By this migration you can be no loser, if you will be pleased in my stead to adopt for your correspondent the Rev. Mr. Boucher, of Paddington, a loyal clergyman from Maryland, the worthiest of the worthy, and one of the most confidential friends of Bishop Seabury. I have taken the liberty of showing him your letter, and making him the proposal. He will think himself happy in answering your inquiries from time to time, and will, as a correspondent, be able to give you more satisfaction than I could.

I have often expressed my wish that your truly valuable Consecration Sermon might be advertised for sale in this city. If this had been done while the occasion was fresh, I am persuaded that a large edition would have sold, and much good would have arisen from it. I am of opinion that, late as it now is, many copies would still be called for were they known to be at hand. I should think Mr. Robinson, of Paternoster Row, might be properly employed in that way, who has mostly published for Mr. Jones and sometimes for Dr. Horne. By the bye, it gives me pleasure to see my two learned friends here mentioned, honored with your notice. In this sermon you have ably, clearly, and unanswerably explained the origin and nature of ecclesiastical authority, and "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

This is a subject which I have repeatedly had occasion to consider in the course of my publications in defense of our claim to an Episcopate, and I am ashamed to find that it is so little understood by the English clergy in general.

Dr. Seabury, of whom you cannot have so high an opinion as I have, because you are not so well acquainted with him, left the Downs on the 15th of last month; on the 19th he was sixty-five leagues west of the Lizzard, with a fair prospect of a good passage, at which time he wrote to me. It appears from the late letters from America that there was great impatience for his arrival, and no apprehension of his meeting with ill-treatment from any quarter. In my opinion, he has more trouble to expect from a certain crooked-grained false brother (of whose character you must have some knowledge), than from any other person. I mean Dr. S—th, late of Philadelphia College, now of Maryland. He *is* a man of abilities and application, but intriguing and pragmatical. His principles, with regard both to Church and State, if he has any, are most commodiously flexible, yielding not only to every blast, but to the gentlest breeze that whispers! With professions of great personal esteem for Dr. Seabury, made occasionally, he has always counteracted and opposed him as far as he dared, and I doubt not but he will continue to oppose him in his Episcopal character. He will be able to do this more effectually if he succeeds in his project of obtaining consecration himself, with a view to which he is said to be about embarking for Britain. His character is so well known by the Bishops here, that I trust they would have the grace to reject him, even were he to carry his point with the ministry, and I am sure there is no danger of his imposing upon your venerable synod. Before I was aware I have got to the end of my paper, and must now take my leave, but I hope only for a little while; for wherever or however Providence may dispose of me, I shall be happy in any opportunities of proving myself your very respectful and obedient servant.[1]

When Bishop Seabury was about to sail for America, Dr. Chandler put into his hands a letter addressed to their mutual friend and companion in

[1] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 44–48.

former tribulations, Isaac Wilkins, Esq. It adds nothing new to the history of the mission to England, but it confirms the statements already made, and shows how the scattered loyalists kept up the remembrance of each other and watched the prospects of the Episcopal Church, so broken and cast down by the events of the Revolution. An extract from the letter, which was dated London, February 25, 1785, may well be introduced to close this chapter: —

I hope that you may happen to be at Halifax when this arrives there, both for your own sake and that of the bearer, who is no less a person than the *Bishop of Connecticut.* He goes by the way of Nova Scotia for several reasons, of which the principal is that he may see the situation of that part of his family, which is in that quarter, and be able to form a judgment of the prospects before them. He will try hard to see you, but, as he will not have much time to spare, he fears that he shall not be able to go to Shelburne in quest of you.

You were acquainted with this Bishop and his adventures from the time of his leaving New York in 1783. He came home with strong recommendations to the two Archbishops and the Bishop of London, from the clergy of Connecticut, and with their most earnest request that he might have Episcopal consecration for the Church in that State. Though no objections could arise from his character, the Bishops here thought such a measure would be considered as rash and premature, since no fund had been established for his support, and no consent to his admission had been made by the States; besides, no Bishop could be consecrated here for a *foreign* country, without an act of Parliament to *dispense* with the *oaths* required by the established office. These difficulties and objections continued to operate through the winter, and several candidates for Priests' orders, who had been waiting near a twelve-month, were about going over to

the Continent to seek for ordination in some foreign Protestant Episcopal Church. At length a short *act* was obtained, authorizing the Bishop of London and his substitutes to dispense with the aforesaid oaths in the ordination of Priests and Deacons for the American States; but nothing was said in it about the consecration of *Bishops*. The Minister, it seems, was fearful that opening the door for the consecration of Bishops would give umbrage to the Americans, and, therefore, every prospect of success *here* was at an end.

Dr. Seabury, with his wonted spirit and resolution, *then* thought it his duty to apply elsewhere, and, by the intervention of a friend, consulted the Bishops in Scotland, who were equally without the protection and the *restraint* of government.[1]

[1] *History of the Church in Westchester County*, pp. 102, 103.

CHAPTER XI.

CONSECRATION SERMON, AND OBJECTIONS TO IT; LETTERS OF BISHOPS LOWTH AND SKINNER; CHARLES WESLEY, AND HIS OPINION OF BISHOP SEABURY; MEETINGS TO ORGANIZE THE CHURCH IN MARYLAND AND PENNSYLVANIA; CONVENTIONS AT NEW BRUNSWICK AND NEW YORK; TITLE OF THE CHURCH, AND DR. WHITE'S INFLUENCE.

A. D. 1784–1785.

ALTHOUGH the sermon preached at the consecration of Dr. Seabury bore not on its title-page the name of the author, it attracted unexpected attention in England. Bishop Skinner, without intending to reflect upon the position of the English Church, drew a picture of the duty of those situated as he and his colleagues were, and said: "As long as there are nations to be instructed in the principles of the gospel, or a Church to be formed in any part of the inhabited world, the successors of the Apostles are obliged, by the commission which they hold, to contribute, as far as they can, or may be required of them, to the propagation of those principles, and to the formation of every Church, upon the most pure and primitive model. No fear of worldly censure ought to keep them back from so good a work; no connection with any state, nor dependence on any government whatever, should tie up their hands from communicating the blessings of that kingdom which is not of this world, and diffusing the means of salvation by a

valid and regular ministry, wherever they may be wanted."[1]

The consecration of Dr. Seabury was noticed in a periodical of the time,[2] with a bad and unfriendly spirit, and things were said about it which brought forward an intelligent and able defender of the Scottish Episcopacy, the Rev. George Gleig, who was himself afterwards raised to the highest dignity of the Church. The anonymous sermon was also attacked by friends no less than foes, and the sharp and perhaps unbecoming criticism which it received at the hands of Mr. Gleig made a breach between him and Bishop Skinner that prevented them for a score of years from harmoniously coöperating with each other in ecclesiastical councils.[3]

But the sermon was noticed not so much in the spirit of criticism as in its bearings on the welfare of the Scottish Church, by one who did not give his name, but is supposed to have been the learned Dr. Lowth, Bishop of London. He died two years later, and for this reason, probably, the implied pledge to reveal himself was never fulfilled. The letter, which was addressed to Bishop Kilgour, intimated that a design had been formed in England to do the Scottish Church some service, when a suitable opportunity occurred. Its tenor is best seen by giving it a place in these pages.

London, *June* 9, 1785.

Right Rev. Sir, — The Consecration of Doctor Seabury, by the Scotch Bishops, was an event which gave much pleasure to many of the most dignified and respectable amongst the English Clergy, and to none more than to him who now

[1] Sermon, pp. 38, 39.
[2] *Gentleman's Magazine.*
[3] Walker's *Memoir of Bishop Gleig*, ch. ii.

has the honor to address you. A man who believes Episcopacy, as I do, to be a divine institution, could not but rejoice to see it derived through so pure a channel to the Western World.

Full of the greatness of this measure, I immediately sent for the sermon preached at the consecration, on observing it advertised. And I am sorry to say, that I perused it with a mixture of satisfaction and deep concern. Much of it met my entire assent. It exhibits principles which I have always entertained, and which every friend to Episcopacy must approve. There are some passages in it, however, which I sincerely wish it had not contained, and which I cannot help thinking it was injudicious to publish, as I am afraid they are calculated to hurt your Church, and dangerous to the interests of Episcopacy in North Britain.

Nor is this my own opinion merely, but of several of my brethren, well affected to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, who have read the discourse.

Many think they perceive in it the English Bishops treated with contempt, for not consecrating Dr. Seabury at every risk; and the manner in which the Acts of the British Parliament are mentioned, in a note, gives general offense. For passages of this nature there is the less indulgence, because it is conceived, that, on such an occasion, they were perfectly unnecessary, and cannot, in any view, possibly do good.

Who the author of this performance is, I have not been informed; but I address myself to you, Sir, having been told that you are one of the Scottish Bishops. My purpose is not to criticise the sermon; if such were my views, I might justly be reckoned an impertinent meddler. I am actuated, I hope, by better motives, and such as you will approve.

The Church of England, Sir, I am well authorized to say, hath, of late years, looked on her sister in Scotland with a pitying eye. Many of our Clergy have regarded her as hardly dealt with, and wished for a repeal of those laws under which she now suffers. I have good reason to believe

that there is an intention formed of endeavoring to do her some service at a convenient season; and I sincerely hope no circumstance will intervene to frustrate that intention. It pains me to say, however, that this sermon is not likely to promote it. I cannot suppose that the Prelate who preached it, meant by its publication either to alienate the English Clergy from the society to which he belongs, or to insult the British Government; for I will not suppose that a Bishop would write purposely to prevent the good of that Church which, above all others, it is his duty to cherish. But surely there are passages in this sermon not well fitted to induce either the Clergy of England to apply for a mitigation of those rigors of which the preacher complains, or the State to grant that mitigation were the application made. It is in this view, Sir, that many of us regret the publication of the sermon, and think it imprudent. We wish our sister church to prosper, and would be happy could we contribute to her prosperity. But with what face could we apply for relief to her, while her governors openly avow such sentiments? We flatter ourselves that they are not the sentiments of many of the Bishops and Clergy of Scotland; and we would hope, nay even beg and entreat (had we any right to do so), that they would not themselves put it out of our power to make use of those exertions which we are much disposed to employ in their favor, and which we doubt not might prove successful.

After what I have said, Sir, I hope I have no occasion to apologize for this letter. I can affirm with truth, that it is dictated by the warmest attachment to the interests of Protestant Episcopacy, and has no other end in view but the good of that Church over which you preside. Who the writer of it is you may possibly hereafter learn; at present he can only assure you that he is, with every sentiment of respect for your sacred character,

A DIGNIFIED CLERGYMAN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

P. S. May I claim your indulgence for franking this let-

ter only to Edinburgh. It is owing to my not being able to learn the name of the place where you reside.[1]

The words of Bishop Skinner in the note, which gave the great offense, were to the effect that the clergy of the Episcopal Church in Scotland had ventured for a long time to show more regard to the Acts of the Apostles, than to the Acts of the British Parliament.

It is proper to introduce here one more letter before entering upon other subjects. It has been seen that when Dr. Chandler was about to embark for America, he suggested to Bishop Skinner, if he wished to obtain intelligence of the arrival and reception of his friend in this country, to open a correspondence with the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, and accordingly he addressed him as follows from

ABERDEEN, 25*th June*, 1785.

Some time ago I wrote to your acquaintance, Dr. Chandler, begging, as a singular favor, that he would be kind enough to communicate to me any interesting intelligence he might receive of our worthy friend, Bishop Seabury, of whose welfare and success, you may believe, I will ever be anxious to hear. The good Doctor lost no time in making a most obliging return to my letter; but informed me, to my great regret, that his state of health was such as to render a sea voyage absolutely necessary for the recovery of it, and that he was to sail in a short time for New York, being obliged to leave the great object of his coming to Britain unaccomplished. Pity were it that a design so laudable, and so essential to the interests of religion in the new province, should thus be set aside by reasons of state, without any other formidable impediment in the way of it.

With uncommon attention to my anxiety, after informing

[1] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 60–64.

me of his intended departure from England, and the afflicting cause of it, Dr. Chandler adds, "that by his migration I can be no loser, if in his stead I will adopt for my correspondent the Rev. Mr. Boucher, of Paddington," of whom he gives a most amiable character, and, what endears you still more to me, describes you as one of the most confidential friends of Bishop Seabury. As such, I now gladly embrace the opportunity of introducing myself to you, in hopes that, by the time this reaches your hand, there will be some account of the good Bishop's arrival in America, if it has pleased God to grant him a speedy and prosperous voyage, for which I doubt not the prayers of many have been devoutly addressed to heaven.

The Bishop promised to write me from Halifax, if he found any vessel there for Scotland. But as you will probably hear of him, if not from him, sooner than I can expect, and oftener than he will have occasion to write to me, it will be doing me a very great favor if you will be so good as to inform me, from time to time, what accounts you may receive either from him or of him, such as you think will be acceptable to one who loves and esteems him, and wishes his success and happiness, as I do. This is a task which I would not have presumed to impose on you, had not Dr. Chandler so kindly paved the way for it.

Our amiable friend, the Bishop of Connecticut, will have many difficulties to struggle with, in the blessed work he has undertaken; and particularly from certain occurrences in some of the southern states, which will, I fear, create no small opposition to the conscientious discharge of his duty. The busy, bustling President of Washington College, Maryland, seems to be laying a foundation for much confusion throughout the churches of North America, and it will require all Bishop Seabury's prudence and good management to counteract his preposterous measures. I saw a letter from this man lately to a Clergyman in this country, wherein he proposes to be in London as last month, and wishes to know what the Bishops in Scotland would do, on an applica-

tion to them from any foreign country, such as America is now declared to be, for a succession in their ministry, by the consecration of one or more Bishops for them! By this time, I suppose, he knows both what we would do and what we have done; and perhaps is not ignorant, that, as our terms would not please him, so his measures would be equally displeasing to us.

I have seen, in the "Gentleman's Magazine," various strictures on the subject of Dr. Seabury's consecration; and the sermon preached on the occasion has been criticised, and some passages in it found fault with, as disrespectful to the English Bishops, and even to the authority of the British Parliament. As the author intended not his discourse for the meridian of London, he was at no pains to adapt it to the notions that are cherished under the warm sunshine of civil establishment; it is sufficient for him, if it meets with the approbation of the truly wise and worthy, wherever they be, that look more to the things of Christ than to the things of this world.[1]

Two months after Bishop Seabury left the Downs, Dr. Chandler followed him to America, and shortly before his embarkation, he received a letter from the Rev. Charles Wesley, reciting briefly his personal history, and giving good reasons for not separating from the Church of England. He disapproved of the course pursued by his brother John in assuming, in the eighty-second year of his age, the Episcopal character and its functions, and felt that he had "acted contrary to all his declarations, protestations, and writings; robbed his friends of their boasting; realized the Nag's Head ordination; and left an indelible blot on his name, as long as it shall be remembered."

The postscript formed an important part of the let-

[1] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 48–51.

ter, and was in very significant language: "What will become of those poor sheep in the wilderness, the American Methodists? How have they been betrayed into a separation from the Church of England, which their preachers and they no more intended than the Methodists here? Had they had patience a little longer, they would have seen a *real primitive bishop* in America, duly *consecrated by three Scotch bishops*, who had *their* consecration from the English bishops, and are acknowledged by them as the same with themselves. There is, therefore, not the least difference betwixt the members of Bishop Seabury's Church and the members of the Church of England.

"You know I had the happiness to converse with that truly apostolical man, who is esteemed by all that know him, as much as by you and me. He told me he looked upon the Methodists as sound members of the Church, and was ready to ordain any of the preachers, whom he should find duly qualified. His ordination would be genuine, valid, and Episcopal. But what are your poor Methodists now? Only a new sect of Presbyterians. And after my brother's death, which is now so very near, what will be their end? They will lose all their usefulness and importance; they will turn aside to vain janglings; they will settle again upon their lees, and, like other sects, come to nothing."

Full two years had now passed away since Seabury left this country, and he had been so intent on the accomplishment of his great object, as to give but little heed to the movements on this side towards a general ecclesiastical organization. In Maryland and

Virginia the Episcopal Church had legal establishments before the Revolution, and upon the return of peace and the independence of the colonies, Governor Paca, of the former State, brought to the notice of the legislature at its session in May, 1783, the provisions of the declaration of rights, and recommended, as among the first objects proper for consideration, "an adequate support of the Christian religion." The clergy of the Church, who were fortunately convened about that time at the first Commencement of Washington College, discussed the changes necessary to be made in the Liturgy, and the question of organizing and securing a succession in the ministry so as to command support with other Christian denominations.[1]

Nineteen clergymen of the State met at Annapolis, August 13, 1783, "agreeable to a vote of the General Assembly, passed upon a petition presented in the name and behalf of the said clergy," and set forth a declaration of certain fundamental rights and liberties of the *Protestant Episcopal Church* of Maryland. The first signer to this document was "William Smith, President, S. Paul's and Chester Parishes, Kent County," and it affirmed the identity of this Church with the Church of England, before established in the province. Without contention with other Christian bodies, these clergymen asserted for themselves the essential right of a threefold ministry, and claimed that none but such as are duly called "by regular Episcopal ordination can, or ought to be admitted into, or enjoy any of the 'churches, chapels, glebes, or other property' formerly belonging to the

[1] Hawks's *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, Maryland, p. 291.

Church of England in this State, and which by the constitution and form of government is secured to the said Church forever, by whatever name she, the said Church, or her superior order of ministers, may in future be denominated." The right was also declared to revise the Liturgy, when the said Church should be "duly organized, constituted, and represented in a synod, or convention of the different orders of her ministry and people," it being the intention not to depart further from the venerable order and forms of the English ritual than might "be found expedient in the change in their situation from a *daughter* to a *sister* church."[1]

In a letter to a friend from the Rev. Mr. Claggett, afterwards bishop, dated September 20, 1783, the following statement is made: "I suppose you have long ago heard that the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal Church met last month at Annapolis, and that we formed a bill of rights; chose *Dr. Smith to go to Europe to be ordained an antistes,* president of the clergy, or bishop (if that name does not hurt your feelings). He will probably be back some time next spring."

No laymen were present at this meeting, but another was held in June of the next year, when lay representatives from the several parishes in the State were admitted, and the previous steps were reviewed and unanimously approved. A joint committee of both orders was appointed to devise a system of ecclesiastical government, to "define the duties of bishops, priests, and deacons, in matters spiritual," as well as the rights of clergy and laity in conventions, and to

[1] Fac-simile of original MS.

"prescribe some mode of administering discipline, clerical and lay."[1] The committee, for want of time, did not report in full according to instructions, but agreed on certain leading principles, among which were these: that ecclesiastical conventions ought to be held at least once a year, and if any person of Maryland should resort to foreign authority for consecration as a bishop, or for ordination, and in order to obtain it should be obliged to take an oath of civil or canonical obedience to such authority, he should renounce the same and take an oath of allegiance to Maryland before exercising ministerial functions in any Episcopal church within the limits of the State.

On Monday the 29th of March, 1784, three clergymen, with four laymen, from the parishes in Philadelphia to which they respectively ministered, met by appointment at the house of Dr. White for the purpose of conferring together concerning the formation of a representative body of the Episcopal Church in Pennsylvania. After considering the necessity of speedily adopting measures for the plan, they decided that a subject of so much importance should be taken up, if possible, with the general concurrence of the Episcopalians in the United States, and they resolved, therefore, to consult other "members of the Episcopal congregations" in Pennsylvania, who might then be in town, and invite them to attend a meeting at Christ Church on the next Wednesday evening at seven o'clock.

When the time arrived, and the body assembled, two additional laymen were present, and the Rev. Dr. White was elected chairman. Other gentlemen,

[1] Hawks's *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, p. 297.

who had designed to attend, were detained by the unexpected sitting of the legislature, of which they were members, and the only business done was to address a circular letter, signed by the chairman, to the wardens and vestrymen of each Episcopal congregation in the State, requesting them, as preparatory to a general consultation, "to delegate one or more of their body to assist at a meeting to be held" in Philadelphia on the 24th of the ensuing May.

Five clergymen and eighteen laymen met in response to this request, and impowered a standing committee to correspond and confer with representatives from the Episcopal Church in the other States, or any of them, and join in framing a constitution of ecclesiastical government which should be binding on all the congregations consenting to it, as soon as a majority of them had signified their consent. These were among the instructions or fundamental principles laid down for the guidance of the committee: "that the Episcopal Church in these States is, and ought to be, independent of all foreign authority, ecclesiastical or civil; . . . . that the doctrines of the gospel be maintained, as now professed by the Church of England, and uniformity of worship continued as near as may be to the Liturgy of the said Church; that the succession of the ministry be agreeable to the usage which requireth the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons; that the rights and powers of the same respectively be ascertained, and that they be exercised according to reasonable laws to be duly made;" and, finally, "that no powers be delegated to a general ecclesiastical government except such as cannot conveniently be exercised by

the clergy and laity in their respective congregations."[1]

Earlier in the month (Tuesday, May 11th), ten clergymen and six laymen from the States of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania met at New Brunswick, professedly to look into the affairs of "The Corporation for the Relief of Widows and Orphans," a society whose funds had vanished or been deranged during the war, and the opportunity was improved by the clergy from Pennsylvania, of communicating the measures recently adopted in that State, tending to the general organization of the Church. The meeting was informal, but Dr. White presided and the Rev. Benjamin Moore acted as secretary and kept brief minutes, from which it appears to have been agreed to request him, the Rev. Abraham Beach, and the Rev. Joshua Bloomer, "to wait upon the clergy of Connecticut, who are to be convened on the Wednesday in Trinity week next ensuing, for the purpose of soliciting their concurrence with us in such measures as may be deemed conducive to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal churches in the States of America."

The next morning Dr. White was taken aside before the meeting, by Mr. Moore, "who expressed the wish of himself and others, that nothing should be urged further on the subject, as they found themselves peculiarly circumstanced, in consequence of their having joined the clergy of Connecticut in their application for the consecration of a bishop."[2] This was the first intelligence which the clergy from Phil-

[1] *Journal of the Meetings*, ed. 1790.

[2] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 78.

adelphia had received of the movements in Connecticut towards obtaining the Episcopacy, and bringing the Church safe out of the confusions and consequences of the Revolution. Before breaking up, however, it was determined to secure a meeting, as general as possible, of representatives of the clergy and laity of the different States, in the city of New York, on the sixth day of the ensuing October, and pains were taken to notify the brethren eastward and southward of this proposed convention.

The three gentlemen requested to wait upon the clergy of Connecticut fulfilled the purposes of their appointment, and, as learned from a letter of Mr. Beach to Dr. White, they found them raising some objections with respect to lay delegates. The Connecticut clergy "thought themselves fully adequate to the business of representing the Episcopal Church in their State, and that the laity did not expect or wish to be called in as delegates on such an occasion; but would, with full confidence, trust matters purely ecclesiastical to their clergy." They determined, however, to "send a committee of their body to represent" them at the proposed convention; but on the 28th of September, the Rev. Mr. Fogg, of Pomfret, wrote to Mr. Parker, of Boston: "I was at Norwich about ten days ago, and Mr. Tyler informed me that the Connecticut clergy, who met at New Haven at Commencement, did not propose to meet the Southern clergy at New York, as they expect Dr. Seabury will succeed in the business he went to London for, and at his return it will be time enough to revise the Liturgy; they, however, wrote by Mr. Marshall, one of our brethren, giving reasons for their conduct."

NEW HAVEN, *September* 9, 1784.

GENTLEMEN, — We hereby acknowledge your invitation of the clergy of Connecticut to meet you in Convention, appointed to be held at New York on the 5th of October. The intention of this invitation we understand, from the report of your Committee, and what we see done in a meeting at Philadelphia, May 25th, was to collect as extensively as at present is practicable, the voice of the professors of the Church, in order to frame an ecclesiastical constitution, a form of public worship, and a regimen of government.

While we ardently desire that the strictest uniformity may obtain in the American Church, we shall be equally solicitous to do everything in our power, in conjunction with our brethren in the other States, to promote that important end and to lay a permanent foundation on which to continue and perpetuate in her, unity of spirit in the bond of peace.

But to proceed with propriety in affairs of the above nature, and of such momentous consideration, we observe, that in our opinion, the first regular step is, to have the American Church completed in her officers; prior to that we conceive all our proceedings will be unprecedented and unsanctioned by any authoritative example in the Christian church.

To avoid what we judge a procedure that no Episcopalian would willingly adopt, but under circumstances that, with him, decide the necessity for it, we have taken our measures to obtain for Connecticut the principal officer in our Church, whose arrival among us we flatter ourselves with the certainty of, and that the time is not very far distant. Whenever this event hath taken place, we shall, being prompted by sentiments of duty as well as by inclination, be forward to meet our brethren of the other States, and, with our bishop, deliberate upon every subject needful and salutary to our Church. We would wish to be considered as having warmly at heart the unity and prosperity of the Episcopal Church in America, and that all things may be done decently and in order, for the accomplishment of that most in-

teresting object. We shall accordingly esteem it as a mark of brotherly attention, and what will afford us a high satisfaction, if our brethren in the united Convention at New York should concur with us on this occasion, and agree to suspend the entering upon those general points, until we can properly meet them upon an affair of so great moment, and joint concern to them, to ourselves, and the whole American Church.

The Rev. Mr. Marshall, at our request, will deliver this, and represent us in your Convention.

We are, with respect, your brethren and humble servants, the clergy of Connecticut.

Signed by order,

ABRAHAM JARVIS, *Secretary.*

The meeting was held at the time and place designated, and sixteen clergymen and eleven laymen were present. From New England went the Rev. Samuel Parker, representing Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and the Rev. John R. Marshall, who was impowered as above mentioned by the clergy of Connecticut. The Rev. Dr. William Smith, then of Maryland, was called to the chair, and the Rev. Benjamin Moore appointed secretary. The first resolution adopted was to create a committee "to essay the fundamental principles of a general constitution of this Church," with power to "frame and propose to the convention a proper substitute for the state prayers in the Liturgy to be used for the sake of uniformity till a further review shall be undertaken by general authority and consent." The committee reported the next morning, as "the fundamental principles of an ecclesiastical constitution," resolutions similar to those previously adopted in Pennsylvania. Provision was made for a general convention of "the Episcopal

Church in the United States of America," with deputies from each State, consisting of clergy and laity, and the primary meeting of this body was appointed to be held at Philadelphia the Tuesday before the Feast of St. Michael, 1785. It was laid down as another fundamental principle, "that in every State where there shall be a bishop duly consecrated and settled, he shall be considered as a member of the convention *ex officio*."

Mr. Marshall had special instructions to guide him, and read to the assembly the letter which appears on a preceding page.

The Rev. Mr. Parker, though put upon the general committee, was in sympathy with the clergy of Connecticut, and could not help being solicitous as to the ultimate success of their chosen head. This success had been several weeks achieved when the Rev. Benjamin Moore, not knowing the fact, wrote him from New York, December 21, 1784: "Our Church affairs remain as they were. The prospect of an American Episcopate seems to be as uncertain as ever. A letter from Dr. Seabury to a gentleman in this city has this expression: 'I have been amused, I think deceived;' I am informed, however, that the clergy of Maryland, in a late convention, have fixed upon Dr. Smith as a candidate for Episcopal orders, and that he is to embark for England next April. But if the gentleman who is there at present cannot succeed, I should suppose it will preclude every other attempt.

"Shall we have the pleasure of seeing you at Philadelphia, at the general assembly of all the churches? I hope so; that phrase *General Assembly*, I am not

very fond of; it escaped me by chance. We will try to give it a better character."

He did not attend the meeting in Philadelphia, but wrote to Dr. White more than a year before it was held, and transmitted an extract of the proceedings of a convention of the Episcopal clergy of the States of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, adopting the fundamental principles, or instructions, set forth in New York, but "adding a restriction or rather explanatory clause," in these words: "It is our unanimous opinion that it is beginning at the wrong end to attempt to organize our Church before we have obtained a head. Our churches at present resemble the scattered limbs of the body without any common centre of union or principle to animate the whole. We cannot conceive it probable, or even possible, to carry the plan you have pointed out into execution, before an Episcopate is obtained to direct our motions and by a delegated authority to claim our assent."

Dr. White and his associates in the "standing committee" of Pennsylvania resolved on the 7th of February, 1785, to send an account of their proceedings, in concurrence with the action of the meeting in New York, to every clergyman and congregation of the Episcopal Church in the State, and to recommend that the clergy and duly authorized deputies from the several congregations be present in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on Monday the 23d of May ensuing, for the purpose of organizing, "agreeably to the intentions of the body assembled in New York." Six clergymen and ten laymen met as thus summoned and proceeded to adopt an act of association, based on the fundamental principles which had

been set forth, to provide for an annual convention of the clergy and the several congregations, and to determine and declare that they "shall be called and known by the name of *The Protestant Episcopal Church* in the State of Pennsylvania." By this time Dr. Smith had returned from Maryland, and participated in the business of this meeting. How much influence he had does not appear, and his name is not mentioned in the brief minutes except in the list of those who are enrolled as present.[1]

Dr. White, near the end of his days, made public mention of his exertions to restore what was broken up, and left in a disordered condition. In 1832, when he had been forty-five years bishop of the diocese of Pennsylvania, he delivered a charge to the clerical members of his convention on the subject of *Revivals*, and began the concluding paragraph thus: "Brethren, it is bordering on the half of a century since the date of the incipient measures of your bishop for the organizing of our Church out of the wreck of the Revolution." He put these measures back to the publication of his pamphlet, which was so unacceptable to the views of other Northern clergymen besides those in Connecticut.[2]

[1] *Journals of the first six Conventions*, 1790.

[2] Appendix C.

CHAPTER XII.

LETTER OF BISHOP SKINNER TO MR. BOUCHER, AND HIS ANSWER; ARRIVAL OF BISHOP SEABURY AT NEWPORT, AND LANDING AT NEW LONDON; CONVENTION AT MIDDLETOWN, AND HIS RECOGNITION BY THE CLERGY; ORDINATION, AND SERMON OF MR. LEAMING; CONVOCATION, AND THE CLERGY OF MASSACHUSETTS; COMMITTEE ON ALTERATIONS IN THE LITURGY, AND BISHOP'S CHARGE.

A. D. 1785–1786.

We left Bishop Seabury three months ago departing from the Downs for America, and on the fourth day after sailing, the vessel was sixty-five leagues west of the Cornish shore. The voyage across the Atlantic was a long one, and his friends on both sides were anxious to learn of his safe arrival. In those days the means of communication were not frequent, and there was no way, except by accident, of relieving the painful suspense in which persons were often kept. The first intelligence which Bishop Skinner, who was deeply interested to hear of his arrival in this country, received, was indirect, and came through the Rev. Jonathan Boucher, with whom he had just opened a correspondence. It was conveyed in the following letter, written from Epsom, December 6, 1785, and while it pleased the Scottish prelates to get this intelligence, there still lingered in their minds many apprehensions that the trials of the Bishop of Connecticut were not yet ended: —

When your very obliging and acceptable favor of the 25th June reached Paddington, I had just left it, to go on a long tour into Germany and France, from which I returned late in October. Your letter was delivered to a most valuable and confidential friend, William Stevens, Esq., who is also the friend of all your friends. Mr. Stevens tells me he acquainted you with my absence, which, I hope, would apologize for my not having sooner thanked you for what I really consider as a very great favor.

No doubt you have long ago heard of good Bishop Seabury's arrival, and most affectionate reception among the poor scattered sheep of yonder wilderness. He carries himself with such a steady prudence, as to have commanded the respect of even the most spiteful ill-willers of his order; and with all the countless difficulties he has to encounter, yet by the blessing of God on his firm mind, there is, I trust, little doubt that the church will grow under his pastoral care. I have as yet heard only of his having ordained five presbyters, one or more of whom are from the Southern States, which I mention, as considering it as an acknowledgment of his powers, even beyond the limits of his professed district.

A general convention of the Episcopal Clergy of all North America, made up of an equal proportion of lay members, was to meet in Philadelphia about Michaelmas, to form some general plan for the whole Episcopal Church. Dr. Seabury, I have understood, though not from himself, was invited and pressed to attend this meeting; but he very prudently declined it, as, from its motley composition, he could not be sure of things being conducted as they ought. He will be there, however, or has been there (and Dr. Chandler also), with his advice and influence; and this is the only reason I have to form any hopes of any good coming from the meeting.

I hear of some very alarming symptoms attending the poor church in the Southern States. The few Episcopal Clergymen left there are not, as you may imagine, men the most distinguished for abilities or worth. The enemies of

the Church see this, and avail themselves of it. I have sundry late letters from thence, which all speak, far too confidently, of some wild purpose of forming a coalition (too like some other coalitions) between the Episcopalians and Presbyterians. I have, by every means in my power, put those over whom I have any influence, in my old neighborhood of Virginia and Maryland, on their guard against a measure which I cannot but deem insidious, and therefore likely to be fatal. And I have also called in the aid of those stout champions, Drs. Chandler and Seabury. God grant that our united efforts may all avail! It adds not a little to my apprehensions, that all these things are carrying on within the vortex of Dr. S—th's immediate influence, who is bent on being a Bishop, "per fas aut nefas," and who, if he cannot otherwise compass his end, will assuredly unite with the P——ns; and so Herod and Pontius Pilate shall again be made friends!

You may not perhaps have heard, as I have, that he affected to be much pleased with Dr. Seabury's having returned to America, invested with the Episcopal character, all which will be abundantly explained to you when I further inform you of his having found out that one Bishop alone may, in certain cases, consecrate another. The English of this is plain, and may account for your not having seen him in Scotland! The case is a ticklish one, and will require poor Seabury's utmost skill to manage. He knows S—th well, and, of course, thinks of him as we all do. Yet, if S—th is thus properly consecrated, such is his influence, it may be the means of preventing that sad state of things in Virginia and Maryland which I hinted at above. Yet it is dreadful to think of having such a man in such a station! I daily expect further and fuller accounts, and, on your signifying that it will not be disagreeable to you, I shall have much pleasure in communicating them.

Bishop Skinner waited scarcely a month before he acknowledged this letter and responded to the senti-

ments of Mr. Boucher. He was jealous for the cause of Episcopacy, and somewhat alarmed at the irregularities which appeared to be springing up in the Southern States. He could not, as he understood them, reconcile their ecclesiastical proceedings with a determination to settle their Church on a pure and primitive basis, and to regulate their polity as well as their doctrine and worship according to apostolic institution. His fears about the course of one of his countrymen, who had come into a position of influence in America, had not yet subsided. But let his answer speak for itself: —

ABERDEEN, *January* 4, 1786.

I acknowledge, with much satisfaction, the favor of your obliging letter of 6th December, which I received with the greater pleasure, as the intimation given by your friend Mr. Stevens of your absence had unluckily not come to my hand. The accounts of good Bishop Seabury's favorable reception in America, you may believe, were highly agreeable to me, and my brethren of the Episcopal Church in this country; and though as yet we have not had these accounts confirmed under his own hand, we have no doubt but that a little time will bring us these refreshing tidings, and open up a happy correspondence between the pastors of the truly "little flock" here, and those of the "many scattered sheep of yonder wilderness." I observed in the newspapers the other day a paragraph as quoted from the "Maryland Journal," which gives no more, I hope, than a true account of our worthy friend's proceedings, and the honorable reception he has met with. The description you give of the alarming symptoms appearing in the Southern States is indeed very affecting, and shows such a miserable deficiency in point of knowledge, as well as zeal, among the Episcopal Clergy in those parts, as could hardly have been suspected among any who had received regular Episcopal ordination. It gives me

some comfort to hear that such able advocates for primitive truth and order as Dr. Chandler and yourself are stepping forth in opposition to the wild, undigested schemes of modern sectaries. God, of his mercy, grant success to your endeavors in so good a cause, and raise up many such to strengthen the hands of his faithful servant, the Bishop of Connecticut, while he stands single in the great work he has undertaken. But is there no prospect of his getting some fellow-workers of his own order, to assist him in stemming that torrent of irregularity which seems to be pouring down upon him from the Southern States? What you mention of my countryman, Dr. S—th, is too much of a piece with his former conduct, and plainly shows what some people will do to compass the end they have in view.

As to what the Doctor has found out in favor of a *singular* consecration, I know nothing that can justify such a measure but absolute necessity, which in his case cannot be pleaded, because, in whatever way the Scottish Bishops might treat an application in his behalf, there is no reason to doubt of their readily concurring in any proper plan for increasing the number of Bishops in America. And as Dr. Seabury must be sufficiently sensible of their good inclinations that way, I hope he will be the better able to resist the introduction of any disorderly measure which might be made a precedent for future irregularities, and be attended with the worst of consequences to the cause of Episcopacy. If S—th must be promoted to the Episcopate at all hazards, let him at least wait until there be a canonical number of Bishops in America for that purpose. That thus, whatever objections may be made to the man, there may be none to the manner of his promotion.

You will oblige me much by communicating, from time to time, what accounts you receive of these matters, as I shall always be anxious to hear of our worthy friend in Connecticut, and how things fare with him and the cause which he has undertaken to support. And although I shall have little to say in return worthy of your notice, I shall not fail to

acknowledge the continuance of your correspondence as a very singular favor.

We have been lately flattered with the prospect of some friendly notice from the Church of England, and are told that at a convenient season it is intended to do us some service with the people in power. An anonymous letter to this purpose, signed "A Dignified Clergyman of the Church of England," was last summer transmitted to our Primus, Bishop Kilgour, at Peterhead. I wrote to Dr. B——, at Canterbury, wishing to know if he could inform us who the author might be; or what ground there appeared to him for the assurances which the letter contains; but as yet I have received no satisfactory reply. Thus kept in the dark, it is no wonder if sometimes we mistake friends for enemies, and behave to them as such, not knowing whom to trust, or where to look for that relief which the distressed condition of our church has so long called for in vain. God pity and protect us, and support his church in all places where the hand of the oppressor lies heavy on it!

Wishing to hear from you as often as convenient, I am, with great regard, etc.

Bishop Seabury landed at Newport, R. I., after a voyage of three months, Monday, June 20, 1785, and the next Sunday he preached in Trinity Church the first sermon of an American bishop in this country, from Hebrews xii. 1, 2. More than half a century prior to this, a great dignitary of the Church of England, Dean Berkeley, after a voyage of nearly five months from Gravesend, arrived at the same port, and preached many times in the same church, which is still standing. The missions of these men had many points of resemblance; but while one, after a trial of more than two years and a half, failed to accomplish his heroic object, and returned to the land of his birth to be honored with a mitre in the

see of Cloyne, the other was blessed in his work and lived to behold the Church in America united in the adoption of a revised Liturgy, and settled upon the old "foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone."

Bishop Seabury reached New London, the place of his destination, Monday evening, June 27th, and writing a month later to John Rivington, St. Paul's Churchyard, he said: "I found my family in good health, and my reception such as I could wish it." And again on the 25th of August, he wrote to the same gentleman: "I am as comfortably situated here as I have a right to expect, and am treated by the inhabitants with attention and regard. This I mention because I flatter myself you will for my sake be pleased to hear it." The Episcopal church in New London was destroyed when the town was burnt during the Revolution, but the parsonage of the parish, begun in 1745 at the instance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and located on a distant street, escaped, and was the residence of Bishop Seabury during his Episcopate.

He lost no time in communicating with his clergy. The first letter which he wrote after coming to the end of his journey was addressed to the Rev. Mr. Jarvis, who had acted as their secretary, and was dated

NEW LONDON, *June* 29, 1785.

MY VERY DEAR SIR, — I have the pleasure of informing you of my safe arrival here, on Monday evening, so that a period is put to my long and tedious absence. I long much to see you, and flatter myself that it will not be long before you will do me the favor of a visit here. I want particu-

larly to consult with you on the time and place of the clergy's meeting, which should be as soon as is practicable.

My regards attend Mrs. Jarvis. Accept my best wishes, and believe me to be your affectionate, humble servant,

SAMUEL SEABURY.

The clergy assembled in Middletown on the 2d of August, and eleven were present, with the Rev. Benjamin Moore, from New York, and the Rev. Samuel Parker, from Boston. James Scovill, Samuel Andrews, and Richard Samuel Clark were not in attendance, having previously removed to new missions in the British Provinces. It was a joyful meeting, and the first step was to organize, and the Rev. Mr. Leaming, rector of Christ Church, Stratford, as usual, was chosen president, and Mr. Jarvis, secretary. The ceremonial of the reception of the bishop was simple and impressive, for according to the minutes, "The Right Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury attended upon this convention, and his letters of consecration being requested by the same, they were produced and read."

The next morning the clergy reassembled at eight o'clock, and after their address to the bishop had been reconsidered and approved, they repaired to the church, and appointed four of their number to return to the parsonage with a declaration to the bishop that they confirmed their former election of him, and now acknowledged and received him as their Episcopal head. Two of the four immediately carried back to the convention the answer of acceptance by the bishop, while the other two followed in attendance upon him and conducted him to the church. He was seated in his chair in the chancel and the clergy were gathered in a group before him,

when the Rev. Mr. Hubbard read the following address of congratulation and formal recognition: —

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, SAMUEL, BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE, BISHOP OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN CONNECTICUT.

The Address of sundry of the Episcopal Clergy in the State of Connecticut.

REVEREND FATHER, — We, who have hereunto subscribed our names, in behalf of ourselves, and other presbyters of the Episcopal Church, embrace with pleasure this early opportunity of congratulating you on your safe return to your native country; and on the accomplishment of that arduous enterprise in which, at our desire, you engaged. Devoutly do we adore and reverently thank the Great Head of the Church, that he has been pleased to preserve you through a long and dangerous voyage; that he has crowned your endeavors with success, and now at last permits us to enjoy, under you, the long and ardently desired blessing of a pure, valid, and free Episcopacy: a blessing which we receive as the precious gift of God himself; and humbly hope that the work he has so auspiciously begun, he will confirm and prosper, and make it a real benefit to our Church, not only in this state, but in the American states in general, by uniting them in doctrine, discipline, and worship; by supporting the cause of Christianity against all its opposers; and by promoting piety, peace, concord and mutual affection, among all denominations of Christians.

Whatever can be done by us, for the advancement of so good a work, shall be done with united attention, and the exertion of our best abilities. And as you are now, by our voluntary and united suffrages (signified to you, first at New York, in April, 1783, by the Rev. Mr. Jarvis, and now ratified and confirmed in this present convention) elected Bishop of that branch of the catholic and apostolic Church to which we belong: We, in the presence of Almighty God,

declare to the world, that we do unanimously and voluntarily accept, receive, and recognize you to be *our Bishop*, supreme in the government of the Church, and in the administration of all ecclesiastical offices. And we do solemnly engage to render you all that respect, duty, and submission, which we believe do belong, and are due to your high office, and which, we understand, were given by the presbyters to their Bishop in the primitive Church, while, in her native purity, she was unconnected with, and uncontrolled by any secular power.

The experience of many years had long ago convinced the whole body of the clergy, and many of the lay members of our communion, of the necessity there was of having resident Bishops among us. Fully and publicly was our cause pleaded, and supported by such arguments as must have carried conviction to the minds of all candid and liberal men. They were, however, for reasons which we are unable to assign, neglected by our superiors in England. Some of those arguments were drawn from our being members of the national Church, and subjects of the British government. These lost their force, upon the separation of this country from Great Britain, by the late peace. Our case became thereby more desperate, and our spiritual necessities were much increased. Filial affection still induced us to place confidence in our parent Church and country, whose liberality and benevolence we had long experienced, and do most gratefully acknowledge. To this Church was our immediate application directed, earnestly requesting a Bishop to collect, govern, and continue our scattered, wandering, and sinking Church; and great was, and still continues to be our surprise, that a request so reasonable in itself, so congruous to the nature and government of that Church, and begging for an officer so absolutely necessary in the Church of Christ, as they and we believe a Bishop to be, should be refused. We hope that the successors of the Apostles in the Church of England have sufficient reasons to justify themselves to the world and to God. We, however, know of none such, nor can our imagination frame any.

But blessed be God! another door was opened for you. In the mysterious economy of his Providence he had preserved the remains of the old Episcopal Church of Scotland, under all the malice and persecutions of its enemies. In the school of adversity, its pious and venerable Bishops had learned to renounce the pomps and grandeur of the world; and were ready to do the work of their heavenly Father. As outcasts, they pitied us; as faithful holders of the apostolical commission, what they had *freely received* they *freely gave*. From them we have received a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy, are thereby made complete in all our parts, and have a right to be considered as a living, and, we hope through God's grace shall be, a vigorous branch of the Catholic Church.

To these venerable fathers our sincerest thanks are due, and they have them most fervidly. May the Almighty be their rewarder, regard them in mercy, support them under the persecutions of their enemies, and turn the hearts of their persecutors; and make their simplicity and godly sincerity known unto all men! And wherever the American Episcopal Church shall be mentioned in the world, may this good deed, which they have done for us, be spoken of for a memorial of them!

JEREMIAH LEAMING,
RICHARD MANSFIELD,
ABRAHAM JARVIS,
BELA HUBBARD,
JOHN R. MARSHALL,
and others.

MIDDLETOWN, *August* 3, 1785.

BISHOP SEABURY'S ANSWER.

REVEREND BRETHREN, BELOVED IN OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, — I heartily thank you for your kind congratulations on my safe return to my native country; and cordially join with you in your joy, and thanks to Almighty God, for

the success of that important business, which your application excited me to undertake. May God enable us all to do everything with a view to his glory, and the good of his Church!

Accept of my acknowledgments for the assurances you give me of exerting your best abilities, to promote the welfare, not only of our own Church, but of common Christianity, and the peace and mutual affection of all denominations of Christians. In so good a work, I trust, you will never find me either backward or negligent.

I should, most certainly, be very apprehensive of sinking under the weight of that high office to which I have been, under God's Providence, raised by your voluntary and free election, did I not assure myself of your ready advice and assistance in the discharge of its important duties; grateful, therefore, to me, must be the assurances you give, of supporting the authority of your Bishop upon the true principles of the primitive Church, before it was controlled and corrupted by secular connections and worldly policy. Let me entreat your prayers to our supreme Head, for the continual presence of his Holy Spirit, that I may in all things do his blessed will.

The surprise you express at the rejection of your application in England is natural. But where the ecclesiastical and civil constitutions are so closely woven together as they are in that country, the first characters in the Church, for station and merit, may find their good dispositions rendered ineffectual, by the intervention of the civil authority; and whether it is better to submit quietly to this state of things in England, or to risk that confusion which would probably ensue, should an amendment be attempted, demands serious consideration.

The sentiments you entertain of the venerable Bishops in Scotland are highly pleasing to me. Their conduct through the whole business was candid, friendly, and Christian; appearing to me to arise from a just sense of duty, and to be founded in, and conducted by the true principles of the

primitive, apostolical Church. And I hope you will join with me in manifestations of gratitude to them, by always keeping up the most intimate communion with them and their suffering Church.

SAMUEL, *Bp. Epl. Ch. Connect.*

MIDDLETOWN, *August* 3, 1785.

The bishop having finished reading his reply, the clergy kneeled down at the chancel rail and received the apostolic blessing. The occasion was an extraordinary one, and as the order of procedure, after the ceremony of the addresses had been concluded, differed somewhat from the present manner of ordaining deacons, it may be well to give the minutes as we find them: "Then the clergy retired to their pews, and the bishop began divine service with the Litany, according to the rubric in the office for the ordination of deacons; the four following persons, Messrs. Vandyke, Shelton, Baldwin of Connecticut, and Mr. Ferguson of Maryland, being present to be admitted to that order. The Litany being ended, Mr. Bowden read the first communion service. The bishop then read the service, consecrated the elements, and administered the bread. Mr. Bowden assisted by administering the cup. The communion being finished, the bishop proceeded to the ordination. Mr. Jarvis officiated as arch-deacon. After the ordination a sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Leaming, and the congregation was dismissed by the bishop. From the church, the clergy, preceded by the bishop, returned to the parsonage."

There, after thanks had been given to Mr. Leaming for his sermon, and a copy of it requested for publication, "the bishop dissolved the convention and

directed the clergy to meet him at five o'clock in convocation." They had assembled in what were denominated conventions annually or oftener, for many years; but this was the first *convocation*, the first instance of their being convoked by a bishop. It was here the same body acting not so much in a legislative capacity as in consultations about liturgical changes and future ecclesiastical measures.

At eleven o'clock A. M., on Thursday, the fourth day of August, divine service was held in the church, when "Mr. Parker read prayers and Mr. Moore preached a sermon, after which the bishop delivered a charge to the clergy." Mr. Parker had come from the clergy of Massachusetts with instructions which he presented to the convocation and which were substantially these: "to collect the sentiments of the Connecticut clergy in respect of Dr. Seabury's Episcopal consecration, the regulation of his Episcopal jurisdiction," and to indicate "their thoughts of connecting themselves with them under his Episcopal charge." The communication was received with the warmest expressions of welcome and of a desire on the part of the Connecticut clergy for a union with their brethren of Massachusetts.

The next day, "after appointing Mr. Bowden, Mr. Parker, and Mr. Jarvis as a committee to consider of, and make with the bishop some alterations in the Liturgy needful for the present use of the Church, the convocation adjourned to meet again at New Haven in September." This committee and the bishop still lingered in Middletown, and entered carefully upon the duties of their appointment. On Sunday, Mr. Ferguson was advanced to the priesthood, Mr.

Parker, Mr. Bowden, and Mr. Jarvis attending as presbyters; and Mr. Thomas Fitch Oliver, of Providence, R. I., was admitted on the same day to the order of deacons.

Such is a brief account of the proceedings at the first meeting of the first American bishop with his clergy. The sermon of Mr. Leaming[1] was full of wise counsels addressed to his brethren, and, coming from one so venerable in years and so borne down with the burden of varied trials, must have had a benign influence upon their minds. While it breathed with the spirit of charity, it insisted that they were to proceed with the coolest deliberation, and the firmest resolution. "The providence of God," said he, "was not more conspicuous in preparing the world for the reception of the gospel at the first, than it has been in bringing about a method for perpetuating the Church in this State. This might be painted in the most lively colors, and in the most striking manner. . . . . I have the pleasure to see the day when there is a bishop here, to act as a true father towards his clergy, supporting their dignity, as well as his own; to govern them with impartiality, as well as lenity; and to admit none to the altar by ordination but the worthy; to uphold a Church beaten with storms on every side; to support a Church that has been a bulwark against infidelity on the one hand, and Romish superstition on the other. But by the divine providence it has continued to this day."

[1] The addresses, the sermon of Mr. Leaming, and the charge of the bishop, with a list of the consecration and succession of SCOTTISH BISHOPS since the Revolution, 1688, under William III., to 1784, were printed in a pamphlet of forty pages, of which there was an American and a Scotch edition. The charge is reprinted from the Edinburgh edition.

The charge of the bishop is of great importance, both in its teachings and in its connection with American Episcopacy, and therefore it is given in full, as follows: —

Rev. Brethren, beloved in our Lord Jesus Christ, — It is with very great and sincere pleasure that I meet you here at this time, and on this occasion; and I heartily thank God, our heavenly Father, for the joyful and happy opportunity with which his good providence has favored us; and do beseech him to direct and prosper all our consultations and endeavors to his glory, and the benefit of his Church.

At your desire, and by your appointment, I consented to undertake a voyage to England, to endeavor to obtain those Episcopal powers, whose want has ever been severely felt, and deeply lamented by the thinking part of our communion. The voyage has been long and tedious, and the difficulties that arose, perplexing, and not easily surmountable; yet, by the favor of God, the important business has been happily accomplished; and the blessing of a free, valid, and purely ecclesiastical Episcopacy procured to our infant Church; which is now completely organized in all its parts; and, being nourished by sincerity and truth, will, we trust, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, *grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ: From whom the whole body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, will make increase of the body, unto the edifying of itself in love.*[1]

As, under God, the Bishops of the remainder of the old Episcopal Church of Scotland, which, at the Revolution, fell a sacrifice to the jealous apprehensions of William III., were the sole instruments of accomplishing this happy work; to them our utmost gratitude is due; and I hope the sense of the benefit we have, through their hands, received, will ever remain fresh in the minds of all the members of our communion to the latest posterity.

[1] Eph. iv. 15, 16.

Under the greatest persecutions, God has preserved them to this day, and I trust will preserve them; that there may yet be some to whom destitute Churches may apply in their spiritual wants; some faithful shepherds of Christ's flock, who are willing to give *freely* what they have *freely* received from their Lord and Master.

With us then, my venerable Brethren, it remains to make this precious gift which we have received conducive to the glory of God, and the good of his Church. Long have we earnestly desired to enjoy the full advantage of our religious constitution; let us then carefully improve it, to all those holy purposes for which it was originally designed by our Divine Head, the august Redeemer of sinful men.

Sensible as I am of my own deficiencies, and of the infirmities of human nature, I shall, by God's grace, be always ready to do my duty, according to my best ability and discretion; and, I trust, I shall by him be enabled to avoid everything that may bring a reproach on our holy Religion, or be a hindrance to the increase and prosperity of that Church, over which I am, by God's providence, called to preside. On your advice and assistance, reverend Brethren, next to God's grace, I must rely for support in the great work that is before me, and to which I can with truth say, I have devoted myself without reserve. Your support, I know, I shall have; and I hope for the support of all good men. Let us then trust that God will prosper our honest endeavors to serve the interests of his Church, and to make his Gospel effectual to the conversion of sinners to him, that their souls may be saved by the Redemption and Mediation of his Son. Worldly views can here have no influence either on *you* or *me*. Loss, and not gain, may, and probably will be, the consequence of the step we have taken to procure for our Church the blessing we now enjoy. But however our worldly patrons may be disposed towards us, our heavenly Father knoweth whereof we are made, and of what things we have need: and HE is able to *open his hand, and fill all things living with plenteousness.*[1] Let us then *seek first his*

[1] Psa. cxlv. 16.

kingdom, and the righteousness thereof,[1] and depend upon the gracious promise of our Redeemer, that all things necessary to our bodily sustenance shall, in the course of his providence, be given unto us.

In our endeavors to promote the interests of Christ's Church in this world, much I know will depend upon me: Much also, my beloved in Christ, will depend on you. Permit me then, in this my first Charge, to mention two or three things of great importance in themselves, and which require your immediate attention.

The first is, The obligations you are all under to be very careful of the doctrines which you preach from the pulpit, or inculcate in conversation. You will not suppose that I am finding fault, or that I have reason so to do. General cautions of this kind must make part of almost all the charges from a Bishop to his Clergy. Should any Clergyman be censurable in this respect, it would be ungenerous to attack him in this public way, and unfair to correct him by wounding the body of his brethren. Should such a case ever happen, which I pray God never may, there are other modes of proceedings more likely to be effectual, and which therefore ought to be adopted. But when you consider, as I doubt not you do often and seriously, that many of the people under your care have little or no other instruction in religion but what they get from you; that the care of their souls is by Christ and his Church committed to you; and that you must give an awful account of them in the day of judgment, you cannot think such cautions as I just now interposed can at this or at any other time be either impertinent or unnecessary. You are, and it is expected of the people that they account you as *ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God*;[2] let us all then remember, that *it is required of stewards that a man be found faithful:* And our own hearts will inform us, that the first instance of fidelity is, that the pure doctrines of the Gospel be fairly and earnestly, and affectionately proposed, explained, and inculcated; and

[1] Matt. vi. 33. [2] 1 Cor. iv. 1, 2.

that we suffer nothing else to usurp their place, and become the subject of our preaching.

Another matter, which my duty requires me to mention, relates to a business in which you will probably be soon called upon to act; I mean the very important one of giving recommendations to candidates for Holy Orders. It is impossible that the Bishop should be personally acquainted with every one who may present himself for ordination. He must therefore depend on the recommendation of his Clergy, and other people of reputation, for the character and qualifications of those who shall be presented to him. By qualifications I mean not so much literary accomplishments, though these are not to be neglected, as aptitude for the work of the ministry. You must be sensible that a man may have, and deservedly have an irreproachable moral character, and be endued with pious and devout affections, and a competent share of human learning; and yet, from want of prudence, or from deficiency in temper, or some singularity in disposition, may not be calculated to make a *good* Clergyman; for to be a *good* Clergyman implies, among other things, that a man be a *useful* one. A Clergyman who does no *good*, always does *hurt;* there is no medium. Not only the moral character, and learning, and abilities of candidates, are to be exactly inquired into, but also their good temper, prudence, diligence, and everything by which their usefulness in the ministry may be affected. Nor should their personal appearance, voice, manner, clearness of expression, and facility of communicating their sentiments, be altogether overlooked. These, which may by some be thought to be only secondary qualifications, and therefore of no great importance, are, however, those that will require your more particular attention, and call for all your prudence. They who shall apply for recommendations will generally be such as have passed through a course of academical studies, and must be competently qualified in a literary view. Examination, however, will ascertain the matter with sufficient certainty; and it is improbable that the openly vicious, or

even they whose characters will not bear to be scrutinized, will ever apply for your testimonials: but should they be so hardy, the matter will soon be decided. You cannot recommend them, and there is an end of it. But the other qualifications I mentioned, good temper, prudence, diligence, capacity and aptitude to teach, and all those requisites necessary to make a worthy, useful clergyman, may probably be sometimes doubted. And then a question arises, whether such a person ought to be recommended? The general consideration, that a Clergyman should be useful to others, and should not merely consult his own emolument, but the benefit of Christ's Church principally, ought, in my opinion, to determine this point; and if there be real ground to suspect that a person will not make a useful Clergyman, whatever his moral character and literary attainments may be, he ought not to be recommended. He may serve God usefully and acceptably in some other station; and he cannot justly esteem it an injury, that he was not admitted to a station in Christ's Church, where the probable chance was, that he would do more *harm* than *good*. It is always easier to keep such persons out of the ministry, than to get rid of them when once admitted. Open immorality exposes a man to the public censure of his superiors, and he may, by due authority, be deposed, and dismissed from the ministry. But a Clergyman's conduct may be so guarded, as to be always within such a line as shall screen him from public censure, and yet be such as does manifest disservice to religion, and brings reproach on the order to which he belongs; and however uneasy you may be with having him in your number, no fair occasion to get rid of him may ever present itself. *Lay hands suddenly on no man*,[1] was one of the things St. Paul gave in charge to Timothy, whom he had appointed Bishop of Ephesus: And if not *suddenly*, without *sufficient* deliberation and trial, certainly not in *doubtful* cases, especially where the probability is against the man, with respect to his usefulness as a minister. And all the reasons why

[1] 1 Tim. v. 22.

the Bishop should *lay hands suddenly on no man*, are so many strong arguments against recommending any man *suddenly*, or in *doubtful* cases, to the Bishop for ordination.

The third thing which my duty calls upon me to mention to you at this time, because it requires your immediate attention, is that old and sacred rite, handed down to us from the apostolic age, by the primitive Church, — *the Laying on of hands* upon those who have been baptized, and, by proper authority, admitted into the Christian Church, and which is now commonly called *Confirmation:* though, in truth, there seems to me to be more in the rite than a bare confirmation of the baptismal vow; and that it implies, and was originally understood to imply, the actual communication of the Holy Spirit to those who worthily received it.

It has not hitherto been in the power of the members of our Church to comply with this rite, for want of the proper officer to administer it: and we trust that the mercy of God will pardon those omissions of duty in his faithful servants, which arose merely from the necessity of their situation. But the case is now altered; and, through his gracious providence, that, and every other rite and ordinance which he has instituted for the government and edification of his Church, may be obtained and enjoyed. It becomes therefore our duty to attend to this matter; and as it is unreasonable to expect that people should comply with a rite before they are convinced of their obligation to do so, it lies upon us to explain to them its nature and meaning, the foundation on which it stands, the obligations they are under to comply with it, and the benefits they will receive from the institution, if they come worthily to it; and then, it is to be hoped, there will be no backwardness in the members of our Church to submit to it.

It is, I am sensible, unnecessary to point out to you the several arguments and reasons by which your instructions in this point may be supported. You have undoubtedly often and seriously reflected on them. But as your duty, in that respect, is now to be more particularly regarded, and very

soon carried into execution, permit me, by way of remembrance, to make a few general observations on the authority, nature, and benefits of the institution.

We suppose, and I think justly, that the rite is founded on apostolical practice. In Heb. vi. 2, St. Paul enumerates the fundamental principles of the Christian Religion, such as were necessary for all Christians, viz., *Repentance from dead works, — faith in God, — the doctrine of baptisms, — and of laying on of hands — and of the resurrection of the dead, and of eternal life.* No commentator or expositor of the holy Scriptures ever understood this text of any other *laying on of hands*, but that in confirmation, till since the Reformation; and the celebrated Calvin himself gives it as his opinion, *that this one text shows evidently, that Confirmation was instituted by the Apostles.*[1]

In the 8th chapter of the Acts it is recorded, that when many of the Samaritans had been converted and baptized by St. Philip the deacon, the College of Apostles at Jerusalem sent two of their own number, Peter and John, who, when they had prayed for them, that they might receive the Holy Ghost, *laid their hands on them, and they received the* Holy Ghost.

In the 19th chapter, St. Paul, finding some disciples at Ephesus who had been baptized only with the baptism of John, had them baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, and when *he had laid his hands upon them, the Holy Ghost came on them; and they spake with tongues and prophesied.*

I know that the usual way of evading the force of these last two authorities is, by saying that this imposition of hands was for the sole purpose of conferring the miraculous gifts of the Holy Spirit: but this will not reach the first case, where St. Paul mentions *the laying on of hands* among the rudiments of the doctrines of the gospel. In the infancy of Christianity, *extraordinary, or miraculous gifts* were necessary for its establishment and propagation in the world. But have we reason sufficient to justify the opinion, that al

[1] Vid. Calvin, *in loc.*

upon whom the Apostles laid their hands received these miraculous powers? Is it not surprising that twelve men at Ephesus, who had not even heard that there was any Holy Ghost till St. Paul's visit, should be pitched upon by him for receiving these extraordinary gifts? The miraculous powers of the Holy Spirit are communicated when, and where, and how, it pleases Infinite Wisdom: And very probably St. Paul was surprised at this extraordinary display of the power of the Holy Spirit upon the twelve men at Ephesus, as well as St. Peter had been, when the Holy Ghost fell upon the whole company of Cornelius to whom he was preaching, even before they had been baptized.[1] Because God sometimes departs from the ordinary institutions in his Church, are we to suppose that there is no virtue in those ordinary institutions, except when God shall please to accompany them with miraculous powers? The Holy Spirit is given for the sanctification of the heart, and to lead all those who will be governed by him, from one degree of holiness to another, till they shall become fit inhabitants of the kingdom of Heaven; and, in truth, there is as great a miracle in the conversion of a sinner from the error of his ways, as in speaking with tongues and prophesying. Both are beyond the power of nature, and both require Almighty interposition.

In Confirmation, by the imposition of the hands of the Bishop and prayer, we believe the Holy Spirit to be given for sanctification, *i. e.*, for carrying into effect that regeneration which is conferred in Baptism. By Baptism we are taken out of our natural state of sin and death, into which we are born by our natural birth, and are translated, transplanted, or born again into the Church of Christ, a state of grace, and endless life; and by Confirmation, or the imposition of the hands of the Bishop, when we personally ratify our baptismal vow and covenant, we are endued with the Holy Spirit to enable us to overcome sin, and to perfect holiness in the fear of God. If it can be proved that the

[1] Acts x. 44, etc.

Holy Spirit is not necessary for these purposes, but that his influence is only necessary when miraculous powers are to be conferred, I will confess that Confirmation is unnecessary at this time; for it is not pretended that the miraculous powers of the Holy Spirit are now conferred by *the laying on of hands.*

You must have observed, that though the Samaritans were converted and baptized by St. Philip the deacon, yet the Apostles sent two of their own order to *lay hands* on them. And St. Paul, when the twelve disciples at Ephesus had been baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus, *laid* HIS *hands* on them. For these reasons, the Christian Church has always appropriated this rite to the successors of the Apostles, the supreme order of the Christian priesthood.

The time when Confirmation is to be used is not restricted to any particular age. When the person is of competent reason and understanding to comprehend the nature of the baptismal covenant, and is duly instructed in it, and sensible of his duty to fulfill it, and disposed to ratify and confirm it before God and his Church, with full purpose of continuing God's faithful servant to his life's end, he is properly qualified for the rite. And of these qualifications his minister is to be the judge, and is to certify the Bishop thereof. A godfather or godmother are to attend with them, to witness their Confirmation, and to *put them in mind*, if they perceive them to be afterward negligent of their duty, or departing from the solemn vows and promises they then made.

The benefits resulting from this institution have in some measure been anticipated; permit me, however, just to enumerate them. It enters us into a new engagement to be the Lord's and to lead a holy and Christian life; it is a lasting admonition not to dishonor or desert our profession; it preserves the unity of the Church, by making men sensible of their obligations to maintain communion with those ecclesiastical superiors who are the successors of the holy Apostles; and it is a testimony of God's mercy and favor

to them, if they receive it worthily; because his minister declares authoritatively, that God accepts their proficiency, and, advancing them to the higher rank of the faithful, gives them a right to approach his Table, and feast with their brethren on the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist, the memorials of Christ's death; and by it also God condescends to communicate supernatural strength, even the gift of his blessed Spirit, to enable them to encounter and vanquish their spiritual enemies, and fulfill the terms of the gospel.

These things, Reverend Brethren, you will explain and inculcate in your several congregations, that all may be informed of the nature of their duty, excited, on proper motives, to comply with it, and instructed how to come worthily to this holy rite, that they may receive the full benefit of it, and the Church be edified with sound and living members.

You will also put godfathers and godmothers, as well as the natural parents, in mind, to see that the children they have answered for at the font be properly instructed, and in due time brought to the Bishop to be confirmed by him, that they may discharge themselves of the obligation which their Christian charity excited them to undertake.

And the God of all grace, who hath called us unto his eternal glory by Jesus Christ — make you perfect, stablish, strengthen, settle you[1] — bless and prosper your ministry in his Church, and reward your faithful labors with the blessings of his own heavenly kingdom. *To him*, the holy triune God, be *glory* and dominion for ever and ever. Amen.

[1] 1 Pet. v. 10, 11.

CHAPTER XIII.

COURTESIES TO THE SOUTHERN CLERGY, AND PROPOSALS TO CHANGE THE LITURGY; BISHOP SEABURY'S LETTER TO DR. SMITH, AND REASONS FOR NOT ATTENDING CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA; CONVOCATION IN NEW HAVEN, AND RELUCTANCE TO ALTER THE LITURGY; ORDINATION OF SEVEN CANDIDATES, AND LETTER TO THE SCOTTISH BISHOPS; BISHOP SEABURY AND HIS CLERGY DENOUNCED AS NON-JURORS AND JACOBITES, AND MR. LEAMING'S DEFENSE.

A. D. 1785.

THE clergy of Connecticut, when the time for holding the convention at Middletown had been fixed upon, invited their Southern brethren to meet them for the purpose of considering measures tending to the union and organization of the Church in the thirteen States. "We have no views," said Mr. Leaming, who was authorized to give the invitation, "of usurping any authority over our brothers and neighbors, but wish them to unite with us, in the same friendly manner that we are ready and willing to do with them. I must earnestly entreat you to come upon this occasion, for the sake of the peace of the Church, for your own satisfaction, in what friendly manner the clergy here would treat you, not to mention what happiness the sight of you would give to your sincere friend and brother."

This was addressed to Dr. White, and included the clergy of Pennsylvania. The only response to it was

an invitation to the bishop and clergy of Connecticut to attend the general convention which was to meet at Philadelphia the 27th of the ensuing September. Of course no such invitation could be accepted by men who had completed their own organization and who believed that a bishop should have precedence by virtue of his office in all ecclesiastical assemblies. This was not permitted by the fifth of the fundamental articles set forth in New York, and which were to come up again for consideration and adoption. Speaking of the fifth article, Mr. Parker, in a letter to Dr. White, September 14th, said: "Had it stood as I proposed, that a bishop (if one in any State) should be president of the convention, I make no doubt there would have been one present. You will be at no loss to conclude that I mean Dr. Seabury, who, you must ere this have heard, is arrived and entered upon the exercise of his offices in Connecticut. Being present in convocation at Middletown the 4th of August last, I much urged his attending the convention at Philadelphia this month, but that article discouraged him so much that no arguments I could use were sufficient to prevail with him."

The alterations in the Liturgy and offices of the Church agreed to by the bishop and clergy at Middletown were laid by Mr. Parker before a convention of clerical and lay deputies from churches in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, and in the main adopted by that body, with directions that a copy of its proceedings be forwarded to Dr. White or the president of the general convention soon to meet in Philadelphia. Bishop Seabury, now the rec-

ognized head of the Church in Connecticut, lost no time, after the meeting in Middletown, to write to Dr. Smith, not so much to show the validity of his consecration and his willingness to ordain candidates who might be sent to him, as to criticise the precise fundamental rules established in New York, and give warning against the final approval of changes that would lead to divisions, and prevent the Church in America from becoming "united in government, doctrine, and discipline." He wrote also a briefer letter to Dr. White, and both were inclosed to Dr. Chandler, who by this time had returned to his family in New Jersey, and was looking with intense interest to the results of a convention which his health would not permit him to attend.

In transmitting the letters to Dr. White, he said: "That to Dr. Smith was sent open for my inspection; and instead of sealing it, I have taken the liberty to send it open to you, wishing that you also may have a sight of it. You will, therefore, after reading it, be so good as to seal and send it forward." At the same time, Dr. Chandler gave free utterance to his hopes and apprehensions, and advocated adherence to the established maxims of ecclesiastical polity, and the general practice of the Church in all ages. He enforced the views of the clergy of Connecticut, and thought they had completed their constitution upon right principles. "I wish," said he, "that in the other States the example may be followed, for I do not believe that the Christian world affords one more conformable to the primitive pattern, all things considered, than the Church in Connecticut."

The letter of Bishop Seabury to Dr. Smith is an important one, frankly and carefully written, and before sending it off, he transcribed it in his letter-book, where it appears with all the precision of the original. It has been several times printed, but it is so necessary to a full understanding of his views in regard to the interests, rights, and honor of the Church that it cannot be omitted in this connection. It was dated

NEW LONDON, *August* 15, 1785.

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR, — It has not been in my power, till this day, to pay that attention to your letter of July 19th, which the importance of its several subjects demanded.

The grand difficulty that defeated my application for consecration in England appeared to me to be the want of an application from the State of Connecticut. Other objections were made, viz: That there was no precise diocese marked out by the civil authority, nor a stated revenue appointed for the Bishop's support: But those were removed. The other remained — for the civil authority in Connecticut is Presbyterian, and therefore could not be supposed would petition for a Bishop. And had this been removed, I am not sure another would not have started up: For this happened to me several times. I waited, and procured a copy of an Act of the Legislature of Connecticut, which puts all denominations of Christians on a footing of equality (except the Roman Catholics, and to them it gives a free toleration), certified by the Secretary of the State: For to Connecticut all my negotiations were confined. The Archbishop of Canterbury wished it had been fuller, but thought it afforded ground on which to proceed. Yet he afterward said it would not do; and that the minister, without a formal requisition from the State, would not suffer the Bill, enabling the Bishop of London to ordain foreign Candidates without their taking the Oaths, to pass the Commons, if

it contained a clause for Consecrating American Bishops. And as his Grace did not choose to proceed without parliamentary authority — though if I understood him right, a majority of the Judges and Crown Lawyers were of opinion he might safely do it — I turned my attention to the remains of the old Scots Episcopal Church, whose Consecrations I knew were derived from England, and their authority in an ecclesiastical sense fully equal to the English Bishops — no objection was ever made to me on account of the legacies left for American Bishops. Some people had surmises of this kind, but I know not whence they arose.

I can see no good ground of apprehension concerning the titles of estates or emoluments belonging to the Church in your State. Your Church is still the Church of England subsisting under a different civil government. We have in America the Church of Holland, of Scotland, of Sweden, of Moravia, and why not of England? Our being of the Church of England no more implies dependence on, or subjection to England than being of the Church of Holland implies subjection to Holland.

The plea of the Methodists is something like impudence. Mr. Wesley is only a Presbyter, and all his Ordinations Presbyterian, and in direct opposition to the Church of England: And they can have no pretense for calling themselves Churchmen till they return to the unity of the Church, which they have unreasonably, unnecessarily, and wickedly broken, by their separation and schism.

Your two cautions respecting recommendations and titles are certainly just. Till you are so happy as to have a Bishop of your own, it will be a pleasure to me to do everything I can, for the supply of your Churches: And I am confident the Clergy of Maryland, and the other States, will be very particular with regard to the qualifications and titles of persons to be admitted into their own Order. Should they think proper to send any Candidates hither, I could wish that it might be at the stated times of Ordination; because the Clergy here, living so scattered, it is not

easy on every emergency to get three of them together; and never without some expense which they cannot well afford. I cannot omit to mention again the particular satisfaction Mr. Ferguson gave, not only to me, but to all our Clergy. I hope he will prove a worthy and useful Clergyman. I flatter myself he got home without any disagreeable accident.

I thank you for your communications respecting Washington College, and the various Conventions you have had in your State and neighborhood. The Clergy and Laity have particular merit in making so great exertions to get our Church into a settled and respectful state. But on objects of such magnitude and variety it is to be expected that sentiments will differ. All men do not always see the same object in the same light: And persons at a distance are not always masters of the precise reasons and circumstances which have occasioned particular modes of acting. Of some things therefore in your proceedings I cannot be a competent judge without minute information; and I am very sorry that my present circumstances, and duty here, will not permit me to make so long a journey at this time; because by personal interview and conversation only can such information be had.

But, my dear Sir, there are some things which, if I do not much misapprehend, are really wrong. In giving my opinion of them, I must claim the same privilege of judging for myself which others claim; and also that right of fair and candid interpretation of my sentiments which is due to all men.

1. I think you have done wrong in establishing so many, and so precise, fundamental rules. You seem thereby to have precluded yourselves from the benefit of after consideration. And by having the power of altering fundamental rules diffused through so large a body, it appears to me next to impossible to have them altered, even in some reasonable cases; because cases really reasonable may not always appear so to two thirds of a large assembly. It should also be remembered that while human nature is as it is, something

of party, passion, or partiality will ever be apt, in some degree, to influence the views and debates of a numerous and mixed assembly.

2. I think you have too much circumscribed the power of your Bishop. That *the duty and Office of a Bishop differs in nothing from that of other* Priests, *except in the power of Ordination and Confirmation* (Pamph. p. 16), *and the right of Precedency*, etc., is a position that carries Jerome's opinion to the highest pitch — *Quid facit Episcopus, quod Presbyter non faciat, excepta ordinatione?* But it does not appear that Jerome had the support of the Church, in this opinion, but rather the contrary. Government as essentially pertains to Bishops as ordination; nay, ordination is but the particular exercise of government. Whatever share of government Presbyters have in the Church, they have from the Bishop, and must exercise it in conjunction with, or in subordination to him. And though a Congregation may have a right — and I am willing to allow it — to choose their minister, as they are to support him and live under his ministry, yet the Bishop's concurrence or license is necessary, because they are part of his charge; he has the care of their souls, and is accountable for them; and therefore the minister's authority to take charge of that congregation must come through the Bishop.

The choice of the Bishop is in the Presbyters, but the neighboring Bishops, who are to consecrate him, must have the right of judging whether he be a proper person or not. The Presbyters are the Bishop's council, without whom he ought to do nothing but matters of course. The Presbyters have always a check upon their Bishop, because they can, neither Bishop nor Presbyter, do anything beyond the common course of duty without each other. I mean with regard to a particular diocese; for it does not appear that Presbyters had any seat in general Councils, but by particular indulgence.

The people being the patrons of the Churches in this country, and having the means of the Bishops' and ministers' sup-

port in their hands, have a sufficient restraint upon them. In cases that require it, they can apply to their Bishop, who, with the assistance of his Presbyters, will proceed, as the case may require, to censure, suspension, or deposition of the offending Clergyman. If a Bishop behaves amiss the neighboring Bishops are his judges. Men that are not to be trusted with these powers are not fit to be Bishops or Presbyters at all.

This, I take it, is the constitution of the Christian Church in its pure and simple state. And it is a constitution which, if adhered to, will carry itself into full effect. This constitution we have adopted in Connecticut; and we do hope and trust that we shall, by God's grace, exhibit to the world, in our government, discipline, and order, a pure and perfect model of primitive simplicity.

Presbyters cannot be too careful in choosing their Bishop; nor the People in choosing their minister. Improper men may, however, sometimes succeed: And so they will, make as exact rules, and circumscribe their power, as you can. And an improper man in the Church is an improper man, however he came there, and however his power be limited. The more you circumscribe him, the greater temptation he is under to form a party to support him; and when his party is formed, all the power of your convention will not be able to displace him. In short, if you get a bad man, your laws and regulations will not be effectual — if a good man, the general laws of the Church are sufficient.

Where civil States have made provision for ministers, it seems reasonable that they should define the qualifications, and regulate the conduct of those who are to enjoy the emolument. But voluntary associations for the exercise of such powers as your Convention is to have are always apt — such is the infirmity of human nature — to fall into parties; and when party enters, animosity and discord soon follow. From what has been said you will suppose I shall object

3. To the admission of Lay members into Synods, etc. I

must confess I do, especially in the degree your fundamental rules allow. I have as great a regard for the Laity as any man can have. It is for their sake that ministers are appointed in the Church. I have no Idea of aggrandizing the Clergy at the expense of the laity: Nor indeed of aggrandizing them at all. Decent means of living is all they have a right to expect. But I cannot conceive that the Laity can with any propriety be admitted to sit in judgment on Bishops and Presbyters, especially when deposition may be the event; because they cannot take away a character which they cannot confer. It is incongruous to every idea of Episcopal government. That authority which confers power, can, for proper reasons, take it away: But where there is no authority to confer power, there can be none to disannul it. Wherever, therefore, the power of Ordination is lodged, the power of deprivation is lodged also.

Should it be thought necessary that the laity should have a share in the choice of their Bishop — if it can be put on a proper footing so as to avoid party and confusion — I see not but that it might be admitted. But I do not apprehend that this was the practice of the primitive Church. In short, the rights of the Christian Church arise not from nature or compact, but from the institution of Christ; and we ought not to alter them, but to receive and maintain them as the holy apostles left them. The government, sacraments, faith, and doctrines of the Church are fixed and settled. We have a right to examine *what they are*, but we must take them *as they are*. If we new model the government, why not the sacraments, creeds, and doctrines of the Church; But then it would not be Christ's Church, but *our* Church; and would remain so, call it by what name we please.

I do therefore beseech the Clergy and Laity, who shall meet at Philadelphia, to reconsider the matter before a final step be taken: And to endeavor to bring their Church government as near to the primitive pattern as may be. They will find it the simplest, and most easy to carry into effect; and if it be adhered to will be in no danger of sinking or failing.

I do not think it necessary that the Church in every State should be just as the Church in Connecticut is, though I think that the best model. Particular circumstances, I know, will call for particular considerations. But in so essential a matter as Church government is, no alterations should be made that affect its foundation. If a man be called a Bishop who has not the Episcopal powers of government, he is called by a wrong name, even though he should have the power of Ordination and Confirmation.

Let me therefore again entreat that such material alterations, and forgive me if I say, unjustifiable ones, may not be made in the government of the Church. I have written freely as becomes an honest man, and in a case which I think calls for freedom of sentiment and expression. I wish not to give offense, and I hope none will be taken. Whatever I can do consistently to assist in procuring Bishops in America, I shall do cheerfully, but beyond that I cannot go; and I am sure neither you, nor any of the friends of the Church, would wish I should.

If any expression in this letter should seem too warm, I will be ready to correct the mode, but the sentiments I must retain till I find them wrong, and then I will freely give them up. In this matter I am not interested. My ground is taken, and I wish not to extend my authority beyond its present limits. But I do most earnestly wish to have our Church in all the States so settled that it may be one Church, united in government, doctrine, and discipline — that there may be no divisions among us — no opposition of interests — no clashing of opinions. And permit me to hope that you will at your approaching Convention so far recede in the points I have mentioned, as to make this practicable. Your Convention will be large and very much to be respected. Its determinations will influence many of the American States, and posterity will be materially affected by them. These considerations are so many arguments for calm and cool deliberation. Human passions and prejudices, and, if possible, infirmities, should be laid aside. A wrong

step will be attended with dreadful consequences. Patience and prudence must be exercised: And should there be some circumstances that press hard for a remedy, hasty decisions will not mend them. In doubtful cases they will probably have a bad effect. May the Spirit of God be with you at Philadelphia, and as I persuade myself, the sole good of his Church is the sole aim of you all, I hope for the best effects from your meeting.

I send you the alterations which it has been here thought proper to make in the Liturgy, to accommodate it to the civil constitution of this State. You will observe that there is no collect for the Congress. We have no backwardness in that respect, but thought it our duty to know whether the civil authority in this State has any directions to give in that matter; and that cannot be known till their next meeting in October.

Some other alterations were proposed, of which Mr. Ferguson took a copy; and I would send you a copy had I time to transcribe it. The matter will be resumed at New Haven the 14th of September. Should we come to any determination, the Brethren to the southward shall be informed of it.

With my best regards to the Convention and to you, I remain your affectionate, humble servant,

SAMUEL, *Bp. Epl. Ch. Connect.*

I have taken the liberty to inclose a copy of my letters of Consecration, which you will please to communicate to the Convention. You will also perceive it to be my wish that this letter should be communicated to them; to which, I presume, there can be no objection.

His letter addressed to Dr. White was written a few days later, and gave as reasons for not attending the approaching convention that neither his circumstances nor his duty would permit it. He referred to his sentiments in the communication to Dr. Smith,

and renewed the hope that the matters which he had pointed out would be reconsidered, and such measures pursued as might prevent the Church from "either falling into parties and dissolving, or sinking into Presbyterianism."

Bishop Seabury met his clergy in convocation at New Haven, according to adjournment, on Wednesday, the 14th of September, while Yale College was holding its annual commencement. Dr. Stiles was then the president of the institution, and the bishop entering the meeting-house during the exercises, some one suggested that he be invited, out of respect to his office, to take a seat upon the stage among other distinguished persons; to which the president replied: "We are all bishops here, but if there be room for another, he can occupy it."

Not much was done at this convocation in the way of proposing or adopting alterations of the Liturgy. The feeling of the Connecticut churchmen on the subject may be read in an extract from a letter, written by Mr. Hubbard while the clergy were together, and addressed to Mr. Parker, who had forwarded a copy of the variations in Massachusetts from what was agreed upon at Middletown: "As to the alteration proposed by your convention in the good old Book of Common Prayer, I can at present only say, that our convocation are slow in taking up a matter of so much consequence." And the bishop himself, nearly three months later, wrote to the same gentleman, and spoke still more decidedly against hasty action in these words: "Between the time of our parting at Middletown and the clerical meeting in New Haven, it was found that the Church people in Con-

necticut were much alarmed at the thoughts of any considerable alterations being made in the Prayer-book; and upon the whole, it was judged best that no alterations should be attempted at present, but to wait till a little time shall have cooled down the tempers and conciliated the affections of people to each other."

At that period, the case of candidates for Holy Orders came directly before the bishop and clergy, and it was a part of the business of convocation to examine and accept or reject their testimonials. Ordination by a bishop was a novel thing in New Haven, and the old Trinity Church must have been filled with people when, on the 16th of September, three candidates, two from New Jersey and one from Maryland, were admitted to the order of deacons, and three others advanced to the priesthood. On Sunday, the 18th, another large congregation assembled in the same place, when the three deacons, with Ashbel Baldwin, were admitted to the order of priests. "The solemnity of the offices," says a contemporary, "and the devout behavior of the candidates, impressed the minds of those who were present with sensations of reverence and delight more easily to be imagined than described." Necessity required that these ordinations should follow each other in quick succession. The men from New Jersey and Maryland were desirous of returning to enter upon work in their respective States, and could not afford to be detained longer than to be thoroughly examined and pronounced qualified for the office whereunto they had been called. Bishop Seabury sometimes took the candidates under his personal supervision, and directed their studies for months before proceeding to ordain them.

At the primary meeting in Middletown, the pressure of business was so great that no time was taken to answer the affectionate letter of the Scottish bishops, addressed to the clergy of Connecticut, and directing their attention to the "Concordate" as an instrument "dictated by a spirit of Christian meekness, and proceeding from a pure regard to regularity and good order." This matter, therefore, was entered upon at the convocation in New Haven, and after suitable deliberation, the following grateful acknowledgment was approved and transmitted: —

NEW HAVEN, IN CONNECTICUT, *September* 16, 1785.

RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS, — The pastoral letter which your Christian attention excited you to address us from Aberdeen, November 15, 1784, was duly delivered to us by the Right Reverend Bishop Seabury, and excited in us the warmest sentiments of gratitude and esteem. We should much earlier have made our acknowledgments had not our dispersed situation made the difficulty of our meeting together so very great, and the multiplicity of business absolutely necessary to be immediately dispatched, so entirely engrossed our time at our first meeting at Middletown as to render it then impracticable. We never had the least doubt of the validity or regularity of the succession of the Scottish Bishops, and as we never desired any other Bishops in this country, than upon the principles of the primitive Apostolical Church, we should, from the very first, have been as well pleased with a Bishop from Scotland as from England. But our connection with the English Church, and the kind support that most of our clergy received from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, naturally led us to renew our application to that Church, when we found ourselves separated from the British Government by the late peace. We are utterly at a loss to account for the backwardness of the British Church and Government to send Bishops to

this country, which has long and earnestly been requested. And we do think that their refusal to consecrate Dr. Seabury, under the circumstances that we applied for it, was utterly inconsistent with sound policy and Christian principles.

Greatly, then, are we indebted to you, venerable fathers, for your kind and Christian interposition; and we do heartily thank God that He did of his mercy put it into your hearts to consider and relieve our necessity.

We also gratefully revere and acknowledge the readiness with which you gratified our ardent wishes to have a Bishop to complete our religious establishment. We receive it as the gift of God himself through your hands. And though much is to be done to collect and regulate a scattered, and, till now, inorganized Church, yet we hope, through patience, diligence, and propriety of conduct, by God's blessing, in due time to accomplish it, and to make the Church of Connecticut a fair and fruitful branch of the Church Universal.

Our utmost exertions shall be joined with those of our Bishop to preserve the unity of faith, doctrine, discipline, and uniformity of worship, with the Church from which we derived our Episcopacy, and with which it will be our praise and happiness to keep up the most intimate intercourse and communion.

Commending ourselves and our Church to your prayers and benediction, we are, Right Reverend and Venerable Fathers, your most dutiful sons and servants.

Signed in behalf of the whole by ABRAHAM JARVIS,
Secretary to the Convocation of the Episcopal Clergy in Connecticut.

TO THE RIGHT REVEREND ROBERT KILGOUR, BISHOP AND PRIMUS; ARTHUR PETRIE, AND JOHN SKINNER, BISHOPS, ABERDEEN.

The policy in England appears to have somewhat changed after the heroic movement of Dr. Seabury to obtain consecration from the Scottish bishops, and the denunciation of him and the Connecticut clergy

as non-jurors and Jacobites was no excuse for the course which the Society took in withholding sympathy and support. "The reason you mention for taking away our salaries," wrote Mr. Leaming, one week after the convention, of which he was president, had received and acknowledged Dr. Seabury, "is a paradox in all shapes I can view it. Our names were never put to any papers, but to those directed to the bishops in South Britain; and to them none put their names but only myself, and Mr. Jarvis as secretary of the convention of this State. And the other reason (if it can be called so), offered for doing of it is as unaccountable. Did they without our wish or design make us non-jurors? And then take away our salaries because we were non-jurors? Heaven defend us from such sort of reason! I do not know how it is; but great men can draw conclusions without any premises. There is something so wicked for them to entice the clergy of this State to leave their flocks, which have been brought up by us to believe that the Society had nothing more at heart than to support true religion, without the least thought of acting by a party spirit in the affair. However, I impute all this to the influence of some crafty dissenter over the Society, in order, now we have a bishop, to stop the rapid growth of the Church here. Perhaps you will not believe it; but the Church here is now the popular religion in the State. Had our salaries been continued seven years longer we should have been able then to have done without them. And now I am persuaded we shall be able to carry a sufficient sway to support the Church. A bishop is no objection here."

The effort to remove the obstacles in England to the consecration of bishops for America was not renewed without throwing doubt upon the validity of the Scottish Episcopacy. Granville Sharpe, with all his philanthropy, had not ceased his opposition to what he called "the pretensions of Dr. Seabury and the non-juring bishops of Scotland," and in his diary, under date of September 10, 1785, he wrote: "Waited on the Archbishop at Lambeth and communicated to him Mr. Manning's letter respecting the convention of the Episcopal clergy this month at Philadelphia; also Dr. Franklin's letter on the subject of Episcopacy and the Liturgy. He assures me that the Administration would be inclined to give leave to the bishops to consecrate proper persons."

Mr. Manning was a Baptist minister, at the head of the college in Providence, R. I., and it was a singular procedure to apply to him in a matter of this kind. As one said at the time who was deeply interested:[1] "Has Mr. Sharpe no correspondence with any clergyman of the Episcopal Church in this country, that he writes on a subject of that nature to a Baptist minister? He seems to be dubious as to the validity of consecration obtained through that channel [non-juring bishops], but if the succession has been preserved, I cannot perceive why it should not be sufficient." Advantage was taken of the views of Mr. Sharpe to discredit the orders of Bishop Seabury, and set him aside, and some things were written and done, as will be seen hereafter, which unhappily savored more of the spirit of personal and political animosity than of Christian candor and intelligence.

[1] Mr. Thomas Fitch Oliver, of Rhode Island, to Rev. S. Parker.

Dr. Franklin had notions of his own about a Liturgy, and with the assistance of an English nobleman prepared an abridgment of the Book of Common Prayer, which was printed in London in 1773; but, as he himself said, was "never much noticed." Whatever may have been his private faith and doctrine, his reverence for religion and Christian institutions was constantly shown, and he was desirous of seeing the Church in this country, with which he was nominally connected, complete in its organization. In a letter written from Paris, July, 1784, to a couple of his young countrymen who were waiting in vain for Holy Orders in London, — the oaths of allegiance being the impediment, — he said with his proverbial wisdom: "An hundred years hence, when people are more enlightened, it will be wondered at that men in America, qualified by their learning and piety to pray for and instruct their neighbors, should not be permitted to do it till they had made a voyage of six thousand miles out and home, to ask leave of a cross old gentleman at Canterbury."

The century has nearly gone by since these words were written, and all who are not familiar with the political and religious history of England at that period will, indeed, wonder that a Church which had kings for her nursing fathers and queens for her nursing mothers was so backward to extend her polity and give completeness to a branch of her own planting.

CHAPTER XIV.

CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, AND ADOPTION OF AN ECCLESIASTICAL CONSTITUTION; APPLICATION FOR BISHOPS IN THE ENGLISH LINE, AND "THE PROPOSED BOOK;" LETTER OF MR. PROVOOST, AND HOSTILITY TO BISHOP SEABURY; FEARS OF FRIENDS, AND REPLY OF THE BISHOPS; ANOTHER CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, AND ITS PROCEEDINGS.

A. D. 1785–1786.

THE convention which met in Philadelphia, September 27, 1785, was composed of sixteen clergymen and twenty-six laymen, who represented parishes in seven of the old thirteen States, namely, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina. Ten of the clerical and fourteen of the lay order were from the two States of Maryland and Pennsylvania, and the convention was organized with the Rev. William White, D. D., as president, and the Rev. David Griffith, of Virginia, as secretary. The record of the proceedings makes no mention of the action of the New England clergy, and contains not the slightest reference to the presence in this country of a bishop who ten days before had ordained three candidates from Maryland and New Jersey, and was shortly to ordain others from the same quarter.

While the journal is thus silent in regard to Bishop Seabury, the letter which he addressed to Dr. Smith

was presented to the convention, as he had requested, and produced some feeling and animadversion. "A few of the lay gentlemen," says Dr. White, "spoke more warmly than the occasion seemed to justify, considering that the letter appeared to contain the honest sentiments of the writer, delivered in inoffensive terms." The business to which the body addressed itself fell under three heads, — to frame and adopt an ecclesiastical constitution; to revise and alter the Liturgy; and to prepare and report a plan for obtaining the consecration of bishops in the English line of succession, together with an address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England for that purpose. These three branches were intrusted to the same committee, composed of one clergyman and one layman from each of the States represented in the convention, and after continuing together for ten days, the session was brought to a close with "divine service in Christ Church, when the Liturgy, as altered, was read by the Rev. Dr. White, and a suitable sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Smith."

The ecclesiastical constitution and the draught of an address to the English bishops appear in full on the journal. They show the spirit which animated the body, and the influence of the laity in shaping the measures that were adopted. As for the Episcopacy, it was well understood that it could be obtained from Scotland; but "the majority of the convention," says Dr. White, "certainly thought it a matter of choice, and even required by decency, to apply, in the first instance, to the Church of which the American had been till now a part. No doubt, the senti-

ment was strengthened by the general disapprobation entertained in America of the prejudices which, in the year 1688, in Scotland, had deprived the Episcopal Church of her establishment, and had kept her ever since in hostility to the family on the throne. As to Bishop Seabury's failure in England," he continues, "the causes of it, as stated in his letter, seemed to point out a way of obviating the difficulty in the present case."[1]

It was proper to make every effort to obtain the succession from English bishops. The alterations in the Liturgy, which were attended with warm controversy and resulted in setting forth what is known in the early history of the American Church as "The Proposed Book," none of the members of the convention at first entertained thoughts of, according to Dr. White, "any further than to accommodate it to the Revolution." "On this business of the review of the Book of Common Prayer and the articles," are his words, "the convention seem to have fallen into two capital errors, independently on the merits of the alterations themselves. The first error was the ordering of the printing of a large edition of the book, which did not well consist with the principles of mere proposal. Perhaps much of the opposition to it arose from this very thing, which seemed a stretch of power, designed to effect the introduction of the book to actual use, in order to prevent a discussion of its merits. The other error was the ordering of the use of it in Christ Church, Philadelphia, on the occasion of Dr. Smith's sermon at the conclusion of the session of the convention. This helped to confirm

[1] *Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, p. 101.

the opinion of its being to be introduced with a high hand, and subjected the clergy of Philadelphia to extraordinary difficulty; for they continued the use of the Liturgy, agreeably to the alterations, on assurances given by many gentlemen that they would begin it in their respective churches immediately on their return. This the greater number of them never did, and there are known instances, in each of which the stipulation was shrunk back from, because some influential member of a congregation was dissatisfied with some one of the alterations. This is a fact which always shows very strongly how much weight of character is necessary to such changes as may be thought questionable."

Great pains were taken to prepare the way for a successful application to the English bishops. It was an objection raised in England to the consecration of Dr. Seabury, that the coöperation of the laity and sanction of the civil authority had not been secured, and therefore the convention made the removal of this impediment a matter of special attention. It was resolved "in order to assure their lordships of the legality of the present proposed application, that the deputies now assembled be desired to make a respectful address to the civil rulers of the States in which they respectively reside, to certify that the said application is not contrary to the constitution and laws of the same."

The aid of Mr. John Adams, the American minister at the British court, was sought, not in his official character, but as a private citizen of high dignity, and he presented the address of the convention to the Archbishop of Canterbury in person, and accom-

panied it with such explanations and documentary supports as were calculated to promote the object of his countrymen.

In deference to the popular notions of republican simplicity all the highest titles accorded to bishops in the British realm were to be discarded, and such only assumed as were due to spiritual employments. The Rev. Dr. Murray, formerly a presbyter in Pennsylvania, wrote from London to his old friend and correspondent, Dr. White, after news of the action of the convention had reached that city: "I would fain hope the day is not far distant when I shall have the honor of addressing you, *Right Reverend;* you meet my wishes more and more."

The following extract from a letter written by the Rev. Mr. Provoost to Dr. White, dated New York, November 7, 1785, not only shows that no time was lost in forwarding the address of the convention to England, but discloses the spirit of the author and the animosity borne by him towards one whose misfortune it was to be on the other side of the question in the war of the Revolution.

The address was sent by the Packet with recommendatory letters from the President of Congress, and John Jay, Esq., who have interested themselves much in our business. I have also inclosed a copy I had taken of the address, with some other papers relating to the Church in America, in a letter to the Bishop of Carlisle.

I expect no obstruction to our application but what may arise from the intrigues of the non-juring Bishop of Connecticut, who a few days since paid a visit to this State (notwithstanding he incurred the guilt of misprision of Treason, and was liable to confinement for life for doing so), and took shelter at Mr. James Rivington's, where he was seen only

by a few of his most intimate friends: whilst he was there, a piece appeared in a newspaper under Rivington's direction, pretending to give an account of the late Convention, but replete with falsehood and prevarication, and evidently intended to excite a popular prejudice against our transactions, both in England and America.

On Long Island, Dr. Cebra appeared more openly, — preached at Hempstead Church, and ordained the person from Virginia I formerly mentioned, being assisted by the Rev. Mr. Moore, of Hempstead, and the Rev. Mr. Bloomer, of Newtown, Long Island.

I relate these occurrences, that when you write next to England, our friends there may be guarded against any misrepresentations that may come to them from that quarter.

Dr. White had honestly differed from Dr. Seabury as to the policy of the colonies in the struggle for independence; but he had no thought of allowing the issues of the past to affect him in the organization and settlement of the Church, and he soon had reason to believe that the suspicious and unkind judgments of Mr. Provoost were due to his own personal and political prejudices. His persistent misspelling of the name of Bishop Seabury — whether accidental or designed — was inexcusable and beneath the dignity of a Christian gentleman, and an examination of the piece in the newspaper does not sustain his assertion that it was "replete with falsehood and prevarication."[1]

[1] The entire article, as it appeared, reads thus: "We are informed that about twenty of the Episcopal clergy, joined by delegates of lay gentlemen from a number of the congregations in several of the Southern States, lately assembled at Christ Church, Philadelphia, revised the Liturgy of the Church of England (adapting it to the late Revolution), expunged some of the Creeds, reduced the thirty-nine Articles to twenty in number, and agreed on a letter addressed to the Archbishops and the Spiritual Court in England, desiring they would be pleased to obviate

The intelligence which came from England in response to the address of the convention was unexpected and somewhat discouraging. "I tremble," wrote Dr. Murray, "for the consequences after you have, as it is reported, laid violent hands on the venerable fabric of your mother Church, which has withstood the attacks of ages, without any very material alterations since Elizabeth." Other warm friends of the American Church in London were alarmed at the haste with which the revision had been made, and more than one refugee clergyman wrote for fuller explanation of the doings of the convention, and disapproved of certain articles in the general ecclesiastical constitution, which were esteemed to be fundamentally wrong.

Mr. Duché feared for the success of the application, and foresaw an unpleasant disunion, if nothing was done to recognize Dr. Seabury, and bring him in to assist in making further regulations for discipline, worship, and a "general uniformity in the Episcopal Church throughout the States." Dr. Inglis looked with astonishment upon the article which sunk a

any difficulties that might arise on application to them for consecrating such respectable clergy as should be appointed and sent to London from their body to act as Bishops on the Continent of America, where there is at present only one Prelate dignified with Episcopal powers, viz., the Right Reverend Dr. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of the Apostolical Church in the State of Connecticut. Hitherto Mr. Pitt, the British minister, has vehemently opposed all applications preferred for consecration to Sees in America; this discouragement occasioned Bishop Seabury to secure his consecration from three of the Bishops in Scotland, which proves as perfectly valid and efficient as though obtained from the hands of their Right Reverences of Canterbury, York, and London, and is incontestably proved by a list of the consecration and succession of Scots Bishops since the Revolution in 1688, under William the Third." (The New York Packet, October 31, 1785.)

bishop to the level of a layman, and wrote Dr. White a long letter, pleading for the preservation of a sound faith and primitive order. "When I first saw the regulation," said he, "made on this head, I was astonished how any people, professing themselves members of an Episcopal Church, could think of degrading their bishop in such a manner. No Episcopal power whatever is reserved for him but that of ordination and perhaps confirmation. He is only a member, *ex officio*, of the Convention, where he resides, but is not to take the chair or preside unless he is asked: whereas, such presidency is as essential to his character as ordination. St. Paul's bishop was to receive and judge of accusations brought against presbyters, as hath been the case of bishops ever since. But your bishop has nothing to do with such matters, — the convention, consisting mostly of laymen, are to receive and judge of accusations against him. In short, his barber may shave him in the morning, and in the afternoon vote him out of his office."

The Bishop of Connecticut, who was not influenced so much by a desire to be properly recognized on account of his office as by solicitude for the true interests of the Church in this country, wrote to Dr. White, as follows, from

NEW LONDON, *January* 18, 1786.

DEAR SIR, — I should have paid the earliest attention to your letter of the 18th of October, but that I flattered myself I would have been favored with a copy of the Journal of the Convention at Philadelphia, and a letter from Dr. Smith on the subject; but as I have unhappily been disappointed in both expectations, I will no longer delay writing to you, lest what has hitherto been only apparent, should become a real neglect.

On the business of your Convention I can at present say nothing, because I know nothing but from report, and that I hope has exaggerated matters; for I should be much afflicted to find all true that is reported. You mention *my disapprobation of your including the Laity in your representative body.* Your extending the power of the lay-delegate, so far as your fundamental rules have done, I did then, and do now, most certainly disapprove of, particularly in the article relating to the Bishop, who, if I rightly understand, is to be subject to a jurisdiction of presbyters and laymen. I hope the general desire to harmonize which you mention will produce good effects. I assure you no one will endeavor more to effect the cordial union of the Episcopal Church through the Continent than I shall, provided it be on Episcopal principles.

I am, Rev. Sir, with regard and esteem, your very humble servant, SAMUEL, *Bp. Epl. Ch. Connect.*

The formal answer to the address of the convention, returned by the archbishops and bishops, nineteen in all, was dated February 24, 1786, and while it expressed a Christian affection for the petitioners and a wish to promote their spiritual welfare, it opened up the subject in a light which showed how cautiously they intended to proceed in granting the prayer of the address and conferring the Episcopal character.

"With these sentiments," said they, "we are disposed to make every allowance which candor can suggest for the difficulties of your situation, but at the same time, we cannot help being afraid that, in the proceedings of your convention, some alterations may have been adopted or intended, which those difficulties do not seem to justify.

"These alterations are not mentioned in your ad-

dress, and as our knowledge of them is no more than what has reached us through private and less certain channels, we hope you will think it just, both to you and to ourselves, if we wait for an explanation. For while we are anxious to give every proof, not only of our brotherly affection, but of our facility in forwarding your wishes, we cannot but be extremely cautious lest we should be the instruments of establishing an ecclesiastical system which will be called a branch of the Church of England, but afterwards may possibly appear to have departed from it essentially, either in doctrine or discipline."

The letter of the English prelates was received in New York on the 12th of May, and, detaining the original till it had been presented to a convention of presbyters and laymen soon to assemble in that city, Mr. Provoost hurried off a copy to Dr. White by the hands of a Presbyterian minister traveling southward, and said in the brief note which accompanied it, "Pains have been taken to misrepresent our proceedings, yet I flatter myself from the seeming candor of the bishops that these misrepresentations will do us no material injury." His brother in Philadelphia was more cautious as well as more charitable, and evidently did not think it wise at this stage of the correspondence to allow so much publicity. The following letter to Dr. White, dated May 20, 1786, just one week after Mr. Provoost had sent him a copy of the address, shows the drift of things in New York and New Jersey, and a determination to set Bishop Seabury aside, if possible : —

I wrote by Dr. Rodgers, and am now to acknowledge the receipt of yours of the 14th and 16th instant, with the in-

closed from our worthy friend, Richard Peters, Esq. The Bishops' reply to our address had been communicated to our Convention, and copies taken by some of the clerical brethren before your cautionary letter arrived, but with no intention of publishing it. The Convention, after sitting two days without doing anything very material, adjourned to the second Tuesday of next month in expectation of a more numerous meeting and to give the different congregations an opportunity of perusing the new Prayer Book before the question for adopting it came forward. The package with the fifty books (viz., 45 in black and 5 red bound) was brought safe to me early last Wednesday morning. But I can get no account of the hundred which were first sent.

Your best friends in this city approve of your conduct in not admitting persons ordained by Dr. Cebra to your pulpit. The clergy in New Jersey act with the same precaution. Mr. Spraggs and Mr. Roe were not to be received as members of their Convention.

The Archbishop, by not choosing to answer private inquiries, has left the matter *in Dubio*, and you may still act literally even in that respect upon the principle of *sub Judice lis est.*

But I really think our line of conduct is plain before us. As the General Convention did not think proper to acknowledge Dr. Cebra as a Bishop, much less as a Bishop of our Church, it would be highly improper for us in our private capacities to give any sanction to his ordinations. It would also be an insult upon the Church and to the truly venerable prelates to whom we are now making application for the succession. For my own part I carry the matter still further, and, as a friend to the liberties of mankind, should be extremely sorry that the conduct of my brethren here should tend to the resurrection of the sect of Non-Jurors (nearly buried in oblivion), whose slavish and absurd tenets were a disgrace to humanity, and *God grant* that they may never be cherished in America, which, as my native country, I wish may always be saved to liberty, both civil and religious.

Eight only of the clergy and three of the laity, who formed part of the convention which met in Philadelphia to frame a constitution and revise the Book of Common Prayer, were members of the convention which assembled in the same city June 20, 1786, to hear and act upon the letter from the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England. The seven States were again represented, but not a layman from Maryland appeared, and John Jay had taken the place of James Duane as a delegate from New York. The whole number of members was fourteen clergymen and twelve laymen, and the Rev. David Griffith was elected president, and Francis Hopkinson, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, secretary.

The very first action, after the organization, was an indirect assault upon Bishop Seabury, contained in a motion "that the clergy present produce their letters of orders, or declare by whom they were ordained." Though the motion was lost, another, offered by the Rev. Mr. Provoost, who had secured authority to this effect from the convention in New York, struck at the validity of ordinations by the Bishop of Connecticut; and finally, to allay the opposition, which was attended with bitter feeling, Dr. White presented a resolution which was unanimously adopted: "That it be recommended to this Church in the States here represented, not to receive to the pastoral charge, within their respective limits, clergymen professing canonical subjection to any bishop in any State or country other than those bishops who may be duly settled in the States represented in this Convention."

The only members to be affected by this resolution were the Rev. William Smith, the younger gentleman of that name in the convention, who had been ordained by a Scottish bishop, and the Rev. Joseph Pilmore, ordained by Bishop Seabury, and a representative from Pennsylvania, who utterly denied that any pledge of canonical obedience had been required of him other than the simple vows in the ordinal which every presbyter was accustomed to take. This ought to have ended the matter; but the next morning the Rev. Robert Smith, of South Carolina, introduced a more stringent resolution, which was also adopted with unanimity: "That it be recommended to the convention of the Church represented in this general convention, not to admit any person as a minister within their respective limits, who shall receive ordination from any bishop residing in America, during the application now pending to the English bishops for Episcopal consecration."

The convention then entered upon the business of reviewing the proceedings of the previous meeting and of considering the letter of the English prelates in response to the application for the Episcopacy. The ecclesiastical constitution was amended in some of its most important articles, a bishop, if present, allowed his proper place in the convention, and "The Proposed Book" permitted to be used, "till further provision is made, in this case, by the first general convention which shall assemble with sufficient power to ratify a Book of Common Prayer for the Church in these States." A committee of correspondence was appointed, with authority to convene a general convention in Wilmington, Del., whenever a majority

of them should deem it necessary; and an answer to the letter from the archbishops and bishops of England was adopted, and, having been duly engrossed, was signed by all the members of the convention except two clergymen and three laymen. It is due to the views of the signers to cite in this place nearly the whole of their answer: —

It gives us pleasure to be assured that the success of our application will probably meet with no greater obstacles than what have arisen from doubts respecting the extent of the alterations we have made and proposed; and we are happy to learn that as no political impediments oppose us here, those which at present exist in England may be removed.

While doubts remain of our continuing to hold the same essential articles of faith and discipline with the Church of England, we acknowledge the propriety of suspending a compliance with our request.

We are unanimous and explicit in assuring your Lordships that we neither have departed nor propose to depart from the doctrines of your Church. We have retained the same discipline and forms of worship as far as was consistent with our civil constitutions; and we have made no alterations or omissions in the Book of Common Prayer, but such as that consideration prescribed, and such as were calculated to remove objections, which it appeared to us more conducive to union and general content to obviate, than to dispute. It is well known that many great and pious men of the Church of England have long wished for a revision of the Liturgy, which it was deemed imprudent to hazard, lest it might become a precedent for repeated and improper alterations. This is with us the proper season for such a revision. We are now settling and ordering the affairs of our Church, and if wisely done, we shall have reason to promise ourselves all the advantages that can result from stability and union.

We are anxious to complete our Episcopal system by means of the Church of England. We esteem and prefer it, and with gratitude acknowledge the patronage and favors for which, while connected, we have constantly been indebted to that Church. These considerations, added to that of agreement in faith and worship, press us to repeat our former request, and to endeavor to remove your present hesitation, by sending you our proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution and Book of Common Prayer.

These documents, we trust, will afford a full answer to every question that can arise on the subject. We consider your Lordships' letter as very candid and kind; we repose full confidence in the assurance it gives; and that confidence, together with the liberality and catholicism of your venerable body, leads us to flatter ourselves that you will not disclaim a branch of your Church merely for having been, in your Lordships' opinion, if that should be the case, pruned rather more closely than its separation made absolutely necessary.

We have only to add that as our Church in sundry of these States has already proceeded to the election of persons to be sent for consecration, and others may soon proceed to the same, we pray to be favored with as speedy an answer to this, our second address, as in your great goodness you were pleased to give to our former one.

The proceedings of this convention were not calculated to promote a good understanding between the clergy of New England and those of New York, Pennsylvania, and the South. They rather widened the breach that was begun, and put Bishop Seabury aside in a manner which his friends regarded as the forerunner of a schism in the American Church. The Rev. Mr. Parker, of Boston, was outspoken in his reproof of the course pursued, and expressed in a letter to Dr. White his sorrow at the coolness and

indifference with which some of the gentlemen in the convention spoke of the Bishop of Connecticut. "However eligible it may appear to them," said he, "to obtain the succession from the English Church, I think there can be no real objection to Dr. Seabury's consecration or the validity of orders received from him; and I am firmly of the opinion, that we should never have obtained the succession from England, had he or some other not have obtained it first from Scotland."

The judicious and temperate memorial from New Jersey, drawn by Dr. Chandler, and presented to this convention, opened the eyes of many to the danger of disorganization on account of the proposed Liturgical changes, and the more the new Prayer Book was examined and circulated among intelligent churchmen, the less was the favor shown to the alterations and omissions that had been set forth. We "are very apprehensive," is the language of that memorial, "that until alterations can be made consistent with the customs of the primitive Church, and with the rules of the Church of England, from which it is our boast to have descended, a ratification of them would create great uneasiness in the minds of many members of the Church, and in great probability cause dissensions and schisms."

The political condition of the country was now somewhat alarming, and the minds of good men were exercised about the establishment of a new and permanent form of government. Dr. Bowden, a great champion of the Church, and the author of "Works on Episcopacy," returned, December, 1784, to Norwalk, where he spent some time in retirement at the

outbreak of the Revolution, and assumed the charge of the parish in that place. Under his rectorship the church was rebuilt "in an elegant manner" with voluntary contributions, notwithstanding about thirty families of Episcopalians had removed to Nova Scotia and other places, and those who remained had been reduced in their circumstances by the war, and the destruction of their property when the town was burnt. The following letter, dated Norwalk, August 2, 1786, and written to one who could appreciate the signs of discontent in New York, is a graphic description of the public confusions and dangers, at the same time that it expresses fears for the unity and welfare of the Church. The tribute to the energy and character of Bishop Seabury was well deserved, and fixes, very nearly, the date of the first consecration of a church in Connecticut, and the large number of persons confirmed at the first visitation of a bishop to Norwalk.

DEAR SIR, — The accounts from your part of the country are not as favorable as from S. John's. Your government is not well spoken of. Numbers have come away exasperated, complaining of injustice and breach of faith; and it is said that a large part of the refugees to this day have not drawn their lands. Refugees, I know, are a very discontented set of mortals, and I have no doubt that much of their clamor is groundless. But yet, I fear, your Governor is exceedingly faulty, and too deficient in all the requisites for good government. I wish that you were his mentor, — then, I am sure, a benevolent intention to promote the happiness of the community would mark the whole administration.

It is probable you have heard of my being in Connecticut. In a political view, this is by far the most eligible State to live in. Distinctions have entirely ceased, all oppressive

laws are repealed, and Whig and Tory stand upon equal ground. Not so in New York. That State is indelibly marked with infamy. The highest Whigs in the city execrate the conduct of the Legislature, and it is not uncommon to hear those who stood foremost in promoting the Revolution, sigh their discontent, under all the *splendor and advantages* of independence. I once thought that I should see no more trouble in my day,—but I have altered my mind. All things seem to tend to a state of anarchy; and unless I take my flight to another world pretty soon, I believe I shall see the *political* system here in much such a condition as the *natural* was at the creation,—"without form and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep."

The Eastern States bid fairest for a continuance under their present form of government. The manners of the people are simple, and their mode of living frugal. But from New York westward, luxury and dissipation have made a rapid progress. All ranks are vieing with one another in extravagance. We have put on the fashionable manners and assumed the gay complexion of an old established nation, long flowing in wealth, and arrived at the last period of folly and vice, whilst in our *political* infancy. If this state of things does not produce ruin, there will be one exception in the history of mankind to that position: "the same causes produce the same effects."

Amidst all these disorders, nothing affects me as much as the state of the Church. It is much to be feared, that there will be a separation of the Eastern and Western Churches. The *former*, steadfast in Episcopal principles, would send no delegates to the grand Convention at Philadelphia last September, because, the year preceding, the Convention held at New York departed wholly from the principles of the Church in regard to government. (The pamphlet herewith will give you the particulars.) Yet that Convention had the modesty to apply to the English bishops to invest persons sent from this country with Episcopal powers. The answer was a civil put off. The bishops said that they un-

derstood great alterations had been made in the government and constitution of the Church, but as the Convention had sent no authentic copy of their proceedings, a decisive answer could not be given. An authentic copy has since been sent, and great hopes are entertained of success. But I am fully satisfied that the English bishops will never give their sanction to a plan of government which leaves out the Episcopal character. Bishop Seabury makes a very respectable figure at the head of this Church. His abilities, firmness, diligence, and circumspect conduct give churchmen great hopes, dissenters great fears. He consecrated, about a month since, the church lately built in this town, and confirmed near four hundred persons. Nothing is wanting to make this Episcopate flourish, but a little pecuniary assistance. The loss of the Society's bounty is severely felt.

From your sincere friend, and humble servant,

JOHN BOWDEN.

ISAAC WILKINS, ESQ.

CHAPTER XV.

BISHOP SEABURY'S COMMUNION OFFICE, AND CONVOCATION AT DERBY; LITURGICAL CHANGES, AND LETTER TO GOVERNOR HUNTINGTON; SECOND CHARGE, AND EPISCOPAL RESIDENCE; POVERTY OF THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE, AND SUPPORT OF THE BISHOP.

A. D. 1786–1787.

In 1786, Bishop Seabury set forth "the Communion Office, or order for the administration of the Holy Eucharist," and recommended it to the Episcopal congregations in Connecticut. It followed the Scotch office and was in accordance with the compact entered into at Aberdeen after his consecration. The fifth article of the "Concordate" states that Bishop Seabury agreed to take a serious view of the communion office recommended by the Scottish bishops, "and, if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it, and, by gentle methods of argument and persuasion, to endeavor, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other."

The clergy met in convocation at Derby, the latter part of September, 1786, and the office was put forth at that time and gradually came into use in the diocese. Those who were contemporaries with Bishop Seabury formed a strong attachment for it, and traces of this attachment lingered in Connecticut for

half a century.[1] It has been seen that the clergy as well as the laity were indisposed to alterations in the Prayer Book, and the recommendation of the office had all the more weight with them from the single fact that it was not urged with "the compulsion of authority." The private ejaculations and prayers which accompanied it appear to have been composed by the bishop, and the office was convenient, in its original form, for use by the people on occasions of celebrating the holy communion. Whether more than one edition of it was printed at the time has not been discovered; probably a second edition was not called for, as the present order in the Book of Common Prayer was settled upon three years later, and accepted by the whole Church in the United States.

At this convocation in Derby, some Liturgical changes were adopted which the new civil relations of the country rendered necessary. The meeting was not a hurried one. Time was taken to examine carefully the matters proposed, and while no minutes have been preserved, there are contemporary documents to prove that the best part of a week was given to the discussion of the subjects which came up for consideration. As a result of the deliberations it was ordered that the following supplication be inserted in the Litany: —

[1] When I began my ministry as a deacon in the autumn of 1835, in St. Peter's Church, Cheshire, the Rev. Reuben Ives, a former rector of the parish, ordained by Bishop Seabury and for a time his assistant at New London, was living in retirement at the place, and I requested him to officiate in the communion service. He invariably read what is called the prayer of Humble Access immediately after consecrating the elements, and just before communicating, as it stands at present in the Scottish office.

"That it may please Thee to bless and protect the United States of America in Congress assembled; and to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of the public welfare and the promotion of thy true religion and virtue: —

"*We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.*"

If the Litany should not be read the direction was to use as a substitute for the supplication, this Collect: —

"Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech Thee to bless the United States of America in Congress assembled, together with the Governor and Rulers of this State; endue them with thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with thy heavenly grace; prosper them with all happiness; and grant that under their wise and just government, we may lead godly and quiet lives in this world, and by thy mercy obtain everlasting happiness in the world to come, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. *Amen.*"

Bishop Seabury was mindful of what belonged to the Church in its relations to the State, and took an early opportunity to acquaint the Governor of Connecticut with the action of the convocation at Derby. He was now the head of a religious body which had been proscribed during the war of the Revolution for sympathy with the cause of the crown; and he would show his readiness and that of his clergy to submit to the powers that be, and to join as heartily in the support of the new form of government as before they had been opposed to the independence of the colonies. He wrote the following letter to his

"Excellency, Samuel Huntington, Esquire, Governor of the State of Connecticut," dated

NEW LONDON, *October* 14, 1786.

SIR, — The Convocation of the Episcopal Clergy of this State having in their late meeting in Derby directed the inclosed forms of Prayer for the United States of America in Congress assembled, to be inserted in the Liturgy, and used in the celebration of Divine Service, I have taken the liberty to make this communication to your Excellency, thinking it my duty to lay all our transactions in which the State is in any wise concerned, before the Supreme Magistrates. We feel it to be our duty, and, I assure your Excellency, it is our willing disposition, to pray for, and seek to promote, the peace and happiness of the Country in which we live, and the stability and efficacy of the Civil Government under which God's providence has placed us: And we persuade ourselves, that in the discharge of this duty, we have not derogated from the freedom, sovereignty, or independence of this State. Should your Excellency's sentiments be different, I shall presume to hope for a communication of them, that due regard and attention may be paid to them.

Begging the best blessings of Heaven for your Excellency, both in your private and public capacity, I remain, with great regard and esteem, your Excellency's most obedient and very humble servant, S., *Bp. Connect.*[1]

On Monday afternoon, the 2d of October, the bishop arrived in New Haven from attending the convocation in Derby, and from visiting a number of the Episcopal parishes in the northeastern part of the State. Tarrying for a single night, he set out the next morning for New London by the way of North Haven, where the rite of confirmation was administered the same day.[2] No list of the number of can-

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

[2] See *The Connecticut Journal* for October 4, 1786.

didates upon whom he laid his hands here and in other places during this visitation has been discovered, and the sermons he preached have not been noted. He admitted four persons to the order of deacons, September 21st, and on Sunday, the 24th, he ordained another to the same office. One important document was published, as the title-page shows, "at the earnest desire of the Convocation," and it is from a rare and dingy copy of the original impression[1] that we reproduce in these pages "Bishop Seabury's Second Charge to the Clergy of his Diocese, delivered at Derby, in the State of Connecticut, on the 22d of September, 1786."

REVEREND BRETHREN, — It having pleased Almighty God, our heavenly Father, that we should again come together, to compare the progress each of us has made in the great work committed to his charge, — the preaching the Gospel of Christ, and reclaiming sinners from the errors of their ways, — to deliberate on the most prudent and effectual means of building up the Church, and enlarging the kingdom of our Redeemer; and to encourage each other to proceed with steadiness and zeal in the arduous undertaking — most sincerely do I bless GOD for the happy meeting, earnestly beseeching him to enable us by his grace to prosecute our business with prudence and meekness, and a sincere love for the souls of them that are under our care; and that he would bless and prosper our endeavors, and render them effectual to the purpose for which they are intended.

In the Charge delivered the last year at Middletown, particular mention was made of the necessity of Confirmation, and of the propriety of your explaining to your people the nature of the holy Rite, and the authority on which it stands, that so they might come to it with due preparation, and a mind convinced of its reasonableness and usefulness.

[1] New Haven: Printed by Thomas and Samuel Green.

I have every reason to suppose that this has been done with the greatest care and fidelity. The numbers of serious and well-informed persons who have presented themselves for Confirmation in the various Churches where it has been ministered are a sufficient and pleasing proof that the subject has not been neglected. This is a matter of sincere joy to me; and must be so to you, and to all good men; and opens a fair prospect of my finding all those Congregations ready for the Holy Solemnity, which I shall at this time be able to visit.

The general state of the Church, however, is such as must fill every serious mind with anxious concern for its prosperity. Its old patrons, who, under GOD, were its great support, have withdrawn their countenance, and left it to stand by its own strength. The time, and sudden manner of doing this, are attended with such circumstances as really double the inconveniences. The members of the Church had in no degree recovered from the loss and damage sustained in the late commotions. Nor had time enough elapsed, to give them an opportunity of arranging any matters, or establishing any funds, for the supplying of that deficiency, which the withdrawing of the salaries from England would necessarily make in the support of their ministers. One year's notification previous to the withdrawing of the salaries would in a great measure have prevented the inconveniences which we now feel: And it is hard to conceive that this would materially have injured the Society's funds, or have disobliged those benevolent persons who so generously contribute to that excellent institution.

But duty requires that everything relating to that venerable body, in whose service many of us were lately employed, should be considered in the most favorable light. And, in justice to them, it ought to be noted, That their Charter enables them to send Missionaries only into the British Colonies, Plantations, and Factories, beyond sea. When therefore the American States ceased to belong to the British empire, they ceased, in a legal sense, to be the objects of

their Charter. Thus candor obliges us to think and say. But gratitude has further obligations on us. We ought to bless GOD for his mercy in raising up that Society for our assistance. We have been benefited by it: And we ought to be grateful to him, and to those worthy characters who composed and supported it. The memory of those that are dead ought to be revered by us: Nor should the present apparent unkindness obliterate the sense of the former benefits we have received from the present members. May GOD reward them! And as they are now exerting their benevolence in other countries — may HE bless and prosper their endeavors to establish true religion, piety, and virtue in them.

On our part, this, as well as every other misfortune, is to be received as the dispensation of GOD — as the chastisement of our heavenly Father: Whether intended to correct something amiss in us and the congregations to which we minister; or to exercise and prove our faith and patience, must be left to every person's judgment and conscience to determine for himself. Probably something of both may be in the case. Our duty therefore requires, that we call ourselves to account, and see wherein we have offended; that we humble ourselves before GOD for our negligences and omissions — for our want of diligence and zeal in our Master's service; that we beg of him his merciful forgiveness of all that is past, and the grace of his Holy Spirit, to amend our lives, and make us more careful and exact in our duty for the time to come. And let us inculcate the same sentiments and conduct on the people of our several cures.

Let this dispensation also teach us patience, and humility, and resignation, and faith; and excite us to obtain that poverty of spirit to which the heavenly kingdom is promised. We shall thereby resemble him the more, who humbled himself, that he might exalt us; who became poor, that he might make us rich; who patiently resigned himself to the will of his Father, that he might pay the ransom of our souls, and redeem us from destruction: Setting us an example that we might follow his steps.

Our dependence must now be on our own efforts, the benevolence of our Congregations, and the merciful providence of him who "openeth his hand and filleth all things living with plenteousness." He has cut off one resource, and he can open others: And he will open others, should he see it best for us. To him let us commit ourselves and our Church, in humble confidence that he who feeds the ravens, who clothes the grass, who protects the sparrow, who numbers the hairs of our heads, who knoweth whereof we have need, who hath promised all necessary things to them who seek his kingdom and the righteousness thereof, will extend his providential care to us also. And while we thus put our trust in GOD, let us not be negligent in using all honest and decent means for our own support, that shall be in our power. Little indeed can a Clergyman do, out of the line of his profession, to increase his income; and out of the line of his profession, it is not always right and proper that he should step. His principal efforts then must be in the way of economy and frugality: By moderation in his enjoyments and expenses, to make his income go as far as possible in the support of himself and family, and so that something also may be left to answer the necessary demands of benevolence and charity. If these efforts fail us, and our present income be really too little to support us as becomes the Ministers of GOD, we must, with all meekness and patience, explain our circumstances and situations to the Congregations where we officiate; and endeavor to convince them of their duty to exert their abilities in making some further provision for our support; that so we may attend on our duty without anxious solicitude for the comforts of life, and they may enjoy the public worship of GOD, and the sacred offices and ordinances of Religion, which he has appointed in his Church, for their growth in grace and Christian knowledge. It is to be hoped and presumed, that these representations will have their influence. Should they not, I know of no human remedy, but a removal to some place where there is a chance of doing better. But be the issue whatever it may, let us re-

member that it is the dispensation of our heavenly Father, who knows, and who will do, what is best for us. And,

That we may with the more confidence look to him for his gracious protection, we must take especial care faithfully to do our duty to him, as good stewards of those heavenly mysteries with which he has entrusted us. Now,

One great instance of fidelity in our duty, and which we have all solemnly engaged at our ordinations, attentively to regard, is to drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines, by which the truth of the Gospel may be obscured or corrupted, and the salvation of the people endangered. And certainly there never was greater need of the discharge of this duty, or of contending earnestly for the faith, as it was once delivered to the saints, than at this time.

Deism, with its necessary consequence, — no religion at all, or rather adverseness to all religion, — if I am rightly informed, has within a few years made great advances in the United States. Other causes may have occurred; but I cannot help thinking, that the wild, ill-founded, and inconsistent schemes of religion, and systems of divinity, which have obtained in the world — I fear I may say, particularly in this country — have opened the way for the progress of infidelity. People of sober reason and common sense may hence be tempted to think, that Reason and Religion can never be reconciled. They too who have been beguiled into a belief of such ill-founded systems, or enthusiastic opinions, finding that they cannot be supported, when properly attacked, may be led to suppose that all religious principles are equally unfounded with their own. The next step is to become proselytes to the opinion that all religions are equal, and no religion as good as any.

Our only weapons are sober reason and fair argument — drawn from the nature of GOD and of man — from the relation we stand in to GOD — from our real state and condition in this world — and from that immortal state which awaits us in the next. That our reasons and arguments may have effect, they should be proposed with perspicuity,

and urged with meekness and good temper. All ostentation, and vanity, and every appearance of superiority, should be carefully avoided. We must therefore understand our religion, and be able to give a good account of it, or we shall not be able to defend it, or to convince gainsayers. And we must understand ourselves too, — be acquainted with our own tempers, and able to command our passions, — or we shall probably be foiled, through want of knowledge, or through the impetuosity of passion. Religious disputes, no doubt, ought commonly to be avoided: But sometimes duty requires us to enter into them: And that we may do so with advantage, we ought to be acquainted with the principles and doctrines of our religion, the ground on which they stand, and the topics from which reasons and arguments may be drawn, to illustrate and defend them.

Duty obliges me to take notice of another circumstance that will call for our attention, — the prevalence of Arianism and Socinianism. The former of these heresies early infested the Church, and nearly destroyed the true faith. The latter sprung from the former, and is the produce of more modern times: And their advocates seem now to be incorporating their systems, and joining their efforts, to discard the divinity of Christ from the Christian system.

It is something extraordinary, that men who profess to believe the Holy Scriptures should discard a doctrine so plainly and strongly asserted in them, and on which the whole structure of our religion is apparently built. To get rid of the positive declarations of Holy Scripture in favor of Christ's divinity, the patrons of these heresies are obliged to recur to forced and unnatural constructions of particular passages, and to affix new meanings to words and phrases, of which the early Christians had no knowledge. Attachment to philosophical systems, first adopted, and then made the standard of truth, seems to be the source of these, as it is of many other evils to Christianity. Objections have been made to the Mosaic account of the creation, because it was thought not to comport perfectly with the system of

Copernicus. And, if I rightly remember, Dr. Priestly in his letters to the Archdeacon of St. Alban's attempts to overthrow the doctrine of the Trinity of Persons in the Godhead, because he supposes it inconsistent with mathematical principles: $1 + 1 + 1 = 3$: therefore there cannot be THREE persons, and ONE GOD.

It would be well if men would reserve positive assertions, and dogmatical positions, for those subjects they do understand; and would learn to speak with more modesty and diffidence of matters which it is impossible they should fully comprehend. We know nothing of GOD but what he has been pleased to reveal to us. And though there must of necessity be many things mysterious in his nature, and works, and revelations, when contemplated by such limited understandings as we possess; yet as his revelations are intended for our information, we must suppose the terms in which they are conveyed are, as much as possible, accommodated to our capacities, and to be understood according to the analogy they have to our own mode of expression, and not in a sense totally different from, and utterly incongruous with that in which we are accustomed to use them. When Christ says, "I and my Father are one" — are we to suppose that he intended to convey an idea that he and his Father were as absolutely distinct in essence as are two mathematical units? When St. John says, "There are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: And these three are one" (ἕν εἰσι) one thing — one substance — one essence — are we to suppose them to be totally distinct, so that if the Father be God, and the Word be God, and the Holy Ghost be God, there shall be three Gods? Three distinct witnesses they are, and therefore they must be three distinct personalities: But they are one essence, and therefore one GOD.[1] We cannot comprehend this mystery — must we then refuse to

[1] I am not ignorant that the authenticity of 1 John v. 7 is disputed. Nor am I ignorant that it has been incontestibly established by the Rev. Mr. Travis, in his letters to Mr. Gibbon.

believe it? Let us also refuse to believe our eyes, for we can as little comprehend how they perceive objects at ten or twenty miles distance.

When Dr. Priestly can by searching find out GOD; when he can comprehend the Almighty to perfection, — then let him pronounce positively on the nature of GOD, and adjust it as school-boys adjust their sums in addition. He may then too be qualified to correct the errors of expression in divine revelation, and teach the Almighty to express himself better. But let us bow in humble reverence before the majesty of heaven and earth: And as we know nothing of his nature, or of his will, but by revelation, let us attend to that — be content to submit our ignorance to his knowledge, and to think of him, and believe in him, as he has represented himself to us.

It is always a disagreeable task to be obliged to mention any matter with censure, or even disapprobation; and I am very happy that the measure of which I am now to take notice, can call for animadversion, only by way of caution. A number of the Clergy and Laity in the southern States have undertaken to revise and alter the Liturgy, and Offices, and Government of the Church; and have exhibited a Prayer-book to the public. The time will not permit me to say anything of the merit of the alterations in the Liturgy: But, I am persuaded, by an unprejudiced mind, some of them will be thought for the worse, most of them not for the better. But the authority on which they have acted is unknown in the Episcopal Church. The government of the Church by Bishops, we hold to have been established by the Apostles, acting under the commission of Christ, and the direction of the Holy Ghost; and therefore is not to be altered by any power on earth, nor indeed by an angel from heaven. This government they have degraded, by lodging the chief authority in a Convention of clerical and lay Delegates — making their Church Episcopal in its orders, but Presbyterian in its government.

Liturgies are left more to the prudence and judgment of

the governors of the Church: And the primitive practice seems to have been, that the Bishop did, with the advice, no doubt, of his Presbyters, provide a Liturgy for the use of his diocese. This ought to have been the case here. Bishops should first have been obtained to preside over those Churches. And to those Bishops, with the Proctors of the Clergy, should have been committed the business of compiling a Liturgy for the use of the Church, through the States. This would have insured unity in doctrine, worship, and discipline through the whole, which upon the present plan will either not be obtained, or, if obtained, will not be durable.

And should we ever be so happy, through the merciful providence of GOD, to obtain such a meeting, great regard ought to be had to the primitive Liturgies and Forms, in compiling a book of Common Prayer. The Christians who lived in the next age after the Apostles must have conversed with apostolic men, *i. e.*, with those who had conversed with the Apostles, and were acquainted with their opinions and practice, in the conduct of the public worship, and administration of the sacraments, and discipline of the Church. Nor is it likely that they would easily or quickly depart from that mode which they knew had been approved by them; especially at a time when perpetual persecution and distress kept men close to GOD and their duty: And the world and its concerns could have but little power over those who daily expected to yield up that life in martyrdom, which they passed in continual devotion to GOD, and in the service and edification of his Church. It would therefore be a good rule, in altering anything in our stated Liturgy that might be thought to need it, to go back to early Christianity, before it was corrupted by Popery, and see what was then the practice of the Church — what its rites and ceremonies — and to conform our own as nearly to it as the state of the Church will permit; always remembering that the government, and doctrines, and sacraments of the Church are settled by divine authority, and are not subjected to our amendment, or alteration.

And the best way to ascertain the Government, doctrines, Liturgies, or forms of public service of the primitive Church is to consult and attend to the early Christian writers. They were the best judges of apostolic practice, because they lived nearest to the apostolic times; at least, they could not be mistaken with regard to the practice of their own times and churches. And whenever we find by these writers, that the Churches of Asia, Africa, and Europe agreed in any particular relating to government, doctrine, discipline, or public worship, we may conclude it to have been according to apostolic usage and judgment. For these Churches were settled by different Apostles and Evangelists; and consequently, what they did, and held, and taught, in common with each other, must have been from the general doctrine, practice, judgment, and authority of the Apostles. We ought therefore to be very careful not to weaken that government, or warp those doctrines, or contravene the principles of the public liturgies of the early period of the Christian Church: For the probable chance is, if we do, we shall run counter to apostolic doctrine and practice.

You see, that it is not my aim to set up the judgment or opinions of particular men — of Origen, Chrysostom, or Jerome, for instance — as the foundation of our religious principles, but the general judgment and practice of the primitive Church, as the best standard of apostolical practice.

It is upon the authority and testimony of the primitive Church that we settle the canon of the New Testament. Give up this authority and testimony, and there will be no good proof left, that the several books of the New Testament were written by the persons whose names they bear. But when it is known from the primitive writers, that these books were universally received by, and read in, all the Churches, as the writings of those persons to whom they are ascribed, their authenticity and divine authority will be established beyond all reasonable dispute.

The same mode of reasoning will apply to the interpretation of Scripture. The present seems to be the age of re-

finement, and of what is called reformation, but which does not always prove to be for the better. Everything human and divine seems to be in the way of being new-modeled. Religion, in particular, is turned and twisted into a variety of appearances; some of them awkward enough; and some tending to very mischievous consequences — the destruction of true religion and virtue, by confounding truth with error, right with wrong, good with evil. Yet all appeal to the Bible, and from it pretend to derive proof to their system. None that I know of have professedly set about making a new Bible, *i. e.*, writing a new book, with that title: But if they alter the old one, in its sense and meaning, they, in truth, make a new one. And what better do they do, who put new and strange meanings on old words and phrases — who alter the translation, or force the sense, till it bows and bends into a compliance with a favorite system; and where this fails, boldly charge the original with error and interpolation. The surest way to guard against this mischief is to attend to the interpretations of the oldest Christians, and of the universal Church. Having conversed with the Apostles, or with apostolic men, they were best acquainted with the mind and intention of the writers. They knew the force and idiom of the language in which those books were written. The manners and customs to which many passages allude were familiar to them: For they were the language, and manners, and customs of their own country, and nearly of their own age. A prudential regard to our own characters, justice to the sacred books, and to the people of our charge, will therefore require, that we pay a due regard to the more early interpretations of the Holy Scriptures in the primitive Church: For we may rest assured, that those doctrines, and that interpretation of Scripture, which was common to all Churches in their early period, was from the Apostles, and therefore may be depended on by us. By this conduct we shall secure ourselves against new-fangled notions in religion; against its corruption by vain philosophy, metaphysical reasonings, and the perplexities of school di-

vinity, which have, one or other of them, been the perpetual corrupters of true religion: And let us remember, that in religion, novelty and truth can scarcely come together: For nothing in religion is now true, that was not true seventeen hundred years ago. Philosophy may shift its fashion, metaphysics may be in or out of vogue, or may change its principles, or its appearance, school divinity may be nice in its definitions, exact in its methods, and positive in its decisions, but none of them alter the nature of the Christian Religion; that remains the same, and its true principles, doctrines, and practice continue the same now that they were in its early period. It teaches the means of reconciliation with GOD, through Christ: And it teaches the same things now which it ever did, and none other. It is therefore our business to hold the same faith, teach the same doctrines, inculcate the same principles, submit to the same government, recommend the same practice, enforce the same obedience, holiness, and purity, and to administer the same sacraments, that the Apostles and primitive Christians did. And we ought to do all this, plainly and fully, leaving ourselves, our own interests, and honor, and aggrandizement, out of the case. If men will receive our testimony, we must bless GOD, and be encouraged in our duty: If they reject it, we must pray more earnestly to GOD for them. But let us never think of accommodating our systems, or our sermons to popular humor or fancy; nor to the flattering of the pride and vanity of the human heart; nor to the bolstering of men up, in an opinion of their own worthiness, ability, or sufficiency; nor to the lessening of the obligation of holiness and purity; nor to the weakening of the influence of the government and discipline of the Church, or of the necessity and efficacy of the holy sacraments. If we do, we shall be false to GOD and our Saviour, to the people under our care, and to our own most solemn vows and promises; and we must expect to receive the recompense of traitors — the condemnation of unfaithful stewards.

Having mentioned the sacraments of our holy religion

forgive me, if I trespass a few minutes longer on your patience, in speaking more particularly on that subject. The inattention of many to these holy institutions must be a matter of grief to all good Clergymen.

I hope that the members of our own Church are not generally reprehensible with regard to the presenting of their Children to holy Baptism. But the instances of adult Baptisms that do occur, show that there is somewhere a blamable remissness. If children are suffered to grow up to maturity without being initiated into the Christian Church, the want of due consideration too often keeps them away from the solemn Rite, or bashfulness induces them to insist on its private administration. And should they, while unbaptized, become masters or mistresses of families, their children will probably grow up in the same unregenerate state. We ought therefore to be constant, and earnest, in explaining the nature of Baptism to our people; pointing out its benefits, and, in all meekness and love, urging them to a conscientious compliance with their duty: That being regenerate, and made members of Christ's mystical body, by baptism, they may be sealed with the seal of the Holy Spirit, in Confirmation, advanced to the rank of adult Christians, and entitled to the privilege of celebrating the Holy Eucharist with their brethren, — commemorating the death and sacrifice of their dear Redeemer, and participating in all the blessings of his atonement. And,

Was the nature of this last mentioned institution better understood, I must suppose people would more generally comply with it. In some congregations the number of Communicants is indeed respectable; in others but small.[1]

[1] It must be acknowledged, in honor to the female sex, that they are much more numerous in their attendance at the Holy Communion, than the men. It may be said that the softness and tenderness of heart which they possess, the nature of their education, and their mode of life, render them more susceptible of religious impressions, and dispose them better to the exercise of gratitude and devotion. Should it be so, the fact remains the same. They were the first believers, witnesses, and preachers of our Saviour's resurrection, and seem always to have been

Be it our care, then, to set this matter in its true light, by explaining the nature and design of the Holy Communion to our several Congregations, making them sensible of the inestimable blessings to be thereby obtained.

Some writers on this subject, under the idea of making it plain to ordinary capacities, have, I fear, banished all spiritual meaning, by discarding all mystery, from it — making it a mere empty remembrance of Christ's death. Others have considered it as an arbitrary command, and an instance of GOD'S sovereignty over us — requiring our obedience for wrath's sake. Others represent it simply as the renewal of our Christian Covenant, and expecting no particular benefits from it. The primitive Christians had very different sentiments from these, concerning the Holy Communion, and so I suppose our Church has also. They considered it not as the renewal of the Christian Covenant, but a privilege to which the Christian Covenant, into which we had been admitted by Baptism, and which had been ratified in Confirmation, entitled us. Nor as an arbitrary command of GOD, to show his sovereign authority over us. Nor as a bare remembrance of Christ's death. But as the appointed means of keeping up that spiritual life which we received in our New-birth; and of continuing that interest in the benefits and blessings of Christ's passion and death, which was made over to us, when we became members of his mystical body. They called and esteemed it to be the Christian Sacrifice, commemorative of the great sacrifice of atonement which Christ had made for the sins of the whole world; wherein, under the symbols of bread and the cup, the body and blood of Christ which he offered up, and which were broken and

the chosen instruments of God, to keep up a sense of religion, piety, and devotion in the world. May God bless and reward them, and grant that their example may have a proper influence on the other sex! It is certain the same truths do not make the same impression on them. And yet they have the same need of redemption and salvation — the same sinful nature, from which to be delivered — are under the same curse and condemnation for sin, — and must be saved by the same means, and the same Saviour.

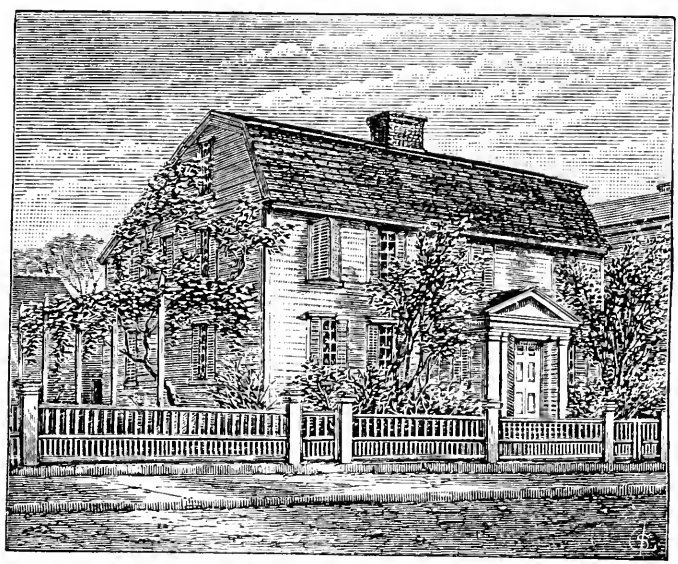
shed upon the cross, are figured forth; and being presented to GOD our heavenly Father, by his Priest here on earth, the merits of Christ for the remission of sins are pleaded by him, and we trust, by our great High Priest himself in heaven: And being sanctified by prayer, thanksgiving, the words of institution, and the invocation of the Holy Spirit, are divided among the Communicants as a Feast upon the Sacrifice. And they did believe, that all who worthily partook of the consecrated Elements, did really and truly, though mystically and spiritually, partake of the Body and Blood of Christ. Our Church evidently teaches the same thing in her Catechism, defining "the inward part, or thing signified," by the bread and wine in the Holy Communion, to be "the body and blood of Christ, which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper." This doctrine seems to be founded on what our Saviour said in the sixth chapter of St. John's Gospel, concerning eating his flesh and drinking his blood, which when compared with the institution of the blessed Eucharist, as recorded by the Evangelists, will sufficiently justify the Church in her opinion and judgment. We have therefore a right to believe and say, that in the Holy Communion, the faithful receiver does, in a mystical and spiritual manner, eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ, represented by the consecrated bread and wine; and does thereby partake in the atonement made by the passion and death of Christ, having remission through him, of all past sins, and eternal life assured to him.

And now, Reverend Brethren, that you may see how necessary it is for you to exert yourselves in support of the Holy Catholic Faith, let me request you to direct your attention particularly to this country; and when you observe how low some have set the doctrines and principles of religion — How others are depressing the Offices, corrupting the Government, and degrading the Priesthood of Christ's Church — on the one side, — his divinity denied on the other, — Two of the old Creeds, the guards of the true faith

against Arianism and Socinianism, thrown out — The descent of Christ into Hell, the invisible place of departed souls, by which his perfect humanity, and our perfect redemption, of soul, as well as of body, are ascertained, rejected from the Apostles' Creed — Baptism reduced to a mere ceremony, by excluding from it the idea of regeneration — [And you will own with me, that the strongest obligations lie upon us, to hold fast, and contend earnestly for, the faith as it was once delivered to the Saints — To abide by the government, support the doctrines, retain the principles, explain the true nature and meaning of the sacraments and offices of the Church, and endeavor to restore them to that station and estimation, in which the primitive Christians placed and held them. Error often becomes popular and contagious, and then no one can tell how far it will spread, nor where end. We must in such cases recur to first principles, and there take our stand. The Bible must be the ground of our faith. And the doctrines, practices, and old Liturgies of the primitive Church will be of great use to lead us to the true meaning of the Holy Books. Judgment and prudence must no doubt be exercised: But truth must not be sacrificed to prudence, nor must judgment be warped by attachment to system, or compliance with popular error and prejudice.]

This was the last formal charge given by Bishop Seabury to the clergy of his diocese, and its teachings were valuable, whether considered in reference to the unbelief of the times, or to the movement of the clergy and laity in the southern States to revise and alter the Liturgy and government of the Church. The part in the conclusion that relates to the Holy Eucharist was in conformity with the main doctrine of the communion office which he had just set forth, and which he must have used himself to be consistent with his own recommendation.

His residence in New London was the parsonage built in 1743, and still standing in good condition, though recently somewhat modernized, and now passed out of the hands of the Church. While the new house of worship was in the process of erection, to take the place of the one destroyed when the town



Residence of Bishop Seabury during his Episcopate.

was burnt, the bishop was permitted to hold his services in the court-house; "but he is said, I know not on what authority, to have celebrated the holy communion every Sunday, after morning service, in the large parlor of the parsonage where he lived.[1]" This could only mean "every Sunday" when he was not on a visitation to other parishes. He usually had a deacon for his assistant, and the Rev. Reuben Ives was one of the first who served him in this capacity.

[1] Hallam's *Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, p. 71.

Writing May 1, 1787,[1] to his friend and classmate, Tillotson Bronson, ordained with him on the same day at Derby, Mr. Ives, by way of apology for not meeting him at the approaching convocation, said: "But when I consider the distance, the trouble, and other trifles, and the little advantage my company would be, and above all the opinion and desire the bishop has of keeping the church open, I may as well content myself where I am for the present. However, I hope, with the blessing of God, to see you before long. . . . . I wish one thing might be brought to pass, and that is, that the bishop might be more in the centre of the churches. I think it would be a great advantage, and help to keep a union among them."

Poverty was the inheritance of the clergy of that time, and the income of the writer of this letter at New London was very small and eked out by the instruction of a few private scholars during the summer. The condition of the bishop in this respect was scarcely better than that of his clergy. The parish allowed him a small salary as rector, and contributions towards his support were made by some of the larger churches of the diocese. In October, 1785, Trinity Parish, New Haven, voted "that the sum of ten pounds be paid unto the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, Bishop of this State;" and two years afterwards a like amount was voted him by the Vestry; but the vote contained a proviso that this "donation" should not be considered as a precedent for any future claims by the bishop upon Trinity Church. At a convention of lay representatives from several

[1] MS. Letter.

of the parishes, held in Waterbury, February 13, 1788, to devise ways and means for his support, it was resolved to recommend that each Episcopal church of the State raise "the sum of one half penny on the pound on its grand levy," as a salary to the bishop, — this recommendation, if confirmed by subsequent votes in parish meetings, to be continued in force for two years. How much was obtained under this action cannot be determined. Probably not much, as the people generally were in depressed circumstances and unwilling to be burdened with a tax which they could so easily decline. In a letter to a friend in Dublin, as early as April 17, 1786, the bishop said: "I am at present at New London, in Connecticut, where I find everything easy and quiet, and, as far as I know, everybody satisfied with me. My situation, however, is rather disagreeable, as there is no settled support for me, as the poverty of the people is so great since they have obtained their independency, and daily increasing."

Bishop Seabury received from the British government £50 half pay as a chaplain in the king's American regiment; and a few friends in England, among them Dr. Horne, then Dean of Canterbury, Rev. Jonathan Boucher, and William Stevens, Esq., associated themselves together and engaged to send him annually £50 from the date of his arrival in Connecticut. This engagement was faithfully kept to the day of his death, and was an equivalent for the stipend which had been withdrawn by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He put in a claim for extraordinary service rendered to the crown in the beginning of the war, but it does not appear to

have been favorably considered. The following letter shows this, and comes very properly in this connection: —

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT, *December* 15, 1788.

CHARLES COOKE, ESQR.: —

DEAR SIR, — I am much obliged to you for your kind letter of the 2d September last, inclosing the notification, etc., from the Office of American Claims, Lincoln's Inn Fields. I now send you an affidavit according to the form transmitted to me, which you will please to present at the Office with my acknowledgments. I never knew whether any temporary allowance was ever made me at that Office, and beg you will inquire about it for me, and give me any information you may get.

I herewith transmit a power of Attorney, authenticated in the best manner I could think of. It is dated more than a year ago — particular circumstances having prevented its being sent sooner. I also send a certificate for Half-pay from June, 1787, to June, 1788. There is a Certificate for a half year before in the hands of George Chamberlain, Esquire, of Wimbledon, Surrey, which he will deliver to you. I owe to the Estate of Col. Hicks, my late agent, fifteen shillings, which you will please to pay to Mr. Chamberlain, the Executor, as soon as you shall be in cash on my account. Please also to make my acknowledgments to Mr. Chamberlain.

The power of attorney I have sent is a general one, as well as to receive my half pay, because I shall have some other business to transact which will require it, and of which I will write to you immediately after Christmas, and shall then send a half year's certificate.

Remember me to my friend Roome. Tell him I will write to him at the same time. Wishing you health and prosperity, I remain your affectionate, humble servant.[1]

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

CHAPTER XVI.

CONVENTION AT WILMINGTON, AND DOCUMENTS FROM ENGLAND; BISHOPS ELECT AND THEIR DEPARTURE FROM AMERICA; DR. GRIFFITH, AND LETTER OF BENJAMIN MOORE; DRS. WHITE AND PROVOOST CONSECRATED, AND CONVOCATION IN WALLINGFORD; CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOPS SKINNER, PROVOOST, AND WHITE.

A. D. 1786–1787.

A GENERAL convention was held in Wilmington, Del., October 10 and 11, 1786, consisting of ten clergymen and eleven laymen, — a smaller number than assembled at Philadelphia in the preceding June — and then adopted a second address to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England. It was not considered a new convention, but an adjourned one, and the first business was to attend to the reading of the letter of the archbishops with the forms of testimonials and the act of Parliament, received since the last meeting. While a readiness was shown to give Episcopal consecration to persons from this country, properly recommended, and the way prepared, the changes in the Liturgy, as appeared in "The Proposed Book," were far from being acceptable to the English prelates. "It was impossible," said they in their letter, "not to observe with concern that if the essential doctrines of our common faith were retained, less respect, however, was paid to our Liturgy than its own excellence, and your de-

clared attachment to it, had led us to expect. Not to mention a variety of verbal alterations, of the necessity or propriety of which we are by no means satisfied, we saw with grief that two confessions of our Christian faith, respectable for their antiquity, have been entirely laid aside; and that even in that which is called the Apostles' Creed, an article is omitted which was thought necessary to be inserted, with a view to a particular heresy in a very early age of the Church, and has ever since had the venerable sanction of universal reception."

The action of the clergy and laity at the meeting in June, changing the offensive article of their ecclesiastical constitution so as to allow a bishop a seat in the general convention by virtue of his office, and the right of presiding in the same, if one of the order should be present, had not been received in England when the archbishops wrote the second letter. Hence they referred to this in connection with other matters, and strongly urged that the necessary changes be made before repeating the declaration which bishops-elect from America were expected to subscribe according to the tenth article of their constitution. "We should forget the duty which we owe to our own Church," said the two archbishops, speaking for themselves and all their brethren in office, "and act inconsistently with that sincere regard which we bear to yours, if we were not explicit in declaring that, after the disposition we have shown to comply with the prayer of your address, we think it incumbent upon you to use your utmost exertions also for the removal of any stumbling-block of offense which may possibly prove an obstacle to the success of it.

We therefore most earnestly exhort you that previously to the time of your making such subscription, you restore to its integrity the Apostles' Creed, in which you have omitted an article merely, as it seems, from misapprehension of the sense in which it is understood by our Church; nor can we help adding that we hope you will think it but a decent proof of the attachment which you profess to the services of our Liturgy, to give to the other two creeds a place in your Book of Common Prayer, even though the use of them should be left discretional. We should be inexcusable, too, if at the time when you are requesting the establishment of bishops in your Church, we did not strongly represent to you that the eighth article of your ecclesiastical constitution appears to us to be a degradation of the clerical, and still more of the Episcopal character. We persuade ourselves, that in your ensuing convention some alteration will be thought necessary in this article, before this reaches you; or, if not, due attention will be given to it in consequence of our representation."

The letter containing these and other recommendations, and the accompanying papers, were referred to a committee consisting of one clerical and one lay deputy from each State; and the convention, in accordance with their report, restored to the Apostles' Creed the article, "He descended into Hell," and inserted in the "new proposed Book of Common Prayer" immediately after that creed the Nicene, prefaced by a rubric permitting its alternative use. When all the changes had been completed, an answer was prepared and signed by Samuel Provoost, President, in behalf of the members of the convention,

offering unanimous and hearty thanks to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, for the continuance of their Christian attention to this Church, and particularly for having so speedily acquired the legal capacity to consecrate bishops for countries out of his majesty's dominions. "We have taken," they proceeded to say, "into our most serious and deliberate consideration, the several matters so affectionately recommended to us in those communications, and whatever could be done towards a compliance with your fatherly wishes and advice, consistently with our local circumstances, and the peace and unity of our Church, hath been agreed to, as we trust will appear from the inclosed act of our convention, which we have the honor to transmit to you, together with the journal of our proceedings."

The next step was to call upon the deputies from the several States to ascertain if any persons had been elected in their conventions and recommended for Episcopal consecration. It appeared that the Rev. Samuel Provoost, D. D., had been chosen and recommended in New York, the Rev. William White, D. D., in Pennsylvania, and the Rev. David Griffith, D. D., in Virginia. Testimonials in the form prescribed by the archbishops of England were then duly signed in favor of each of these gentlemen, and after some routine business the convention adjourned to meet again in Philadelphia at the call of the special committee of correspondence. Dr. Griffith, whose sad history forms a touching episode in the annals of our Church, was not provided with funds to defray the expense of a voyage to obtain consecration, and his poverty would not allow him to undertake

it at his own cost. He was therefore left behind when the others embarked for England, and the following letter of the Rev. Mr. Moore, an assistant minister of Trinity Church, to the Rev. Mr. Parker, of Boston, not only fixes the date of their departure, but shows the feeling still cherished in New York towards the Bishop of Connecticut.

NEW YORK, *November* 4, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — The day before yesterday Dr. White and Dr. Provoost embarked on board the Speedy packet for Old England with the expectation of obtaining consecration from the English bishops. You know there is an act of Parliament authorizing either of the archbishops, together with such of the bishops as they may desire to call to their assistance, to consecrate bishops for the American States. When his Grace of Canterbury sent a copy of the act, in a letter which accompanied it he intimated that it was expected, before persons were sent for Episcopal Orders, every obstacle should be removed by a full compliance with the requisitions which had been made. In the late convention at Wilmington all objections were obviated, excepting only that it was resolved not to re-admit the Athanasian Creed. The gentlemen, however, thought they might venture to go, and I dare say they will succeed. It sometimes happens in doubtful cases that to act as if you were sure of success is the most effectual way to obtain it. *Possunt quia posse videntur.* Dr. Griffith, who is another bishop-elect, through some mistake did not obtain the necessary testimonials from the State Convention, and is, on that account, detained a few months longer.

I have my fears, but am not so very apprehensive as you appear to be, that a schism must take place in our Church. A few people in this State, from old grudges on the score of politics, have determined to circumscribe, as far as they possibly can, the authority of Bishop Seabury. But they will not be able to effect their purpose to any great degree.

His Episcopal powers have already been acknowledged by most of the Southern States, and truth and justice will in due time get the better of prejudice and partiality.

Your affectionate friend and servant,

B. MOORE.[1]

Dr. Smith had made strenuous efforts to be recommended for consecration as Bishop of Maryland, his election having taken place in 1783; but owing to certain indiscretions or derelictions from duty, he failed to secure the requisite testimonials. Some who had signed a document in his support, at the time he was chosen, now withdrew their names and gave the reason for changing their opinion. In the case of Dr. Griffith, it was the want of funds and the neglect of the Church in Virginia to provide them, which delayed his voyage to England, and eventually he relinquished the hope of it altogether.

The two bishops-elect, Drs. White and Provoost, arrived in London on Wednesday, the 29th of November, and, after the various preliminaries had been duly settled, they were consecrated in the chapel of Lambeth Palace, February 4, 1787, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of his family and household, and a few others, among whom was the Rev. Mr. Duché. "I had asked the archbishop's leave to introduce him," says Dr. White in his Memoirs, "and it was a great satisfaction to me that he was there; the recollection of the benefit which I had received from his instructions in early life, and a tender sense of the attentions which he had shown me almost from my infancy, together with the impressions left by the harmony which had subsisted

[1] Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 342.

between us in the discharge of our joint pastoral duty in Philadelphia, being no improper accompaniments to the feelings suited to the present very interesting transaction of my life. I hope that I felt the weight of the occasion. May God bless the meditations and the recollections by which I had endeavored to prepare myself for it, and give them their due effect on my temper and conduct in the new character in which I am to appear."

The clergy of New England were deeply interested in all the proceedings of their southern brethren. In none of them was there shown much desire for the union of the whole Church in the United States, but rather evidence of a disposition to keep aloof from the Bishop of Connecticut, and from recognizing the validity of his consecration. At least he felt alarmed at the spirit of innovation which had crept into the southern conventions, and if his own See should become vacant by his death it could not be foretold what troubles might ensue. Accordingly he convoked his clergy at Wallingford on the 27th of February, and with a view of vindicating their rights and preparing for a possible schism in the Church, they decided to send another presbyter to Scotland for consecration as coadjutor bishop to the zealous Seabury. The venerable Leaming, tried and faithful in the service of the Church, was first asked to assume the responsibility; but age and infirmities were in the way, and he declined; then the saintly Mansfield was chosen, but he was unwilling to take up a burden so heavy; and, finally, the Rev. Abraham Jarvis was elected and deputed to proceed to Scotland "to obtain consecration that the Episcopal

office might be canonically conferred." "It was intended," said his learned son, remarking on the movement, "to obtain the canonical number of bishops in New England of the Scottish line, and thus preserve a purely primitive and Apostolic Church, holding fast the form of sound words, and the faith once delivered to the saints."

This measure, which was to be a last resort, was not hurried to completion. Time was taken for further reflection, and the development of events proved the wisdom of delay. Bishop Seabury wrote at once to Bishop Skinner to inform him of the action of the clergy and to know how it would be received in Scotland. His letter was dated from

WALLINGFORD, CONNECTICUT, *March* 2, 1787.

I write a short and hasty letter from this place, where I have been attending a meeting of my Clergy. They are much alarmed at the steps taken by the Clergy and Laity to the south of us, and are very apprehensive that, should it please God to take me out of the world, the same spirit of innovation in the government and Liturgy of the Church would be apt to rise in this State, which has done so much mischief in our neighborhood. The people, you know, especially in this country, are fond of exercising power when they have an opportunity; and should this See become vacant, the Clergy may find themselves under the fatal necessity of falling under the Southern establishment, which they consider as a departure from Apostolical institution.

To prevent all danger of this, they are anxious to have a Bishop coadjutor to me, and will send a gentleman to Scotland for consecration as soon as they know that the measure meets with the full approbation of my good and highly respected brethren in Scotland. It has not only my approbation, but my most anxious wishes are, that it may be soon

carried into execution. You will, I know, consult the Right Rev. Bishops Kilgour and Petrie, and will give me the necessary information as soon as possible. In the meantime we shall be making the proper arrangements here, that the person fixed on may avail himself of the first opportunity of embarking after receipt of your letter.

I can, at this time, say no more, than to request you to remember me most respectfully and affectionately to our good Primus and Bishop Petrie, to Mrs. Skinner and family, and to all who think so much of me as sometimes to inquire about me.

To this letter, Bishop Skinner, after consulting his Episcopal brethren, returned the following careful and judicious reply. It did not reach the Bishop of Connecticut till "the English Consecrate" had arrived in America and he had extended courtesies to them which were a testimony to his efforts for union and peace.

ABERDEEN, *June* 20, 1787.

Anxious, as I ever am, to hear of your welfare, I was much refreshed some weeks ago, even by a short letter from you, dated the 2d March, at Wallingford, where it would seem you had been attending a meeting of your Clergy. I lost no time in communicating to our worthy Primus this agreeable intelligence; but it came too late for good Bishop Petrie, who, to the great regret of this poor and desolate Church, was taken from us by death on the 9th of April last, after a long and painful struggle with a complication of bodily infirmities.

Happily for us, and through the good Providence of God, he was enabled to assist at the consecration of a Coadjutor, about six weeks before his death. Your good friend, Mr. Macfarlane, at Inverness, was the person made choice of for this office, who accordingly was promoted to the Episcopate, in the Primus' chapel at Peterhead, on the 7th day of March last. He has now succeeded to the districts that were un-

der the charge of Bishop Petrie; and, I make no doubt, will prove a zealous and faithful member of our small Episcopal College.

Last year, Bishop Kilgour, deeming himself too weak for the burden of this diocese, resigned the whole charge of it into my hands, but still continues to act as Primus, and I hope will yet be spared for some time with us. I sent your letter to him and a copy of it to Bishop Macfarlane, and, having received answers from both, shall now lay before you our joint sentiments on the subject of your proposal.

It has given us great concern to hear of the ecclesiastical proceedings in some of your Southern States. We fondly hoped that Episcopal Clergymen would have gladly embraced the opportunity of settling their Church on a pure and primitive footing, and of regulating their whole ecclesiastical polity, as well as their doctrine and worship, according to Apostolical institution. In this hope, however, we have been sadly disappointed, by the accounts we have received of the nature and design of their several conventions; and some extracts which were published from their new Liturgy increased our dread of a total apostasy, giving us ground to apprehend a total departure, not only from ancient discipline, but even from "the faith once delivered to the saints."

Hearing of their intended application to the English hierarchy, we were full of anxiety for the event of it. The character of the present Archbishop of Canterbury gave us reason to think that he would not "lay his hands suddenly" on any one; and farther information confirmed our good opinion of his Grace's orthodoxy, which, we are informed, would bend to no solicitation in favor of Socinian principles, or the tenets of those who "deny the Lord that bought them." Nay, we have farther learned, and we are led to think from good authority, that Drs. White and Provoost, the two new American Prelates, before they left Lambeth, became bound in the most solemn manner not to lay hands on Dr. S—th, or on any other man who calls in question

the doctrine of the Trinity, or of our Saviour's atonement. And we are even made to understand that it was recommended to the two Prelates to hold communion with the Bishop of Connecticut, to which recommendation a considerable degree of credit seems to attach, from the circumstance of no more than two being invested with the Episcopal office.

It is moreover said that a second edition of their Book of Common Prayer has appeared, and on a plan much more unexceptionable than the first, there being no alteration to the worse, and some even to the better. It is presumable, that the English Consecrators have both seen and are satisfied with the Liturgy which the new Bishops are to use; and, provided the analogy of faith and the purity of worship be preserved, it were a pity, we should think, to interrupt Episcopal union and communion in any part of the Catholic Church. We do not read that the liturgical variations, which are known to have prevailed in the primitive times, occasioned any breach of communion among Bishops, while no essential corruptions were introduced, or impure additions imposed as terms of communion. Wherefore, all these things duly considered, we are humbly of opinion that the objects which our good brother of Connecticut and his Clergy have in view may be now obtained, without putting any of them to the trouble and expense of coming to Scotland.

We can hardly imagine that the Bishops of Philadelphia and New York will refuse their brotherly assistance in the measure which you propose to us, or yet take upon them to impose their own Liturgy as the sole condition of compliance. Should this be the case, and these new Bishops either refuse to hold communion with you, or grant it only on terms with which you cannot in conscience comply, there would then be no room for us to hesitate. But fain would we hope better things of these your American brethren, and that there will be no occasion for two separate communions among the Episcopalians of the United States.

We are well persuaded that neither you nor your Clergy would wish to give any unnecessary cause of disgust on either side the Atlantic; and prudence, you must be aware, bids us turn our eyes to our own situation, which, though it affords no excuse for shrinking from duty, will, at the same time, justify our not stepping beyond our line any farther than duty requires.

Before this reaches your hand, the English Consecrate will not only have arrived in America, but will also have probably taken such measures as will enable you to judge of the propriety of an application to them for the end you have in view. We shall therefore expect to hear from you at full length on this interesting subject, and doubt not but you will believe us ever ready to contribute, as far as is necessary or incumbent on us, to the support of primitive truth and order in the Church of Christ.

I wrote you in June last year, to the care of a friend at New York, who informs me that he forwarded my letter to you, together with a small publication of mine which accompanied it. I shall send this by the packet, and will be glad to hear from you how soon it comes to hand; if you have leisure for a long letter it will be doubly welcome. All whom you met here remember you most kindly, particularly your friends in this family, to whom you will be ever dear; accept of their and my warmest wishes for your health and happiness, and believe me ever. . . . .

Bishop Seabury was alive to the interests of the Church in Connecticut and allowed none of the perplexing questions that had been raised to divert him from his parochial and Episcopal duties. He was preparing to visit the parishes in the southwestern part of the State, and to meet his clergy in convocation, when the two bishops, recently consecrated in England, landed at New York on the afternoon of Easter Sunday, April 7th, after a wearisome voyage

of precisely seven weeks. He lost no time in addressing to each of them letters of congratulation, and inviting a personal interview for the purpose of considering some plan of "uniformity in worship and discipline among the Churches of the different States." Both letters bear the same date and breathe the same spirit; and it will be enough to copy from his letter-book the one written to Bishop Provoost, as follows: —

New London, *May* 1, 1787.

Right Reverend and dear Sir, — It is with pleasure I take this opportunity of presenting my congratulations on your safe return to New York, on the success of your application to the English Archbishops, and your recovery from your late dangerous illness.

You must be equally sensible with me of the present unsettled state of the Church of England in this country, and of the necessity of union and concord among all its members in the United States of America; not only to give stability to it, but to fix it on its true and proper foundation. Possibly, nothing will contribute more to this end, than uniformity in worship and discipline among the churches of the different States. It will be my happiness to promote so good and necessary a work; and I take the liberty to propose, that before any decided steps be taken, there be a meeting of yourself and Bishop White and me, at such time and place as shall be most convenient, to try whether some plan cannot be adopted that shall, in a quiet and effectual way, secure the great object which I trust we should all heartily rejoice to see accomplished. For my own part I cannot help thinking that the most likely method will be to retain the present Common Prayer Book, accommodating it to the civil Constitution of the United States. The government of the Church, you know, is already settled. A body of Canons will, however, be wanted, to give energy to the government and ascertain its operation.

A stated Convocation of the clergy of this State is to be held at Stamford on the Thursday after Whitsunday. As it is so near to New York, and this journey may contribute to the reëstablishment of your health, I should be much rejoiced to see you there; more especially as I think it would promote the great object, — the union of all the churches. May God direct us in all things!

Believe me to be, Rt. Rev. and dear Sir, your affectionate Brother and humble servant,

SAMUEL, *Bishop of Connecticut.*

There was some solicitude in New England to know whether these bishops had returned to this country hampered by any restrictions. Bishop Seabury himself seems to have expected that his friends in London would give him information on this point; but after waiting in vain to hear from them, he dispatched the following letter to his benefactor and correspondent in Old Broad Street, William Stevens, Esq.

NEW LONDON, *May* 9, 1787.

MY VERY DEAR SIR, — It is so long since I heard from any of my friends in London, that I cannot help feeling some uneasiness on that account. I did hope that I should have received some intelligence respecting the two American Bishops, and particularly, whether they were held under any restrictions, and if so, what those restrictions were? Those gentlemen have returned, but I do not find their arrival has made much noise in the country. I have written to them both, proposing an interview with them, and an union of the Church of England through all the States, on the ground of the present Prayer Book, only accommodating it to the civil Constitution of this country; and the government of the Church to continue unaltered as it now is, with a body of Canons to give energy to it, and direct its operations. I know not what effect this overture may have. But my fears are greater than my hopes. Everything I can

fairly do to preserve union and uniformity shall certainly be done.

My last letters were accompanied by a packet of Charges directed to my good friend, the Rev. Mr. Boucher, which I hope came safely to him. I shall set out in a week to attend a meeting of the Connecticut clergy at Stamford. I have invited the two Bishops to visit us; and as I shall then know how my proposals are likely to be relished, I will from Stamford write to Mr. Boucher by the way of New York. This goes *via* Boston.

Your affectionate humble servant,

S., *Bp. Connect.*

It does not appear that any response was given by Bishop Provoost to the courteous letter inviting him to Stamford and to considerations of union and amity. Bishop White replied at considerable length, and though adhering to the general principles of the Ecclesiastical constitution which had been agreed upon, he yet showed a willingness, if it should be thought advisable by the whole body of the Church, to retain the English Book of Common Prayer with the exception of the political parts. Still his letter lacked warmth and clearness, and Bishop Seabury, evidently not pleased with its tone, made a copy in full and sent it without comment to Mr. Parker of Boston: —

PHILADELPHIA, *May* 21, 1787.

There is nothing I have more at heart than to see the members of our communion throughout the United States connected in one system of Ecclesiastical Government; and if my meeting of you, in concurrence with Bishop Provoost, can do anything towards the accomplishment of this great object, my very numerous engagements shall not hinder me from taking a journey for the purpose. But I must submit it to your consideration whether it will not be best pre-

viously to understand one another, as to the views of the Churches in which we respectively preside.

We have been informed (but perhaps it is a mistake) that the Bishop and Clergy of Connecticut think our proposed Ecclesiastical Constitution essentially wrong in the leading parts of it. As the general principles on which it is founded were maturely considered and compared with the maxims which prevail in the ecclesiastical system of England, as they have received the approbation of all the Conventions southward of you, and of one to the northward; as they were not objected to by the Archbishops and Bishops of the English Church, and as they are generally thought among us essential to the giving of effect to future ecclesiastical measures, I do not expect to find the Churches in many of the States willing to associate on any plan materially different from this. If our Brethren in Connecticut should be of opinion that the giving of any share of the Legislative power of the Church to others than those of the Episcopal order is inconsistent with Episcopal Government, and that the requiring of the consent of the Laity to ecclesiastical laws is an invasion of Clerical rights, in this case, I see no prospect of doing good in any other way than contributing all in my power to promote a spirit of love and peace between us; although I shall continue to cultivate the hope of our being brought at some future day to an happy agreement.

As to the Liturgy, if it should be thought advisable by the general body of our Church to adhere to the English Book of Common Prayer (the political parts excepted) I shall be one of the first after the appearance of such a disposition, to comply with it most punctually.

Further than this, if it should seem the most probable way of maintaining an agreement among ourselves, I shall use my best endeavors to effect it. At the same time I must candidly express my opinion, that the review of the Liturgy would tend very much to the satisfaction of most of the members of our communion, and to its future success

and prosperity. The worst evil which I apprehend from a refusal to review is this, that it will give a great advantage to those who wish to carry the alteration into essential points of doctrine. Reviewed it will unquestionably be in some places, and the only way to prevent its being done by men of the above description is the taking it up as a general business. I have been informed that you, Sir, and our Brethren in Connecticut think a review expedient, although you wish not to be in haste in the matter. Our Brethren in Massachusetts have already done it. The Churches in the States southward of you have sufficiently declared their sentiments ; for even those which have delayed permitting the use of the new book, did it merely on the principles of the want of Episcopal order among them.

If, Sir, we should be of a different opinion in any matter, I hope we shall be so candid as mutually to think it consistent with the best intentions, and a sincere desire to promote the interest of our holy religion. This justice you have always received from, &c., &c.

(Signed) WM. WHITE.

The above, my dear Sir, is the whole of a letter from Bishop White, that relates to the subject. It is in answer to one from me to him, in which I proposed a personal interview with him and Bishop Provoost previously to any decided steps being taken respecting the Liturgy and Government of the Church, and mentioned the old Liturgy as the most likely bond of union. I send it to you without a comment, and shall be glad of your opinion respecting it.

Your affectionate, humble Servant,

S., *Bp. Connect.*[1]

[1] Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*, pp. 346, 347.

CHAPTER XVII.

CONVOCATION AT STAMFORD, AND ITS RESULTS; LETTER OF LEAMING, AND EFFORTS TO CONCILIATE; OBSTACLES TO UNION, AND BISHOP FOR MASSACHUSETTS PROPOSED; WORK OF SEABURY AND CONVOCATION AND CONSECRATION AT NEW LONDON; THE MITRE AND WHEN IT WAS WORN.

A. D. 1787.

THE overtures of Bishop Seabury for union and comprehension served to strengthen him with his friends and to weaken the arm of his opponents. "My faith," wrote Mr. Parker, of Boston, to Mr. Hubbard, of New Haven, that "the brethren of the lawn" would "accede to the proposal was not very strong; though I think," he continues, "had not the invitation been made quite so soon after their arrival, and before matters were arranged among themselves, Bishop White would have accepted it, he having frequently expressed his mind to me by letter, of a readiness to coalesce with his Northern brethren, and to form *one* Church in all the essentials of doctrine, discipline, and worship. Some strong prejudices, upon the old score of politics, still remain in the minds of the New York gentlemen against Bishop Seabury, and therefore of their bishop your deponent saith not. The grand obstacle to a union, I foresee, will be in matters of government. The southern States have admitted laymen to take part with them:

Connecticut has not. They cannot rid themselves of the lay brethren, and you will not admit laymen. This will keep you apart. I impatiently wait to hear the result of your meeting."

The convocation at Stamford could do nothing, under the circumstances, beyond what had been already attempted. The clergy were inclined to leave the matter very much in the hands of their bishop, in whom they had entire confidence, and to let time work the changes necessary to reconcile discordant opinions. They had taken steps to secure the succession in the Scottish line, and until they should hear from their application they might well be content to rest in quietness and cherish good hopes.

Individual effort, however, was made to create a stronger feeling to the southward in favor of union, and the venerable Leaming, among other reasons, urged it as a defense against the enemies of the Church. He foresaw what could not be unknown to the most intelligent observer, that continued division would be in the way of all prosperity, and a virtual surrender of the very principles which the Church in this country had long sought to establish. His letter to Bishop White, written a month after the meeting at Stamford, will give his views and his desire for an early and private conference of the bishops to adjust matters and correct misunderstandings.

STRATFORD, *July* 9, 1787.

MY VERY DEAR AND REV. SIR, — I have received your kind favor of the 21st of last month, for which you have my hearty thanks. Your views of a union of the Church in these States give me the greatest pleasure, and you are pleased to desire me to consider what will be the best

method to accomplish the end desired, and to communicate it to you.

It appears to me, that if you, Bishop Provoost, and Bishop Seabury could have a private meeting, all matters might be adjusted in such a manner that a union might be easily effected. For all those difficulties which disturb that mutual concord, which ought to be among Christians, have their rise from some little misunderstandings. And provided the parties were brought together, and would explain themselves to each other, in meekness and *love*, all disagreeable passions would subside and be extinguished forever.

But to reconcile differences, when they are come to their full growth, is attended with so many difficulties, that it seldom proves successful. Will it, therefore, be a matter of wisdom or prudence to put this business off to some future day, at a great distance? I must say, that I wish this meeting might be as soon and as private as possible, that no evil angels might have any knowledge of it, who would be glad of an opportunity to throw in the firebrands of dissension.

If this meeting could be effected as proposed, I doubt not but a union would take place so far as is necessary. That peace which consists in union of mind and agreement in judgment, in every point, is rather to be wished than hoped for, in this imperfect state.

There are more persons that are now laboring with all the insidious arts which they can muster up, for the ruin of the Church of England, than you can conceive. All the Infidels and Dissenters in England and these States are our most mortal enemies. However they disagree in sentiment, they unite for our destruction. And you will soon find they are engaged as much to divide as you are to unite us.

These enemies have always opposed the scheme of the Bishops of America. It was by their machinations that Bishop Seabury failed in obtaining his desire. These enemies supposed, when he had applied and was refused, there was an end to the Church in this country. But when they

found he had obtained the favor of the old Scotch Bishops, and had received the Apostolical power, they started and cried out, What shall we do now? for the Americans will have bishops, and we cannot prevent it. An expedient was soon found. We are resolved what to do. Let there be an act of Parliament granting liberty to the Bishops of England to consecrate Bishops for America, and then set up a huge cry, that Bishop Seabury is a *Non-juror*. By this means we shall divide the Church and they themselves will demolish it.

Shall we be made tools by these designing men, to do that which they cannot do without our help? The Church has always received her wounds from her own sons, who suppose that other men are as honest as themselves. When our enemies cry up moderation, they mean nothing more or less than that we should renounce our own principles and embrace theirs. When all is considered, said, and done upon the subject, we shall find that the Church of England is the best model we can find, as it is regulated so exactly according to the Scriptures, by which the order of the first Church was fixed.

Theodosius, though a great patron of the Church, by assuming to himself the power of erecting new models in the government of it, thereby destroyed the being and constitution of a Christian Church; for if it rests upon Divine right derived from our Saviour and his Apostles, it is then in no man's power to alter it; if it does not, it is no Christian Church, for there can be no such thing unless it came from Heaven. *My kingdom is not of this world*, says our Saviour. If the religion we profess, the officers to administer, and the ordinances are not all divine, it is all a mere delusion at the best. These points are so clear in Revelation, that we must hold them or renounce all Revelation itself.

The Church in this State would be pleased to have the old forms altered as little as may be; but for the sake of a union they will comply as far as they possibly can. And I do not see how a union can be more advantageous to us than

it will be to you. If it is reciprocal, both ought to give way, and not to be too rigid. And I trust this will be the result, when matters are maturely considered.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem, regard, and friendship, Right Rev. Sir, your most obedient, humble Servant,

JEREMIAH LEAMING.

BISHOP WHITE.

Bishop White was not disposed to turn a deaf ear to these importunities, but he seems to have been so hampered by his association with Bishop Provoost and by his implied obligations to the English prelates that he was reluctant to take any decisive steps or to commit himself in any way, lest his action might be misunderstood or misconstrued. If he was ready for a private interview with the Bishop of Connecticut, he was not ready for it independently of the wishes and presence of his less amiable brother. He had evinced a like fear of independent action, when, before going to England, he postponed asking the Rev. Mr. Pilmore to preach in his churches, — though, as he wrote to a friend,[1] "I cannot say I have any doubt of the validity of Bishop Seabury's consecration; but I thought it might be inconsistent with the measures we are taking, to be instrumental in the settling of clergymen among us, who come to us under obligations which may perhaps be considered as restricting them from joining in the said measures; and although I knew Mr. Pilmore did not construe his engagements in such a sense, yet I thought it my duty to found my conduct on the general state of the question and not on the construction of any particular gentleman." The congratulations which

[1] MS. letter to Rev. A. Beach, May 6, 1786.

poured in upon him from every quarter that he had returned with the accomplishment of his object were not without expressions of a hearty desire that the three bishops now in this country would unite in consecrating a fourth, and save Virginia, for instance, the expense of sending Dr. Griffith to England.

One thing in which Bishop White was interested had failed to meet his expectations, and that was the sale of the "proposed" Prayer Books, which were forwarded, soon after they were printed, in parcels to different States and publicly advertised. Dr. Griffith had a poor account to render of the disposal of them in Virginia, and Mr. Parker, of Boston, was equally discouraging in his report. "What the probability is," said he, "of a further sale will depend very much upon the future movements of the Church in this State. Should a union take place between the Southern and Northern States upon the plan of these alterations, no doubt they will meet a quick sale here; but as they are not yet adopted, even by some of the States represented in the convention which proposed them, I cannot promise that they will be in demand here. I cannot myself consent to any further alterations till a uniform Liturgy is agreed upon by the whole Church in these States, and to effect this I shall be willing to give up everything but the essential doctrines of our Church, and to adopt anything not repugnant thereto. But I fear from the opposite dispositions of Connecticut and the Southern States this will not be effected, though I cannot see why, upon the supposition of a different ecclesiastical form of government, the bishops of the several States may not agree on one

common Liturgy, and a uniformity of worship be preserved, if not of discipline."

Mr. Parker had adopted the Psalms as set forth in the new Prayer Book, and the Psalter was reprinted for use in his church; but in Connecticut there was a steady and universal adherence to the old English Liturgy except as to the political parts. "Our people," wrote Leaming to Mr. Beach, of New Jersey, "esteem it next to inspiration, if not actually such."

The suggestion of consecrating a bishop for Massachusetts had been several times made, and Mr. Parker was fixed upon by many as the most proper person to fill the high office. It was thought this step would be the connecting link between the separated churches, and even Bishop White, as early as July 5, 1787, wrote to him: "I wish most sincerely that Massachusetts would unite with us, and choose a person for consecration, not merely as it would tend to cement the Church throughout the whole continent, but because I think it would add to the wisdom of our determination whenever a general convention shall be held for the final settlement of our ecclesiastical system."

There is no intimation in this statement that he was prepared to join with Bishop Seabury in the act of consecration, if his brother of New York would consent. Rather is it to be inferred that he would expect Mr. Parker to cross the ocean and complete the number of three bishops in the English line, which had been indicated to be desirable and canonical. But this plan was not acceptable to the party most interested. "Nothing," said Mr. Parker, in reply, "will be determined in this State respecting a bishop

till we see how matters are settled between you and the Bishop of Connecticut. We are but six clergymen in the whole State (exclusive of Mr. Bowen) and are divided in our sentiments respecting the expediency of obtaining a bishop. Two seem to adhere to Connecticut, two to your States, and the other two will join either party that will bid fairest to cement the whole. Should the case happen that a person should be chosen for consecration for this State, will it be necessary for him to go to England to obtain it, or can two bishops confer it authentically; or is Dr. Griffith on his way to England, or will the Southern Bishops unite with Bishop Seabury in this act? If this last question is premature or impertinent, I beg pardon, and request not an answer to it. The reason of my proposing these questions is, that the answers may operate very considerably in the determinations of the clergy here."

The effort was still pursued to bring the bishops together for a private conference. The indefatigable Leaming sought the interposition and aid of his accomplished parishioner, Dr. William Samuel Johnson, a delegate from Connecticut to the convention which was then in session at Philadelphia to frame the Federal Constitution. The following letter is a proof of his earnestness, and of his belief in the good results which must flow from a private interview: —

STRATFORD, *July* 30, 1787.

I am so anxious, my dear and Rev. Sir, for the prosperity of the Church, that I cannot do less than acknowledge immediately the receipt of your favor by Dr. Johnson, who informs me that your sentiments are the same with ours in respect of the union.

If you, Bishop Provoost, and Bishop Seabury could be brought together, at the meeting of the gentlemen who have the care of the fund for Clergymen's widows, all matters might be adjusted. And whatever may be agreed upon by you three, each Bishop may bring his own Clergy to acquiesce in it; and by that means matters would be fixed upon a permanent basis.

You are the only person who can prepare the way to effect this scheme. And nothing is wanted to do it, but only to bring Bishop Provoost to adopt it. And I cannot think he would hesitate a moment, if he knew the sentiments of his own Clergy in that respect as fully as I do. They all, to a man, would be overjoyed to find such a plan taking place. There is no one thing he can possibly do, that would raise his character so high among his Clergy, as this will. And there can be no risk in undertaking the affair. You would do essential service to the Church in general, and Bishop Provoost in particular, provided you can effect this business, and convince him of the wisdom he will manifest in taking such a step now as will fix the willing obedience of his Clergy to him all his life after. The act at his first setting out, that pleases and strikes the attention, will be of more advantage to him than he can imagine.

When you have persuaded Bishop Provoost to acquiesce in the measure of having a private conference with you and Bishop Seabury, upon the subject of a union, be so good as to write to Bishop Seabury and invite him to meet you, and I doubt not he will attend. As he first proposed it, will it not be proper to acquaint him you are now agreed to have such a meeting, which, in my opinion, is the only method by which the end desired can be effected?

One thing further, provided you should bring about a union, which I doubt not will be the event, if you are brought together, it will save Dr. Griffith the trouble and expense of going to England, for he can be canonically consecrated here.

I have written now lest if I put it off till Dr. Johnson's

return, you may not have time to prepare matters before the meeting; and it appears to me there ought not to be any delay in this affair. I hope you will not esteem me over officious in this business; if you do, my apology is this; I have been forty years in the service of the Church, and I believe I am the oldest Clergyman in America, and I am very desirous to see it complete before I die.

God bless your labors for the converting of sinners and the building up of saints. Thus prays, Right Rev. Sir,

Your most obedient, humble Servant,

JEREMIAH LEAMING.

BISHOP WHITE.

An extract from a letter of Bishop White to another gentleman will serve as an answer to Mr. Leaming. "I will be very explicit with you," said he, writing to Mr. Parker, August 6, 1787, "on the questions you put in regard to an union with Bishop Seabury, and the consecration of Dr. Griffith. On the one hand, considering it was presumed a third was to go over to England, that the institutions of the Church of that country require three to join in the consecration, and that the political situation of the English prelates prevents their official knowledge of Dr. Seabury as a Bishop, I am apprehensive it may seem a breach of faith towards them, if not intended deception in us, were we to consecrate without the actual number of three, all under the English succession: although it would not be inconsistent with this idea, that another gentleman, under a different succession, should be joined with us. On the other hand, I am most sincerely desirous of seeing our Church throughout these States united in *one* Ecclesiastical Legislature; and I think that any difficulties which have hitherto seemed in the way might be removed by mutual forbearance.

If there are any further difficulties than those I allude to of difference in opinion, they do not exist with me; and I shall be ready to do what lies in my power to bring all to an agreement.

"As to Dr. Griffith, he is ready to go to England as soon as he shall be provided with money for the purpose; and it was contrary to his opinion the writing to Bishop Provoost and to me, requesting us or either of us to consecrate him. My answer was to this purport: that our Convention, by adopting the English Book of Ordination and Consecration, had made it necessary for us to adhere to the canonical number, — that besides this, I should be very cautious of breaking down such a bar against consecrations on surreptitious elections, the evil against which the canonical number was intended, — and that it would be indelicate to the English bishops. I find from Bishop Provoost that he wrote a similar answer. There the matter rests for the present. I remain in hopes that they will now take effectual measures for raising the necessary supplies."

While these efforts toward reconciliation and union were prosecuted by individual clergymen, Bishop Seabury was caring for his work in Connecticut, and stirring up the people wherever he went. His visitations could not be rapid, — travelling as he did on horseback, or in a chaise or sulky, over rough and hilly roads, — but they were circuitous and extensive, and occupied much of his time. The parish at New London had claims to his services as rector, and the church, the erection of which he found entered upon when he returned to this country, was now, after many hindrances, completed and ready for consecra-

tion; he convoked his clergy to be present, and the ceremonies, which were of an imposing character, took place September 20, 1787. It was the second church consecrated by him in Connecticut, and some idea of the interest excited by the occasion, and of Episcopal labor as well, may be gathered from the familiar and rather humorous letters written by Ashbel Baldwin to his friend, the Rev. Tillotson Bronson, then a deacon officiating in Strafford, Vt., and looking back with eager longings to the better fields of his native State. The "tour" into Litchfield County spoken of in the ensuing extract from one of these letters,[1] dated November 15, 1787, was undertaken after the consecration of the church in New London.

Bishop Seabury has not been in Vermont; therefore 't is no wonder if you have not heard of him there; so much for a duplicate of my answer to your second letter. I mentioned in the inclosed of the 14th instant, of our convening at New London. The Clergy were not in general present. The Bishop preached the consecration sermon, and was universally applauded: he has a most excellent talent at sermonizing. No ordinations. Brother Ogden, from Portsmouth, applied for Priest's orders, but was rejected. Tomlinson was not there: had he been there, I think he would have met with an opposition. Todd expects to be consecrated [ordained] in June. Bishop Seabury has at last made a tour into our quarter. And was unhappy that you had moved. An acquaintance of his wrote to have him send a Mathematical genius to Elizabeth Town (New Jersey), to take charge of the Church in that place and an Academy lately established there. He had mentioned you to them with high expectations of its being agreeable to you and them. However, I hope all is for the best, and that

[1] MS. Letters.

you may make a figure where you are. I mentioned in my last that you must provide me a place of refuge — I am in earnest. I expect (God willing) to wait on Bishop Seabury into your State next summer. He has thoughts of fixing himself there, if he should find his lands to his mind; this must be *Inter nos.* His visit among us was attended with great applause to himself and much pleasure to the church people. At Simsbury confirmation was administered to about two hundred persons; Harwinton, 40; Cambridge, 56; Northbury, 103; Litchfield, 165. An amazing throng of people attended with us; there was supposed to be fifteen hundred people present. His subject was the doctrine of atonement, on which his observations were so striking that it was almost impossible to restrain the audience from loud shouts of approbation. Whilst with me he was visited by the most respectable people in town. I escorted him to Goshen, Salisbury, and Sharon, where we parted, after having spent a fortnight in the most agreeable manner that I ever was acquainted with. He is sensible and agreeable, and if the Church was not at the bottom of the hill in point of zeal, I think they have the highest prospect of rising triumphant with such a Head. Ives was with him, and has concluded to spend the winter at New London, and, I believe, his days at Cheshire. Belden has visited me, and is yet undetermined. Young Marsh has been home. He has an appointment of Tutor in Cokesbury College, a large and respectable seminary lately founded in Maryland; inclosed is a map of the building; he is much improved, and I think bids fair for a shining character. He wishes to be remembered to you.

The public mind was greatly agitated at this period about the adoption of the new Federal Constitution. The convention in Philadelphia had finished its work and sent it to the old thirteen States for approval and ratification. The instrument, as it came from the hands of its framers, was not considered by

any one to be perfect in theory, but it was the best that could be made under the circumstances to establish a system of national government. Political feeling ran high, and when the people of Connecticut came to choose delegates to the State convention, which was to ratify or reject the Constitution, they were much divided, and it was impossible to foretell the issue. Mr. Baldwin, in his next letter to his clerical friend in Vermont, written the same month, gave a characteristic description of the popular agitation, and then passed to ecclesiastical matters.

The new Constitution is out, the Egg-shell is broke — but 't is impossible as yet to determine how it is relished — yesterday members for a State Convention were appointed. It was a day "big with the fate of Cato and of Rome." There will be powerful oppositions to it in Connecticut. But the struggles against it in Virginia and Pennsylvania are violent. The Southern Papers are red hot; nothing is said on either side but "Firebrands, Arrows and death." I am alarmed at the consequence of its being either received or rejected, the majority will not be sufficiently large on either side for a subject of such vast consequence. The members of State Convention in Litchfield are avowedly in favor of it. The Yeas and Nays in several adjacent towns were taken, and a great majority against it, and members appointed accordingly; in short we are much divided; anarchy, I am afraid, is approaching. But why should we be anxiously troubled — "Whatever is is right." What would it avail us if we knew what our situation would be; it could neither alleviate nor mitigate our sufferings. The most influential characters in New York are against the Constitution.

In number 2 I mentioned the present situation of Ives. The Blakeslees are still at Derby. I can now and then hear of them prowling at Northbury and its vicinity. Prindle

continues peaceably in his own country. Depend not on rumors; the Clergy in Connecticut are well pleased with their Bishop, and will run the risk of a disunion with the Southern gentry, rather than forsake him, if he will stay with us. We hope, however, better things than that. A correspondence is now open on the subject, between Seabury, Provoost, and White, and we expect the issue will be a friendly coalition in Episcopal consecration, if not in Church government. Convocation agreed there might a Christian agreement take place so far as to establish the Church in America, if they could not agree on the particular mode of exercising the right of that Church. I am happy to find the assembly of your State acting upon so liberal a plan respecting the Church Lands; for I think it will be productive of most salutary consequences to you. We shall all swarm from Connecticut unless the political wheel rolls in a different way from the present. I know of no asylum but Vermont. May we all once more meet together in that romantic country and be able to behold our flocks upon a thousand hills. To-morrow is Thanksgiving Day: remember St. Pumpkin's, and give one sociable glass for us. I perform divine service at Harwinton. Their Church is almost inclosed. I forgot when speaking of Convocation to say anything of their Church in New London; 't is a pretty one, I think the neatest building in the State: elegantly finished. The consecration service was amazingly grand. The Bishop had on his royal attire. The Crown and Mitre were refulgent. The reading Psalms were beautifully chanted. The most of the Clergy present were clothed in their Robes, and the whole day was pleasing. Good Night.

This was the first occasion on which Bishop Seabury wore the mitre; at least there has been found no positive proof that he appeared with it prior to the consecration of the church in New London. It has, indeed, been stated on the authority of one who was present as a spectator, that it was upon the head

of the bishop when he held his first ordination in Middletown. "In 1785, at the first ordination in this country," said the late Rev. Isaac Jones, of Litchfield, standing before it in the library of Trinity College, Hartford, where it is now deposited, "I saw him wearing his scarlet hood and that mitre, and though I was then a dissenter, his stately figure and solemn manner impressed me very much."[1] Probably the memory of this good man in his old age failed him and he mistook the occasion. For Bishop Seabury "did not use the mitre at first, nor did he bring one with him when he came home after his consecration; but when he found many of the non-Episcopal ministers about him disposed to adopt the title of bishop, in derision of his claims, he adopted a mitre as a badge of office which they would hardly be disposed to imitate."[2] It does not appear to have been used by him in his ordinary visitations, but only on a few great occasions when imposing ceremonies took place.

[1] Coxe's *Christian Ballads*, p. 216.

[2] Hallam's *Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, p. 73.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MR. PARKER, AND VISIT TO BOSTON; CHARITY SERMON, AND ORDINATIONS; STAY IN THE CITY, AND CALL UPON DR. BYLES; LETTER OF LEAMING, AND CONVOCATION AT NORTH HAVEN.

A. D. 1788.

THE tenacity with which Bishop Seabury adhered to the "good old Book of Common Prayer" led him to wholly distrust the unauthorized changes which were made and set forth at Philadelphia. He had been invited by Mr. Parker to pass the Easter festival in Boston and to preach the annual sermon before the Episcopal Charitable Society; but learning that there was some irregularity in the mode of conducting the service in Mr. Parker's church, especially in using a portion of "The Proposed Book," he expressed his unwillingness to accept the invitation, as his presence at such a crisis might be construed into countenancing improper departures from the old Liturgy. The bishop does not appear to have known the extent of these departures, but he could not help thinking that if uniformity among the churches was hereafter to be attained, it was unwise for individual parishes to adopt changes which might tend to embarrass so good a work. His first letter to Mr. Parker has not been preserved, but the answer shows the character of the contents and is withal a most valua-

ble contribution to the ecclesiastical history of that period. The stateliness of its tone and a lack of the usual warmth of expression looked like a breach between the Bishop of Connecticut and the leading clergyman in Massachusetts.

BOSTON, *January* 28, 1788.

RT. REV'D SIR, — Your favor of the 15th did not reach me till the evening of the 21st instant, and the departure of the Post the next morning prevented my answering it the last week.

I am very sorry to find that you have any reluctance to pass the festival of Easter at Boston, on account of any irregular or unprecedented conduct in our Church. I know not what accounts may have come to your ears respecting the great alterations we have made in the Liturgy of the Church. I flatter myself you have heard more than is really true. I had the honor of transmitting to you, Sir, a copy of these alterations, adopted by a Convention held in this State, Sept. '85 : no others have been since added, except the Psalms. The gentlemen of the Charitable Society would think themselves honored with your company at their annual festival; but I cannot feel myself at liberty to promise a recession from our present mode of carrying on the service, as I apprehend it would be attended with great convulsions in our Church. And if you will indulge me in the statement of a few facts relating to those alterations we have really made, and the grounds upon which they were adopted, you will be the better able to judge how far our conduct has been reprehensible.

In the year 1785, I think in the month of June or July, there being then but four Clergymen of the Episcopal Church in the three States of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, and there being in those States eighteen or twenty Churches, three of the Clergymen of Massachusetts thought it advisable to invite a Convention of all the Churches to consult upon some plan for maintaining uniform-

ity in Divine Worship, and adopting such other measures as might tend to the union and prosperity of the Episcopal Church. There being but four Clergymen, and so many Churches without, it was absolutely necessary to call in the Wardens and delegates from those Churches who had no Clergymen. This Convention was proposed to be held on Sept. 7, 1785. In the mean time, being informed that the Bishop of Connecticut proposed to meet his Clergy in Convocation, on August 3, in that year, I was requested by my brethren in the ministry, and the wardens and vestry, to attend that meeting, in order to learn what proceedings that body would take, that the proposed Convention in this State might be able to act in unison with them. The attention and politeness I received from yourself, Sir, and the Clergy of your diocese, demand my grateful acknowledgments. I had the honor of a seat in the first Convention ever held in America. Upon discussing the subject of the expediency of some alterations in the Liturgy of the Church, it was proposed and agreed to, to choose a committee to attend the Bishop, to propose such alterations as should be thought necessary, and to report them to the next meeting of the Convocation. Having the honor of being named on that committee, in conjunction with Rev. Messrs. Jarvis and Bowden, you will recollect, Sir, that we spent Friday and Saturday in that week upon this subject, and that most, if not all the proposed alterations were such as we were under obligations to you for, or such as you readily agreed to. These proposed alterations were to be reported to the next meeting of your Convocation, and, by your express desire, to the Convention that was to meet in this town the following month, and were, I think, transmitted by you to the Rev. Dr. Smith, of Maryland, to be communicated to the Convention to be held at Philadelphia, in the month of October. The substitutes for the State prayers were to be immediately recommended to the Churches of Connecticut; and your injunction was received and adopted, with the alteration of one single word by our Convention. The other proposed

alterations were also agreed to, and were to be sent to all the Churches in those States for their ratification. In our peculiar situation, without a Bishop, and most of our Churches without a Clergyman, what other mode could we devise? Till then I had not made, and did not think myself at liberty to make, any alterations, even in the State prayers, otherwise than by omitting the prayers for the King, etc. Give me leave, Rt. Rev'd Sir, to ask what other mode we could have devised, in our peculiar situation, without a Bishop, and most of our Churches without a Clergyman? As we could not proceed in the most regular way of having our Liturgy altered by a Bishop, we thought we had taken the next most regular step, that of gaining the consent of a neighboring Bishop, who, we were led to suppose, would enjoin the same in his Diocese. We kept our Convention under adjournments till July following, in order to see what would take effect in Connecticut, and at the southward. The Convention held in Philadelphia, in October, went more thoroughly into alterations than we had proposed, which terminated in reprinting the Prayer Book. The Churches in Connecticut, taking the alarm at the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention, began to think it best not to start from the old ground; and, if I am rightly informed, sent memorials to the Bishop in Convocation, not to accede to any alterations in the Liturgy, further than the substitute for the State prayers.

When our Convention met in July, by adjournment, we found that we were left by our brethren in Connecticut —that they thought it not advisable to make any alterations. The Convention at the southward, though they acceded to some of our alterations, had gone much further, and did not adopt the substitute for the State prayers; and the Churches in this and the neighboring States had readily come into our proposed alterations, as they had signified to the Convention, one only excepted: what was there, in the power of the Convention, then left to do, to preserve a uniformity? For my own part I was nonplussed; we found we

missed our object, and the only thing left to our choice was, to leave it to the option of the several Churches to adopt the new alterations, or continue the old Liturgy, as should be most agreeable.

My Church chose the alterations, and on the first Sunday in August, 1786, they were introduced, and have been strictly adhered to ever since. With those alterations suggested by yourself, and adopted by this Convention, it was judged best by some of our Church, to take the Psalms as selected by the Convention at Philadelphia. The reasons adduced for this procedure were, the great length of the morning service, which the reading the Psalms thus selected would considerably shorten, and that certain passages, which were peculiar to the state of the Jewish Church, and in particular those called the cursing Psalms, and not so well adapted to worship under the Christian dispensation, were omitted.

This, Sir, being the true state of facts, you will be able to judge how far we have acted irregularly, and whether you can with propriety visit us under these circumstances. I am not, for my own part, so much attached to our alterations, as to be unwilling to part with them, save in two instances: I mean the omission of the Athanasian Creed, and the frequent repetition of the Lord's Prayer. To return to these I should feel a reluctance; but still would be willing to sacrifice my own sentiments to the general good.

I am at the same time confident that, should I attempt it, it would cause a convulsion in my Church, [such] as would go near to its total destruction. And sure I am, that is an event you would not wish to see take place. But let us suppose it might be effected without this risque. Will our returning whence we have departed produce a uniformity through these States? If this was probable, I should most surely advise it. You value us in this State at much too high a rate, by supposing that our joining either side will bring about the desired uniformity. The Church is inconsiderable here, compared with what it is in yours or the

southern States. And would not our returning, without producing the intended end, discover an instability and fondness for change, that would be greatly prejudicial to the welfare of the Churches? This I will venture to assert, that when the several Bishops in America have agreed upon a uniform Liturgy, it will be adopted by the Churches in this State.

Thus, Rt. Rev. Sir, I have taken the liberty to lay before you this statement of facts, and the probable consequences of our compliance with what you wish; and however mistaken I may be, I have endeavored to do it with all that respect due to your character and office. Your known goodness and candor will excuse me if my pen has let anything slip that is improper, for I assure you it was not intended.

I can only now add, Sir, that the gentlemen of the Charitable Society, and particularly myself, would think ourselves honored with your company at the annual festival, and highly favored by your preaching to them on that day (and I will add, on the Sunday preceding, if you can make it convenient); but at the same time they cannot authorize me to promise a recession from our present mode of performing the service, as they are apprehensive that such a measure would, especially at the present time, when the Episcopal Church is peculiarly situated, tend to create divisions and parties among ourselves.

A committee of the Society was chosen at the last yearly meeting, to appoint some other gentleman to preach, in case you should not accept the invitation. You will, therefore, please to let me know, as soon as convenient, the result of your determination.

And believe me to be, with all possible respect and esteem, Rt. Rev. Sir, your most obedient and very humble Servant, S. PARKER.[1]

RT. REV. BISHOP OF CONNECTICUT.

Bishop Seabury was not a man to permit any mis-

[1] Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*, pp. 364–366.

apprehension of his motives to go uncorrected. Frank and independent as he always was in the expression of his own views, he was ever ready to respect the honest independence of others, and where he could not agree with them, he maintained his Christian dignity and cherished no unfriendly feelings. In his letter-book is to be found transcribed a portion of the candid reply which he sent to Mr. Parker just two weeks after the date of the foregoing epistle : —

February 13, 1789.

. . . . It was not my design to excite any resentment, or create any coolness, and I hope I have not done so. Indeed, I have no suspicion of it from any expression in your letter. But I could not help observing that it was written with more formality than you used to write. Notwithstanding the statement of matters in it, I cannot help thinking you have been too hasty in adopting the alterations as you have done — that it has rendered a union among the Churches the more difficult, and clouded the small prospect of uniformity, which gave any encouragement to aim at it. That some of our Clergy have been too backward in accommodating the service of the Church to the state, or rather the temper of the country, I will not deny; I have more than once told them so. But errors may be committed through haste, as well as by delay. I am far from ascribing ill-designs to you, or to any one who acted with you: but you must forgive me if I repeat it — such alterations as have been made are unprecedented in the Episcopal Church, without the concurrence of your Bishop. Forgive me, too, if I say, I did not flatter myself with having any steps taken in returning to the old service for my sake. I have been too long acquainted with my own unimportance to expect it. But I did and do wish to have as great a uniformity as possible among our Churches; and I was grieved at a measure which I thought impeded so good a work. I never

thought there was any heterodoxy in the southern Prayer Book: but I do think the true doctrine is left too unguarded, and that the offices are, some of them, lowered to such a degree, that they will, in a great measure, lose their influence.

The invitation to pass the Easter festival in Boston was accepted, and Bishop Seabury preached in Trinity Church before the Episcopal Charitable Society at the anniversary meeting, Easter Tuesday, March 25, 1788. The sermon was on "Charity," and by request of the Society was printed. A brief extract will give some idea of its character and of the institution in whose behalf it was delivered: —

However strong and indispensable the obligations of Christian charity may be — however great the ability of the rich, and the liberality of their dispositions — no one can relieve everybody. Among a multitude of objects the generous mind will undergo some uneasiness because *all* cannot be relieved, or because a particular one cannot be relieved to a sufficient degree. The desire, too, of bestowing what he has to give where it may do the most good, will occasion a perplexity disagreeable enough to a tender heart. From hence will appear the usefulness and propriety of charitable Institutions and Societies. Their attention is limited by the nature and rules of their institution, and only objects of a particular description can come under their observation. Instead of confining Charity, this, in fact, renders it more extensively and permanently useful. Its supplies are constant, though possibly not very large; for the end of Charity is to relieve, not to enrich. By increasing the number of these institutions, and varying the descriptions of persons to be relieved by them, all the poor who are not provided for by public law may be brought within the reach of relief. The object, too, of these Societies being limited, and their ability increased by union, their efforts will be more con-

centred, and, like the rays of the sun in a burning-glass, the more powerful: And that relief which no individual could give will be easily and effectually obtained by the joint energy of the whole.

The respectable Society before which I have, this day, the pleasure of preaching, is an eminent instance of the justness of these sentiments. Formed more than sixty years ago, for the benevolent purpose of relieving the members and benefactors of the Society, and other persons of the Episcopal Church, from the distresses of poverty and misfortune, to which, through the various *changes and chances* of this mortal life, we are all continually exposed, — it has pleased God so to bless its pious efforts and proper conduct, that it has been the happy means of giving ample relief and comfort to many who had no earthly resource, and is now enabled to continue and to increase that support to the indigent, which was the blessed object of its first design. A design so directly springing from the true spirit of Christian benevolence, and conducted by that Charity whose greatest glory is, that it *seeketh not its own*, but the good of others, could not fail of His blessing *who openeth his hand and filleth all living things with plenteousness.* Nor have we any reason to doubt he will continue to bless and support it, and direct its members by his grace and Holy Spirit, worthily to continue the benevolent work they have hitherto so worthily conducted.

Societies like this, by collecting the smaller efforts of benevolent hearts, and combining them together, to be again distributed for the purposes of charity, resemble mighty rivers, rolling their waters, collected from brooks and springs, to the great reservoir of moisture which the Almighty has prepared for the refreshment of the earth. And the worthy members of this pious institution will reflect with pleasure upon the singular goodness of God in making them, without distressing themselves, the instruments of alleviating the distresses of others — coöperators with him in the great work of promoting human happiness by abating the pains of human misery. May their example inspire, their zeal warm, and

their prudence direct others to form and conduct similar Societies, till every class and denomination of distressed poor are, as far as human infirmity will permit, rescued from their sufferings, and enabled with thankful hearts and cheerful voices to praise their God for his goodness, and bless their benefactors for their humane attention.[1]

This first visit of Bishop Seabury to Boston was prolonged several weeks, and the opportunity was improved by him and Mr. Parker to confer together and consider well the condition of the Church in New England and the States to the southward. An ordination was held on Thursday, the 27th of March, and the Rev. John C. Ogden, deacon, advanced to the priesthood. It was the first ordination in Massachusetts by an American bishop, and no doubt attracted as much attention as when two years before he went to Rhode Island and admitted a young candidate to the order of deacons, and three days later to the priesthood. "Last Wednesday morning," said a correspondent under date of Newport, March 20, 1786, "the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, held a special ordination in Trinity Church in this city, at which time Mr. John Bissett, a young gentleman lately from Scotland, was admitted to the priesthood. We do not recollect ever seeing so crowded a congregation as collected upon this occasion."[2] If Trinity Church, Boston, was not crowded when Mr. Ogden was ordained, the service was one which interested Episcopalians generally, and had its value as an example.

Before the bishop left the city, he called upon Dr.

[1] Sermon, pp. 17–20.

[2] *The Connecticut Journal*, March 29, 1786.

Mather Byles, then living in retirement, who, though a Congregational divine, was yet a sturdy loyalist during the Revolution, and had a son who entered the ministry of the Church of England and was proscribed and banished for entertaining the political views of his father. Dr. Byles was a noted wit, and so ready with his puns and sarcasms that seldom did any one try to match him in this line without coming off the worse for the conflict. When Seabury paid him the compliment of a visit, he received him very cordially, and said with a mixture of irony: "I am happy to see, in my old age, a bishop on this side the Atlantic, and I hope you will not refuse to give me the right hand of fellowship." To which the bishop replied: "As you are a *left*-handed brother, I think fit to give you my *left* hand;" which he accordingly did. The conversation soon turned upon the general subject of the church, and it being St. Mark's day, and public services as usual, the doctor inquired, "Why is it that you churchmen still keep up the old Romish practice of worshipping saints?" "We do not worship saints," was the quick reply; "we only thank God that the church has had such worthy advocates, and pray him to give us hearts and strength to follow their example." "Aye," exclaimed the other, "I know you are fond of traditions; but I trust we have now many good saints here in our church, and for my part, I had rather have one living saint than a half dozen dead ones." "May be so," rejoined the bishop, "for I suppose you are of the same mind with Solomon, who said that 'a living dog is better than a dead lion.'"

So zealous and vigilant a man as the venerable

Leaming could not allow his pen to rest while the Church was in a divided state and enemies were rising up to take advantage of disagreements and dissensions. He renewed his correspondence with Bishop White by writing him the following letter: —

STRATFORD, *June* 16, 1788.

MY REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I have received your kind and obliging letter, dated the 10th of last February, and I should have answered it before this time, but have waited to hear how the affair turned out, after the Convention in Virginia, with Dr. Griffith.

As to the affair upon which our correspondence commenced, it appears to me that the union of the Churches is, at present, a matter that cannot be effected. I was in hopes to see it accomplished soon after your return from England. But you inform me some object, and will have nothing to do with the Scotch Succession. Dr. P——y is at the bottom of the plan. He has contrived it to make this country all *Unitarians;* for, to accomplish that he must demolish the Church in these States. However, if we do not lend him a helping hand, he cannot do it. The Church will never fall, unless it is pulled down by her own members.

Perhaps you will say, you cannot think there is any such scheme on foot. It will not be long before you will find that what I have told you is fact. The Presbyterians are employed by ——, to fill all the Southern States with their sort of Ministers, before the Church is supplied with Episcopal Clergymen. Where people have no principles about the nature of a Christian Church, a man ordained by the Laity is as good as any. And a man who professes to believe no creed, but only this, *that he believes not in any creed*, is as good a Christian as any man can be. By this scheme the Unitarian doctrine is to take place. In order to preserve the Church, the members should be vigilant, lest the foundation should be undermined by clandestine enemies. If true Christianity is not preserved by the Episcopal Church,

it will soon take its flight from these States, for Unitarians will be the whole.

In order that the common people, members of the Church in this State, might understand the nature of the Christian Church, and some of its leading doctrines, I have lately published a small treatise upon various subjects, a copy of which I now send you. This I should not have presumed to do, if you had not in a familiar manner expressed your desire that I would communicate to you any matters that might turn up with regard to our Church.

If you should, upon the reading of it, approve what I have advanced, I should be glad to know if reprinting of it would be of any advantage to the people of your State, who are under your care. If we desire to preserve the Church, we must acquaint the people for what end the Church was appointed, and what the doctrines of a Christian Church are, in order that they may understand them.

Thus I have expressed my sentiments freely, and perhaps have been too open. But this must be my apology: in love I have done it, and in love I hope it may be received.

I am, with every sentiment of esteem and regard, Right Rev. Sir, your sincere friend and very humble Servant,

JEREMIAH LEAMING.

RIGHT REV. BISHOP WHITE.

A convocation was held at North Haven, in October of this year, and the clergy were generally present, — but no new steps were taken in the way of facilitating a union with the Church in the other States. Two deacons were advanced to the priesthood, — one, Samuel Nesbitt, had formerly been a medical practitioner in New Haven, and influential as a layman in securing some provision for the support of the bishop. In a letter to his friend and correspondent in Vermont, giving a brief account of the convocation, Ashbel Baldwin said, "The bishop's

daughter (Mrs. Taylor) has been dangerously sick this summer, which was the cause of our not making you a visit as was proposed. When we shall be in your quarter is at present uncertain; possibly next spring."

Soon after the meeting at North Haven, Bishop White renewed his efforts to change the position of things in Massachusetts. A general convention was to be held in July of the next year at Philadelphia, and he was desirous of the presence and aid of the clergy from that important State. With a view to this he urged upon Mr. Parker that they should select a suitable presbyter and send him to England for consecration, and thus supply what the indifference of the Church in Virginia, in the case of Dr. Griffith, had permitted to be frustrated. "I have formerly," he said, "expressed to you another reason for my wishing you with us; and the reason still exists: the effecting of a junction with our brethren of Connecticut." He seemed to lay the blame of keeping at a distance from their councils upon the clergy of New England, and Mr. Parker must have communicated the contents of his letter to Bishop Seabury, who was conscious of having made the first overtures for union, and was not willing to be put in the wrong in this way. Without going into detail, he wrote in reply, December 16, 1788, "I can now only observe, that, as it appears to me, all the difficulty lies with those churches, and not with us in Connecticut. I have several times proposed and urged a union. It has been received and treated, I think, coldly. And yet I have received several letters urging such a union on me, as though I was the only person who

opposed it. This is not fair. I am ready to treat of and settle the terms of union on any proper notice. But Bishops White and Provoost must bear their part in it actively as well as myself; and we must come into the union on even terms, and not as underlings."[1]

MS. Letter-Book.

CHAPTER XIX.

VALIDITY OF CONSECRATION, AND LETTER TO BISHOP DRUMMOND; DEATH OF CHARLES EDWARD, AND RELIEF FOR THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH; ATTACHMENT OF HIS CLERGY, AND LETTERS TO TILLOTSON BRONSON; CONVENTION TO MEET IN PHILADELPHIA, AND CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP WHITE.

A. D. 1788–1789.

THE anxiety of Seabury to have another bishop consecrated in Scotland for Connecticut arose from a general dislike among his clergy and people of the new Prayer Book, and from a desire to stand on equal terms with his Episcopal brethren of New York and Pennsylvania. No one could possibly foresee the shape which events would ultimately take. But as far as he might, he would be prepared for every emergency, and while acquiescing in the judgment of his Scottish friends as to the consecration of another bishop, he was determined to adhere to sound ecclesiastical principles, and not give up anything essential to the true government of the Church.

The validity of his Episcopacy had been assailed, and fearing a renewal of the question, he thought necessity might be laid upon him to establish the Scottish succession from the restoration of Charles II. to the Revolution in 1688 under William III. He had already obtained a list of the succession of Scottish bishops from 1688 down to his own consecration

at Aberdeen, but he wished to go farther back over a period where some might pretend doubt still rested. The following letter, written to Bishop Abernethy Drummond, not only touches this point, but makes other references of peculiar interest in the history of that period:[1] —

NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT, *November* 7, 1788.

RIGHT REVEREND MY DEAR BROTHER AND FRIEND, — It is so long since you have heard from me that I apprehend you and my good friends in Scotland will think their memory erased from my mind. Their memory is, however, dear to me, and the recollection of their attention to me always fills my heart with pleasure.

Your letter which informed me of your consecration for the See of Edinburgh gave me great joy. I heartily bless my God and Lord for that event, and I beseech Him to enable you to do all that good to His Church which your heart, I know, anxiously wishes to do. Accept my thanks for your kind expressions and intentions toward me. God, I hope, will assist me to become in some degree worthy of the regard you express for me.

The public papers have informed us of the compliance of the Episcopal clergy in Scotland with the legal requisition of praying for the reigning king, etc. I know them so well that I am sure they never will sacrifice conscience to conveniency; and I cannot but rejoice in the event, which, as it will free them, I hope, effectually, from a great embarrassment, so it will, I trust, open the door to great accessions to the Church of our dear Redeemer, miserably torn by divisions and defiled by polluted and unauthorized worship and sacraments. Come that day, gracious God, when all who

[1] The original letter, indorsed in the handwriting of Bishop Jolly, "Good Bishop Seabury's," is in possession of Rev. John Dowden, D. D., Pantonian Professor, Theological College, Edinburgh, to whom I am indebted for a correct copy. Bishop Jolly bequeathed his valuable library to this institution in 1838. *Vide* under Appendix C.

worship Thee shall do it in the unity of Thy Church, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life!

Our state in this country is still unsettled, and like I fear to continue so. Bishop White, of Philadelphia, seems disposed to an Ecclesiastical Union, but will take no leading or active part to bring it about. He will risk nothing; and Bishop Provoost seems so elated with the honor of an English Consecration that he affects to doubt the validity of mine. This may oblige me to establish the Scotch succession from the Restoration of King Charles II. to what is called the Revolution; and I must beg you to enable me to do so. How this may best be done you can judge better than I can. I should suppose a certificate from the bishops in Scotland would be sufficient, naming those who were consecrated in England under King Charles the Second and their successors till Episcopal Government was abolished by William the Dutchman. Bishop Collier's Eccl. Hist., v. 2, lib. ix., p. 887, says about this time — September 6, 1661 — Mr. James Sharp, Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. Loghton were consecrated bishops (*i. e.*, for Scotland) by the Bishop of Winchester, with the assistance of two other English Prelates; now, who were their successors till the establishment of Presbyterianism? To ascertain this point is all I want.

Another objection Bishop P——t makes against me is that I was an enemy to my country, *i. e.*, I did not disregard my oaths and run headlong into the late Rebellion, now glorious Revolution. This may answer for itself — I broke no oaths, nor did I trample on sacred obligations — God be praised for His grace.

We have some talk here of getting an edition of the Prayer Book printed, with the Canons and the Rubrics accommodated to our state. The book would scarcely be so large as the present. We wish to know what a common edition of about 5,000 could be done for at Edinburgh. I have also an idea of publishing two Volumes of Sermons calculated for this meridian, as soon as I can get a little more

leisure, — the volumes to contain about 400 pages each. What would be the Edinburgh terms if I took 300 copies — what if the whole edition? You see with how little ceremony I lay burdens on you — your goodness, I trust, will excuse me. I wish to get this Church into better order before I die, and to leave something behind me to keep it so when I am gone.

I send you twelve copies of a Charity Sermon preached in Boston. Please to send one to the Rt. Revd. Bishop Kilgour, with my dutiful regards, to Bishop Skinner, Bishop McFarlane, the Rev. Mr. John and Alex. Allan, Dr. Webster, and the Rev. Mr. Jolly, of Bishop Skinner's diocese, I believe. These gentlemen have all my hearty love and estimation. I send also two copies of a letter of one of my Presbyters on the old subject of Episcopacy — a battle which we shall have to fight over again in this country. We are therefore about trying whether our poverty will permit us to establish a clerical library here, to consist of the Fathers of the primitive Church, the controversial writers with the Dissenters and Papists, and the standard authors of the Church of England, especially of the last century. I wish you to send one of these letters to Bishop Skinner.

We have now sixteen Presbyters in this Diocese, and four Deacons who will soon be put into Priests' orders. Four more, *i. e.*, twenty-four in the whole, will be as many as the present ability of the Church can support. It does however grow, and converts from Presbyterianism are not unfrequent.

We are also endeavoring to establish an academy for the education of our own clergy, etc.; and perhaps if we can raise 14 or 1500£ sterling by subscription in the course of the winter, of which we have good hopes, to set it a-going in the course of the next summer; and flatter ourselves that, by making it a general School for fitting young gentlemen for the various occupations of life, it will support itself.

My regards attend on your Lady. Remember me to the Mr. Allans and families, Dr. Webster, and all who are kind enough to think about me.

When you do me the favor to write to me, could you do so by the way of Glasgow to Boston, directed to the care of the Rev. Mr. Samuel Parker, it would come securely and without expense to me. Mr. Bowden is now publishing "Remarks on Dr. Chauncy's (late of Boston) (distorted) View of Episcopacy." If I knew how to get such little matters to you readily it would be a means of letting you know how we go on. Pray for me, my dear brother, and believe me to be your ever affectionate, humble servant,

SAMUEL CONNECT.

The death of Charles Edward, the last of the royal House of Stuart, occurred at Rome on the 31st of January, 1788, and there was no longer any reason for the Scottish bishops and clergy to refuse allegiance to the reigning sovereign of the House of Hanover. They had experienced the benefits of his mild sway and a practical relaxation of the rigor of those penal laws enacted against the Scottish Episcopal Church, but till now they had been unwilling to make any change and recognize the title of King George in their public prayers.

After some preliminary measures by the different diocesan synods, which, with great unanimity, favored the change, the Primus (Bishop Kilgour) summoned an Episcopal synod to meet at Aberdeen on the 24th of April, and the deans of the several dioceses, as representatives of the presbyters, were also requested to attend. The result of the meeting was a unanimous agreement to submit to the present government as invested in the person of George the Third, and to testify this submission by praying for him and the royal family in the express words of the English Liturgy, hoping thereby to remove all suspicion of dis-

affection, and to obtain a repeal of the severe penal enactments under which the Church in Scotland had suffered during the long period of disputed succession to the crown. In compliance with the determination of this synod, the bishops issued circulars to the clergy and enjoined them to publicly notify their respective congregations, on the 18th of May, that upon the following Sunday "nominal prayers for the King are to be authoritatively introduced, and afterwards to continue in the religious assemblies of this Episcopal Church." Accordingly on the 25th of May every clergyman, with one exception, "prayed by name for King George, the Queen, the Prince of Wales, and all the royal family."[1]

The exception was the Rev. James Brown, of Montrose, who subsequently inspired a little band of malcontents in Edinburgh, and not only assumed the pastoral charge of them, but made a most daring attempt to perpetuate a schism "by invading the right of the Episcopate itself, having the hardihood to repair to the village of Downe, in Perthshire, where Bishop Rose resided, in the extreme of dotage, and causing him to perform the office of consecration!"[2]

When the question was put soon after to the venerable prelate whether the case were so or not, he answered in all the simplicity of childhood, "My sister may have done it, but not I." Bishop Rose was a bachelor, and an aged sister was his housekeeper and guardian. With the death of Brown and a few of his adherents, the attempt at schism came to an end, and the seed of political disaffection ceased to exist among the Episcopalians of Scotland.

[1] Stephen's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. iv., p. 414.
[2] *Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, p. 83.

Bishop Seabury rejoiced to hear of the change in the relations of the Scottish Church to the king on the throne. He wrote to Bishop Skinner, November 7, 1788, and said, "The public papers have announced that the Episcopal clergy in Scotland now pray for the king by name. I hope it is true, and flatter myself that it will free them, erelong, from many embarrassments." It was an unequivocal proof of their loyalty and steady determination to support his majesty's government at all times and by every means in their power, and the next step was to apply in due form for relief from the penal disabilities. Letters were addressed to the archbishops of Canterbury and York and to the Lord Chancellor and other temporal peers of influence in the British realm, and a bill was introduced into Parliament providing for a repeal of the oppressive statutes, and that the oaths ordered by the Toleration Act of Queen Anne, "so far as they had a retrospective effect, might be adjusted in such a manner that the Episcopal clergy would be able sincerely and conscientiously to enjoy its benefit." This bill passed through the House of Commons without opposition, but failed of a second reading in the House of Lords.

The strong hope of ultimate success was still cherished, and Bishop Skinner, the *Primus*, chosen to that office in December, 1788, on the resignation of Bishop Kilgour, renewed his efforts and felt encouraged by the continued aid and sympathy of three personal friends, whose acquaintance he had formed during his stay in London, watching the fate of the defeated bill. These gentlemen were the Rev. Dr. George Gaskin, secretary to the Society for Promot-

ing Christian Knowledge, Sir James Allan Park, a distinguished barrister, and William Stevens, Esq., the friend and correspondent of Seabury, and a kinsman of Dr. Horne, the Dean of Canterbury, who said of him that he "knew the trim of the times," and a better adviser could not be had. They constituted themselves a London committee of correspondence with the Scottish committee, and kept the latter well informed of every turn in political events that seemed favorable to the promotion of the desired object. "Your Church," wrote Dr. Gaskin to Bishop Skinner, April, 1790, "is now better known on this side of the Tweed than it has been for many years past. The spiritual character of yourself and your worthy colleagues is most explicitly recognized by the prelates of our Bench, and I am persuaded they are most willingly ready to lend their helping hand towards the accomplishment of your wishes. The business, however, they all agree, must be considered as a state measure, and without the great officers of state nothing can be done."

The proposition to introduce into Parliament a new bill of relief was postponed from time to time; but finally an opportunity presented itself when the Lord Chancellor Thurlow, though still opposed to its passage, consented to the introduction, and Bishop Skinner, the leading spirit in the whole movement, repaired again to London, to watch the progress of the bill. It went through the various stages of amendment and acceptance in both Houses, and on the 15th of June, 1792, received the royal assent. "The act repealed certain clauses of the statutes of Queen Anne, George the First, and George the Sec-

ond. It then provided that all persons exercising the functions of pastors or ministers in any Episcopal congregation should take and subscribe the oaths of allegiance and abjuration, and the assurance, and should subscribe a declaration of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and, during divine service, should pray for the king and royal family in the same form as in the English Liturgy."[1] It was a complete relief for the laity, and the clergy were only "declared to be liable in certain penalties in the event of their contravening the provisions of the act."

Thus an end was put to the long embarrassments of the Scottish Episcopal Church and to the extreme severity of the penal laws, which political considerations could no longer in any measure justify. The change in the attitude of the non-jurors of Scotland towards the Crown removed one obstacle to a reconciliation between Bishop Seabury and the Church outside of New England. Allegiance to a foreign prince had now actually terminated forever, and they were professedly as dutiful subjects as any in the realm of Great Britain.

While Leaming, Parker, and others continued to use their pens in the interests of a united Church in this country, Bishop Seabury was looking on and holding himself in readiness to take advantage of the first movement on the part of his opponents that indicated a disposition to recognize his just claims. The twenty clergymen in his diocese were resolute supporters of his independence, and the fatherly regard which he manifested for them, as well as for

[1] Grub's *Eccl. Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iv., pp. 108, 109.

those whom he admitted to Holy Orders, won their entire confidence and affection. One of the latter number — Tillotson Bronson — spent the first two years of his ministry in Vermont, where he had a most discouraging field of labor, and he applied to the Bishop of Connecticut for his aid in obtaining a better situation. The aid was cheerfully rendered, and his good offices secured for Mr. Bronson the position of a supply for the Rev. Mr. Montague, rector of Christ Church, Boston, during the absence of that gentleman for several months in Europe. The following letter, given in full, shows the value put upon such ministerial services in the largest city of New England one hundred years ago: —

NEW LONDON, *April* 29, 1789.

DEAR SIR, — By a letter from the Rev. Mr. Montague, of Boston, I am informed that he is unprovided with a clergyman, and wishes you would take charge of his Church during his absence. His terms are *four dollars a week and the perquisites of the Church, and a small favor relative to board.* How well this will do for you, you must judge. I wish it was more. It may be of some advantage to you to spend a few months in Boston, and this allowance may probably enable you to live there. If you think to accept it, you had better come on. You can stay here without expense till you hear from him. He expects to sail in three or four weeks. Let me hear from you by next Post.

Your affect' friend and serv't,

S., *Bp. Connect.*[1]

Mr. Bronson accepted the position, and was soon at work in a sphere where he needed, as he sought, the advice and guidance of the bishop. A young

[1] MS. Letter.

man of superior education, but without personal means, he was naturally desirous of a permanent settlement when his temporary engagement at Boston had closed. Another letter from Bishop Seabury, written in answer to inquiries with a view to this end, is characterized by great good sense, and is not inappropriate as a brief exhortation to young clergymen of the present day.

July 2, 1789.

REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I should have written to you this morning in answer to yours of June 29th, but the Post going out an hour earlier than usual deprived me of the opportunity, and also of the opportunity of sending a letter which I had written to Mr. Parker. Inform him, if you please, of this circumstance.

My advice in the matter you mention is that as it is probable Mr. Montague will be some time absent, may you be very attentive to your duty in his church, and endeavor to acquit yourself in the best manner you can, both in reading prayers and preaching, without being over-solicitous to court Mr. Parker or any one else. Pay him, however, due respect, and treat every one with attention. A steady course of proper conduct without servility or negligence will recommend you more than any studied behavior; and you will probably obtain the Assistant's place without appearing to aim at it much sooner than by all the court you can make. Let me, however, caution you not to set your heart on it, nor make any direct interest for it, but trust to your general good conduct. In the mean time make the most of your present situation, endeavor to take the manners of the town, and study the art of conversation, thereby to make yourself agreeable, and your company desirable. Employ your leisure time in reading, — and if you have not already done so, read Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. And if you can find the works of Joseph Mede, study them with all your might. Should an opportunity to provide for you present itself, you

shall not be neglected. But if you can support yourself where you are, I think it will be best for you, at least for some time. My opinion on any matter you shall have, whenever you apply. Commending you to God's grace and protection, I remain your friend and humble serv't,

S., *Bp. Connect.*[1]

In another letter, he advised him not to "preach long sermons," though he would not have them "remarkably short." The advice seems to have been given on general principles, and not simply to deter a young clergyman from introducing into his earliest discourses too many topics.

As the time for holding a general convention in Philadelphia approached, the signs of reconciliation and union grew brighter. A better and truer representation of the Church in New York was secured, and the delegates from that State were instructed, much to the annoyance of Bishop Provoost, "to promote union by every prudent measure consistent with the constitution of the Church and the continuance of the Episcopal succession in the English line." Provoost was still hostile to Bishop Seabury, and unwilling to accept a proposition to bring into the council representatives from all the New England States. In a letter to Bishop White, February 24, 1789, he said: "An invitation to the Church in Connecticut to meet us in general convention I conceive to be neither necessary nor proper, — not necessary because I am informed that they have already appointed two persons to attend the next General Convention without any invitation; not proper, because it is publicly known that they have adopted a form of Church

[1] MS. Letter.

government which renders them inadmissible as members of the Convention or union."

At that date no formal appointment of persons from Connecticut to attend the convention appears to have been made, but an invitation had been extended by Bishop White to send representatives, — and Bishop Seabury, in a note to Mr. Parker of April 10th, said: "I believe we shall send two clergymen to the Philadelphia Convention to see whether a union can be effected. If it fail, the point will here be altogether given up." The annual convocation was held in the following June, when the matter was carefully considered, but the action contemplated by the bishop was not taken. He convoked his clergy at other times as he had occasion to confer with them, but the annual convocation in June was regarded rather as a fixed appointment, and looked forward to with more general interest. The venerable Leaming, who was not present at this meeting, though still anxious to bring about a reconciliation, wrote to Bishop White, as follows, from

STRATFORD, *June* 9, 1789.

REV. AND DEAR SIR,— The circumstances of my family have prevented my attendance upon the two last Conventions in this State, but I hear Bishop Seabury had a letter from you, in which you observed that you had received a letter from me and had answered it; but as you heard nothing from me, supposed it had miscarried. You are right in that conclusion, for that letter hath not come to hand.

I am unacquainted with the subject of your letter to Bishop Seabury; but report says there was something in it concerning the union of the Churches, — which thing I most reverently wish might take place upon that plan that we may worship God according to our consciences. I have no

doubt that such an event would be agreeable to Bishop Seabury, and to all the clergy of this State, and to the Church Universal.

I cannot conceive the reason why you should apply to the Bishops of England to consecrate a Bishop for these States, when we have three Bishops in them already. It appears to me that we ought to be united in order that the line of succession of the English and Scotch Bishops *might unite in America*, as they were derived from the same line originally.

Bishop Seabury has twenty Clergymen in this State, and a very respectable body of people under their care, who are true sons of the Church; and if any State should send to the English Bishops to consecrate a Bishop, it would cast such a face upon affairs, as would exclude all possibility of a union: for such a measure would not be adopted unless they designed to keep up a separation from us. We shall do everything in our power for a union, that is consistent with prudence, benevolence, and religion. More than this no one can expect.

I am not able to see why there may not be a general union, although we did not agree in every little circumstance. I suppose you agree with us in all Articles of Faith. Although you have cast out two of our Creeds, I imagine you do not mean to deny the Divinity of our blessed Lord: for if we are ever justified, it must be by the merits of Christ, and no created being can do anything by merit for another. All he can do is only to act up to the dignity of his nature; and God has a right to all this, because he gave all the ability.

I do not wish this letter to be laid before the General Convention; but if you think proper, I should have no objection to its being seen by some gentlemen of candor, that wish a union of this Church with yours.

I am your most obedient, humble Servant,

JEREMIAH LEAMING.[1]

[1] Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 384.

Before the month had ended, Bishop Seabury wrote a long letter to Bishop White, giving his reasons for not appearing with representatives from Connecticut at the approaching Convention in Philadelphia, and going into a somewhat critical review of "The Proposed Book," and its doctrinal tendencies. He renewed his proposal for union and uniformity, and hoped that such measures might be adopted as would remove all obstacles, and enable both parties to come together on fair and honorable terms. The letter was dated at

NEW LONDON, *June 29th*, 1789.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR, — Your favor of December 9th, 1788, came safely to me, though not till the middle of February. I heartily thank you for it, and for the sentiments of candor and Christian unity it contains, and beg you to believe that nothing on my part shall be wanting to keep up a friendly intercourse, and the nearest possible connection with you, and with all the Churches in the United States, that our different situations can permit.

That your letter has not been sooner attended to has not been owing to disrespect or negligence. I was unwilling to reply to the great and interesting subject of union between the Church of Connecticut and the Southern Churches, merely on the dictates of my own judgment; and as we were about to call a Convention of Lay delegates from our several congregations, to provide for the support of their Bishop, and to consider of the practicability of instituting an Episcopal Academy in this State, it was thought best that the point of sending Lay delegates to the General Convention should come fairly before them. The annual Convocation of our Clergy was also to meet in June, and I determined to take their sentiments on the subject of sending some of their body to your Convention.

When the matter was proposed to the Lay Convention, after some conversation, they declined every interference in

Church government or in reformation of Liturgies. They supposed the government of the Church to be fixed, and that they had no right to alter it by introducing a new power into it. They hoped the old Liturgy would be retained, with little alteration; and these matters, they thought, belonged to the Bishops and Clergy, and not to them. They therefore could send no delegates, though they wished for unity among the Churches, and for uniformity of worship; but could not see why these great objects could not be better secured on the old ground than on the new ground that had been taken with you.

The Clergy supposed that, in your Constitution, any representation from them would be inadmissible without Lay delegates, nor could they submit to offer themselves to make a part of any meeting where the authority of their Bishop had been disputed by one Bishop, and probably by his influence, by a number of others who were to compose that meeting. They therefore must consider themselves as excluded, till that point shall be settled to their satisfaction, which they hope will be done by your Convention.

For my own part, gladly would I contribute to the union and uniformity of all our Churches; but while Bishop Provoost disputes the validity of my consecration, I can take no step towards the accomplishment of so great and desirable an object. This point, I take it, is now in such a state that it must be settled, either by your Convention, or by an appeal to the good sense of the Christian world. But as this is a subject in which I am personally concerned, I shall refrain from any remarks upon it, hoping that the candor and good sense of your Convention will render the further mention of it altogether unnecessary.

You mention the necessity of having your succession completed from England, both as it is the choice of your Churches, and in consequence of implied obligations you are under in England. I have no right to dictate to you on this point. There can, however, be no harm in wishing it were otherwise. Nothing would tend so much to the unity and uni-

formity of our Churches, as the three Bishops now in the States joining in the consecration of a fourth. I could say much on this subject, but should I do so, it may be supposed to proceed from interested views. I shall therefore leave it to your own good sense, only hoping you and the Convention will deliberately consider whether the implied obligations in England and the wishes of your Churches be so strong that they must not give way to the prospect of securing the peace and unity of the Church.

The grand objection in Connecticut to the power of Lay delegates in your Constitution is their making part of a *judicial* Consistory for the trial and deprivation of Clergymen. This appears to us to be a new power, utterly unknown in all Episcopal Churches, and inconsistent with their constitution. That it should be given up, we do not expect; power, we know, is not easily relinquished. We think, however, it ought to be given up; and that it will be a source of oppression, and that it will operate as a clog on the due execution of ecclesiastical authority. If a Bishop with his Clergy are not thought competent to censure or depose a disorderly brother, or not to have sufficient principle to do it, they are unfit for their stations. It is, however, a presumption that cannot be made, and therefore can be no ground of action.

If the power with which your Constitution invests Lay delegates be conformable to the *sentiments of some of our best writers*, I confess I am unacquainted with them; and as I profess myself to be always open to conviction and information, I should be glad to know to what writers I am to apply for that purpose. And as to *the principles which have governed in the English Church*, I have always understood that the Liturgy and Canons and Articles were settled and agreed upon by the Convocation, and were then, by Act of Parliament, made part of the English Constitution. I know not that the Laity had anything further to do with it.

With regard to Massachusetts and Rhode Island, I never understood your Constitution has been adopted in either of

them. Mr. Parker, in Boston, and I suppose the other congregation there, adopted your Liturgy with but little variation; but I know not that it was done elsewhere. And an attempt to introduce it into Newport, I speak my own opinion, has laid the foundation of such dissensions in that congregation as, I fear, will long continue.

Was it not that it would run this letter to an unreasonable length, I would take the liberty to mention at large the objections that have been here made to the Prayer Book published at Philadelphia. I will confine myself to a few, and even these I should not mention but from a hope they will be obviated by your Convention. The mutilating the Psalms is supposed to be an unwarrantable liberty, and such as was never before taken with Holy Scriptures by any Church. It destroys that beautiful chain of Prophecy that runs through them, and turns their application from Messiah and the Church to the temporal state and concerns of individuals. By discarding the word Absolution, and making no mention of Regeneration in Baptism, you appear to give up those points, and to open the door to error and delusion. The excluding of the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds has alarmed the steady friends of our Church, lest the doctrine of Christ's divinity should go out with them. If the doctrine of those Creeds be offensive, we are sorry for it, and shall hold ourselves so much the more bound to retain them. If what are called the damnatory clauses in the latter be the objection, cannot those clauses be supported by Scripture? Whether they can, or cannot, why not discard those clauses, and retain the doctrinal part of the Creed? The leaving out the *descent into hell* from the Apostles' Creed seems to be of dangerous consequence. Have we a right to alter the analogy of faith handed down to us by the Holy Catholic Church? And if we do alter it, how will it appear that we are the same Church which subsisted in primitive times? The article of the *descent*, I suppose, was put into the Creed to ascertain Christ's perfect humanity, that he had a human soul, in opposition to those heretics

who denied it, and affirmed that his body was actuated by the divinity. For if when he died, and his body was laid in the grave, his soul went to the receptacle of departed spirits, then he had a human soul as well as body, and was very and perfect man. The Apostles' Creed seems to have been the Creed of the Western Church; the Nicene, of the Eastern; and the Athanasian, to be designed to ascertain the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, against all opposers. And it always appeared to me, that the design of the Church of England, in retaining the three Creeds, was to show that she did retain the analogy of the Catholic faith, in common with the Eastern and Western Church, and in opposition to those who denied the Trinity of persons in the Unity of the Divine Essence. Why any departure should be made from this good and pious example I am yet to seek.

There seems in your book a dissonance between the Offices of Baptism and Confirmation. In the latter there is a renewal of a vow, which in the former does not appear to have been explicitly made. Something of the same discordance appears in the Catechism.

Our regard for primitive practice makes us exceedingly grieved that you have not absolutely retained the sign of the Cross in Baptism. When I consider the practice of the ancient Church, before Popery had a being, I cannot think the Church of England justifiable in giving up the sign of the Cross, where it was retained by the first Prayer Book of Edward VI. Her motive may have been good; but good motives will not justify wrong actions. The concessions she has made in giving up several primitive, and I suppose apostolical usages, to gratify the humors of fault-finding men, show the inefficacy of such conduct. She has learned wisdom from her experiences. Why should not we also take a lesson in her school? If the humor be pursued of giving up points on every demand, in fifty years we shall scarce have the name of Christianity left. For God's sake, my dear Sir, let us remember that it is the particular business of the Bishops of Christ's Church to preserve it pure

and undefiled, in faith and practice, according to the model left by apostolic practice. And may God give you grace and courage to act accordingly!

In your Burial Office, the hope of a future resurrection to eternal life is too faintly expressed, and the acknowledgment of an intermediate state, between death and the resurrection, seems to be entirely thrown out; though, that this was a catholic, primitive, and apostolical doctrine will be denied by none who attend to this point.

The articles seem to be altered to little purpose. The doctrines are neither more clearly expressed nor better guarded; nor are the objections to the old articles obviated. And, indeed, this seems to have been the case with several other alterations; they appear to have been made for alteration's sake, and at least not to have mended the matter they aimed at.

That the most exceptionable part of the English book is the Communion Office may be proved by a number of very respectable names among her Clergy. The grand fault in that office is the deficiency of a more formal oblation of the elements, and of the invocation of the Holy Ghost to sanctify and bless them. The Consecration is made to consist merely in the Priest's laying his hands on the elements and pronouncing "*This is my body*," etc., which words are not consecration at all, nor were they addressed by Christ to the Father, but were declarative to the Apostles. This is so exactly symbolizing with the Church of Rome in an error; an error, too, on which the absurdity of Transubstantiation is built, that nothing but having fallen into the same error themselves could have prevented the enemies of the Church from casting it in her teeth. The efficacy of Baptism, of Confirmation, of Orders, is ascribed to the Holy Ghost, and His energy is implored for that purpose; and why he should not be invoked in the consecration of the Eucharist, especially as all the old Liturgies are full to the point, I cannot conceive. It is much easier to account for the alterations of the first Liturgy of Edward VI., than to justify them

and as I have been told there is a vote on the minutes of your Convention, anno 1786, I believe, for the revision of this matter, I hope it will be taken up, and that God will raise up some able and worthy advocate for this primitive practice, and make you and the Convention the instruments of restoring it to His Church in America. It would do you more honor in the world and contribute more to the union of the Churches than any other alterations you can make, and would restore the Holy Eucharist to its ancient dignity and efficacy.

I shall close this letter with renewing a former proposal for union and uniformity, viz: that you and Bishop Provoost, with as many proctors from the Clergy as shall be thought necessary, meet me with an equal number of proctors from Connecticut. We should then be on equal ground, on which ground only, I presume, you would wish to stand, and I doubt not everything might be settled to mutual satisfaction, without the preposterous method of ascertaining doctrines, etc., etc., by a majority of votes.

Hoping that all obstructions may be removed by your Convention, and beseeching Almighty God to direct us in the great work of establishing and building up His Church in peace and unity, truth, and charity, and purity,

I remain, with great regard and esteem, your affectionate Brother and very humble Servant,

SAMUEL, *Bp. Connect.*

I presume you will lay this letter before the Convention, and I have to request that I may be informed of their proceedings, as soon as convenient, as all our proceedings will be suspended till then, or, at least, till November.

The remarks on your Prayer Book are the principal ones I have heard made. They are here repeated from memory, and I have not your Book at hand with which to compare them.

I observe you mention that the authority of Lay delegates in your Constitution is misunderstood. We shall be glad to be better informed, and shall not pertinaciously persist in

any unfair constructions, when they are fairly pointed out to us. That the assent of the Laity should be given to the laws which affect them equally with the Clergy, I think is right, and I believe will be disputed nowhere, and the rights of the Laity we have no disposition to invade.[1]

This letter was followed, a month later, by another addressed to the Rev. Dr. Smith, in which his attention was directed to the unhappy course of Bishop Provoost and to the action of a former convention at Philadelphia, whereby a distinction was made between English and Scotch ordinations. "Before I wrote to Bishop White," said the Bishop of Connecticut, "I took the most deliberate pains to obtain the sentiments of both clergy and laity; and I should not now think myself at liberty to act contrary to their sentiments, even did not my own coincide with theirs. I have, however, the strongest hope that all difficulties will be removed by your Convention — that the Connecticut Episcopacy will be explicitly acknowledged, and that Church enabled to join with you without giving up her own independency."

The spirit of Dr. Smith had become eminently conciliatory, and henceforth he was to be a great power in composing the differences which once threatened to be permanent. He and Seabury kneeled together and were ordained deacons and priests in the palace at Fulham by the same bishops, acting for the disabled Bishop of London, on the same days in 1753; and if their paths had sometimes crossed each other since, they were now to run side by side and lead to peace and unity in the Church.

[1] MS. Letter Book.

CHAPTER XX.

CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, AND APPLICATION FOR THE CONSECRATION OF REV. EDWARD BASS: DEATH OF DR. GRIFFITH, AND HIS FUNERAL; RESULTS OF THE CONVENTION, AND ADJOURNMENT; LETTER OF DR. SMITH, AND PERSISTENCE OF BISHOP PROVOOST; BISHOP SEABURY AND THE EASTERN CHURCHES IN PHILADELPHIA, AND LETTER OF LEAMING.

A. D. 1789.

THE convention referred to in the previous chapter met at Philadelphia, Tuesday, July 28th, and the Church in seven States was present, as heretofore, by representatives, numbering eighteen of the clerical order and sixteen of the laity. From New York appeared the Rev. Dr. Abraham Beach and the Rev. Dr. Benjamin Moore, both in sympathy with the bishop and clergy of Connecticut rather than with the views of Bishop Provoost, whose indisposition prevented him from attending the convention. Among the deputies from Pennsylvania and Maryland were Joseph Pilmore, Colin Ferguson, and John Bisset, all of whom had been ordained by Bishop Seabury, and their admission to seats without regard to former resolutions was a tacit recognition of the validity of orders conferred in the line of the Scottish non-jurors.

But this was not all. A measure had been taken which was to bring the convention to a direct vote on the question of the Scottish Episcopacy and the

relative situation of the Church in Connecticut. Six presbyters of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, guided by the wisdom and sagacity of the Rev. Samuel Parker, on the 4th of June, 1789, "nominated, elected, and appointed" the Rev. Edward Bass, of Newburyport, to be their bishop, and in the act duly signed and laid before this General Convention they said, "We now address the Right Reverend the Bishops in the States of Connecticut, New York, and Pennsylvania, praying their united assistance in consecrating our said brother, and canonically investing him with the apostolic office and powers. This request we are induced to make from a long acquaintance with him and from a perfect knowledge of his being possessed of that love to God and benevolence to men, that piety, learning, and good morals, that prudence and discretion, requisite to so exalted a station, as well as that personal respect and attachment to the communion at large in these States, which will make him a valuable acquisition to the order and, we trust, a rich blessing to the Church."

Bishop White, by virtue of his office, presided in the convention, and presented the address and also letters from Bishop Seabury to himself and the Rev. Dr. Smith, intimating at the same time his own readiness to join in any measures that might be adopted for the formation of a permanent union, but expressing his doubt of the propriety of "proceeding to any consecration without first obtaining from the English prelates the number held in their Church to be canonically necessary to such an act."

Upon reading the letters it appeared, according to the language of the journal, "that Bishop Seabury

lay under some misapprehensions concerning an entry in the minutes of a former convention as intending some doubt of the validity of his consecration." This certainly was a mild way of stating the case, considering all the circumstances; but the doubt was now entirely removed by the adoption, unanimously, of a resolution "that it is the opinion of this convention that the consecration of the Right Rev. Dr. Seabury to the Episcopal office is valid." The chief obstacle to consecrating Mr. Bass, in compliance with the request of the Eastern clergy, was apparently overcome by the adoption of this resolution. Bishop White found himself, as he said, "in a very delicate situation, standing alone as he did in the business, and as president of the assembled body. Many speeches were made, which implied that the result of the deliberation must involve the acquiescence of the two bishops of the English line; while it was thought by the only one of them present that no determination of theirs would warrant the breach of his faith impliedly pledged, as he apprehended, in consequence of measures taken by a preceding convention." [1]

Dr. Griffith, whose consecration, two years before, was desired by Virginia without incurring the expense of a voyage to England, had wholly relinquished his appointment, and came to this convention, the sole clerical deputy, as hitherto, from that State. His sudden death, at the house of Bishop White, on the Monday after the session commenced, produced a sorrowful effect upon the members, and they arranged for the funeral with much solemnity, and appointed Dr. Smith to preach a sermon on the occasion, a copy of which was requested for publication.

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 142.

The day after the funeral the Convention resumed the consideration of the application from the clergy of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and the minds of members had been prepared by private conferences in the interval to act upon a series of resolutions offered by the Rev. Dr. Smith, and which were in substance as follows: that "a complete order of bishops, derived as well under the English as the Scots line of Episcopacy, doth now subsist within the United States of America;" that Bishops White, Provoost, and Seabury are fully competent to every proper act and duty of the Episcopal office and character in this country as well in respect to the consecration of other bishops, and the ordering of priests and deacons, as for the government of the Church, according to such rules, canons, and institutions as now exist, or hereafter may be duly made and ordained; and that in Christian charity and from necessity and expediency as well, "the churches represented in this convention" ought to contribute in every possible manner "towards supplying the wants and granting every just and reasonable request of their sister churches" in New England. Another resolution embraced a formal petition to Bishops White and Provoost to join with Bishop Seabury in consecrating the bishop-elect of the Eastern clergy, proposing, however, that, previous to such consecration, the churches in the New England States should meet in this convention, to be adjourned for that purpose, and settle certain articles of general union and discipline. If any difficulty or delicacy remained with the two first named bishops, or either of them, concerning their compliance with the request, the

convention resolved to address the archbishops and bishops of England, hoping thereby to remove the difficulty and obtain their approval.

The adoption of these resolutions unanimously was the most important business transacted by the convention. Whatever else was done was subordinate to the idea of reconciliation and union. A committee was appointed to prepare an address of congratulation to General Washington on his election to the chief magistracy of the United States, and another to prepare an address of thanks to the archbishops of Canterbury and York for their good offices in procuring the consecration of the American bishops, and at the head of each of these committees was placed the Rev. Dr. Smith. But all other business entered on at this time was left incomplete, especially the consideration of the proposed Book of Common Prayer and administration of the sacraments.

The convention adjourned to meet in Philadelphia, Tuesday, the 29th of September ensuing, having empowered a committee to answer the letters of Bishop Seabury as far as was necessary, and the application of the Eastern clergy for the consecration of their bishop-elect, and to acquaint them with the proceedings of the convention, and request their attendance at the adjourned meeting "for the good purposes of union and general government."

No time was now to be lost. Bishop White wrote at once to the Bishop of Connecticut and expressed a strong belief that he would accept the invitation to attend the convention. "However conscious," said he, "of rectitude in the part I have taken, and which will appear to you from the journal, I am not

without apprehension that it will be misunderstood by a brother for whom I entertain a sincere esteem, and with whom I wish to be united in religious labors. I can conscientiously declare that my professed obligations are not supposed either without due deliberation, or with a desire to create difficulties."

The official invitation to Bishop Seabury informed him that the second article of the printed constitution, as now amended, removed his chief objection as to lay representatives, and that everything except what was designed immediately to open the door of union had been postponed for future consideration. Dr. Smith accompanied the invitation with a private letter, and not only recited some particulars of the action taken, but offered Bishop Seabury the hospitality of his house during the session of the convention. The letter was dated

August 16, 1789.

RIGHT REV. AND DEAR SIR, — I was happy to receive your letter of 23d July, in answer to mine of the 13th, from New York, which came to hand at a very critical moment, viz: the first day of our Convention, and enabled me to be more effectually instrumental in projecting and prosecuting, I trust, to a nobler issue, the plan of an *union* of all our Churches, than your letter of a prior date to Bishop White gave us room to hope. The *healing* and *charitable idea* of "an efficacious union and communion in all Essentials of Doctrine, as well as Discipline, notwithstanding some differences in the usages of Churches," in which your letter as well as mine agreed, and which was at the same time strongly held up in the Address of the Churches of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, and also in Dr. Parker's Letter, gave an opening at last, as well by a new clause, viz: the 2d in our ecclesiastical Constitution, as by 5 Resolves

unanimously passed, to lay the foundation of an union, whereon a superstructure may be raised, against which even the gates of Hell shall never prevail.

The 4th of those Resolves, inviting you, through the door so widely opened, to meet us in the Convention at Philadelphia, adjourned for that end to September 29th, is the preliminary Article of this union; and I scarce entertain a doubt but that the great Head of the Church will, by His blessed Spirit, so replenish our hearts with love, and so bless our joint councils, that we shall attain a *perfect uniformity* in all our Churches: or, what is, perhaps, alike lovely in the sight of God, a perfect harmony and brotherly agreement wherever, through local circumstances and use, smaller differences may prevail.

You will see from our printed journal, herein enclosed, that, in a committee of the whole, the business of the Eastern Churches engaged our attention for the first five days of our sitting, and though a desire of union was everywhere evident among the members, yet much difficulty and variety of sentiment and apprehension prevailed as to the means, in-so-far that there appeared more than a probability of coming to no conclusion. In this stage of the business, I requested a postponement for one night, on the promise of proposing something against next morning which might meet the apprehensions of all; as we all had but one great object of union in view: and I shall ever rejoice in it as the happiest incident of my life, and the best service I have ever been able to render to our Church, that the Resolves which were offered the next morning were unanimously and almost instantly adopted, as reconciling every sentiment, and removing every difficulty which had before appeared to obstruct a general union.

Bishop White, whom I consulted in framing the Resolves, and Dr. Moore, of New York, and Mr. (now Dr.) Smith, of South Carolina, were particularly zealous in whatever tended to promote this good work; and I am well assured that you are in some mistake respecting Bishop White's

having declined a "Proposal" for your joining with him and Bishop P. in consecrating a fourth Bishop. He has assured me, and also declared in Convention, that no such proposal was ever made to him; and I believe he has written, or will write, to you on this subject. His whole conduct, wherever your name and Episcopate have been mentioned, does him honor, and is perfectly agreeable to his well-known excellent temper and zeal for the peace and unity of the Church. It was Dr. White who seconded, on a former occasion, my motion for not suffering any question in Convention, which might imply even a doubt of the validity of your consecration, and that at a time when admitting a doubt of that kind was considered by some as a good means of forwarding his own and Dr. Provoost's consecration.

Now I cannot have the least doubt of your attending the adjourned Convention, according to the truly respectable invitation given you. I must again repeat the invitation, that you will make my house your home, or place of residence, during your stay in Philadelphia. The Rev. Dr. Moore, of New York, will be my other and only guest, in the chamber adjoining yours, and he will accompany you from New York or Elizabeth to my house in Philadelphia, as you may agree: and I trust you will be with us a day or two before the 29th of September, rather than a day after, as we shall be pressed in respect of time.

I have enclosed some printed Proposals for publishing a body of sermons, in 4 or 5 volumes, and have written on a blank leaf (after the recommendation given to the design by Convention) what would be my wish respecting your approbation and recommendation of it to your Clergy.

The College of Philadelphia have, on Dr. White's recommendation and mine, granted the degree of D. D. to the Rev. Mr. Bass and Mr. Parker, which we thought a proper compliment to the New England Churches. We are sorry we forgot to pay the same compliment to the venerable old Mr. Leaming, of the Connecticut Church. I hope he will

accompany you to Philadelphia, and receive the compliment from us in person, if he has nowhere else received it before.[1]

This letter had scarcely reached its destination when the Bishop of Connecticut addressed a communication to Mr. Parker, which was finished with better hopes than it began. He was desirous of knowing what answer he had received to the request for the consecration of Mr. Bass, and so he wrote him as follows: —

New London, *August* 26, 1789.

Rev. and dear Sir, — Have you yet heard the result of your application to the southern Bishops respecting Mr. Bass's consecration? The Rev. Dr. Moore, of New York, informs me the application was referred to the Convention, and directions given to write to the English bishops for their opinion. These steps to me look queer, and show a degree of thraldom, both to the Convention and English Archbishops, that ought not to be. Dr. Moore urges me very strongly to go to the adjourned Convention at Philadelphia, Sept. 29th. And as they have removed the objections I made, I should be much inclined to go, was it not for the promise I made of visiting Portsmouth at that time. Having before twice disappointed them, I know not how to apologize again. Let me have your opinion on that matter, and also whether I ought to go to Philadelphia without an official invitation, which yet I have not received.

So far had I written when the post brought me the proper official invitation, with the various communications from the Convention. These, I suppose, you will also receive by the post. I have determined to go to Philadelphia, and hope to see you there. Time will not permit me to add more than that I am

Your affectionate, humble servant,

S., *Bp. Connect.*[2]

On the same day Bishop Provoost dispatched a let-

[1] Perry's *Historical Notes and Documents*, p. 404. [2] Id., p. 408.

ter to his Episcopal brother in Philadelphia, and uttered sentiments that showed he was highly displeased with the course of the New York delegates, and resolutely opposed to any measures for conciliation and union. "How far I shall be able in future," said he, "to act in concert with the General Convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church will depend upon the proceedings at their next meeting. The delegates from New York have grossly deviated from their instructions, which were worded with their consent, and at my particular request, in a manner that was intended to prevent their accession to any scheme of union which might be purchased at the expense of the general constitution, which had been ratified in the Church of New York since my return from Europe, or which might endanger the preservation of the succession of our bishops in the English line. I shall only add upon the subject that it is not an absolution from the archbishops and bishops of England that will induce me to sacrifice the principles upon which I first entered into the union and upon which I have since uniformly acted."

Bishop White used gentle efforts to overcome the prejudices of Bishop Provoost and reconcile him to the movements in progress for uniting the Church in all the States. But he was inflexible. "As to what you style an implied engagement to the English bishops," he wrote three weeks before the assembling of the adjourned convention, "I look upon it, in regard to myself, as a positive one. I entered into it *ex animo*, upon principle, and do not wish to ask or accept a releasement from it." This determination settled the question about joining with the other two

bishops in consecrating a fourth for Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He would not do it or unite in any consecration until the complement of three in the English line had been filled.

Seabury communicated to Bishop White, the day after receiving it, his most willing acceptance of the official invitation, and said, "The time is so short that I fear we shall not be able to get our dispersed clergy together; but everything shall be done that can be done, and I presume, on so sudden an emergency, any little informality in the appointment of their representatives will be overlooked.

"Accept my wishes for your health and usefulness, and my acknowledgments for your kind attentions. Will you do me the favor to acquaint Dr. Smith that I have received his communications, and to thank him for them? It is impossible for me to write now to him, and, indeed, it is unnecessary, as I hope so soon to have a personal interview with him."

A special meeting of the clergy of Connecticut was held in Stratfield (now Bridgeport), September 15th, and the bishop being absent the Rev. Dr. Leaming[1] was chosen president and the Rev. Mr. Jarvis secretary. The object of the meeting was to consider the invitation to attend the general convention soon to assemble in Philadelphia, and the letters and documents having been read it was resolved, on motion of the Rev. Mr. Bowden, to send *clerical* delegates. Accordingly, the next day, Wednesday, the Rev. Messrs. Hubbard and Jarvis were chosen and "empowered to confer with the General Convention on the subject of making alterations in the Book of

[1] He received the degree of D. D. from Columbia College, New York, 789.

Common Prayer;" but "the ratification of such alterations" was "expressly reserved to rest with the bishop and clergy of this Church."

The convention assembled in Philadelphia pursuant to adjournment on the 29th of September, and Bishop Seabury with his two presbyters and the Rev. Dr. Parker, from Massachusetts, appeared agreeably to the invitations they had received, and produced their respective testimonials. Before the subject of the proposed union with the churches in New England, as thus represented, was taken up, an unexpected danger on the score of politics was threatened. Some laymen had learned that Bishop Seabury was in the receipt from the British government of half-pay as a chaplain to a loyal regiment during the war, and they professed to have scruples in regard to the propriety of admitting him to a seat in the convention. Through the influence and private reasoning of Bishop White, these scruples were happily removed, and the next day, in a committee of the whole, and for the better promotion of the desired object, it was resolved that the general constitution established at the previous meeting is yet open to amendment and alterations by virtue of the powers delegated to this convention. The third article of it provided that whenever the bishops of this Church numbered three or more they should form a house of revision, with power simply, in cases of disagreement, to set aside the acts of the other house unless by a majority of three fourths of that body it should adhere to them.

The deputies from New England objected to the terms of this article, and after "a full, free, and

friendly conference" with a committee appointed for the purpose, the convention modified it so as to declare explicitly "the right of the bishops, when sitting in a separate house, to originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the other house," and to negative such acts of the other house as might not receive their approbation. By a vote of four fifths instead of three fifths, this negative was to be ineffectual, and then a resolution was adopted to make it known to the several state conventions that it is proposed to consider and determine, at the next meeting, the propriety of investing the house of bishops with a full negative upon the proceedings of the other house.

This action having been laid before Bishop Seabury and the deputies from the churches in New England for their approval and assent, they soon delivered, duly subscribed, the following brief but important testimony: "We do hereby agree to the Constitution of the Church, as modified this day, in Convention, 2d October, 1789." On this testimony great results for the Church in America depended. Other changes in minor points might have been desired; but it was not easy, if advisable, to remove what had been fixed in the constitution from the beginning, and apparently accepted without much debate or consideration. The title *Protestant Episcopal Church* was distasteful to some of the Connecticut clergy, and as far back as 1786, Mr. Leaming wrote to the Rev. Abraham Beach a letter which is worth producing in this connection as showing his anxiety to have all mistakes avoided, and everything put on the right basis.

STRATFORD, *September* 12, 1786.

MY DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 28th of August did not come to hand till this day. I wish it had arrived immediately; for I had a great desire to have seen you before any of your Conventions; but that is now impossible: the time is so short.

However, I will communicate to you a few observations which I did not intend to commit to paper. Your Constitution as it now is, — the 4th of July is to be observed as a day of Thanksgiving forever, for the liberty we enjoy. This necessarily implies that before that time we were in a state of slavery. The Bishops of England would appear in a strange attitude to set to their hands that the King, Lords, and Commons were a pack of tyrants; and kept us in a state of slavery, till we threw off the yoke. This is worth attending to in season. It is my solid opinion that your general Convention will act wisely to lay aside even the thought of a day of Thanksgiving on that account, as it will be an insuperable difficulty in their way, and will, if appointed, in a little time be laid aside.

If you can inspire the members that are to represent the State of N. Y. and the Jersies, in the general Convention, with the necessity of laying aside that whimsical appointment, you will ever be pleased with your success.

It must forever be kept private, both in the Southern States, and in Connecticut, that you and I have corresponded upon these affairs, if we intend, as I have no doubt we both do, to promote the general good of the whole. Many things may be done where there is no suspicion, that cannot be effected where there is.

There is another thing your general Convention ought to take into consideration, that is, the style they have given to the Church, which is this: *the Protestant Episcopal Church.* The Church of England is not called a Protestant Church, but a reformed Church: they never entered any protest against the civil powers: they reformed as a nation: it never had the title of *Protestant* given to it by any sensible writer, unless he was a Scotchman.

It will be a great pity that we should commit any blunders of this sort, at first setting out, for posterity to laugh at, after we are forgotten for everything but the mistakes which we committed, and left behind us as monuments that we wanted proper sagacity. Perhaps this may be little thought of, but if we commit any mistakes now, we must bear the blame forever. It actually appears to me that your general Convention proceeded precipitately in many things; or they wanted old soldiers that knew the strength of every fortification, and the method how to defend it.

I wish it might suit your affairs to come here the beginning of October, as in the middle I must attend our General Assembly. Mrs. Leaming joins in love to Mrs. B. and you.

Am your sincere friend and aff. brother,

J. LEAMING.[1]

More than twenty years later, Dr. Jarvis, then the Bishop of Connecticut, was writing to Bishop Claggett and apologizing for not being able to attend the General Convention which was to be held at Baltimore, in his diocese. Referring in this letter to the provisions of the constitution in regard to the declaration required of a person to be ordained, he said, "That constitution, I confess, has always appeared to me a very awkward thing. Why could it not be placed with and in front of the canons, and each article make one canon! The whole headed by Constitution and Canons of the *reformed* instead of the *Protestant Episcopal Church* in the United States? I am confident such a head would be more consistent with correct notions of the Church."[2]

After Bishop Seabury and the Eastern clergy had taken their seats, the convention, in accordance with

[1] MS. Letter.

[2] MS. Letter, April 7, 1808.

the constitution as amended and confirmed, separated into two houses, — the bishops withdrawing and forming one house and Provoost being counted to make the requisite number, though unable by indisposition to be present. Thus was begun a new era in our ecclesiastical legislation, and the records of each house, separately kept, were printed with the new, but now old, title-page, "Journal of the Proceedings of the Bishops, Clergy, and Laity of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America."

CHAPTER XXI.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONVENTION, AND REVISION OF THE LITURGY; HOUSE OF BISHOPS, AND REJECTION OF THE ATHANASIAN CREED; MISUNDERSTANDING BETWEEN THE TWO HOUSES, AND PRAYER FOR THE PRESIDENT AND ALL IN AUTHORITY; CHANGES IN THE COMMUNION OFFICE, AND BISHOP SEABURY'S INFLUENCE; CONVOCATION AT LITCHFIELD, AND DOCTOR LEAMING'S RETIREMENT.

A. D. 1789–1790.

THE chief business of the adjourned convention, after effecting the union, was the preparation of the Book of Common Prayer, as now set forth for use in this Church; and the two houses entered upon it with somewhat different views of proceeding. The three simple rules adopted by the bishops for their own government were drawn by White, and to prevent all future discussions he made the point of precedency in that body to rest on the seniority of Episcopal consecration. Thus Seabury became the first president of the House of Bishops, and though a different principle was asserted and followed at the next General Convention, yet the original rule was re-adopted in 1804, and has ever since been continued in force.

The two bishops, with a spirit of mutual accommodation, were disposed to dispatch business with much celerity, and the first entry in the journal, after completing their organization, was: "This house went

into a review of the Morning and Evening Prayer, and prepared some proposals on that subject." The English Liturgy, altered and adapted to the Church in this country and to the new form of civil government, was in their minds, and when they came to other parts of the service, it was the Litany, the Collects, Epistles, and Gospels, and the order for the administration of the Holy Communion which they considered; and still further, their minutes on the third day speak of their "going into a review of the service for the public baptism of infants and preparing proposals on that subject."

In the House of Clerical and Lay Deputies the action, whatever it may have been really, was apparently different. At the outset, Dr. Parker, no doubt in accordance with the wishes of the clergy of Connecticut and with his own as well, submitted that, in the appointment of committees on the several departments of the Book of Common Prayer, the English book should be the basis of proceeding, without any reference to that gotten up and proposed in 1785, and which had not been adopted. Objections were made to this by some members, who contended that a Liturgy ought to be formed without regard to any existing book, but with liberty to select from any whatever the convention might deem fit. The debate resulted in so framing their resolutions that the different committees "were appointed to prepare a Morning and Evening Prayer, to prepare a Litany, to prepare a Communion Service, and the same in regard to the other departments, instead of its being said to alter the said services, which had been the language in 1785." Bishop White called this "an

incident . . . . which had an unpropitious influence on all that followed." "It was very unreasonable," said he, "because the different congregations of the Church were always understood to be possessed of a Liturgy, before the consecration of her bishops, or the existence of her conventions. It would have been thought a strange doctrine in any of the clergy, had they pretended that they were released from all obligation to the use of the Book of Common Prayer by the Revolution. It is true that Dr. Parker had carried the matter too far in speaking of the proposed book as a form of which they could know nothing, considering that it had been proposed by a preceding convention from a majority of the States."[1]

Bishop White evidently felt that the House of Deputies had treated the book in an ungracious manner, and it was natural that he would be displeased when he thought of the time he had spent upon it, and the pains he had taken to have it well circulated with a view to its amendment and ratification at this convention. The bishops exercised freely their right, under the constitution, to "originate and propose acts for the concurrence of the House of Deputies," and in this way changes were avoided which, if made, might have been disastrous to the Church. It was after all a review of the old Liturgy which the two houses entered upon and prosecuted to the end.

The bishops spent no time in speeches, but looked carefully at each point as it came into view. With minds and characters differently constituted and moulded, they were just the men to be brought together in such an emergency. One was frank and

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 147.

fearless in adhering to his settled convictions, and resolute in upholding the faith and preserving the ancient landmarks of the Church, but not so self-willed and tenacious of his opinions that he could not gracefully relinquish them where no essential principle was involved. The other had a less rigid temperament, and from natural kindness of heart, and perhaps personal inclination, he might have been led without this check to yield to the pressure of circumstances at the expense of a true conservatism. Bishop White, however, was not more gentle and generous than capable of appreciating the character of his Episcopal brother, and the testimony which he bore long years after was that he "had ever retained a pleasing recollection of the interviews of that period, and of the good sense and Christian temper of the person with whom he was associated."[1]

It is not the place in these pages to give a minute history of the changes in the Book of Common Prayer, adopted and set forth at this convention. But the most important, and those in which Bishop Seabury was particularly concerned, should be noted. He was in favor of retaining the Athanasian Creed, and thought that without it the Church would be liable to the introduction of the errors which it was designed to oppose. Bishop White maintained a contrary opinion, and though avowing his intention never to read it himself, he was willing, "on the principle of accommodation to the many who were reported to desire it, especially in Connecticut," to amend the draft sent in by the House of Deputies, and insert it with a rubric permitting its use. But

[1] *Sermon at the Consecration of Rt. Rev. T. C. Brownell*, 1819, p. 20.

this action was of no avail; for the amendment was rejected in the other house, and when the matter came to be considered in conference afterwards, "they would not allow of the creed in any shape, which was thought intolerant by the gentlemen from New England, who, with Bishop Seabury, gave it up with great reluctance."

An article in the Apostles' Creed occasioned some perplexity and misunderstanding. The words, "He descended into hell," had been stricken out in the "proposed book," and the omission was one of the things which the English prelates disapproved of in their answer to the application for the Episcopacy. At the convention in Wilmington, which received and acted upon that answer, the proposition to restore the article occasioned considerable debate; but it was finally accepted, and now it came up again in the general review and assumed a new shape. The bishops amended the form adopted by the House of Deputies, and the president, on its being communicated, accidentally omitted to read the article in its full force with the explanatory rubric. As nothing was said on this point when it was returned, concurrence was taken for granted. "But Bishop Seabury, before he left the city, conceived a suspicion that there had been a misunderstanding. For on the evening before his departure he took Bishop White aside from company, and mentioned his apprehension, which was treated as groundless on the full belief that it was so. It was a point which Bishop Seabury had much at heart, from an opinion that the article was put into the creed in opposition to the Apollinarian heresy; and that, therefore, the with-

drawing of it was an indirect encouragement of the same." No such opinion was held by Bishop White; but he was desirous of retaining the article for the sake of peace and good faith to the English Church, with the rubric explaining it as referring to the state of departed spirits generally.

When the committee[1] came together to prepare the book for the press, all were greatly surprised to find that the two houses had entirely misunderstood each other. "The question was, What is to be done? And here the different principles on which the business had been conducted had their respective operation. The committee contended that the amendment made by the bishops to the service as proposed by their house, not appearing to have been presented, the service must stand as proposed by them, with the words 'he descended into hell' printed in italics and between hooks, and with a rubric permissory of the use of the words, 'he went into the place of departed spirits.' On the contrary, it was thought a duty to maintain the principle that the creed, as in the English book, must be considered as the creed of the Church until altered by the consent of both houses; which was not yet done. Accordingly, remonstrance was made against the printing of the article of the descent into hell, in the manner in which it appears in the book published at that time.

"When the convention afterwards met in New York, in the year 1792, this matter came in review

[1] Rev. Dr. William Smith, Rev. Dr. Magaw, Rev. Dr. Blackwell, Mr. Hopkinson, and Mr. Coxe, all of Philadelphia, were appointed, and Bishop White, of the other house, "agreed to assist the committee in preparing the book for publication."

before them; and the result was the ordering of the creed to be printed in all future editions, with the article not in italics and between hooks as before, but with the rubric, leaving it to discretion to use or to omit it, or to use instead of it the words considered by the rubric as synonymous."[1]

Among the first things to receive attention in the revision of the Liturgy were the changes in the prayers for civil rulers. A newly constituted government was to be recognized, and care must be taken to make these prayers conform to its existence. In the "proposed book" what is now "a prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority" was "a prayer for our civil rulers," which followed in language more closely the corresponding prayer in the English Liturgy, and was not to be used when the Litany was read. There was no President at that date, and hence it was a petition for "all in authority, legislative, judicial, and executive, in these United States;" but in 1789 the government was settled under the Federal Constitution, with General Washington at its head, and the prayer was changed accordingly, and "health and prosperity" substituted for "health and wealth." The collocation of the rubric was changed also, not, it has been claimed, by authority of the convention, but of the committee appointed to prepare matters for the press and superintend the printing. The tradition is very well authenticated that Dr. Smith, who was specially charged with the publication, deliberately changed the order, assigning this, among other reasons, that General Washington never attended church except

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 151.

in the morning, and therefore would never hear the prayer unless it was appointed to be used on Sundays and all Litany days.

The late Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury, a grandson of the bishop, who inherited his intellectual qualities, wrote a letter in the autumn of 1868 to a clergyman of the Church[1] who had become interested in the history of the rubric, and an extract from it bears so strongly on the question in hand that the temptation to produce it in this connection cannot be resisted: —

> The use of the Collect for the President on a day when the Litany is said is a palpable violation of the principles on which the services of the Prayer-Book are arranged.
>
> Moreover the General Convention which first put forth the Prayer-Book never intended that the said Collect should be used on a Litany day. My father more than once told me that when the Prayer-Book was first printed he and others were examining it in the Bishop's (Seabury) parlor, the Bishop walking up and down the room at the time, that he or some one of the company expressed surprise that the Litany did not come in at its old and proper place; that his father (the bishop) told them that it did so come in, and that the Collect for the President was not directed to be used when the Litany was used; that they then showed him the book, that he looked at it and gave a tremendous scowl and said not a word.
>
> The fact is that the Collect was, I believe, foisted into the present place by the Whig Dr. Smith, who was on the committee of Publication, contrary to the intention of and order of the Convention.
>
> I have often mentioned this circumstance and I thought it well to give it in writing.

The surprise and disapprobation of Bishop Seabury at the

[1] Rev. James A. Bolles, D. D., then rector of the Church of the Advent, Boston, who has kindly furnished me a copy.

time are undoubted. That the Collect was smuggled in by the Committee is perhaps less certain, though to my mind it hardly admits of a doubt.

Whatever may have been the truth in regard to the original collocation of the rubric, the action of the General Convention in 1792 fixed it, and authorized anew the prayer itself.[1] "On the subject of the Prayer Book," says Bishop White, writing in his Memoirs of this session, "there was nothing which could properly come before the convention without another review, and this was not intended, except the seeing that the book had been properly executed. In the correcting of anything amiss touching this matter, there could be no ground of difference except in the article of the descent into hell, which had been settled as already related, and the subject of the exclusive copyright of the book, which had been granted by the committee, in order to render the book the cheaper, and to raise a small sum for a charitable use." So far as the copyright was concerned, the action taken was generally censured, and therefore reversed. But a joint committee was "appointed to compare the printed edition of the Common Prayer Book with the original acts of the last General Convention where they may judge it necessary, and to adopt a mode of authenticating the

[1] A good anecdote will serve the purpose of illustration, told on the authority of the late Rev. Dr. Jarvis, son of Bishop Jarvis, who was a member of the convention of 1789. Bishop Seabury desired to retain the words "in health and wealth;" Bishop White insisted on changing "wealth" into "prosperity." At dinner, Bishop Seabury said to Mrs. White, "Hereafter, I suppose I must address your husband as Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Common — prosperity of Pennsylvania."

book by some certain standard," and among those composing this committee on the part of the House of Deputies were the Rev. Dr. Magaw and Rev. Mr. Jarvis, members of the convention of 1789, and from the other house were Seabury and White, the two bishops present when the revision was made, and who acted with so much wisdom and Christian harmony. It is fair to presume that they looked sharply for errors, and only consented to those things in the Prayer Book which had been approved in the first instance, and were now, with their sanction, to be re-affirmed. At least, they did not judge it necessary to meddle with the arrangement of the "prayer for the President of the United States and all in civil authority," and both bishops conformed to the rubric in their own practice.

The distinctive feature of the American Liturgy which bears the impress of Bishop Seabury is in the Order for the administration of the Holy Communion. He regarded it as a grand defect in the English office that there was not a more formal oblation of the elements as well as an invocation of the Holy Spirit to bless and sanctify them, and he advocated a change in this respect with great earnestness. His own office,[1] framed after the model of the Scotch in pursuance of the compact entered into at Aberdeen, had been in use in Connecticut for three years, and the clergy had become familiar with it and attached to its provisions. But independent of these considerations, he wished to effect the changes in the English office on doctrinal grounds, and to restore to the service of the American Church those parts which had been omitted in the second book of Edward VI.

[1] Appendix D.

"Bishop Seabury's attachment to these changes," says White in his Memoirs, "may be learned from the following incident. On the morning of the Sunday which occurred during the session of the convention, the author wished him to consecrate the elements. This he declined. On the offer being again made at the time when the service was to begin he still declined, and smiling, added, 'To confess the truth, I hardly consider the form to be used as strictly amounting to a consecration.' The form was, of course, that used heretofore; the changes not having taken effect."

The office which he set forth in his own diocese, however, followed not the arrangement in the first book of Edward but that of the later communion office of the Scottish Episcopal Church. In the first book, the collocation was the Invocation, the Institution, and the Oblation. In the Scottish office as in our present order, the words of Institution and Invocation are transposed, and placed before and after Oblation, — a significant and becoming change which may be regarded as a protest against the Romish dogma of transubstantiation and propitiatory sacrifice. So in the service of Bishop Seabury the Invocation followed the Oblation of the Elements, and began with a humble entreaty to the merciful Father that He would vouchsafe to bless and sanctify with His word and Holy Spirit His gifts and creatures of bread and wine "that they may become the body and blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son."[1] With the exception

[1] "There is no ground from Christ's words to infer any transubstantiation, or conversion of the bread and wine into his natural body and blood, by his pronouncing the words, 'This is my body; this is my

of the words quoted, the whole prayer of consecration was the same in that office as in the one adopted, and which is now a part of our Book of Common Prayer.

It has been said that when the proposition to alter the English ritual and insert the Scottish form of consecration was sent to the other house, some surprise was manifested and signs of discontent began to appear; but the president, Dr. Smith, rose, took the paragraph and read it so emphatically and so admirably, commenting as he proceeded, that all opposition was in a measure silenced, and the change acquiesced in with little or no debate. Bishop White did not share in the feeling of his Episcopal brother that the English service, as it stood, was essentially defective, but he recognized the beauty and impressiveness of the Scottish form, and saw in it no superstition. Writing afterwards of what was done, he said: "The restoring of those parts of the service by the American Church has since been objected to by some few among us. To show that a superstitious

blood,' over them. His natural body and blood were then present, his body unbroken, his blood unshed, and absolutely distinct from the bread and wine; for in his natural hands he held the bread and the cup, even when he declared them to be his body and blood *then* given for the remission of sins. And if those words, when pronounced by Christ, did not change the bread and the cup into the natural body and blood of Christ, no such effect is to be expected from them when pronounced by a priest.

"That there was, however, a great and real change made in the bread and the cup by our Saviour's blessing, and thanksgiving, and prayer, cannot be doubted. Naturally they were only bread and wine, and not the body and blood of Christ. When he had blessed them, he declared them to be his body and blood. They were, therefore, by his blessing and word, made to be what by nature they were not." Seabury's *Discourses*, vol. i., pp. 148, 149.

sense must have been intended, they have laid great stress on the printing of the words, 'which we now offer unto thee,' in a different character from the rest of the prayers. But this was mere accident. The bishops, being possessed of the form used in the Scotch Episcopal Church, which they had altered in some respects, referred to it to save the trouble of copying. But the reference was not intended to establish any particular manner of printing, and accordingly, in all the editions of the Prayer Book since the first, the aforesaid words have been printed in the same character with the rest of the prayer, without any deviation from the original appointment."

The General Convention, having finished its business, adjourned on the evening of the 16th of October, and Bishop Seabury and his delegates returned to Connecticut, and awaited the publication of the revised Prayer Book before submitting the changes to a convocation of the clergy. The English Liturgy, with the omissions and substitutions agreed upon at Middletown in 1785, and with the additions recommended at Derby the next year, was meanwhile continued in use. The original changes, which have not been particularly mentioned, were few in number, arranged under eight heads, and consisted, first, in making the suffrage after the Creed in the Morning and Evening Prayer, that read, "O Lord, save the king," to be "O Lord, save the Church." The four petitions in the Litany concerning the king and royal family were omitted, and in the twentieth petition, for "Lords of Council and all the Nobility," were substituted "Governors and Rulers of this State;" and in the twenty-first, for "Magistrates," "Judges and

all inferior Magistrates." Every prayer that related to the king and his government was either omitted or changed to suit the circumstances, and the observation of all days connected with the memory of special mercies and deliverances in the realm of Great Britain was to be discontinued. The child was taught in the Catechism that his duty to his neighbor was not "to honor and obey the king," but "to honor and obey my civil Rulers."

The manner of introducing these changes was by a printed pastoral, addressed to the clergy, and "done at New London, August 12th, 1785." It began thus: "SAMUEL, by divine permission, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in the State of Connecticut, to the clergy of the said Church, GREETING. It having pleased Almighty God that the late British Colony of Connecticut should become a free, sovereign, and independent State, as it now is, some alterations in the Liturgy and offices of our Church are necessary to be made to accommodate them to the civil Constitution of the country in which we live, for the peace, security, and prosperity of which, both as good subjects and faithful Christians, it is our duty constantly to pray. — WE, the Bishop aforesaid, have thought fit, by and with the advice and assistance of such of our clergy as we have had opportunity of consulting, to issue this INJUNCTION, hereby authorizing and requiring you, and every one of you, the Presbyters and Deacons of the Church above mentioned, in the celebration of Divine Service, to make the following alterations in the Liturgy and offices of our Church."[1]

It is not known that there was any variation by

[1] Original printed copy.

the clergy of Connecticut from the terms of this injunction, and from the additions to the Liturgy recommended at the convocation in Derby, September, 1786. But when the revised Prayer Book came in, and was accepted by the Church in all the States, a change commenced. Then a new order of things was to be observed, and Connecticut was expected to receive and use the Liturgy, which she, by her Bishop and delegates, had helped to prepare, perfect, and set forth.

The first convocation of the clergy, after the adjournment of the General Convention, was held at Litchfield on the 2d of June, 1790. Fifteen were present besides the Bishop, and "by particular desire, divine service was attended at the Presbyterian meeting-house." The sermon was preached by Bishop Seabury, and the Rev. Truman Marsh was advanced to the priesthood. The secretary was directed to enter the minutes of proceedings in a blank book to be provided for that purpose, and to produce the same at each meeting of the convocation. The next day the constitution and canons of the Church, formed by the late General Convention at Philadelphia, were read and briefly examined, and the further consideration of them deferred till the 26th of August, to which time the convocation adjourned, to meet in Newtown. Rules and canons for regulating the discipline of the Church in Connecticut were necessary, and the Rev. Dr. Leaming, the Rev. Messrs. Jarvis, Mansfield, and Hubbard were appointed with instructions to have them in readiness to present at the adjourned meeting.

Dr. Leaming had worked faithfully and unceasingly

to effect a union of the Church in this country, and he was now prepared to seek in retirement the rest and quiet which his age and bodily infirmities invited, and to watch, during the little time that was left him, the progress of a communion for which he had suffered, written, and prayed so much. He relinquished his charge at Stratford, in 1790, having held it for six years, and he is not again reported as present and participating in any of the convocations or conventions of the Church in Connecticut. He lived on into the present century, and, as one who had the opportunity of knowing his habits in his last days said of him, he "spent most of his time in his own room, and never entertained his younger auditors with stirring tales of his earlier manhood." He died in New Haven, September 15, 1804, and his controversial and theological works are his best monument.

As the time for the adjourned meeting drew near intelligence came from Bishop White that the Prayer Books would not be bound soon enough for that date, and therefore the convocation was postponed, by direction of Bishop Seabury, to the last day of September. It was important to have in hand the printed copies, that the clergy might examine them, and be prepared when they came together to ratify or reject the changes which had been made. The question to be considered was a serious one, and signs of opposition already appeared which might end in a troublesome disaffection among the laity. They had stood fast by the old Liturgy, and feared more than they welcomed the prospect of a new Prayer Book.

CHAPTER XXII.

CONVOCATION IN NEWTOWN, AND RATIFICATION OF THE PRAYER BOOK; PROTEST OF REV. JAMES SAYRE, AND USE OF THE NICENE CREED; DR. SEABURY DECLARED BISHOP IN RHODE ISLAND, AND LETTERS TO LAYMEN; DR. COKE AND HIS PROPOSITION; OFFICIAL VISITATION, AND JOURNEY TO PORTSMOUTH; PUBLICATION OF SERMONS, AND CONVOCATION AT WATERTOWN; PARISH IN STRATFORD, AND LETTER TO DR. DIBBLEE.

A. D. 1790–1792.

THE convocation met at Newtown, September 30, according to the postponement, and resumed the consideration of the constitution and canons which was begun at Litchfield. Bishop Seabury and three of the clergy arrived in the afternoon of the second day, making eighteen in all who attended, — a number equal to that of the clerical deputies to the General Convention which revised and adopted the Book of Common Prayer. The alterations were read and examined, and then the whole question of approving them, and accepting and ratifying the constitution, was put in these words: "Whether we confirm the doings of our Proctors in the General Convention at Philadelphia on the second day of October, 1789?" It was decided in the affirmative by the votes of all the members present except that of the Rev. James Sayre, who entered his solemn protest against the signature of the constitution and the action of the

convocation, and at his desire, and by order of the clergy, it was recorded in full on the journal. The reasons alleged in this protest were that the constitution as signed and approved was repugnant to the true principles of Episcopal government; that it would be found disagreeable and distasteful to numbers of good Christians, late members of the Church of England in Connecticut; and that it put in peril all the sacred matters of the Church, her doctrines, discipline, liturgy, sacraments, rites, and offices.

Very little importance was attached to these reasons by the bishop and clergy, but the end, as will be seen hereafter, was not when Mr. Sayre the next morning withdrew and left the convocation. In the remainder of the proceedings there was entire harmony, and the chief thing to be determined was the mode of introducing the constitution and canons and liturgy into the several parishes. It was finally agreed that each of the clergy might adopt that method which should appear to him the most eligible, but that in the use of the new Prayer Book there should be as much uniformity as possible, and for this purpose as near an approach to the old Liturgy as a compliance with the rubrics of the new would permit.

The experience of a year revealed diversity of practice and a disinclination in some instances to depart from the old ways. When the clergy met in convocation the next October, the only action bearing on this subject was a formal vote that "in the use of the Common Prayer Book, we will use the Nicene Creed on Communion Sundays," — a usage which has been perpetuated in Connecticut, and that follows

the spirit of both the Scotch and English ritual. At this convocation a standing committee was appointed, as required by the sixth canon of the General Convention, and publicity ordered to be given to the acts relative to the establishment, at the meeting in Newtown, of a college of doctors, to "be considered the Bishop's council" and to be consulted in any emergency that might arise. The first four doctors were the Rev. Messrs. Dibblee, Mansfield, Hubbard, and Jarvis, but for some reason the scheme was unpopular, and the body was not continued by "the instalment" of new doctors.

The bishop needed the advice and help of his best clergy to bring all the parishes into a full and cordial adoption of the changes which had been made, and to give peace and quiet where discontent and uneasiness prevailed. Not only was he called upon to exercise his Episcopal influence in Connecticut, but his interposition was sought in parochial feuds and difficulties outside. There was no other bishop in New England, and it was natural to flee to him for guidance and counsel when troubles sprung up between a minister and his people which they could not amicably settle among themselves. By this time he had jurisdiction in Rhode Island, for "in 1790 the churches in Newport, Providence, and Bristol, met in convention and declared the Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut, Bishop of the Church in this State."[1] He had already been asked to interpose his advice in the matter of settling the Rev. William Smith, the younger, at Newport. Mr. Smith was in charge of the church in Narragansett,

[1] Updike's *History of the Narragansett Church*, p. 406.

and in May, 1789, was invited to visit Trinity Church every other week, an invitation which he accepted with the consent of his own parish, and the result was a call, in the ensuing December, to become the rector, which he also accepted. Three gentlemen, Messrs. Samuel Freebody, Thomas Freebody, and Benjamin Gardiner, were not pleased with the prospect, and attempted to frustrate the connection. The judicious letter which follows was the first from Bishop Seabury in reply to their importunities.

NEW LONDON, *Feb. 3rd,* '90.

GENTLEMEN, — I am very sorry to find, by your letter of Jan. 25th, that any uneasiness has arisen in your Church, on account of the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Smith, or on any other account. As that matter had been so long in agitation, I had pleased myself with the hope that all animosities and discords, which had long perplexed the congregation, would escape and be forgotten; and that the happy time would come, when you would all worship God together, in unity of spirit, in the bond of peace, and in righteousness of life. Whose the fault is that this is not the case I know not. But certainly a grievous fault there is somewhere. God forbid that I should decline to promote peace and unity amongst you, by all reasonable means that are within my power. You will recollect that my best endeavors were unsuccessful in the case of Mr. Sayre,[1] and I then determined with myself not to intermeddle in such a case again, unless

[1] The Rev. James Sayre, who entered upon his duties as minister of Trinity Church, Newport, October, 1786. The congregation came to an open rupture with him in 1788, and judged from his conversation that he would never consent to any plan for establishing the union of the Episcopal Church in America if the Liturgy of the Church of England was not entirely adopted, except in the prayers for the King. He afterwards removed to Connecticut and succeeded the venerable Dr. Leaming, at Stratford, where he was officiating when he read his "protest" before the convocation in Newtown.

on positive assurance that due regard would be paid to my opinion. And to my opinion, it is unreasonable that Mr. S—— should be obliged to submit, and no such obligation lie on you. Besides, Mr. S—— is not the only person concerned in this matter: the Vestry and Congregation are concerned in it, and they most certainly ought to have the privilege of explaining, and justifying, if they can, their own conduct. Unless they and you request my interference, and will promise to regard and abide by the decision, you must see the impropriety of my taking any step in it, further than my earnest exhortation to peace and unity, and my prayers to God to incline the hearts of you all thereto. There is a sentiment with which your letter ends, which hurts me exceedingly — it intimates that unless Mr. S—— is removed, you must withdraw from Church, and go somewhere else, or stay at home. Why, my dear gentlemen, did you ask me to interfere after you had taken your own resolution? But this is not what troubles me. It is to think that your attachment is so slight to the Church which you have so long esteemed, as to be broken off on any occasion. This is not right; your second thoughts, I persuade myself, will renounce it.

Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God. Be persuaded, my friends, to pursue the things that belong to peace: it will give you pleasure in reflection, and will recommend you to the love and favor of God. Whereas, if you persist and drive away Mr. S——, as Mr. Sayre was before him, you will have no comfort nor satisfaction in it. In the way of peace, you shall have every assurance I can give, and everything I can do for your satisfaction. And the God of peace be with you, keep you in the unity of his Church — bless and preserve you in body and soul. So prays, for Christ's sake, your affect' humb. serv't.

S., *Bp. Conn.*

P. S. I have thought with myself, that as your letter affects the proceedings of the Vestry, they ought in justice

to be informed of its contents. This, however, I did not choose to do without your knowledge; and I hope, by the return of Post, to have your permission to send your letter to them.

Three weeks later he wrote again to these gentlemen, and directed their attention to points which they appear to have overlooked or not fully understood. This letter, like the preceding, he copied in his letter-book, from which both have been transcribed for these pages.

NEW LONDON, *Feb. 24th*, 1790.

GENTLEMEN, — I received your letter in course of Post, but not time enough to write to you by his return.

I did not misunderstand the purport of your first letter. I perceived its intention was that I should prevail with the Rev'd Mr. Smith not to go to New Port, but to continue at Narragansett. And my intention was to intimate to you, without saying so in direct terms, that I conceived it to be unreasonable for me to do so. Apparently, the Vestry and Congregation of your Church had invited him to be their minister, and he had a right to accept their invitation if he chose it. Where, then, would be the propriety of my preventing his removal, at least without the knowledge of the Vestry, etc., who had invited him? Any uneasiness that subsisted with you on Mr. Smith's account, I was ready to try to adjust, provided proper assurances were given that my interference should be effectual and final, but not otherwise. The Vestry, etc., have certainly a right to vindicate their proceedings if they can; and consequently they ought to have an opportunity of doing so before they are deprived of Mr. Smith's ministry. I did not say there had been no interruption in the negotiation with Mr. Smith, though I knew of none at the time of my writing. I understood, and I thought from good authority, that proposals were made to Mr. Smith as long ago as the latter end of the last spring, or the fore part of the Summer, and that is enough to jus-

tify me in saying that the settlement of Mr. Smith had been long in agitation.

With regard to the prayer which Mr. Smith uses at the Consecration of the Eucharist, I use the same myself, and after October next it will be used throughout the United States. Nor can I see why the warmest friend of the Church of England should object to it. I have no wish to depreciate the Church of England. She has, I believe, few faults — but the prayer of Consecration in her Communion office is deficient, even in the opinion of her ablest vindicators. I shall mention but one deficiency in her Consecration prayer, viz: that it is not put up to the Almighty Father through the Mediation of Jesus Christ. I could mention more, but I had rather conceal than expose even the appearance of a blemish in a Church which I love and honor, and of which I profess myself a member. The prayer Mr. Smith uses is nearly the same with that in Edward VI.'s Prayer Book, composed by Cranmer, Ridley, etc., which was altered to its present form to please the Presbyterians of Geneva, Germany, and England, who gave encouragement that they would come into the Church on that ground: but were not as good as their word. I do not speak by guess when I say that a great number of the Clergy and Laity in England would rejoice to have the same prayer, which you complain of, in the English book; and whenever it shall please God that they shall have another reform of the Prayer Book, it will most certainly take place. Let me again recommend peace and amity and brotherly love. And I hope you will not turn a deaf ear to my entreaties. You will find satisfaction in nothing else. You may make a party, and keep your Congregation divided and uneasy, — and what will you get by it? — no pleasure, nor comfort, nor credit. Your late livisions have given your Church no good character, — for God's sake, let them be healed. The congregation, I am sure, would rejoice to be at unity with you, and on terms no ways dishonorable to you. God give you peace, my friends, here and hereafter. Your affectionate

S., *Bp. Connect.*

Bishop Seabury, while wishing to be on friendly terms with Christians of other denominations, was not disposed to sacrifice principle to charity. He did not believe that anything would be gained in the end for good neighborhood — much less for the true interests of the Church — by mixing services, and he was quite unwilling to encourage an infraction of established rules for the sake of pleasing ministers who assumed a roving commission to preach. The vestry of the parish at Poquetannock, near Norwich, submitted to him for his opinion a question as to the propriety of allowing the use of their church on week days to ministers not Episcopally ordained, and the answer given was explicit.

NEW LONDON, *Sep.* 12*th*, 1791.

GENTLEMEN, — Mr. Ebenezer Punderson has informed me that there are some Ministers, not Episcopally ordained, who are desirous to preach in your Church on week-days, when it is unoccupied; and that, though the Generality of your Congregation are willing that their inclination, in this respect, should be complied with, that good neighborhood may be preserved, yet you wish to have my opinion with regard to the propriety of the measure; I am, therefore, to acquaint you, That, though it will always be a pleasure to me, when it can be done consistently with duty, to gratify your inclinations, and the inclinations of those who wish to have the use of your Church, with whom it is my desire to keep up the best terms of good neighborhood and charity, yet, in the present case, to have the Church opened for public worship and preaching, to any but Clergymen in Episcopal Orders, is against the Rules and Constitution of the Episcopal Church, of which you profess to be members, and in unity with which you will always, I hope, think it your duty to continue.

Commending you, Gentlemen, to the protection and blessing of Almighty God; beseeching him to preserve you and

the Congregation to which you belong, in the unity of his Church, blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, I remain your affec. Pastor and very humble serv't.

S., *Bp. Connect.*

In an "Address to ministers and congregations of the Presbyterian and Independent persuasions in the United States of America," printed in 1790, Bishop Seabury made a plea for union and invited them, as they had departed from the Church and created a schism, to take the first steps in the way of return. This, he claimed, would not be giving up the religion of their forefathers, — not even of their New England forefathers, — but "only relinquishing those errors which they, through prejudice, most unhappily imbibed." He did not expect to escape public animadversion for his views, but he was heroic enough to meet any controversy on the merits of the cause of Christian unity. The address, which was written without authority from "any public body or particular cognizance of private friends," closed in words that are quoted to show his spirit and determination.

Though my partiality for the Church of England and her form of public worship must be evident from what I have written, I am not so enthusiastically attached to it as to suppose no other form can be proper for public worship, or acceptable to God. Some things in it might probably be changed so as to be better adapted to the state of this country; and these alterations, — I mean not those only which its political situation requires, — it is hoped, have been prudently and cautiously made by the late General Convention of the Episcopal Church at Philadelphia. If they have used their power discreetly, the Church and country will be under great obligations to them. If they have made many needless alterations, much mischief is to be dreaded. But a

good man will hope for the best event in so important a concern; and I cannot help indulging an expectation that you, gentlemen, will attend to their Book of Common Prayer, which, I understand, is now in the press, with the eye of candor, and see whether you could not with a good conscience adopt the use of it in your public worship. If you could, one great difficulty would be over. What gives me the more hope is the declaration which some of your ministers are said to have made, viz., that they could read the Liturgy of the Church of England in their assemblies, and would be willing to do so, one half of the day, if the congregation desired it. That many of your laity do decidedly prefer the Liturgy of the Church of England to extempore prayers, I know assuredly, for I have heard them declare it. These are certainly encouraging circumstances, and would justify some prudent attempts to introduce that, or a similar liturgy into your public worship. And though uniformity in public worship would be much preferable to a diversity of liturgies in the same country, as it would be a greater security to the unity and peace of the Church, and to the brotherly love and affection of its members; yet any liturgy, in which a due regard was paid to the analogy of the Christian faith, and the approved practices and usages of the primitive Church, would be much better than extempore prayer, where everything is left to the prudence and judgment of the minister. I see not, however, why Christians should break unity on account of diversity of modes of worship.

It would be a great satisfaction to me to be able to join in worship and communion with all Christians with whom I have intercourse; and I would do so occasionally with you, gentlemen, notwithstanding your extempore prayers, as much as I am attached to forms, were it not for two considerations: the one is, that I should thereby depart from the unity of Christ's Church, and become an abettor of an unjustifiable separation from a true branch of it. The other is, the doubts I have of the validity of the ordination

of your ministers, and consequently of the sacraments they dispense. These are serious points, and the serious consideration of them can do you no harm. It was to bring you to this serious consideration this address was written; it was the design, too, of some expressions in it which to you may appear harsh. I repeat it, they are the words of truth and benevolence. I repeat, also, that truth fears no inquiry; and I add, that the Church to which I belong will endure the most exact scrutiny, try it who will.

A movement of great importance, which was kept secret for the time, was made in 1791. It was nothing less than a proposition to reunite the Methodists in this country with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and it took the form of an application from the Rev. Dr. Thomas Coke, an Oxford graduate, and a presbyter of the Church of England, who for fourteen years had been following John Wesley, and, like him, not intending to promote a separation, which had now been actually accomplished. Discovering his error, he publicly recanted, and repeated his recantation in the largest chapels of London and other parts of Great Britain. His position in America was that of a *superintendent*, having been set apart and recommended "as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ" by the imposition of the hands[1] and by the prayer of Wesley, assisted by other ordained minis-

[1] This was the beginning of Methodist Episcopacy, *fons et origo*. The "imposition of hands" was not done publicly in a church, but in Wesley's bed-chamber at Bristol, England. It was soon reported, however, that he had made a *Bishop*, and his brother, the Rev. Charles Wesley, who was not in the secret, and did not approve of schism, wrote the witty epigram, —

"So easily are *Bishops* made,
By man's or woman's whim;
Wesley his hands on Coke hath laid,
But — who laid hands on him?"

ters. The proceeding took place on the 2d of September, 1784, and Dr. Coke four months later set apart, in a similar manner, Mr. Francis Asbury; and Wesley appointed them both "to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America." As no one can communicate what he does not himself possess, so neither Wesley nor Coke, being presbyters only of the Church of England, could bestow the Apostolic office, and hence the adoption of the title of *Bishop* afterwards was as presumptuous as the ordination was invalid.

Dr. Coke evidently felt that he was merely a superintendent and had no authority as a bishop in the Church of God, and this feeling and other considerations prompted him to write, nearly two months after the death of John Wesley, first to Bishop White, and then, three weeks later, May 14, 1791, to Bishop Seabury, proposing measures for a reunion of the Methodists with the Episcopal Church. In the last letter, which is the longest, written shortly before embarking for England, he said: "I love the Methodists in America, and could not think of leaving them entirely, whatever might happen to me in Europe. The preachers and people also love me, many have a peculiar regard for me. But I could not, *with propriety*, visit American Methodists, possessing in our Church on this side of the water an office inferior to that of Mr. Asbury. But if the two houses of the convention of the clergy" — meaning the General Convention — "would consent to your consecration of Mr. Asbury and me as bishops of the Methodist Society in the Protestant Episcopal Church in these United States (or by any other title, if that be not

proper), on the supposition of the reunion of the two Churches, under proper mutual stipulations, and engage that the Methodist Society shall have a regular supply, on the death of their bishops, and so, *ad perpetuum*, the grand difficulty in respect to the preachers would be removed — they would have the same men to confide in whom they have at present, and all other mutual stipulations would soon be settled."

Bishop White briefly answered the letter which he received, but Seabury appears to have sent no reply; probably for the reason that the proposition was a confidential one, not made in a shape to be at once entertained; or it may be that his engagements were such as to prevent him from giving it the consideration which it deserved until too late to be of any avail.

On the 30th of May, 1791, the bishop set out by water for Newport, accompanied by his daughter Maria, to whom was entrusted the charge of his house in New London, and who occasionally attended him on his visitations. His principal design in this journey was to make an official visitation to the churches in Newport, Bristol, and Providence, that had recently put themselves under his superintendence, and after a fatiguing voyage of sixteen hours, he arrived at his destination about two o'clock in the morning, and was welcomed under the hospitable roof of Mr. Smith, rector of Trinity Church. Here he tarried for several days, and spent three of them in visiting, and particularly in endeavoring to remove the prejudices and misunderstandings of two laymen respecting Mr. Smith's settlement, and it is entered

in his journal: "By God's goodness, succeeded so far as to see them both with their good ladies at the holy altar on Sunday the 5th, the Sunday after Ascension-day. At communion sixty or seventy were present. No sermon in the morning, preached in the afternoon, and after sermon administered confirmation to about forty, all young people except three or four." From Newport he passed to Bristol, where he found an unfinished church erected to succeed the one burnt by a party of British troops during the Revolution, but no rector. The lay reader, Mr. John Usher, a son of the late worthy minister, was ready to take Orders, and the congregation had long desired that he might do so, and become their minister. But an unhappy resentment on the part of his brother, which originated many years before in the division of their father's books, had hitherto been a bar to the ordination. "So much bitterness," said Bishop Seabury, "I think I never saw in any human creature. How dreadful a state to cherish malice for sixteen years, malice, too, conceived without any provocation, exerted against a brother, and to the hindrance of the peace and prosperity of God's Church."[1]

It was an unpleasant feature of the visitation thus far that he found various dissatisfactions and parochial quarrels submitted to him for adjustment, but at Providence, where he spent Whitsunday, preached twice and administered confirmation to fifty, there were no wounds to heal and no strifes to compose. He left the rector, Rev. Moses Badger, on the 15th of June in the post-coach for Boston, and was fortu-

[1] MS. Journal.

nate enough to arrive safely in the evening at the house of his friend, the Rev. Dr. Samuel Parker, rector of Trinity Church. For him he preached the following Sunday, at both services, and the next day proceeded on his journey to Portsmouth, stopping for a couple of nights at Newburyport, and enjoying the hospitality of the Rev. Dr. Bass.

The rector of St. John's Church, Portsmouth (Mr. Ogden), met him at Newburyport and conducted him to his own home, and on Sunday, the first after Trinity, he preached twice to large congregations and administered the rite of confirmation to seventy-two persons. The visit had long been anticipated by the people, and the interest in it had not yet reached its height; for on the festival of St. Peter, one of the three Saints' days "in the leafy month of June," he again administered the rite of confirmation, — thirty-three persons receiving it, — and advanced to the priesthood Rev. Robert Fowle, a native of Newburyport, and a graduate of Harvard College, whom eighteen months before he had ordained a deacon at New London. He made a note of the occasion in his journal in these words: "The crowd at church was very great. The novelty of the scene (an Episcopal ordination never having been before held in that part of the country) attracted the attendance of some who little regarded the solemnity of the office, or the prosperity of the Church. Dr. Bass made the presentation. The sermon was preached by me from St. Matt. xxviii. 18, 19, 20.

"After church, several Presbyterian ministers dined and drank tea with us at Mr. Ogden's. All was good humor. That evening, however, I heard some were

offended at the sermon, and threatened to attack it. Conscious of the soundness of the principles on which it was built, it was a matter of no importance to me whether they attacked, or let it pass off quietly."

Returning by the way of Newburyport, he spent the Sunday with Dr. Bass, and preached both parts of the day to very large congregations. That in the afternoon was supposed to consist of more than two thousand people. The church was so crowded that the aisles were impassable to those in the remote parts who expected to be confirmed, and only fifty received the rite, but notice was given that the other candidates might repair to the church the next day, and accordingly about fifty more were confirmed.

The Bishop reached Boston on his homeward journey the 5th of July, and was again the guest of Dr. Parker. He wrote in his journal a few paragraphs which are cited to show the bigotry and spirit of the times, in contrast with the better charities of these later days: "While I was at Boston, Mr. Osborne's paper, of Portsmouth, July 6, and Mr. Russell's, of Boston, of the same date, I believe, accused me of saying in the sermon at Portsmouth, 'That the belief of the truth spoken by one not inducted into the priestly office in an Episcopal form is not the faith of God or a divine faith.' The sermon, I suppose, will soon be public, and will speak for itself. One position I shall enter here from the Portsmouth paper because of its extraordinary tendency: 'If a devil should deliver a good Gospel sermon, shall we disbelieve because the preacher is a devil, and not a Church priest?' Again: 'I am as much bound to believe the truth spoken by his *Plutonic Majesty*, as I am to

believe the same truth when delivered by his Lordship of York, or his Holiness of Rome.' To expose the nonsense and profaneness of these assertions needs not a word. They speak for themselves, and evidently show what spirit they are of. To bear abuse and reviling language and misrepresentation for His sake who bore them all for me is my duty. Enable me, gracious God, to bear them with patience and resignation to thy will in humble dependence on thy grace."[1]

After an absence of six weeks and four days, the Bishop, with his daughter, arrived at New London on the 15th of July, having travelled out and home, by land and by water, three hundred and ninety-seven miles, confirmed three hundred and eleven persons, and admitted one to the priesthood.

The two volumes of sermons, the preparation of which had been some time in his mind, were published in 1793, and he conceived the idea of having them reprinted in England, and sent six discourses in manuscript to his friend and correspondent, the Rev. Mr. Boucher, to be added to them, if a bookseller could be found to engage in the enterprise. They passed through two or three editions in this country, but there was no prospect that there would be a foreign demand for them, and hence no English publisher was willing to risk any money in such an undertaking. They were dedicated, "To the Episcopal clergy of Connecticut and Rhode Island, ... in token of the regard and esteem of their affectionate Diocesan," and embraced a variety of subjects, among them, the authority and duty of Christ's ministers,

[1] MS. Journal.

the Apostolical Commission, Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Eucharist. Lay readers of that period used them freely in the vacant parishes of Connecticut, and they helped to form that type of churchmanship of which Seabury was an admirable exponent and defender. A posthumous volume of sermons from manuscripts prepared by himself was published in 1798.

The Bishop, after returning from his eastern journey, continued in New London until Monday, the 3d of October, when he started for Watertown to meet his clergy in convocation, and make official visits to several parishes in the State. He passed the first night at East Haddam, and the next day rode to the house where the people usually assembled for divine service, and preached to a large congregation on the subject of confirmation, administered the rite to twenty-five, all elderly people, and "the communion to twenty-seven, twenty-four of whom had never received it in the Church before, being late converts from Presbyterianism." He rode on to Middletown, and had the pleasure of meeting and passing the evening there with his old friend Dr. Leaming, at the house of Mr. Jarvis. The next morning he took up his journey for Watertown, and found the clergy assembled for divine service when he arrived.

Much of the business transacted at this time has been already mentioned. It was here that the first step was taken to introduce the laity into the councils of the Church, and the tenor of the action shows how cautiously the thing was done. It was "voted that each clergyman recommend it to the people of his cure to choose one or more persons to represent

them at a convocation to be holden at the Church in New Haven on the 30th of May next, at 10 o'clock A. M., which representatives are to be considered as a Committee of Conference, to confer with the convocation, at that time and place, on all matters that respect the temporal interest of the Church."

The clergy returned to their respective homes and parochial duties on Saturday, but the Bishop remained at Watertown, and confirmed on Sunday thirty-three persons, and admitted Mr. Seth Hart to the order of Deacons. The following day he preached to a large congregation at Waterbury, on the unity of Christ's Church, — a favorite theme with him, — and confirmed fifty-four. Passing down the valley of the Naugatuck, he stopped a day and a night at Gunntown, confirmed fourteen, and was welcomed by the venerable Dr. Mansfield, on the 12th, at Oxford, where, as at Derby, he preached to a small congregation, and administered in each place the apostolic rite. Crossing the Housatonic, he was met at the ferry by the Rev. Mr. Clarke and his two church-wardens, and conducted to Ripton. From thence he proceeded to Stratfield, now Bridgeport, and on Sunday, the 16th, preached there both parts of the day to large congregations, confirmed twenty, and advanced the Rev. David Perry, Deacon, to the priesthood. During the week he visited Fairfield and Weston, parishes annexed to Stratfield, forming the cure of Mr. Shelton; and Tashua, a part of Mr. Clarke's charge, confirming in the last-named place seventy-two persons. He spent the next Sunday in New Haven, "preaching all day for Mr. Hubbard, who went to West Haven;" and by resting and easy stages, stopping a

day at Branford, and another at Killingworth, he reached home on the 27th, having been absent the whole month, travelled two hundred and twenty-three miles, and confirmed three hundred and three persons.

Though he was the guest of the Rev. Mr. Bowden in Stratford, and continued with him for two days, he did not enter the church, or attempt to hold any service in the place. The parish, the oldest in the diocese, was now under the ministrations of Mr. Sayre, the "protesting" clergyman, whose violent course towards Bishop Seabury was as lamentable as it was unjust and causeless. The people followed his guidance to their own detriment, and the question was, what could be done to save the parish from division and strife, and bring it to the acceptance of the Constitution and Prayer Book. A convocation was held at East Haddam, February 12, 1792, and the subject of establishing an Episcopal Academy came up for consideration, but the most important business, and that which really called the clergy together, was the situation of the Stratford parish, and its relations to the Church in Connecticut. It was resolved "that unless the wardens and vestrymen of Christ Church in Stratford shall transmit to the Rt. Reverend, the Bishop of Connecticut, within fourteen days after Easter Monday next, a notification that the congregation of said church have adopted the Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church, as settled by the General Convention at Philadelphia, in October, 1789, they (the congregation) will be considered as having totally separated themselves from the Church of Connecticut."

There was no other clergyman in the State who had a thought of arraying his people in opposition to the Bishop. Dr. Dibblee, of Stamford, could hardly be reconciled to the use of the new Prayer Book, and continued in the old ways without meaning to be refractory. His health was broken, and he ceased to attend the meetings of his brethren, but the following excellent letter reveals his character, and at the same time the lenity of the Bishop in dealing with his prejudices: —

Feb. 22, 1792.

Rev'd and very dear Sir, — Did I not know to whom I am writing, I should fear doing hurt and not good by this letter. But when I consider you, as I have ever esteemed you, as an old, and worthy, and good friend, who has a regard for me as a fellow-minister with me of the Church of Christ, and equally with me solicitous for her welfare, and the peace and quiet and Christian lives of all her members, — as a gentleman whom strong abilities, a candid mind, long experience in the world, and the long and constant practice of all Christian virtues, hath deservedly raised to a good and eminent character, — every apprehension that I shall give you pain, or excite in you any resentment, or any idea that I wish to interfere needlessly in your affairs, vanishes and disappears. My earnest desire is that you would review in your own mind the ground and principles on which you have hitherto refrained from the use of the Prayer-book of the Church of the United States — to consider whether you cannot use that book in divine service with a good conscience, and so as to offer to God an acceptable service? If you can, whether Christian charity, the love of peace and unity, and the edification of the body of Christ, do not require that you should use it — and whether the peace and prosperity of your own congregations, and consequently your own peace and quiet, do not also require it? To use particular arguments with you is unnecessary. They will occur to you,

probably, with more force than I could give them. If you cannot use the book with a good conscience, I have not a word to say to prevail on you to do so. But if you can, remember, my dear sir, the peace of the churches in Connecticut, and your own peace, and the quiet and Christian temper of your own people, are nearly concerned, and sooner or later will suffer by your refusal. The question is not which book is the best in itself, but which will best promote the peace and unity of the Church. Such was the temper of the people to the southward, that unity could not be had with the old book. Is not, then, the unity of the whole Church through the States a price sufficient to justify the alterations which have been made? supposing (and in this I believe you will join with me) that there is no alteration made but what is consistent with the analogy of the Christian faith. Let me, therefore, *intreat you as a father*, to review this matter, and I have no doubt but that you will join with your brethren, and *walk by the same rule* in your public ministrations. This will rejoice their hearts and mine also. May God be your director in all things, and grant that we may meet together in his own heavenly kingdom.

I am, Rev'd and dear Sir, your affectionate brother and very humble serv't. S., *Bp. Connect.*[1]

At a meeting of the parish in Stamford, held Monday, in Easter-week, April 9th, 1792, it was voted to adopt the new constitution and liturgy of the Church as agreed upon by the Bishop and clergy of Connecticut, "provided it is agreeable to Rev. Mr. Dibblee."

[1] MS. Letter-Book.

CHAPTER XXIII.

CONTENTION IN STRATFORD, AND EFFORTS OF MR. BOWDEN TO CONCILIATE THE PEOPLE; INFLUENCE OF MR. SAYRE, AND TROUBLES IN WOODBURY; CONVENTION IN NEW HAVEN, AND LAITY FIRST INTRODUCED; SUPPORT OF THE BISHOP, AND EPISCOPAL VISITATION; SERMON BEFORE GENERAL CONVENTION, AND CONSECRATION OF DR. CLAGGETT; CONVOCATION AT HUNTINGTON, AND PARISH INDEPENDENCE; CONVENTION AT MIDDLETOWN, AND ORDINATION.

A. D. 1792–1793.

THE opposition to the Prayer Book and the proceedings of the General Convention still continued in Stratford, and nothing could be done to remove the misapprehensions of the people while Mr. Sayre remained in charge of the parish. The Rev. Mr. Bowden wrote an address to them which was read publicly on the very day when the question was to be decided whether they would unite with the Protestant Episcopal Church or not, and though the arguments contained in it were strong and irresistible, the congregation voted to continue in the old way.

This address was afterwards printed, with a letter to Mr. Sayre appended, written by the same hand, and faithfully exhibiting the methods used to deceive the people and lead them to disregard the peace, the unity, and the authority of the Church. "I set out in this business," said Bowden, "with this great advantage: It is well known in Stratford, and by many

who do not live here, that I did not come to this place with any prejudices against you; but, on the contrary, with those sentiments of regard for you which a long intimacy would naturally cherish. Nay, you yourself know that to enjoy the society of your family was my principal reason for coming here. I knew, indeed, before I returned from the West Indies, that you did not like the alterations in the Prayer Book, nor some things in the constitution of the Church, but it never entered into my mind that you could have gone to such an extravagant length as to break off all ecclesiastical communion with your brethren, and to have formed a plan to separate this church from the diocese."[1]

Mr. Sayre finally withdrew from the scene of contention, and the parish, in the exercise of a sober judgment and under the influence of better counsels, ceased its opposition and conformed to the new regulations and the action of the General Convention. But he was not yet silenced. He sowed the seeds of discontent and controversy in another parish with which he had connection, and where the evil effects lingered longer. The people at Woodbury were partial to his ministrations, and sympathizing with him in his troubles and believing in the sincerity of his course, they adhered to him, and thus became isolated and without pastoral care. For at a convocation in New Milford, September 25, 1793, the clergy decided that in the exercise of their ministerial office they could not pay any attention to the parish in Woodbury until it acceded to the constitution of the Church in Connecticut. It was voted at the same

[1] *Address and Letter*, p. 25.

time, that "whenever a certain paper relative to the Rev. Mr. James Sayre be transmitted by the Bishop to the several clergymen of the Church in Connecticut, they shall read it in the several congregations under their care on the first Sunday subsequent to their receiving it."

Months passed away and the spirit of opposition was unbroken. The following letter, written on the eve of the annual convention in New Haven to Mr. John Clark, clerk of the parish, will shed some light upon the history of the dissatisfaction: —

NEW LONDON, *May 27th*, 1794.

SIR, — Your letter, by the direction of the Episcopal Church in Woodbury, dated April 26th, 1794, came not to my house till four days ago. The notification your congregation received from the Rev. Mr. Hart was such as I presume the Convocation directed him to deliver to them. It is now too late to enter on the discussion of the points on which that notification was founded before the meeting of the Convention at New Haven, on the first Wednesday of June. The situation of your Church will then come before them; and I should be glad that one of your members would attend at that time in the name of the congregation — when I trust every thing may be settled to your satisfaction, and the satisfaction of the Convention. For my own part, I should be glad to do you any service in my power, consistently with the general interest of the Church in Connecticut, and that, I trust, your congregation hath no disposition to contravene. This I am confident is also the disposition of the Clergy toward you; and will be the disposition of the Gentlemen of the laity who shall meet in Convention.

You observe that your congregation have objections to some parts of the Constitution. Let those objections be be made known. It ought to have been done a year ago at Middletown. It was sent to you for that purpose, and a

year allowed for you to consider of it, and make your objections if you had any. As you made none, it was to be presumed you had none. That Constitution will, I suppose, be this year taken up by the Convention, amended, if necessary, and adopted, or rejected, as shall appear best.

Having no other conveyance I send this letter by the Post. I pray God to direct your congregation in this business, and keep them in the unity of his Church. Accept the best wishes of Sir, your very humble Serv't,

S., *Bp. Conn. & Rho. Isl.*[1]

The clergy at their next meeting in New Haven, June 5, 1794, appointed three of their number "a Committee for the purpose of accommodating matters with the Episcopal congregation at Woodbury, and reconciling them to a union with the Protestant Episcopal Church." In the fulfillment of the appointment, this committee met the people in their church on the 7th of July, and suspending, for the time, the operation of the original vote, went into a review of the constitution and explained it in a manner so satisfactory that all former objections were removed, and the parish with great unanimity adopted it, and thus regained its old position in the diocese.

On the 2d of June, 1792, Bishop Seabury was in New Haven, and the next day, Trinity Sunday, officiated for Dr. Hubbard and allowed him to go to a parish in the vicinity, where the communion for several months had not been administered. A convention, into which *lay delegates* were introduced for the first time, met the following Wednesday, in Trinity Church, and the Bishop delivered the sermon from the text: "Jerusalem is builded as a city that is compact to-

[1] MS. Letter Book.

gether." The whole number present, including the bishop, was forty-five, of whom twenty-four were laymen, representing parishes which had adopted the Constitution of the General Convention. This was the beginning of a new era in the legislation of the Connecticut Church, and Seabury, who had looked forward to it with much interest, entered in his journal that "on this day and the next the business of the Convention was happily finished, rules were agreed upon for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs, respecting both clergy and laity, and Delegates were appointed to attend the General Convention at New York in September."

One measure, to which there is no reference in the printed minutes, was adopted by the laity in a separate meeting. It related to the support of the bishop, which had hitherto been very little so far as the parishes were concerned. The lay delegates came together, and — appointing John Wooster, of Derby, chairman, and Jonathan Ingersoll, of New Haven, clerk — consented to the following recommendation, which was printed on the same sheet with the proposed "Constitution of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the State of Connecticut," and sent out to the parishes: —

This convention being deeply impressed with the necessity of contributing towards the support of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Seabury, Bishop of Connecticut; and taking into consideration that a few years since a convention of lay delegates recommended to the several Episcopal societies in this State, that a sum equal to one half-penny on the pound on the grand list of said societies should be annually raised, for said support; and taking into consideration, also, that many societies

through inattention have not altogether complied with said recommendation:

It is therefore strongly and earnestly desired and requested by the members of this convention, that the several Episcopal societies in this State do use their utmost endeavours to raise by contribution, or otherwise, a sum equal to one half-penny on the pound, on the grand list of said societies, towards the maintenance and support of the bishop, the current year, commencing on this sixth day of June: And that said sum be raised in quarterly payments.

This convention cannot but believe, that every good churchman will be desirous to contribute his quota, for so laudable a purpose.

And as it is uncertain how great a sum can be raised, according to the above proposition, it is requested that the sum total of the grand list, of the several Episcopal societies be returned to the next convention.

The above recommendation, voted in convention, to be sent to the several Episcopal societies in this State.

From the report of the lay delegates to the next diocesan convention, it appeared that the grand list of the parishes which they represented amounted, according to a general estimate, to "one hundred and fourteen thousand nine hundred pounds;" and if all had acquiesced in the recommendation and paid their respective quotas, a handsome sum would have been realized. But it was an uncertain provision at best, and steps were taken at this very time to establish a fund for the support of the Episcopate, and a committee was appointed to apply to the General Assembly for an act of incorporation with a view to this end. The grave, however, closed over the first bishop of Connecticut, before even the prayer of the petitioners was granted.

An Episcopal visitation was usually made in con-

nection with a convention or convocation, and Bishop Seabury lingered in New Haven after the adjournment, and on Sunday ordained David Butler and Russel Catlin, Deacons, and confirmed fifty-one persons. Leaving the city on the 12th of June, he proceeded north through Cheshire, Southington, Farmington, Simsbury, and down by the way of Hartford and Hebron to New London, — having been absent twenty-two days, travelled one hundred and seventy-four miles, and confirmed in all one hundred and fifty-three persons.

With scarcely two months' rest, in the heat of summer, he left home Monday morning, August 13th, to attend the General Convention, which was to meet in New York the second Tuesday of September, and before which he had been requested to preach a sermon. He took the route by land through the shore towns, and visited the clergy in the way, — among them Mr. Bowden at Stratford, with whom he passed a night, and who had been appointed one of the deputies from Connecticut, but attended the Convention as a representative of the Church in Rhode Island. On the 16th he reached Norwalk, and the next day "embarked at Old Well for Huntington on Long Island," but contrary winds obliged the captain of the vessel to stop at one of the Norwalk Islands and remain all night. For nearly three weeks he was with his kindred and friends at North Hempstead, and amid the scenes of his youthful associations. His mother was yet alive, in good health, and those who remembered him as a lay reader and missionary must have been glad to see and hear him in his Episcopal character, and after the trials through which he had

passed in getting his orders recognized and the Church in this country settled and united.

Going to New York, he visited his old friend, James Rivington, and on Sunday, the 9th of September, preached in the morning for Dr. Benjamin Moore in Trinity Church, and in the afternoon in St. George's Chapel. The convention met the following Tuesday, and Seabury was the only bishop present. After prayers both houses adjourned till ten o'clock the next morning, to await the arrival of other members. In the mean time a question of etiquette came up for settlement, and Bishop White, speaking of it in his Memoirs, terms it "an unpropitious circumstance attending the opening of this Convention." The political principles of Bishop Provoost, and his course in regard to the validity of the Scottish consecration, kept him aloof from Seabury, and if he ever had the courtesy to answer one of his letters, it is certain he did not exchange friendly visits with him when he knew of his presence in New York at different times, or pay him any respect as the Bishop of Connecticut. There may have been no personal affront on either side, but the absence of official recognition was in itself enough to discourage the first attempts at civility on the part of Seabury. The issue of the affair is thus described by Bishop White: —

"The prejudices in the minds of the two bishops were such as threatened a distance between them which would give an unfavorable appearance to themselves, and to the whole body, and might perhaps have an evil influence on their deliberations. But it happened otherwise. On a proposal being made to them by common friends, and through the medium of

the present author, on the suggestion of Dr. Smith, they consented without the least hesitation, Bishop Seabury to pay, and Bishop Provoost to receive, the visit which etiquette enjoined on the former to the latter; and was as readily accepted by the one as it had been proffered by the other. The author was present when it took place. Bishop Provoost asked his visitant to dine with him on the same day, in company of the author and others. The invitation was accepted, and from that time nothing was perceived in either of them which seemed to show that the former distance was the result of anything else but difference in opinion." [1]

The sermon of Bishop Seabury before the convention was from the text, "And above all these things put on charity, which is the bond of perfectness." It was printed by the request of both houses, and glowed with the true spirit of Christian love, — with that perfect and comprehensive charity which tends to preserve the peace and unity of the Church under all possible circumstances. An extract from the concluding portion will show that the errors which he condemned were not limited to those times, but even such as may be found in all periods of Christian history.

There are two extremes into which men are apt to run in the management of the Church. One is to depress the government and priesthood, and lay them open to all claimants; to relax the doctrines and faith, according to the prevailing tenets of philosophy and metaphysics, — and I may add, according to the fashionable system of divinity, — to explain away the sacraments, till they become merely empty and vain shadows, without substance or reality, — to weaken the

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, pp. 161, 162.

obligations of holiness which Christianity lays on us, thereby encouraging people to rest in decency of manners, according to the mode of the times, without regarding that self-denial which restrains all tendencies to evil, or that mortification which subdues and keeps under the unruly appetites and desires of body and mind. This conduct is utterly inconsistent with the prosperity of our holy religion, and must be carefully avoided, lest we make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, and betray the Church into a corruption of that truth, of which God hath made her the pillar and ground.

The other extreme, to which I adverted, is the setting of the terms of admission and continuance in the Church higher, and making them more rigid than Christ and his Apostles have set and made them; thereby excluding persons from the unity and communion of the Church, who by a fair and candid construction of the rules given in Scripture have a right to be admitted to the fellowship and all the privileges of Christ's religion. Those Christian professors who insist on having a pure Church in this world, and who, to obtain their point, have formed narrow and rigid and very particular rules for the faith and practice of their members, — who admit into, and reject from, their communion by a vote of their church members, not always making due allowance for the weakness of human nature, the violence of sudden and unexpected temptation, or the nature of things indifferent, which a good Christian may do or forbear without wounding his integrity, are on this ground to be condemned. They forget that Christ hath compared the Church in this world to a *net* cast into the sea, which encloseth fishes good and bad, — to a *field*, in which tares grow with the wheat; that to separate the good from the bad is the property of God only; because He only knoweth the heart, and hath ability to make the distinction; and that He hath reserved this separation to the judgment of the last day, when it will be effectually made. They consider not that the affairs of the bad and good are intimately mingled together in this world, and have absolute dependence on each other,

even as the roots of the tares are mixed and tangled with the wheat, so that it exceeds all human prudence to root out the former without injuring the latter. They must grow together till the judgment of God shall decide upon them. Then shall Christ "present," that is, take "it to himself a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing; but that it should be holy and without blemish."

The business of the convention was not much prolonged; for a week was deemed sufficient to consider the subjects brought before it, and accomplish all that was done. The Ordinal of the Church of England was reviewed, and alterations made to accommodate it to local circumstances. "The only thing I have to regret," says Bishop Seabury, "is that the form of words at the imposition of hands in ordaining Priests, as it stands in the English book, is not made absolute in ours, but an alternative or another form, similar to that in making Deacons, is permitted to those Bishops who choose it."

The Rev. James Madison, D. D., President of William and Mary College, was chosen Bishop of Virginia on the 7th of May, 1790, and a sum not exceeding £200 was directed by the convention of that State to be advanced to him for the purpose of defraying his expenses in obtaining consecration. He went to England, and was consecrated in the Chapel of Lambeth Palace, September 19th, and had been two years in the exercise of his office when he took his seat in the General Convention at New York. The question about having three bishops in the English line of succession in this country before proceeding to a consecration was thus put to rest; and by this time the penal laws, which had so long embarrassed the Scot-

tish non-jurors, were repealed, and the English prelates, unrestrained by political considerations, could now recognize their brethren in Scotland, and concede that there might be bishops in the Church of God without the authority of the king.

At a convention held in Annapolis, May, 1792, the Rev. Thomas John Claggett, D. D., was elected Bishop of the Church in Maryland, and the clerical and lay deputies from the State appeared with him at the Session in New York, and, with the necessary documents in hand, presented him to the House of Bishops, "requesting that his consecration might be expedited." It was a movement intended to unite Episcopalians more closely together by blending the two lines of succession, and forever preventing the possibility of a question arising in the American Church as to the relative validity of the English and Scotch Episcopacy. For the application to consecrate Dr. Claggett was not made to those only who received their authority in the Chapel at Lambeth, but the whole four were requested to join in the act, which was solemnized in Trinity Church, Monday, September 17th, and from that day not a bishop has been consecrated in this Church "who must not, to make his consecration canonical, claim the succession, in part at least, through the Scottish Episcopate." [1]

It has been mentioned that Seabury was the only bishop present at the opening of the convention. When they all met Wednesday morning in the vestry-room of Trinity Church, it appeared that two of the four — Provoost and Madison — were dissatisfied with the rule which had been established in regard to

[1] Hawks's *Ecclesiastical Contributions*, Maryland, p. 312.

the presidency, and wished its repeal. The point was not decided during the day, and as much of it was occupied with the religious service, followed by an adjournment, no inconvenience was experienced in leaving it so far undetermined. But the next morning, Bishop Seabury sent a message to Bishop White and requested a private interview with him previous to the hour when the convention was to assemble. "It took place at Dr. Moore's, where he lodged. He opened his mind to this effect — That, from the course taken by the two other bishops on the preceding day, he was afraid they had in contemplation the debarring of him from any hand in the consecration expected to take place during this convention; that he could not submit to this, without an implied renunciation of his consecration, and contempt cast on the source from which he had received it; and that the apprehended measure, if proposed and persevered in, must be followed by an entire breach with him, and, as he supposed, with the Church under his superintendence." [1]

In the belief of Bishop White, no such design was contemplated; and he assured him that in no event would he himself take any part in the approaching consecration if Bishop Seabury should be precluded from uniting in the act. It would not weaken the English chain to bring in another link, and while he had been desirous of fulfilling his implied engagement to his own consecrators, he was now resolved to stand by the Scottish succession, the validity of which he had never doubted. His opinion of the rule which had been adopted was unchanged, but as Bishop Sea-

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 162.

bury intimated that he should not be tenacious of the mere matter of the presidency, and would waive his right to it, he suggested that one of them should be absent from the meeting that morning and allow the rule to be rescinded. Accordingly Seabury, as more directly interested, absented himself, and the change was made, "reference being had to the presidency of the house in the last convention." No other business was done that day, and the bishops adjourned after this action.

It will be doing Bishop Seabury fuller justice to produce here his own record of the affair: "At this Convention, Right Reverend Dr. Claggett, of Maryland, was consecrated bishop, in Trinity Church, by Bishops Provoost, White, Madison, and Seabury. All glory be ascribed to God for his goodness to his Church in the American States. In his goodness I confide for the continuing of that holy Episcopate which is now begun to be communicated in this country. May it redound to his glory, and the good of his Church, through Jesus Christ. Amen. At the last General Convention, at Philadelphia, it was proposed by Bishop White, and agreed to by me, that the eldest Bishop present (to be reckoned from his consecration) should be president of the House of Bishops. The agreement seemed to be displeasing to Bishops Provoost and Madison, and it was proposed by them that the presidency should go by rotation, beginning from the North. I had no inclination to contend who should be the greatest in the kingdom of heaven, and therefore readily consented to relinquish the presidency into the hands of Bishop Provoost. I thank God for his grace on this occasion,

and beseech him that no self-exaltation or envy of others may ever lead me into debate and contention, but that I may ever be willing to be the least when the peace of his Church requires it."[1]

The bishop returned after the adjournment of the convention and spent a few more days among his kindred and friends at Hempstead, and then crossed over the Sound at Sands's Ferry to New Rochelle, where he passed the night. As he entered Connecticut, he commenced a visitation to the parishes in Fairfield County, preaching first at Horseneck, and proceeding to Stamford, where he had large congregations, Sunday, September 30, and confirmed forty persons. Two days later he rode out to New Canaan and confirmed fifty-two: "And here," said he, "I parted with good old Dr. Dibblee, who had accompanied me from Stamford." In the same week he confirmed sixty-two at Ridgfield, eight at Danbury, twenty-eight at Redding, and sixty-five at Norwalk.

On the homeward journey, he met the clergy in convocation at Huntington, October 10, confirmed there thirty-one persons, and advanced Mr. Seth Hart to the priesthood. The candidate was presented by the Rev. Mr. Clarke, rector of the parish, and the sermon preached by the Rev. Mr. Shelton,[2] "a very good one," — as the Bishop entered in his journal,— from the text, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost: whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained."

Leaving Huntington, he lodged for a night at Der-

[1] MS. Journal.

[2] The Rev. Philo Shelton and the Rev. Abraham L. Clarke married sisters, daughters of Philip Nichols, Esq., the first lay deputy from Connecticut to the General Convention.

by with Dr. Mansfield, and reached East Haven soon enough the next day to preach and hold a confirmation, as he did also successively in North Guilford, Guilford, and Killingworth. He thus recorded his gratitude on the completion of this circuit of duties. "October 20th, I got safe home to New London, having travelled in this journey four hundred and fifty miles, confirmed two hundred and sixty-five persons, and preached twenty sermons. Glory to God for his goodness to me. Make me, O my God, ever ready to serve thy Church without regard to my own profit or honor, but merely to thy glory, through Jesus Christ. Upon my return home, I found my family in deep affliction for the death of my son-in-law, Mr. Charles Nicoll Taylor, who died in September last at Norfolk in Virginia."

The winter passed away with very little necessity for strictly Episcopal service. But his mind was at work, and he left nothing untried which was calculated to promote the unity and advancement of the Church. The following letter to his friend, William Stevens, Esq., speaks of a plan which he had devised for bringing the laity together to confer on subjects of mutual advantage: —

NEW LONDON, *April 9th*, 1793.

DEAR SIR, — My last letter to you was of the 28th of December, 1792. At that time I drew on you for £25 Sterling in favour of Mr. William Ustick, Junior. I am now to inform you that I have drawn on you this day for £12 10*s*. Sterling by three Bills of Exchange in favour of the same gentleman, Mr. William Ustick, Junior, or Order.

The state of the Church in this country is much the same as when I wrote last. The great difficulty is to get the several congregations to consider themselves as parts of one

body, and to act in unison with each other. While they were missions of the Society in England, their whole Ecclesiastical business was transacted with that Society, as distinct congregations; and they seldom had much intercourse with each other. A spirit of independency on each other hath, by that means, been introduced, which can only be overcome by time and patience. In order to remedy this inconvenience, which weakens the influence of the Church, I have prevailed with some of the principal and more understanding laity of the several congregations to meet annually on this subject; that by conversing on it, and on such subjects within their line as relate to the general good of the Church, they may become acquainted with each other and with the general state of the several congregations. I have reason to hope this will promote union and intimate connection among them.

We have just had accounts by the Feb. packet from Falmouth of war between Great Britain and France. I pray God to keep you in peace and unity at home, and foreign enemies, I think, cannot hurt you.

Please to remember me to Mr. Boucher. I am, Dear Sir, with great affection, your very humble servant. S.

On the way to attend the diocesan convention at Middletown, Bishop Seabury was put in imminent peril by the fall of his horse in the sulky, and one of his eyes badly hurt. He escaped without permanent injury, and mentioned it with gratitude to God as the first accident which had befallen him in all his journeyings. This was on the 1st of June, 1793, and the next day, being Sunday, he preached in the new and unfinished church at East Haddam, and tarried for three nights with a friend in that place. In company with his host, a lay delegate to the convention, his son Charles Seabury, who had come on from New London to join him, and the Rev. S. Blakeslee, he

reached Middletown, and became the guest of the Rev. Dr. Jarvis. The convention met the next morning, Wednesday, eighteen clergymen, besides the bishop, and twenty-one laymen, being present, and, after divine service and a sermon, he admitted Daniel Burhans, and his own son, Charles Seabury, to the order of Deacons.[1] The usual business was soon completed, but he had a duty yet to perform, and on Sunday, the 9th, advanced Edward and Solomon Blakeslee, Russel Catlin, and David Butler to the

[1] The ambition of choirs to exhibit themselves on great occasions was apparent nearly a century ago. It was thought to be the proper thing to honor a visitation of the bishop with unusual music, though it should be at the expense of devotion. About this time a singing-master came to Middletown, and being employed by the Congregationalists, he cast aside the rich old tunes familiar to all worshippers, and introduced a new set of repeating ones which attracted the attention of some of the young people of the Episcopal Church. An arrangement was made whereby the singing-master agreed to teach them, and appear with his whole school in church on the day of the bishop's visit, and conduct the music. The *chef d'œuvre* of the occasion was a tune set to the 133d Psalm, in metre, the second stanza reading: —

"True love is like that precious oil
Which, poured on Aaron's head,
Ran down his beard, and o'er his robes
Its costly moisture shed."

All the parts, tenor, treble, alto, bass, appeared in solo, and the words, "ran down his beard — ran down his beard," were repeated no less than eight times. The teacher was delighted, and flattered himself that the bishop had heard no such music this side of London. He was anxious to know what he thought of it, and a gentleman standing by offered to inquire. So, stepping into the adjoining room where he was sitting with a number of clergymen and others, he said, "Bishop, what did you think of our singing?" "I am not prepared to give an opinion," was his reply; "my sympathies were so much excited for poor Aaron that I did not listen attentively enough to be a competent judge." "And why such sympathy for Aaron?" "Why, Sir, I was afraid that by running down his beard eight times they would not leave a single hair on his face."

priesthood, and in the afternoon preached and confirmed eight persons, — the ordination sermon having been delivered by the Rev. Mr. Ives. He visited Chatham and Middle Haddam, confirming in the first-named place nineteen, and in the other twenty-five, and was home again in New London on the 13th of June. His son now in orders was taken as his assistant, and relieved him of many parochial duties.

CHAPTER XXIV.

OFFICE FOR BURIAL OF INFANTS, AND POINTED PSALTER; VISITATION TO RHODE ISLAND, AND DISORDER IN NARRAGANSETT; CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES, AND CONVOCATION IN NEW MILFORD; LETTER TO WILLIAM STEVENS, AND CONVENTION IN NEW HAVEN; EPISCOPAL ACADEMY, CONVOCATION IN CHESHIRE, AND CONSECRATION AT WATERTOWN; ANNUAL CONVENTION, AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ACADEMY.

A. D. 1793–1795.

Among the liturgical services prepared by Bishop Seabury was an office for the burial of infants "who depart this life before they have polluted their baptism by actual sin." It was shorter than the appointed office in the Prayer Book, and omitted the anthem and lesson. One of the prayers followed mainly the first in the regular service, and the other was made up in part of the Collects for Easter Even and Easter Day. The same sheet, upon which the original edition without date was printed, contained prayers for the legislature and courts of justice; but the office was not probably used to any great extent, as it was not set forth and recommended to the clergy of Connecticut.[1]

It is proper to notice here another work of a litur-

[1] A reprint was issued at Newburyport, Mass., in 1809, preceded by a Service for Fast Day, the Catechism, and Selections from the Book of Common Prayer for the use of families, — the whole making a little 32mo pamphlet of 32 pages. See Appendix E.

gical character by Bishop Seabury, though it was not issued until January, 1795. It bore the title of "The Psalter or Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung or said in the Churches," that is, with the musical colon dividing each verse of the Canticles or Psalter, as in the Scotch and English Prayer Books. The order for Morning and Evening Prayer daily throughout the year, with the Creed of St. Athanasius, was included, the rubrics omitted, and the word Priest substituted for Minister before the versicles, except in the Litany. The chief variations, however, from the authorized book were in the imprecatory Psalms, where he took for his guide the criticisms and opinion of those celebrated commentators, Dr. Hammond and Dr. Horne. "Supported by the authority of men so eminent for their abilities, learning, and piety," said he in his preface, "the following edition of the Psalter is published with the alterations they have recommended, the imperative mood being changed for the future tense in all the imprecations which occurred in the Psalms. Besides which, a few old words are changed for those which are more modern, and two or three expressions hard to be understood are altered, still retaining the spirit and meaning of the Psalm."

This Liturgy was not in the least degree intended to supersede the Prayer Book, and no evidence has been found that it was ever followed for a single day in the public worship of any parish within the jurisdiction of Seabury. It was probably designed for private or family use, and he may have adopted this method for the purpose of meeting objections, sometimes raised to the divine imprecations in this part of

Scripture. "In fact, if tradition may be trusted, his special design in setting forth this revision of the Psalms was to quiet the mind of an influential member of his congregation, who was a relation of his."[1]

In company with his daughter Maria he made another visitation to Rhode Island, going by water July 23, 1793, and arriving at Newport after a good passage of eight hours. The first exercise of duty was to admit in Trinity Church, on Sunday, 28th, Mr. John Usher to the order of Deacons, — the same gentleman who had hitherto been deterred by a brother's hatred and opposition from presenting himself for the sacred office. He confirmed twenty-five in the afternoon of that day, and on Monday left Newport for Providence, where the convention of the Church in the State was soon to assemble. A troublesome question came up for consideration at this time, — the case of Mr. Walter C. Gardiner, of Narragansett, who had refused to join with the other churches in Rhode Island and with the majority of his congregation, in acknowledging the jurisdiction of Bishop Seabury. It appeared that he had privately obtained a testimonial and been recommended by the Standing Committee of Massachusetts to Bishop Provoost for the diaconate, without any concurrence of the congregation in Narragansett; and having been ordained, he associated himself with the Church in Massachusetts. The convention in Rhode Island declined to recognize him as one of its clergy, unless he subscribed to the constitution and acknowledged the superintendency of Bishop Seabury, and he was given

[1] Hart's Appendix to *Bishop Seabury's Communion Office*, p. 62.

a limited time to consider the matter and decide upon the course he would take.

The Church in Narragansett became very much dissatisfied with Mr. Gardiner, "as no congregation would attend with him" for divine service, and his connection with it was terminated in 1794. Bishop Seabury regarded his ordination, in the manner it was secured, as an infringement of his Episcopal rights, and wrote a letter to Bishop White during the sitting of the General Convention, in 1795, "respectfully and affectionately complaining of the matter." It was communicated to Bishop Provoost, who said, "that on receiving the letter from the clergy of Massachusetts, he had doubted of the propriety of the proposal in it; but that on consulting the clergy of New York, and especially those in the most intimacy with Bishop Seabury, he was advised by them to compliance; but that he perceived objections to such conduct in individual congregations, and would approve of a canon to prevent it. Such a canon was accordingly prepared and passed. It is believed that no dissatisfaction remained."[1]

The convention finished its business on the 1st of August, and having advanced Mr. Usher to the priesthood, and confirmed twenty-eight persons, the bishop returned to New London, intelligence of the illness of one of his sons rendering it necessary and hurrying him away.

He was not long in the quiet of his home, for he set out in a sulky, Thursday, September 12th, to meet the clergy in convocation at New Milford, — his son Edward accompanying him as far as New Haven.

[1] *Memoirs of P. E. Church*, p. 172.

He passed the Sunday in the latter place, officiating twice for Dr. Hubbard, and confirmed "ten — eight whites and two blacks." With Dr. Hubbard he journeyed to Stratford, stopped there and dined with Mr. Bowden, and then proceeded to the house of Mr. Shelton, where they lodged for the night, and the next day all went to Newtown, the scene, in the time of John Beach, of sharp religious controversy, and the battle-ground for great principles. He consecrated the new church in that place on the 19th, by the name of Trinity, a "large and attentive congregation" listening to his sermon from the text, "The Lord loveth the gates of Zion more than all the dwellings of Jacob."[1] He made an entry in his journal thus: "The church well finished, 68 feet in length, in breadth 48. Steeple 140 feet high, confirmed 31. A stranger presented me with two dollars toward travelling expences."

The bishop rode to New Milford, the limit of his journey, on the 21st; and the following day, Sunday, preached twice for the rector of the parish. The convocation met on Wednesday, when he consecrated "St. John's Church, being decently finished," and delivered the same sermon as at Newtown. Only eight of the clergy were present, — for an influenza had attacked many of them, and disabled them so that they could not travel. Very little business was done at this meeting. The bishop started on his return Fri-

[1] This church, built of wood, was occupied until 1870. In February of that year the present beautiful one of stone was opened, and the author, who preached the sermon on the occasion, by a singular coincidence selected the same text, — not then knowing that Bishop Seabury had used it for his consecration sermon three quarters of a century before.

day, and passing a night at Derby, and the Sunday with Dr. Hubbard, he was home again by Tuesday, the last day of the month, thankful to God for the favor of his protection and the good health of himself and his family.

How little can it be realized at this period that such journeys were wearisome, and attended with many hardships and sacrifices. Days must be spent on the rough and hilly roads in going from place to place, and the only compensation for lack of speed and comfort in the modes of conveyance was the cheerful hospitality which everywhere awaited him. In moving about among the people, he was not simply the Christian bishop and the agreeable companion. He acquired influence with them by his knowledge of subjects outside of theology, and within the range of philosophical study. He was a careful observer of new discoveries in science, and at Edinburgh was a fellow-student with Joseph Black, the distinguished chemist, who introduced the name and the theory of latent heat, and made and published experiments which were subsequently applied to great practical uses. No doubt Seabury watched his brilliant career, and profited by his discoveries.[1]

[1] He was once on his way to New York in an old-fashioned packet, when the vessel was becalmed, and, the weather being intensely hot, many were sighing for a drink of cool water. The bishop called for a jug, filled it, hung it on the shrouds in the sun's blaze, and began pouring water on it from the long-handled dipper with which sailors wet their sails.

"What is the old fool up to?" said some youngsters standing by and whispering among themselves. Not a word was spoken by the bishop, but he kept steadily at work, and after a while took the jug down, turned out some of the water into a tumbler, and offered it to his critics. They were amazed on finding it quite cold, never having learned any-

In a letter to his friend William Stevens, dated October 9, 1793, and transcribed in his letter-book, he gave a brief account of the condition and progress of the Church in Connecticut, and referred with a measure of satisfaction to his late visitation : —

Though no great boasts can be made of the rapid growth of the Church in this State, yet its gradual increase is undoubted ; and I flatter myself the union of its congregations is also growing, and with that its weight and influence in the government and among the people at large.

However, since I have been in Connecticut, three new congregations have arisen. One at East Haddam, on the East bank of Connecticut River, about 14 miles from its mouth. Four years ago, there was not a Churchman there ; and now they have raised and enclosed, and in the course of another year will finish, an elegant wooden church, and do now, in conjunction with a small congregation eight miles distant, give a clergyman £87 Sterling a year. He resides among them. Their numbers are still increasing by new accessions, and they will, I trust, in a few years, be a very considerable congregation. At Chatham, 15 miles higher up, on the same side of the river, and at Hartford, 15 miles higher still, and on the other side of the Connecticut, new congregations are engaged in building large and elegant churches, *i. e.* for this country. These churches will probably be both finished by Christmas, and then they intend to procure Clergymen for them. Hartford is the principal town in the State — the seat of their government, and the fortress of Presbyterianism : and though a small number of Church people have been long in it, not more than six families, their efforts to build a church have for these 40 years been baffled by the arts and violence of the Presbyterians.

thing about the process of evaporation. "There, young gentlemen," said he, "I think you have found out that I am no fool, and that you are no philosophers." The anecdote was widely circulated at the time, and helped him not a little with young people.

Their influence there is now over, and the congregation in Hartford will probably become equal to any in the country.

The last month, in a visitation of the Westward churches, I had the pleasure of consecrating a large new church at Newtown, the Society's old mission — 68 by 48 feet. That congregation is in a flourishing condition, and supplied by a very worthy clergyman. The Church at New Milford, another old mission, was also consecrated, having never been finished till the last Summer. It is now in a prosperous state, and a good clergyman resides with them, who also officiates at two neighbouring small churches. Requesting your prayers to Almighty God for me, wishing you health and prosperity, I remain your most affectionate and obliged humble Servt. S———.

During the winter he remained in New London, and devoted himself without interruption to the duty of ministering to his people. His son in orders relieved him of a portion of his work, but it was chiefly in taking the service on the occasions of public worship. The preaching and the spiritual succors were still confined to him, and the poorest and humblest parishioner, when he needed it, was sure to command his attention.

With his son Charles, and a lay deputy from his parish, the bishop started Monday morning, June 2d, 1794, to attend the annual convention of the Diocese in New Haven. He lodged that night at the house of Mr. George Morgan in Killingworth, — a host to whom he was frequently indebted for hospitality whenever he left New London for a journey westward. The convention met on the 4th, and the main business under consideration was the establishment of an Episcopal Academy in the State.

As far back as May, 1788, a committee was ap-

pointed by a convention of lay delegates from the several parishes, which met at Wallingford, to open and solicit subscriptions for an Episcopal Academy; and the Rev. Dr. Hubbard and John Welton, in behalf of this committee, issued proposals the ensuing January, showing the branches to be taught; the conditions of admission; the freedom from religious restraint, except that it was to be under the direction of the Bishop of Connecticut; and the number and character of the governors to be chosen. No subscription was to be binding unless two thousand pounds should be secured; and in order to determine the location of the Academy two columns were opened, one for those who would give absolutely without regard to the place where it might be fixed, and the other for conditional subscriptions, providing that it be located in a town to be named by the signers. It shows the poverty of the times, and yet the earnestness of the projectors: "That all kinds of merchantable country produce, West India goods, and lumber shall be received in payment of subscriptions at cash prices. For which purpose receivers will be appointed at the public landings and principal towns."

The amount required was not obtained within the limited period of twelve months, and while, for that time, the scheme failed, it was kept in mind and taken up again at a convocation of the clergy in 1792, with better prospects of success. The bishop was the more urgent on the subject from the conviction that the religious predilections of the youth of the Church should not be endangered in the academical course. The disadvantages under which they were compelled to labor at Yale College, on account of their faith, had

deterred him from seeking for his son Charles the educational privileges of that institution, and consequently he had given him the benefit of a private course of study, first with Dr. Mansfield of Derby, and afterwards with Dr. William Smith of Narragansett.

The matter was brought before the convention of the clergy and lay delegates for the first time at New Haven, and took the definite shape of a reference to a committee with power to address the members of the Church in the State on the importance of establishing an Episcopal Academy, to present them with a plan of it, "and also with subscription papers for the purpose of raising a sufficient fund." Seabury made an entry in his journal concerning this convention which sheds more light upon the origin of the institution: "Among other things, the subject of an Episcopal Academy was canvassed, and measures were directed for opening one at Stratford, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. John Bowden. A son of the Rev. Mr. Bostwick, deceased, of Great Barrington, was ordered to be placed at this Academy, to be bred for the Church at the charge of the clergy — for his expences I became accountable, Mr. Bowden kindly offering to bestow his tuition gratuitously."

The bishop continued in New Haven for several days after the adjournment of the convention, and on Saturday, the 7th, some symptoms of a paralytic nature attacked him in the street and alarmed him very much. Though weak and languid, he was enabled to go through his duties the next day, Whitsunday, and to preach twice in Trinity Church, advancing Daniel Burhans to the priesthood, and confirming thirty-

five persons. He made this unusual note on the occasion: "Dr. Hubbard consecrated the Eucharist." He had designed to visit Woodbridge on Monday, a town a few miles distant, but a rain prevented him, and he entered in his journal the remarkable fact: "This is the first appointment in which I have failed since I have been in Connecticut, — such has been the goodness of God." He was at West Haven and Northford during the week, and confirmed in each place eighteen persons. On Friday he proceeded to North Guilford, — one of the parishes forming the charge of Mr. Butler, — and here three gentlemen from Branford came to him to explain some matters respecting their church, which had been thrown into confusion by Mr. James Sayre[1] and Mr. Ralph Isaacs. "I hope," said he, "matters will return to a better state. But I fear their fickleness, or rather the insinuations of Mr. Isaacs." He spent the Sunday in North Guilford, preached twice and confirmed twenty-four, and the next day at Guilford administered the rite of confirmation to four more.

All the places above named were in the county of New Haven, and most of them could be visited without going out of his way in returning to New London. At Guilford his son, the clergyman, joined him, and with Mr. Butler they went to Killingworth, where he "preached in the afternoon in the meeting-house," and confirmed twenty-seven persons.

In just a month after reaching home, the bishop spent a Sunday, July 18, in the neighboring town of Norwich, and confirmed forty-one, chiefly young people. It was the last of his appointments for the sum-

[1] Mr. Sayre died Feb. 18, 1798.

mer, and he took a little time to rest and regain his strength.

The public mind is easily drawn off from sacred to secular things. It is human nature to be inclined to the world and its passing events, and to let religion stand aside in seasons of political excitement and peril. Men are then much more ready to take up arms in defense of measures that affect the national honor or the rights of citizenship than to be valiant for the truth and for the Kingdom which endureth forever. Seabury had cause to lament the temporary decline of interest in spiritual things, and the slow growth of the Church in his jurisdiction, on account of events which absorbed the popular attention. This was explained in a letter to William Stevens, dated—

NEW LONDON *October* 10, 1794.

VERY DEAR SIR, — I wish I had the materials for a long and pleasing letter to you. But so much is the attention of almost every one taken up with public and political matters — some exulting, others dejected, at the successes of the French arms on the continent of Europe, and at the prospect of war between Great Britain and this country — that religion seems to be neglected, and that neglect, I fear, increases. Indeed I am apprehensive our Church is not in so flourishing a state as it has been. The number of candidates for Holy Orders is at present small, and the vacant congregations remiss in supplying themselves with resident clergymen.

I hope it will please God, of his mercy, to put a stop to devastation and bloodshed in Europe, and prevent the further spreading of war: Then, I trust, the minds of men will return to the consideration of that point on which their true interest depends.

I am preparing some manuscript discourses for Mr. Boucher. I hope I shall be ready to send them off by the first of November. Remember me to him. He will then hear particularly from me.

I am now to inform you that I have drawn on you for 25£ Sterl. by three Bills of Exchange of this date, in favour of Mr. William Ustick Jun. or order.

With the highest regard and esteem, I remain, dear sir, your affect. and devoted humble servt.

S. S. *Bp. Connect. &c.*

On Thursday, Nov. 6, he set out from New London to meet the clergy in convocation at Cheshire, and took his usual route through East Haddam and Middletown. He remained over Sunday with Dr. Jarvis, preached for him, and administered confirmation to nine persons. At this period he never travelled alone, but always had an attendant, either a clergyman or one of his sons, even when he rode in his sulky, as on this occasion. Dr. Jarvis accompanied him to Cheshire, and the convocation met on the 12th, eighteen of the clergy being present. There was a public service that day, and the bishop preached to a large congregation and confirmed thirty-three. An entry in his journal at this time may be quoted for the example it commends: "The communion was large and the communicants very devout, reflecting great honor on their worthy Rector."

The "worthy Rector" was the Rev. Mr. Ives, who accompanied him on Saturday to Waterbury, that parish being now vacant, leaving Dr. Hubbard to supply his own place in Cheshire. Here the bishop passed the Sunday, preached, administered the Holy Communion with the assistance of his attendant, and confirmed thirty-seven persons. The next day they were joined by Dr. Hubbard and others, and proceeded to Westbury (Watertown), and in the presence of seven clergymen and a "very large and attentive

congregation," he consecrated the new church in that place on Tuesday, and confirmed thirty-two persons. "An adult and an infant were baptized and a woman churched" at the same time, and the communion administered. The church was consecrated by the name of the former one, and the bishop said of it in his journal that it "is not only a decent but an elegant building, and was completely finished in two summers. It reflects great honor on this congregation, that though their old church was in good repair, yet standing inconvenient for them, they have by voluntary subscription in a short time finished one of the best churches in Connecticut, and zealously dedicated it to the service of God."

In his homeward journey he lodged a night at Wallingford, and another at East Haddam, holding a service in the latter place, and confirming twenty-one persons. As he was riding along on the last day of his return, the axle-tree of his sulky broke at Hadlyme without doing him any injury, but he was obliged to borrow a saddle and a bridle and proceed on horseback for the rest of the way to New London.

These minute details may not seem to be necessary, but they are important as illustrating the history of the times, and developing the Episcopal life of the first bishop of Connecticut. The prayer to God in the Litany, that he would be "pleased to preserve all who travel by land or by water," was not less applicable to the condition of things one hundred years ago, and it was framed for such a condition, than to the manifold perils by rapid transit in these days of steamboats and railroads. If more time than now was used to reach different points, more time was given

to each parish in a visitation, and more was needed, for the congregations were few in number and of ministers there were scarcely enough to feed the flocks. Often the bishop was obliged to officiate and conduct the whole service, that a rector might not leave his charge to assist him; or he would take the service and send the rector to preach and administer the sacraments in a neighboring parish where the church was kept open by lay readers.

The winter was again spent in New London, and nothing of unusual importance arrested his attention. The signs of the times foreboded an incoming flood of speculations in morals, religion, and politics, and the best way to meet it, as he taught his clergy, was to "hold fast the form of sound words" and cherish the "faith once delivered to the saints." He was especially earnest in his defense of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and appeared to feel in his latest days that a time would come when in New England it would be extensively corrupted and denied. He esteemed creeds to be safeguards of true religion, and had been desirous of retaining that of St. Athanasius in our Liturgy, for the reason that it was generally received by the Church, and had been of great service in preserving, as in an inviolable casket, the precious verities of the Christian faith. Any teaching that obscured the doctrine of the incarnate Word, or made it, like the natural world, a subject for human reasonings, was heretical and of dangerous tendency. Men were certain to fall into error if they attempted to speculate on the mysteries of the Godhead, or to reduce them to the ordinary forms of logical conclusion.

The annual convention of the Church in Connecticut was held at Stratford, June 3, 1795. Bishop Seabury set out from New London to attend it on Monday, the 25th of May, in company with his son Charles, and having been disappointed in his intention to visit Branford, he proceeded to New Haven, and "continued with Dr. Hubbard over Trinity Sunday." "The only business of consequence," said he, "at this convention related to the Episcopal Academy, which had been long projected. The difficulty which now presented was its *location;* Stratford, Wallingford, and Cheshire being competitors for it, and making generous offers for its establishment in their town. The business was finally referred to a committee appointed by the convention to meet on a fixed day in Hamden." The Academy was ultimately located in Cheshire, and was the first educational institution in this country organized under the auspices of a diocesan convention. It was the design of the founders to erect it into a college, and the idea was entertained, especially after his death, of giving it the name of the first bishop of Connecticut. But no charter, extending its powers, could be obtained from the Legislature, and it was left as it has been since, to do its good work for the Church as a school where young men are prepared for College or for the active business of life.

This convention, which was the last that Seabury attended, resolved to send "three deputies only of each order" to the General Convention, which was to meet in Philadelphia in the ensuing September. After the adjournment he continued several days in Stratford, and on Sunday admitted Caleb Child,

Alexander V. Griswold, and Manoah Smith Miles to the order of Deacons. The next morning, attended by a number of the clergy, he went to Tashua, where he consecrated the new church, and then set his face homeward, taking Derby and Woodbridge in the way. "In this journey of one hundred and fifty miles out and home, my good God was graciously pleased to preserve me from accidents and sickness, to give me much satisfaction in the pleasing appearance of the congregations I visited, and in the sight of many valued friends. I kept no exact account of the number confirmed, but suppose them to have been at least one hundred and fifty at New Haven, Stratford, Tashua, Derby, and Woodbridge." [1]

[1] MS. Journal.

CHAPTER XXV.

VISITATION, AND CONVENTION IN RHODE ISLAND; GENERAL CONVENTION IN PHILADELPHIA, AND NO DEPUTIES FROM NEW ENGLAND; OFFENSIVE PAMPHLET AND COURSE OF ITS AUTHOR; CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES, AND LAST VISITATION; DEATH AND FUNERAL; REMOVAL AND RE-INTERMENT OF HIS REMAINS; CHARACTER AND CONCLUSION.

A. D. 1795–1796.

SHORTLY after reaching home, Bishop Seabury visited the churches in Rhode Island, going by stage to Providence, and preaching there on Sunday, the 5th of July, and administering the rite of confirmation. There were only four parishes or cures at this time, including Narragansett, in the whole State, and in two of these the elements of discord and controversy had been so rife as to occasion him much displeasure, and render his visits to them unsatisfactory. They required more of his care and attention than the peaceful churches; and submitted to him questions, the decision of which, no matter what it might be, was sure to leave some seeds of discontent in one party or the other.

The convention was held in Bristol on Wednesday, whither he went in a chaise, accompanied by Mr. Clarke, who preached the sermon, and the next day, having finished the business, he proceeded in the afternoon to Newport, passed the Sunday with Mr.

Smith, and preached and confirmed in Trinity Church. His visitation was completed by taking the Narragansett region in his return, and spending a few days among those whom he wished to consult about the interests of their church, and to persuade, if possible, to cease the unhappy divisions which had been hindering its prosperity. No minister was there to meet him, but he found in George Brown, who lent him a horse on which he rode to New London, and in other zealous Episcopalians, followers of the late Dr. McSparran, friends who were glad to give him entertainment and to unite in any efforts for the renewal of religious services under his superintendence. He officiated in the parish church on Sunday and administered confirmation, and having rested till Tuesday at the house of a good mother in Israel, he set out for his home, thirty-six miles distant, and reached it in safety, thankful that he had been mercifully preserved in this journey of one hundred and fifty-seven miles, and permitted to lay his hands in the apostolic rite on more than one hundred persons.

The General Convention met in Philadelphia September 8, 1795, and four bishops, sixteen clerical, and eight lay deputies were present. There was no representation from the Church in any of the New England States, and from New York but two clergymen attended besides Bishop Provoost, who had been appointed to preach the sermon. It was not from a lack of interest in the proceedings, or an unwillingness to take the journey, that Seabury and his deputies failed to attend. But in consequence of the prevalence of epidemic disease, intercourse between New York and Philadelphia had been suspended by

public authority some time before the meeting, and there was no way of getting from Connecticut to the convention directly without going through New York.

It has been seen in a previous chapter that Seabury wrote to Bishop White, complaining of intrusion into his jurisdiction, and though he was not there to advocate it, a canon was adopted at this time forbidding congregations in future from uniting themselves with the Church in any other State or diocese than that within the limits of which they are located. The session continued for ten days, and on the Sunday after it began, the Rev. Robert Smith, D. D., was consecrated Bishop of South Carolina, — a State which originally entered into the general compact with the condition that no bishop should be imposed upon it, and there was reason to fear that a sinister design lay at the bottom of the request for his consecration. It was founded on a circular letter by "a select committee" of two clergymen and one layman, addressed to the members of the Church in South Carolina, threatening that when once the power of administering confirmation and conferring orders had been secured, Virginia and that State would secede from the general Church if the absolute negative of the House of Bishops, asked for by the Eastern clergy, should be admitted into the constitution. It was ascertained upon inquiry that the offensive sentiments of the printed circular had not been adopted by the convention of South Carolina, and therefore the bishops proceeded to consecrate Dr. Smith, Bishop White acting as the consecrator and the other three joining in the ceremony.

On Friday, the fourth day of the session, the Rev. Dr. Andrews, of Pennsylvania, called the attention of the House of Deputies to a pamphlet lately published, entitled, "Strictures on the Love of Power in the Prelacy, by a member of the Protestant Episcopal Association in the State of South Carolina." He declared it to be "a violent attack upon the doctrines and discipline of our Church," and libelous in its character. "The personal abuse in the licentious pamphlet," says White, "was principally leveled at Bishop Seabury; and the ground of it was his supposed authorship of a printed defence of the Episcopal negative, written and acknowledged by another respectable divine of the Church." [1]

The author of this pamphlet was a member of the House of Deputies, Rev. Dr. Henry Purcell, of Charleston, a signer also of the circular threatening secession; and that body fixed a day when, in a committee of the whole, the subject was seriously considered, and a resolution adopted that the pamphlet contained "very censurable and offensive matter." The further action would have been immediate expulsion had it not been for the interposition of the bishops and the presentation of a paper by Dr. Purcell, in which he made ample apology, and professed his sorrow for the publication. Whereupon the House of Deputies decided that in their opinion the paper should be "accepted as a satisfactory concession."

But subsequent events proved the insincerity of his penitence, though "accompanied with a profusion of tears," for on the rising of the convention, this belligerent clergyman, burning with indignation at Dr.

[1] *Memoirs P. E. Church*, p. 177.

Andrews, who had fearlessly exposed his conduct, challenged him to mortal combat, and the civil authorities consequently arrested him and bound him over to keep the peace. Whatever may have been the cause, whether mortification at this shameful affair, or indifference to the interests and legislation of the Church, it is a remarkable fact that from that time till 1814, South Carolina had no representative in any General Convention.

It was well, perhaps, that Bishop Seabury and his deputies were not present, for it left his vindication in the hands of those who could not but feel after this that his name was all the brighter when set in the light of truth. He had probably received a full account of the proceedings before he started from New London, Friday, October 16, to meet the clergy in convocation at Bristol or East Plymouth. His son Charles accompanied him as far as East Haddam, and remained to be present on Sunday at the consecration of the new church, called St. Stephen's, the rain having prevented it from being consecrated on the day appointed in the previous week. The bishop made an entry in his journal in connection with this service, which shows his practice and the view he entertained of the validity of lay baptism.

"An adult person, who had in his infancy received baptism among the Presbyterians, was in the congregation baptized by me. After sermon he presented himself for confirmation, and came to the Holy Communion. Eight others were confirmed with him, and most of them communicated that day. From a full persuasion of the invalidity of lay baptism, and that the ordination of the Presbyterian ministers is no

better than lay ordination, and that consequently their baptism is no better than lay baptism, I have never hesitated to baptize any persons who have been uneasy with their situation under that baptism and have applied to me. Their number has been considerable in Connecticut. May God's grace ever be with them."

His son left the next morning and returned to New London, and the Rev. S. Blakeslee accompanied him to Middletown, where the rain detained them for the night. They reached East Plymouth soon enough Wednesday for the religious services, which were to open with the consecration of the new church in that place. Bishop Seabury preached the sermon, — one of his best, — which was highly commended by the large number of clergymen in attendance. The Rev. Alexander V. Griswold, who had been officiating in the parish, was advanced to the priesthood and appointed its rector, and this was the last ordination by the first bishop of Connecticut. It proved to be the ordination of one who was afterwards elevated to the apostolic office, and held the great See of what was known as the Eastern Diocese. Confirmation was administered, and the public services having closed the clergy gathered together for their business, and, as the bishop said, "peace and harmony and joy were with them."

They adjourned to meet the next day at Harwinton, where another new but small church had been built, and was awaiting consecration. The attendance of people here was not large, and some inconvenience was experienced by messengers being sent to call out persons who "had strayed and gotten into the church,"

and who were wanted to assist in the election of two deacons, which "the Presbyterian minister had contrived" to take place at that time. Among the doings of the convocation was a resolution requesting the bishop to compose two Collects for the use of the clergy: one to be used at the sitting of the General Assembly, and the other to be used at the courts. Such Collects may have been privately authorized before, but this resolution was in accordance with an act of the recent General Convention, empowering bishops to issue forms of prayer and thanksgiving for extraordinary occasions.

With three of his clergy he proceeded to Litchfield on the 23d, and rested there till Sunday from a fatiguing journey over rough and hilly roads. Mr. Baldwin, a former rector of the parish, being with him, "preached in the morning, a very good sermon, both in matter and manner, to a very full congregation, and the communion was administered to a large number of communicants." He made a further entry in his journal thus: "Under the prudent care of the rector, Mr. Butler, the congregation appears to be increasing in number, and in piety and devotion. I preached in the afternoon, and administered confirmation to ninety-nine persons, chiefly young, the future hope of the Church."

He had now gained the utmost limit of his visitation, and was ready to set out on his return home. The clergy were kind enough to be his attendants as he passed from place to place, lodging a night with one and then with another. On Wednesday, the 28th of the month, he was in Wallingford, where he preached, and confirmed nineteen persons, and the

next day, at North Haven, confirmed twenty more. Here he was met by Dr. Hubbard, who conducted him to his residence in New Haven, where he tarried for the remainder of the week, preached on Sunday, and on Monday, in company with the Rev. Mr. Miles, proceeded to Branford. "Passing through East Haven," said he, "my horse fell and threw me, or rather obliged me to jump out of the sulky. By the mercy of God I escaped with only a slight bruise on my face." At Branford he held a service and confirmed twenty-one persons, and this was the last occasion on which he administered the rite, as the visitation which he thus closed was his last. Mr. Miles accompanied him all the way to New London, where he arrived on the 4th of November, after an absence of almost four weeks. "In this journey," said he, "I travelled one hundred and thirty-four miles, preached ten times, administered the communion five times, and confirmed one hundred and ninety-eight persons."[1]

Some indications of declining health were noticed on this visitation with concern, but his naturally sound and vigorous constitution and his unimpaired mental faculties afforded encouragement to believe that his life might be prolonged for years. It pleased Divine Wisdom to order otherwise. The winter months were well-nigh ended, during which he had been quietly attending to his parochial duties, when death suddenly came to him and terminated his faithful labors. He spent the afternoon of Thursday, the 25th of February, in making visits to several of his parishioners, and in the evening walked with his daughter Maria to the house of one of his wardens,

[1] MS. Journal.

the father-in-law of his son Charles. He complained, when there, of an extreme pain in his breast, and, at the moment of rising and retiring from the tea-table, fell in an apoplectic fit, and expired in forty minutes after he entered the house. A young physician near by, Dr. Coit,[1] was first summoned to his side, and dared not take the responsibility of using the lancet without the judgment and concurrence of an older practitioner. But all agreed that it was a hopeless case, beyond the reach of human skill, one of those sudden deaths, in the providence of God, from which some good men never pray to be delivered. The funeral was attended from the church on Sunday, and this circumstance, and the impediments of travelling at that season of the year, joined with the few facilities for conveying intelligence, prevented the clergy of the diocese from gathering in mourning and sorrow around his grave. A sermon was preached, but the only entry in the parish register is in these words: "February 28, 1796. Buried by the Rev. Mr. Tyler of Norwich, Right Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island."

The interment was in the old public cemetery of New London, and a table monument of gray marble was placed over his grave, with an inscription written by his life-long friend, the Rev. Dr. John Bowden. In the autumn of 1849, his remains were disinterred, and deposited in a crypt prepared for their reception under a division of the chancel of the new church, then approaching completion, and a handsome monument, in the form of an altar-tomb, underneath a canopy surmounted by a mitre, was erected at the

[1] Father of Rev. Dr. Thomas W. Coit.

joint expense of the diocese and parish, over his final resting-place.[1] A period of three-score years had brought great changes in the relative condition of things. The unpretending wooden church, "elegant" for the day, built under his direction and consecrated by him, had given place to a noble structure of stone, which will be associated in all time to come with the memory of a man who had the honor to live and die the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States of America.

If he had lived fourteen months longer, he would have seen the Rev. Dr. Edward Bass reëlected Bishop of Massachusetts, and receiving consecration, Bishop Claggett, the friend who esteemed Seabury highly, and adopted his mitre as a badge of office, joining in the act of consecration, and thus perpetuating the Scottish succession. If he had lived over into the present century, he would have seen elevated to the Episcopate, as the successor of Dr. Bass, his own companion and grand ally in the efforts to settle the Church in this country upon the old foundations, though Dr. Parker died three months after being consecrated, and did not perform a single Episcopal act. He would have seen his friend, Benjamin Moore, elected and consecrated Bishop of New York; and Isaac Wilkins, the fearless loyalist, who was compelled to leave the land he loved and retire to the British provinces, back again in Westchester County, ordained a priest by Bishop Provoost, chosen president of the Lower House of the General Convention, and established in the rectorship of the very parish where he, as a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of

[1] Appendix B.

the Gospel, was serving when the troubles of the Revolution broke out and drove him from the field.

It must be admitted that Seabury was a man for the times, far-reaching in his views, of a bold and resolute spirit, who thought and spoke for himself and spoke what he thought. He entertained a high opinion of the Church whose most dignified office he sustained, because he believed that she was "built upon the foundation of the prophets and apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone." He greatly deplored the growing indifference and infidelity of the age, and did everything in his sphere to counteract them. "Theological niceties, and conjectural divinity, were ever his aversion, because too refined and visionary either to be felt or comprehended. His one object, and therefore his chief care, was to explain the great articles of faith and rules of life, what we must believe and how we must live, that we may be eternally happy.

His own vital sense of religion infused itself into his discourses, and animated them with the same divine passion that warmed his own breast. His mind was too great to seek popular applause; he only wished to have his labors well received, that he might do good; that he might prevail upon people to seek their own spiritual welfare; that he might promote the cause of Christ's Church and advance pure and undefiled religion. Confident of the solid grounds on which his religion rested, he was, agreeable to the natural firmness of his mind, inflexible in his principles: these he accounted sacred; from which on no occasion would he allow himself to deviate, yet with a graceful ease he could give up anything but the

truth, and even that he would support, if possible, without giving offense."[1]

His scanty income, received largely from England, would not allow him to be charitable to the extent of his heart's desires, and yet he was charitable in other ways than by scattering pecuniary gifts. Besides watching as the rector of the parish for the spiritual welfare of the needy and the unfortunate, he applied his medical knowledge gratuitously for their relief in seasons of sickness, so that it was recorded of him, when he died, by one of the public journals of the day, "the poor will miss him as a physician and a friend." If no pomp surrounded his burial, the grief and tears of the many to whom he thus ministered testified to a better sentiment than the hollow pride which indulges in a vain show and makes a mockery of human sorrow.

It may be needless to add that he was a great loss to the Church in Connecticut at that crisis, as he was to the Church in the whole country. Those who had come to know him best as a bishop held him in the highest estimation, and appreciated warmly his eminent talents and excellent traits of character. "This day, my brethren of the clergy," said Mr. Jarvis in his sermon, "we are able and as willing to declare one to another, and to the world, how happy we were under him as our spiritual father, brother, companion, and friend. With manners engaging, and by a method judicious and easy, he would commonly collect our opinions, and if different in any matter, bring them together, and so accommodate them to his own,

[1] *Discourse before a Special Convention in Trinity Church, New Haven* by Rev. Abraham Jarvis, A. M., May 5, 1796, pp. 21, 22.

as, with very few exceptions, to maintain a most pleasing harmony and union among us. His visitations to all the churches in his diocese were frequent, more so perhaps than consisted with his health, usually preaching wherever he went. The people always received him with pleasure, and a numerous audience heard him gladly."

The friends who had stood by him in his darkest trials, and shared in some of the bitter persecutions which he endured for his loyalty to the king, kept him in remembrance, and followed him with interest and affection to the end of his days. It has been seen, that after the independence of the colonies was acknowledged and the Federal Constitution established, he transferred his allegiance to the new government in his native country, and was as sincere and conscientious in its support as before he had been in resisting the Revolution and vindicating the rights of British subjects under the crown of England. He made no undue complaints, but he had reason to feel that his loyalty had not been properly rewarded; and one of his foreign correspondents, Jonathan Boucher, who sympathized with him, and thought him a man of such transcendent abilities as to be an ornament and a blessing to any country, said of him with a touch of pathos and a little exaggeration: "As the Bishop of Connecticut, he was supported by an humble eleemosynary pittance contributed by a few private friends in England, and in February, 1796, died as unnoticed as he had lived. Farewell, poor Seabury! However neglected in life, there still lives one at least who knew thy worth and honors thy memory!"[1]

[1] Boucher's *Thirteen Discourses on the American Revolution*, p. 557.

His family, of course, was left with no worldly wealth; but the inheritance of his virtues was a priceless treasure. Three sons and three daughters lived to maturity, and some of them died before him; but Charles, the youngest child, who married a daughter of Roswell Saltonstall, of New London, was the only son who perpetuated his honored name.[1] He succeeded him in the rectorship of the parish, and retained it for twenty years, though at the disadvantage of coming after a father who had much more brilliant acquirements, and greater powers to attract and fascinate men.

The stature and personal bearing of a public man who lived nearly a century ago must be wholly learned from tradition and contemporary records. It was observed, when the grave of the bishop was opened in 1849, that his frame displayed extraordinary physical power; and one who, because he was born, brought up, and ministered forty years in the parish at New London, had good opportunities of gathering reminiscences, has written thus: "Bishop Seabury was not in person very tall, but stout, robust, and massive. His presence and bearing inspired reverence, and his clear and sonorous voice added much to make him impressive and commanding. Such he was: and I will only add that it is time pitiful detraction should come to an end, and all Churchmen should unite in that tribute to his memory which his character and service justly deserve."[2]

[1] The late Rev. Samuel Seabury, D. D., well known as a vigorous writer and profound theologian, was a son of *Charles;* and the Rev. William J. Seabury, D. D., the only son of *Samuel*, and great grandson of the bishop, is now Professor of Ecclesiastical Polity and Law in the General Theological Seminary at New York.

[2] Hallam's *Annals of St. James's Church, New London*, pp. 74, 75.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

N. York, *May* 22, 1766.

Revd. 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 and annual conventions in the province of N. York, for the sake of conferring together upon the most proper methods of Promoting the welfare of the Church of England, and the interest of religion and virtue, and also to keep up as a body an exact correspondence with the Honorable Society, we embrace with pleasure this opportunity, which our first meeting hath furnished us with, to present our duty to the ven'ble 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 number; 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 Col-

onies have perished in the attempt, 10 having miscarried out of 51; This we consider as an incontestible argument for the necessity of American Bishops, and we do in the most earnest manner beg and intreat the Ven'ble 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 interest of the Church in this wide extended country. As we esteem it our indispensable duty to give the Society ev'ry information relative to the state of religion in this Country, we are now to inform them that there are at present a great many Independent and Presbyterian teachers assembled at this place to the number of about 60 and many more expected who call themselves a synod and we are credibly informed, that the grand point they have in view, is to apply to the general assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to use their utmost influence with his majesty and the British parliament that they may be incorporated or established, and endowed with most ample privileges and immunities. As we foresee the greatest mischiefs from this scheme, should it succeed we humbly assure ourselves, the Society will use such methods as they think proper to prevent these aspiring men from accomplishing their pernicious designs; With the warmest sentiments of gratitude we acknowledge the Society's constant care and attention to the interests of Religion and of our most excellent Church, and we beg leave to assure them that we shall jointly and severally use our best endeavours to answer their pious and benevolent purposes. We are Rev^{d}. Sir the Society's and your most dutiful and most obdt. Servants

SAMUEL JOHNSON,
President of the Convention.

ABRM. JARVIS,
RICHD. CHARLTON,
SAM^{L}. AUCHMUTY,
MYLES COOPER,
JOHN OGILVIE,
SAML. COOKE,
THOS. B. CHANDLER.
SAMUEL SEABURY,
ROBT. MCKEAN,
CHAS. INGLIS,
LEO. CUTTING,
HARRY MUNRO,
EPHM. AVERY.

APPENDIX B.

THE inscription by the Rev. Dr. Bowden on the monument in the public cemetery reads as follows: —

Here lieth the body of
SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D.,
Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island,
Who departed from this transitory scene, February 25, 1796,
In the sixty-eighth year of his age.
Ingenious without pride, learned without pedantry,
Good without severity, he was duly qualified to discharge the duties
of the Christian and the Bishop.
In the pulpit, he enforced religion; in his conduct,
he exemplified it.
The poor he assisted with his charity; the ignorant he
blessed with his instruction.
The friend of man, he ever desired their good;
The enemy of vice, he ever opposed it.
Christian! dost thou aspire to happiness?
Seabury has shown the way that leads to it.

The monument, subsequent to the removal of the remains of the bishop, was transferred and fixed "within the enclosure on the north side of the present church." According to the inscription the Bishop was one year older at the time of his death than appears from the date of his birth. It has been said that he was not inclined to make his age public. A good woman in Litchfield, on one of his visitations to that parish, put to him the direct question, "Bishop, how

old are you?" and was no wiser when he answered, "Madam, I am old enough to be a better man than I am."

A tablet, in the form of an obelisk, was originally placed near the pulpit in the old church, and after the erection of the new one it was removed to the chapel in the basement, where it now stands. The epitaph is not to be commended, and in one of its expressions is a fair subject of criticism: —

SACRED
May this marble long remain
(The just tribute of affection)
to the memory
Of the truly venerable and beloved
Pastor of this Church,
THE RIGHT REVEREND SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D.,
Bishop of Connecticut and Rhode Island,
Who was translated from earth
to heaven
February 25, 1796,
In the sixty-eighth year of his age and twelfth of his consecration;
but still lives in the hearts of a grateful diocese.

On the slab above the tomb in the church is engraved: —

The Right Rev. Father in God,
SAMUEL SEABURY, D. D.,
First Bishop of Connecticut,
And of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States;
Consecrated at Aberdeen, Scotland, Nov. 14, 1784;
Died Feb. 25, 1796; aged 67.
The Diocese of Connecticut recorded here
its grateful memory of his virtues and services,
A. D. 1849.

And the brass plate inserted in its upper surface has an inscription prepared by the late Rev. Dr. Samuel Farmar Jarvis, as follows: —

Sub pavimento altaris
Ut in loco quietis ultimo usque ad magni diei judicium
Exuviæ mortales præsulis admodum reverendi nunc restant,
SAMUELIS SEABURY, S. T. D., Oxon.,
Qui primus in rempublicam novi orbis Anglo-Americanam
Successionem apostolicam,
E. Scotia transtulit XVIII. Kal. Dec. A. D. CIↃIↃCCLXXXIV.
Diocesis sua
laborum et angustiarum tam chari capitis nunquam oblita
in ecclesia nova S. Jacobi majoris Neo Londinensi olim sede sua
hoc monumentum nunc demum longo post tempore honoris causa
anno salut. nost. CIↃIↃCCCXLIX ponere curavit.

The following is a translation: —

"Under the pavement of the altar, as in the final place of rest until the judgment of the great day, now repose the mortal remains of the Right Rev. Prelate, Samuel Seabury, D. D., Oxon., who first brought from Scotland, into the Anglo-American Republic of the New World, the Apostolic Succession, Nov. 14, 1784. His diocese, never forgetful of the labors and trials of so dear a person, in the new church of St James the greater at New London, formerly his See, now at last, a long time afterward, has taken care to place this monument to his honor in the year of our salvation, 1849."

Elsewhere, the name of Seabury and his apostolic mission have not been forgotten. One of the eleven double-light windows in the nave of St Paul's Church, within the walls, at Rome, Italy, was placed to his memory, with an inscription commemorating the fact of his being the first of the bishops of the holy Catholic Church in America, with the dates of his consecration at Aberdeen, and of his death, — concluding with the expressive words FIDEM SERVAVIT. It was the gift of Mr. J. C. Hooker, an American residing in Rome.

The new chancel of S^{t} Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, will have a very large east window in five divisions, a memorial of Bishop Seabury, of his three consecrators, and also of Bishop William Skinner, the late *Primus*. One of the divisions will be filled with the aid of contributions from the diocese of Connecticut, and duly inscribed to the memory of Seabury.

APPENDIX C.

A PRINTED copy of the charge was found among the papers left by Bishop White, and the following note in his handwriting appeared on the blank pages at the end. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Thomas H. Montgomery, a great grandson of the bishop, for a photo-lithographed copy.

Those measures began with the author's pamphlet, entitled "The Case of the Episcopal Churches in the United States considered."

The circumstances attached to that publication are the following: —

The congregations of our Communion throughout the U. States were approaching to Annihilation. Altho' within this city, three episcopal clergymen, including the Author, were resident and officiating; the Church over the rest of the State, had become deprived of their clergy during the war, either by Death, or by Departure for England. In the eastern States, with two or three exceptions, there was a cessation of the exercises of the Pulpit; owing to the necessary disuse of the Prayers for the former civil Rulers. In Maryland and in Virginia, where the Church had enjoyed civil Establishments, on the ceasing of these, the Incumbents of the Parishes, almost without exception ceased to officiate. Further South, the condition of the Church was not better, to say the least. At the time in question, there had occurred some circumstances, which prompted the hope of a discontinuance of the War; but, that it would be with the acknowledgment of American Independence, there was little reason to expect.

On the 6th of August, 1782, the Congress, as noticed on their printed Journal of that day, received a communication from Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby, dated the 2d of that month, which gave the first opening of the prospect of peace. The pamphlet had been advertised for sale in the "Pennsylvania Packet" of the sixth, and some copies had been previously handed by the author to a few of his friends. This suspended the intended proceedings in the business; which, in the opinion of the author, would have been justified by necessity, and by no other consideration.

It was an opinion commonly entertained, that if there should be a discontinuance of military operations, it would be without the Acknowledgment of Independence as happened after the severance of the Netherlands from the crown of Spain. Of the like issue there seemed probable causes, in the feelings attendant on disappointed efforts for conquest; and in the belief cherished, that the successes of the former colonists would be followed by dissentions, inducing return to the domination of the Mother Country. Had the War ended in that way, our obtaining of the succession from England would have been hopeless. The remnant of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, labouring under penal laws not executed, would hardly have regarded the bringing down on themselves of the Arm of Government. Fear of the like offence would have operated in any other quarter to which we might have had recourse. In such a case, the obtaining of the succession in time to save from ruin, would seem to have been impossible.

Collier, whom Seabury in his letter cited as authority, did not give correctly the names of the four bishops consecrated in Westminster for Scotland. Bishop John Skinner, in his *Primitive Truth and Order Vindicated*, page 351, has a footnote in these words: —

In the year 1789, Bishop Abernethy Drummond, Bishop Strachan, and I being at London, soliciting relief to our church from certain penal statutes; at the desire of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut, who some years before had been consecrated by the bishops in Scotland, we applied to the archbishop of Canterbury for an attested extract of the consecration of the Scotch bishops in 1661, and through his Grace's condescending attention, received what follows —

"Extract from the Register-book of Archbishop Juxon, in the library of his Grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, at Lambeth palace —

"Fol. 237.

"It appears — that James Sharpe was consecrated archbishop of St. Andrews, Andrew Fairfoul archbishop of Glasgow, Robert Leighton bishop of Dunblenen, and James Hamilton bishop of Galloway, on the 15th day of December, 1661, in St. Peter's church, Westminster, by Gilbert bishop of London, Commissary to the archbishop of Canterbury, and that the right Rev. George, bishop of Worcester, John, bishop of Carlisle, and Hugh, bishop of Landaff, were present and assisting.

"Extracted this 3d day of June, 1789, by me, William Dickes, Secretary."

Bishop Seabury had previously possessed himself of the following list of a succession of Scots Bishops, which was printed in the pamphlet that contained the first Charge to the clergy of his Diocese: —

A LIST OF THE CONSECRATION AND SUCCESSION OF SCOTS BISHOPS, SINCE THE REVOLUTION 1688, UNDER WILLIAM III., AS FAR AS THE CONSECRATION OF BISHOP SEABURY IS CONCERNED.

1693. *Feb.* 23. Dr. George Hickes was consecrated Suffragan of Thetford, in the Bishop of Peterborough's Chapel, in the Parish of Enfield, by Dr. William Loyd, Bishop of

Norwich; Dr. Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely; and Dr. Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough. *N. B.* Dr. Loyd, Dr. Turner, and Dr. White were three of the English Bishops who were deprived at the Revolution by the Civil power, for not swearing allegiance to William III. They were also three of the seven Bishops who had been sent to the Tower by James II. for refusing to order an illegal Proclamation to be read in their Dioceses.

1705. *Jan.* 25. Mr. John Sage, formerly one of the Ministers of Glasgow, and Mr. John Fullarton, formerly Minister of Paisley, were consecrated, at Edinburgh, by John Paterson, Archbishop of Glasgow; Alexander Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, and Robert Douglas, Bishop of Dunblane. *N. B.* Archbishop Paterson, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Douglas were deprived at the Revolution, by the Civil power, because they refused to swear allegiance to William III.

1709. *April* 28. Mr. John Falconar, Minister at Carnbie, and Mr. Henry Chrystie, Minister at Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Sage.

1711. *Aug.* 25. The Honourable Archibald Campbell was consecrated at Dundee, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Douglas of Dunblane, and Bishop Falconar.

1712. *Feb.* 24. Mr. James Gadderar, formerly Minister at Kilmaurs, was consecrated at London, by Bishop Hickes, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Campbell.

1718. *Oct.* 22. Mr. Arthur Millar, formerly Minister at Inveresk, and Mr. William Irvine, formerly Minister at Kirkmichael, in Carrick, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rose of Edinburgh, Bishop Fullarton, and Bishop Falconar.

After the Bishop of Edinburgh's death.

1722. *Oct.* 7. Mr. Andrew Cant, formerly one of the Ministers of Edinburgh, and Mr. David Freebairn, formerly Minister of Dunning, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Fullarton, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Irvine.

1727. *June* 4. Dr. Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Cant.

1727. *June* 18. Mr. William Dunbar, Minister at Cruden, and Mr. Robert Keith, Presbyter in Edinburgh, were consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Gadderar, Bishop Millar, and Bishop Rattray. *N. B.* They who were deprived of their parishes at the Revolution are in this list called Ministers ; but they who had not been Parish-ministers under the Civil establishment are called Presbyters.

1735. *June* 24. Mr. Robert White, Presbyter at Cupar, was consecrated at Carsebank, near Forfar, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Dunbar, and Bishop Keith.

1741. *Sept.* 10. Mr. William Falconar, Presbyter at Forres, was consecrated at Alloa, in Clackmannanshire, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White.

1742. *Oct.* 4. Mr. James Rait, Presbyter at Dundee, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Rattray, Bishop Keith, and Bishop White.

1743. *Aug.* 19. Mr. John Alexander, Presbyter at Alloa, in Clackmannanshire, was consecrated at Edinburgh, by Bishop Keith, Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, and Bishop Rait.

1747. *July* 17. Mr. Andrew Gerard, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander.

1759. *Nov.* 1. Mr. Henry Edgar was consecrated at Cupar in Fife, by Bishop White, Bishop Falconar, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander, as Co-adjutor to Bishop White, then *Primus*. *N. B.* Anciently no Bishop in Scotland had the style of Archbishop, but one of them had a precedency, under the style of *Primus Scotiæ Episcopus:* And after the Revolution they returned to their old style, which they still retain ; one of them being intitled *Primus*, to whom precedency is allowed, and deference paid, in the synod of Bishops.

1762. *June* 24. Mr. Robert Forbes was consecrated, at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Alexander, and Bishop Gerard.

1768. *Sept.* 21. Mr. Robert Kilgour, Presbyter at Peter-

head, was consecrated Bishop of Aberdeen, at Cupar, in Fife, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Alexander.

1774. *Aug.* 24. Mr. Charles Rose, Presbyter at Down, was consecrated Bishop of Dunblane, at Forfar, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, and Bishop Forbes.

1776. *June* 27. Mr. Arthur Petrie, Presbyter at Meiklefolla, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor, at Dundee, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rait, Bishop Kilgour, and Bishop Rose; and appointed Bishop of Ross and Caithness, July 8, 1777. *N. B.* After the Revolution, the Bishops in Scotland had no particular Diocese, but managed their ecclesiastical affairs in one body, as a College; but finding inconveniences in this mode, they took particular Dioceses, which, though not exactly according to the limits of the Dioceses under the former legal establishment, still retain their old names.

1778. *Aug.* 13. Mr. George Innes, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop of Brechin, at Alloa, by Bishop Falconar, *Primus*, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Petrie.

1782. *Sept.* 25. Mr. John Skinner, Presbyter in Aberdeen, was consecrated Bishop Co-adjutor, at Luthermuir, in the Diocese of Brechin, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Rose, and Bishop Petrie.

N. B. The foregoing list is taken from an attested copy, in the possession of Bishop Seabury.

1784. *Nov.* 14. Dr. Samuel Seabury, Presbyter, from the State of Connecticut, in America, was consecrated Bishop, at Aberdeen, by Bishop Kilgour, *Primus*, Bishop Petrie, and Bishop Skinner, — as, by the deed of consecration, now in his possession, does fully appear.

SAMUEL, Bp. Epl Ch. Connect.

NEW-LONDON, *August* 26, 1785.

APPENDIX D.

THE COMMUNION-OFFICE, OR ORDER FOR THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE HOLY EUCHARIST OR SUPPER OF THE LORD. WITH PRIVATE DEVOTIONS. RECOMMENDED TO THE EPISCOPAL CONGREGATIONS IN CONNECTICUT, BY THE RIGHT REVEREND BISHOP SEABURY.

The Communion-Office.

¶ *The Exhortation.*

Dearly beloved in the Lord, ye that mind to come to the holy Communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, must consider how St. Paul exhorteth all persons diligently to try and examine themselves, before they presume to eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For as the benefit is great, if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament, (for then we spiritually eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood; then we dwell in Christ, and Christ in us; we are one with Christ, and Christ with us;) so is the danger great, if we receive the same unworthily, not considering the Lord's body; for then we are guilty of the body and blood of Christ our Saviour; we kindle God's wrath against us, and bring his judgments upon us. Judge therefore yourselves, brethren, that ye be not judged of the Lord; repent you truly for your sins past; have a lively and stedfast faith in Christ our Saviour; amend your lives, and be in perfect charity with all men; so shall ye be meet partakers of those holy mysteries. And above all things, ye must give most humble and hearty thanks to

God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, for the redemption of the world, by the death and passion of our Saviour Christ, both God and man, who did humble himself even to the death upon the cross for us miserable sinners, who lay in darkness and the shadow of death, that he might make us the children of God, and exalt us to everlasting life. And to the end that we should always remember the exceeding great love of our Master and only Saviour Jesus Christ thus dying for us, and the innumerable benefits which by his precious blood-shedding he hath obtained to us, he hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and for a continual remembrance of his death, to our great and endless comfort. To him, therefore, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, let us give (as we are most bounden) continual thanks, submitting ourselves wholly to his holy will and pleasure, and studying to serve him in true holiness and righteousness all the days of our life. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Priest, or Deacon, shall say,*

Let us present our offerings to the Lord with reverence and Godly fear.

¶ *Then the Priest shall begin the offertory, saying one or more of these sentences following, as he thinketh most convenient in his discretion.*

In process of time it came to pass, that Cain brought of the fruit of the ground an offering unto the Lord. And Abel, he also brought of the firstlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof. And the Lord had respect unto Abel, and to his offering: but unto Cain and to his offering he had not respect. *Gen.* iv. 3, 4.

Speak unto the children of Israel, that they bring me an offering: of every man that giveth it willingly with his heart, ye shall take my offering. *Exod.* xxv. 2.

Ye shall not appear before the Lord empty. Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord your God which he hath given you. *Deut.* xvi. 16, 17.

Give unto the Lord the glory due unto his name: bring an offering, and come into his courts. *Psal.* xcvi. 8.

Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal: but lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth corrupt, and where thieves do not break through nor steal. *Matt.* vi. 19, 20.

Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven: but he that doth the will of my Father which is in heaven. *Matt.* vii. 21.

Jesus sat over against the treasury, and beheld how the people cast money into it: and many that were rich cast in much. And there came a certain poor widow, and she threw in two mites, which make a farthing. And he called unto him his disciples, and saith unto them, Verily I say unto you, that this poor widow hath cast more in, than all they which have cast into the treasury. For all they did cast in of their abundance: but she of her want did cast in all that she had, even all her living. *Mark* xii. 41, 42, 43, 44.

Who goeth a warfare at any time of his own charges? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? 1 *Cor.* ix. 7.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great matter if we should reap your carnal things? 1 *Cor.* ix. 11.

Do ye not know, that they which minister about holy things, live of the sacrifice? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar? Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they who preach the gospel, should live of the gospel. 1 *Cor.* ix. 13, 14.

He that soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly: and he who soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully. Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a chearful giver. 2 *Cor.* ix. 6, 7.

Let him that is taught in the word, communicate unto him that teacheth, in all good things. Be not deceived: God is

not mocked: for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap. *Gal.* vi. 6, 7.

Charge them that are rich in this world, that they be not high-minded, nor trust in uncertain riches, but in the living God, who giveth us richly all things to enjoy: That they do good, that they be rich in good works, ready to distribute, willing to communicate; laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal life. 1 *Tim.* vi. 17, 18, 19.

God is not unrighteous, to forget your work and labour of love, which ye have shewed toward his name, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister. *Heb.* vi. 10.

To do good, and to communicate, forget not; for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. *Heb.* xiii. 16.

¶ *While the Priest distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the offertory, the Deacon, or (if no such be present) some other fit person, shall receive the devotions of the people, in a basin provided for that purpose. And when all have offered, he shall reverently bring, and deliver it to the Priest; who shall humbly present it before the Lord, and set it upon the holy table, saying,*

Blessed be thou, O Lord God, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all: both riches and honour come of thee, and of thine own do we give unto thee. *Amen.*

¶ *And the Priest shall then offer up, and place the bread and wine prepared for the sacrament upon the Lord's table, putting a little pure water into the cup: and shall say,*

The Lord be with you.
Answer. And with thy spirit.
Priest. Lift up your hearts.
Answer. We lift them up unto the Lord.
Priest. Let us give thanks unto our Lord God.

Answer. It is meet and right so to do.

Priest. It is very meet, right, and our bounden duty, that we should at all times, and in all places, give thanks unto thee O Lord, *[holy Father,] Almighty, everlasting God.

* *These words* (holy Father) *must be omitted on Trinity-Sunday.*

¶ *Here shall follow the proper preface, according to the time, if there be any especially appointed; or else immediately shall follow,*

Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Proper Prefaces.*

¶ *Upon Christmas-day, and seven days after.*

Because thou didst give Jesus Christ thine only Son, to be born * [as on this day] for us, who, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, was made very man, of the substance of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, and that without spot of sin, to make us clean from all sin. Therefore with angels, &c.

* *During the seven days after Christmas, say,* as at this time.

¶ *Upon Easter-day, and seven days after.*

But chiefly are we bound to praise thee, for the glorious resurrection of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord: For he is the very Paschal Lamb, which was offered for us, and hath taken away the sin of the world; who by his death hath destroyed death, and by his rising to life again, hath restored to us everlasting life. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *Upon Ascension-day, and seven days after.*

Through thy most dearly beloved Son, Jesus Christ our Lord; who, after his most glorious resurrection, manifestly appeared to all his apostles, and in their sight ascended up into heaven, to prepare a place for us; that where he is, thither might we also ascend, and reign with him in glory. Therefore with angels and archangels, &c.

¶ *Upon Whitsunday, and six days after.*

Through Jesus Christ our Lord; according to whose most true promise the Holy Ghost came down * [as on this day] from heaven, with a sudden great sound, as it had been a mighty wind, in the likeness of fiery tongues, lighting upon the apostles, to teach them, and to lead them to all truth, giving them both the gift of divers languages, and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the gospel unto all nations, whereby we are brought out of darkness and error into the clear light and true knowledge of thee, and of thy Son Jesus Christ. Therefore with angels, &c.

* *During the six days after Whitsunday, say,* as at this time.

¶ *Upon the feast of Trinity only.*

Who art one God, one Lord; not one only person, but three persons in one substance. For that which we believe of the glory of the Father, the same we believe of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without any difference or inequality. Therefore with angels, &c.

¶ *After which prefaces shall follow immediately this doxology.*

Therefore with angels and archangels, and with all the company of heaven, we laud and magnify thy glorious name, evermore praising thee, and saying, Holy, holy, holy Lord God of hosts, heaven and earth are full of thy glory. Glory be to thee, O Lord most high. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Priest standing at such a part of the holy table as he may with the most ease and decency use both his hands, shall say the prayer of consecration, as followeth.*

All glory be to thee, Almighty God, our heavenly Father, for that thou of thy tender mercy didst give thy only Son Jesus Christ to suffer death upon the cross for our redemption; who made there (by his one oblation of himself once offered) a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction, for the sins of the whole world; and did institute,

and in his holy gospel command us to continue a perpetual memory of that his precious death and sacrifice until his coming again. For, in the night that he was betrayed, (*a*) he took bread; and when he had given thanks, (*b*) he brake it, and gave to his disciples, saying, Take, eat, (*c*) THIS IS MY BODY, which is given for you: DO this in remembrance of me. Likewise after supper (*d*) he took the cup; and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this, for (*e*) THIS IS MY BLOOD, of the new testament, which is shed for you, and for many, for the remission of sins: DO this as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me.

(*a*) *Here the Priest is to take the paten into his hands:*

(*b*) *And here to break the bread:*

(*c*) *And here to lay his hands upon all the bread.*

(*d*) *Here he is to take the cup into his hand:*

(*e*) *And here to lay his hand upon every vessel (be it chalice or flagon) in which there is any wine to be consecrated.*

The Oblation.

Wherefore, O Lord, and heavenly Father, according to the institution of thy dearly beloved Son our Saviour Jesus Christ, we thy humble servants do celebrate and make here before thy divine majesty, with these thy holy gifts, WHICH WE NOW OFFER UNTO THEE, the memorial thy Son hath commanded us to make; having in remembrance his blessed passion, and precious death, his mighty resurrection, and glorious ascension; rendering unto thee most hearty thanks for the innumerable benefits procured unto us by the same. And we most humbly beseech thee, O merciful Father, to hear us, and of thy almighty goodness vouchsafe to bless and sanctify, with thy word and Holy Spirit, these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son. And we earnestly desire thy fatherly goodness, mercifully to accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, most humbly beseeching thee to grant, that by the merits and death of thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in his blood, we (and all thy whole church) may obtain remission of our sins, and all other benefits of his passion. And here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and lively sacrifice unto thee, hum-

The Invocation.

bly beseeching thee, that we and all others who shall be partakers of this holy Communion, may worthily receive the most precious body and blood of thy Son Jesus Christ, be filled with thy grace and heavenly benediction, and made one body with him, that he may dwell in them and they in him. And although we are unworthy, through our manifold sins, to offer unto thee any sacrifice; yet we beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, not weighing our merits, but pardoning our offences, through Jesus Christ our Lord: by whom, and with whom, in the unity of the Holy Ghost, all honour and glory be unto thee, O Father Almighty, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church.*

Almighty and everliving God, who by thy holy Apostle hast taught us to make prayers and supplications, and to give thanks for all men; We humbly beseech thee most mercifully to accept our alms and oblations, and to receive these our prayers, which we offer unto thy divine majesty; beseeching thee to inspire continually the universal church with the spirit of truth, unity and concord; and grant that all they who do confess thy holy name, may agree in the truth of thy holy word and live in unity and godly love. We beseech thee also to save and defend all Christian Kings, Princes, and Governors; and grant that they, and all who are in authority, may truly and impartially minister justice to the punishment of wickedness and vice, and to the maintenance of thy true religion and virtue. Give grace, O heavenly Father, to all Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, that they may both by their life and doctrine set forth thy true and lively word, and rightly and duly administer thy holy sacraments: and to all thy people give thy heavenly grace, that with meek heart, and due reverence, they may hear and receive thy holy word, truly serving thee in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. And we commend especially to thy merciful goodness the congregation here assembled in thy name, to celebrate the commemora-

tion of the most precious death and sacrifice of thy Son and our Saviour Jesus Christ. And we most humbly beseech thee of thy goodness, O Lord, to comfort and succour all those who in this transitory life are in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity. And we also bless thy holy name for all thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours: yielding unto thee most high praise and hearty thanks, for the wonderful goodness and virtue declared in all thy saints, who have been the choice vessels of thy grace, and the lights of the world in their several generations: most humbly beseeching thee to give us grace to follow the example of their stedfastness in thy faith, and obedience to thy holy commandments, that at the day of the general resurrection, we, and all they who are of the mystical body of thy Son, may be set on his right hand, and hear that his most joyful voice, Come, ye blessed of my father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world. Grant this, O Father, for Jesus Christ's sake, our only Mediator and Advocate. *Amen.*

As our Saviour Christ hath commanded and taught us, we are bold to say,

Our Father who art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil. For thine is the kingdom, and the power and the glory, forever and ever. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest say to them that come to receive the holy communion, this invitation.*

Ye that do truly and earnestly repent you of your sins, and are in love and charity with your neighbours, and intend to lead a new life, following the commandments of God, and walking from henceforth in his holy ways: Draw near with faith and take this holy sacrament to your comfort; and make your humble confession to Almighty God.

¶ *Then shall this general confession be made, by the people, along with the Priest; all humbly kneeling upon their knees.*

Almighty God, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, maker of all things, judge of all men; We acknowledge and bewail our manifold sins and wickedness, which we from time to time most grievously have committed, by thought, word, and deed, against thy divine Majesty; provoking most justly thy wrath and indignation against us. We do earnestly repent, and are heartily sorry for these our misdoings; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us; the burden of them is intolerable. Have mercy upon us, have mercy upon us, most merciful Father; for thy Son our Lord Jesus Christ's sake, forgive us all that is past; and grant, that we may ever hereafter serve and please thee, in newness of life, to the honour and glory of thy name, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest, or the Bishop, (being present,) stand up, and turning himself to the people, pronounce the absolution as followeth.*

Almighty God our heavenly Father, who, of his great mercy, hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them that with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto him; Have mercy upon you; pardon and deliver you from all your sins; confirm and strengthen you in all goodness; and bring you to everlasting life, through Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Priest say,*

Hear what comfortable words our Saviour Christ saith unto all that truly turn to him:

Come unto me, all ye that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will refresh you. *Matt.* ix. 28.

Private ejaculation.

Refresh, O Lord, thy servant wearied with the burden of sin.

God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. *John* iii. 16.

Private ejaculation.

Lord, I believe in thy Son Jesus Christ, and let this faith purify me from all iniquity.

Hear also what St. Paul saith.

This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners. 1 *Tim.* i. 15.

Private ejaculation.

I embrace with all thankfulness that salvation that Jesus has brought into the world.

Hear also what St. John saith.

If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous: and he is the propitiation for our sins. 1 *John* ii. 1, 2.

Private ejaculation.

Intercede for me, O blessed Jesu! that my sins may be pardoned, through the merits of thy death.

¶ *Then shall the Priest, turning him to the altar, kneel down, and say, in the name of all them that shall communicate, this collect of humble access to the holy communion, as followeth.*

We do not presume to come to this thy holy table, O merciful Lord, trusting in our own righteousness, but in thy manifold and great mercies. We are not worthy so much as to gather up the crumbs under thy table: But thou art the same Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. Grant us therefore, gracious Lord, so to eat the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ, and to drink his blood, that our sinful bodies may be made clean by his most sacred body, and our souls washed through his most precious blood, and that we may evermore dwell in him, and he in us. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall the Bishop, if he be present, or else the Priest that celebrateth, first receive the communion in both kinds himself, and next deliver it to other Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (if there be any present,) and after to the people in due order, all humbly kneeling. And when he receiveth himself, or delivereth the sacrament of the body of Christ to others, he shall say,*

The body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say,* Amen.

¶ *And when the Priest receiveth the cup himself, or delivereth it to others, he shall say,*

The blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was shed for thee, preserve thy soul and body unto everlasting life.

¶ *Here the person receiving shall say,* Amen.

¶ *If the consecrated bread or wine be all spent before all have communicated, the Priest is to consecrate more, according to the form before prescribed, beginning at the words,* All glory be to thee, *etc., and ending with the words,* that they may become the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son.

¶ *When all have communicated, he that celebrates shall go to the Lord's table, and cover with a fair linen cloth that which remaineth of the consecrated elements, and then say,*

Having now received the precious body and blood of Christ, let us give thanks to our Lord God, who hath graciously vouchsafed to admit us to the participation of his holy mysteries; and let us beg of him grace to perform our vows, and to persevere in our good resolutions; that being made holy, we may obtain everlasting life, through the merits of the all-sufficient sacrifice of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

¶ *Then the Priest shall say this collect of thanksgiving, as followeth.*

Almighty and everliving God, we most heartily thank thee, for that thou dost vouchsafe to feed us, who have duly received these holy mysteries, with the spiritual food of the most precious body and blood of thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ; and doth assure us thereby of thy favour and goodness towards us, and that we are very members incorporate in the mystical body of thy Son, which is the blessed company of all faithful people, and are also heirs through hope

of thy everlasting kingdom, by the merits of his most precious death and passion. We now most humbly beseech thee, O heavenly Father, so to assist us with thy grace and Holy Spirit, that we may continue in that holy communion and fellowship, and do all such good works as thou hast commanded us to walk in, through Jesus Christ our Lord; to whom, with Thee and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, world without end. *Amen.*

¶ *Then shall be said or sung,* Gloria in Excelsis, *as followeth.*

Glory be to God on high, and in earth peace, good will towards men. We praise thee, we bless thee, we worship thee, we glorify thee, we give thanks to thee, for thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty; and to Thee, O God, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; and to Thee, O God, the Holy Ghost.

O Lord, the only begotten Son Jesu Christ; O Lord God, Lamb of God, Son of the Father, who takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us. Thou that takest away the sins of the world, receive our prayer. Thou that sittest at the right hand of God the Father, have mercy upon us.

For thou only art holy, thou only art the Lord, thou only, O Christ, with the Holy Ghost, art most high in the glory of God the Father. *Amen.*

¶ *Then the Priest, or Bishop, if he be present, shall let them depart, with this blessing.*

The peace of God, which passeth all understanding, keep your hearts and minds in the knowledge and love of God, and of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord: and the blessing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be amongst you, and remain with you always. *Amen.*

Private Devotions for the Altar.

Blessed Jesus! Saviour of the world! who hast called me to the participation of these thy holy mysteries, accept my humble approach to thy sacred table, increase my faith, settle my devotion, fix my contemplation on thy powerful mercy; and while with my mouth I receive the

sacred symbols of thy body and blood, may they be the means of heavenly nourishment to prepare my body and soul for that everlasting life which thou hast purchased by thy merits, and promised to bestow on all who believe in and depend on thee. *Amen.*

Prayer to God.

O Gracious and merciful God, Thou supreme Being, Father, Word and Holy Ghost, look down from heaven, the throne of thy essential glory, upon me thy unworthy creature, with the eyes of thy covenanted mercy and compassion: O Lord my God, I disclaim all merit, I renounce all righteousness of my own, either inherent in my nature, or acquired by my own industry: And I fly for refuge, for pardon and sanctification, to the righteousness of thy Christ: For his sake, for the sake of the blessed Jesus, the Son of thy covenanted love, whom Thou hast set forth to be a propitiation for fallen man, and in whom alone Thou art well pleased, have mercy upon me, receive my prayers, pardon my infirmities, strengthen my weak resolutions, guide my steps to thy holy altar, and there feed me with the meat which perisheth not, but endureth to everlasting life. *Amen.*

After Receiving.

Blessed Jesus! Thou hast now blest me with the food of thy own merciful institution, and, in humble faith of thy gracious promise, I have bowed myself at thy table, to receive the precious pledges of thy dying love; O may thy presence go with me from this happy participation of thy goodness, that when I return to the necessary labours and employments of this miserable world, I may be enabled by thy grace to obey thy commandments, and conducted by thy watchful care through all trials, till, according to thy divine wisdom, I have finished my course here with joy, that so I may depart out of this world in peace, and in a stedfast dependence on thy merits, O blessed Jesus, in whose prevailing words I shut up all my imperfect wishes, saying,

Our Father, &c. *Amen.*

APPENDIX E.

A BURIAL OFFICE FOR INFANTS WHO DEPART THIS LIFE BEFORE THEY HAVE POLLUTED THEIR BAPTISM BY ACTUAL SIN. BY BISHOP SEABURY.

The Priest going before the corpse into the churchyard; either into the church or to the grave, shall say,

All flesh is grass, and all its glory like the flower of the field. The grass withereth, the flower fadeth when the wind of Jehovah bloweth upon it. *Isaiah* xl. 6, 7.

Suffer little children to come unto me. *Matt.* xix. 14.

Whosoever cometh to me, said the blessed Jesus, I will in nowise cast out. *John* vi. 37.

I am the resurrection and the life. *John* xi. 25.

Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints. *Psa.* cxvi. 15.

Blessed therefore are the dead who die in the Lord. *Rev.* xiv. 13.

They are taken away from the evil to come. *Isaiah* lvii. 1.

Coming to the grave shall be said or sung,

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

While the corpse is made ready for interment shall be said by the Priest, or sung,

Man that is born of a woman hath but a short time to live, and is full of misery. He cometh up and is cut down

like a flower; he fleeth as it were a shadow, and never continueth in one stay.

In the midst of life we are in death. Of whom may we seek for succour, but of thee, O Lord, who for our sins art justly displeased?

Yet, O Lord God most holy, O Lord most mighty, O holy and most merciful Saviour, deliver us not into the bitter pains of eternal death.

Thou knowest, Lord, the secrets of our hearts. Shut not thy merciful ears to our prayers; but spare us, Lord most holy, O God most mighty, O holy and merciful Saviour, thou most worthy Judge eternal, suffer us not at our last hour for any pains of death to fall from thee.

While earth is cast on the body, the Priest shall say,

In the name of the most holy and undivided Trinity, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, in whose likeness man was created, we commit this body to the ground; earth to earth; ashes to ashes; dust to dust; in sure and certain hope of its resurrection to eternal life through our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the resurrection and the life; who at his second coming shall change this vile body, according to his most gracious promise, by raising it from the dead, and transforming it into the likeness of his own glorified body, according to the mighty working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself.

Lord of life and glory, Jesus, eternal Son of God, have mercy on us, and hear the prayer of thine own appointment.

Our Father, &c.

O Almighty God, who through thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ, hast overcome death and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life, mercifully grant, that as this deceased infant hath been baptized into the death of thy beloved Son Jesus Christ, and thereby made his disciple, and the heir of eternal glory, and now at thy command hath gone out of this mortal life before *he* hath done good or evil; the garment of *his* regeneration remaining pure and unspotted, and *his* soul

having already found admission, through the merit of the Redeemer, into thy paradise, so *his* body may have a happy passage through the grave and gate of death to a joyful resurrection at the last day, and may then be made partaker of everlasting glory, through Him who died, and was buried, and rose again for us, Jesus Christ thy Son, our Lord and Saviour. AMEN.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

As it was in the beginning, &c.

Almighty God with whom do live the spirits of those who depart hence in the Lord, and with whom the souls of the faithful, after they are delivered from the burden of the flesh, are in joy and felicity! we give thee hearty thanks for all the gracious dispensations of thy wise Providence! And we beseech thee, by this and every other instance of daily mortality, to teach us who are yet alive to consider how frail and uncertain our condition is; that seriously numbering our days, we may earnestly apply ourselves to attain thy heavenly promises, and at the tremendous appearing of the great God, even our Saviour Jesus Christ, may with all those who have departed hence in Him, have our perfect consummation and bliss, both in body and soul, in thy eternal and everlasting glory, through the same Jesus Christ our Lord. AMEN.

Our deceased infants who have been baptized into the death of Jesus Christ, shall all be delivered from the hand of the enemy, the great destroyer death, and shall return to their own border,[1] thy heavenly kingdom, O God; for this is the will of the Father, that of all that he hath given to the Son, he shall lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with us all ever more. AMEN.

[1] Jeremiah xxxi. 16, 17.

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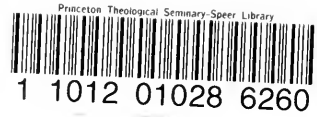

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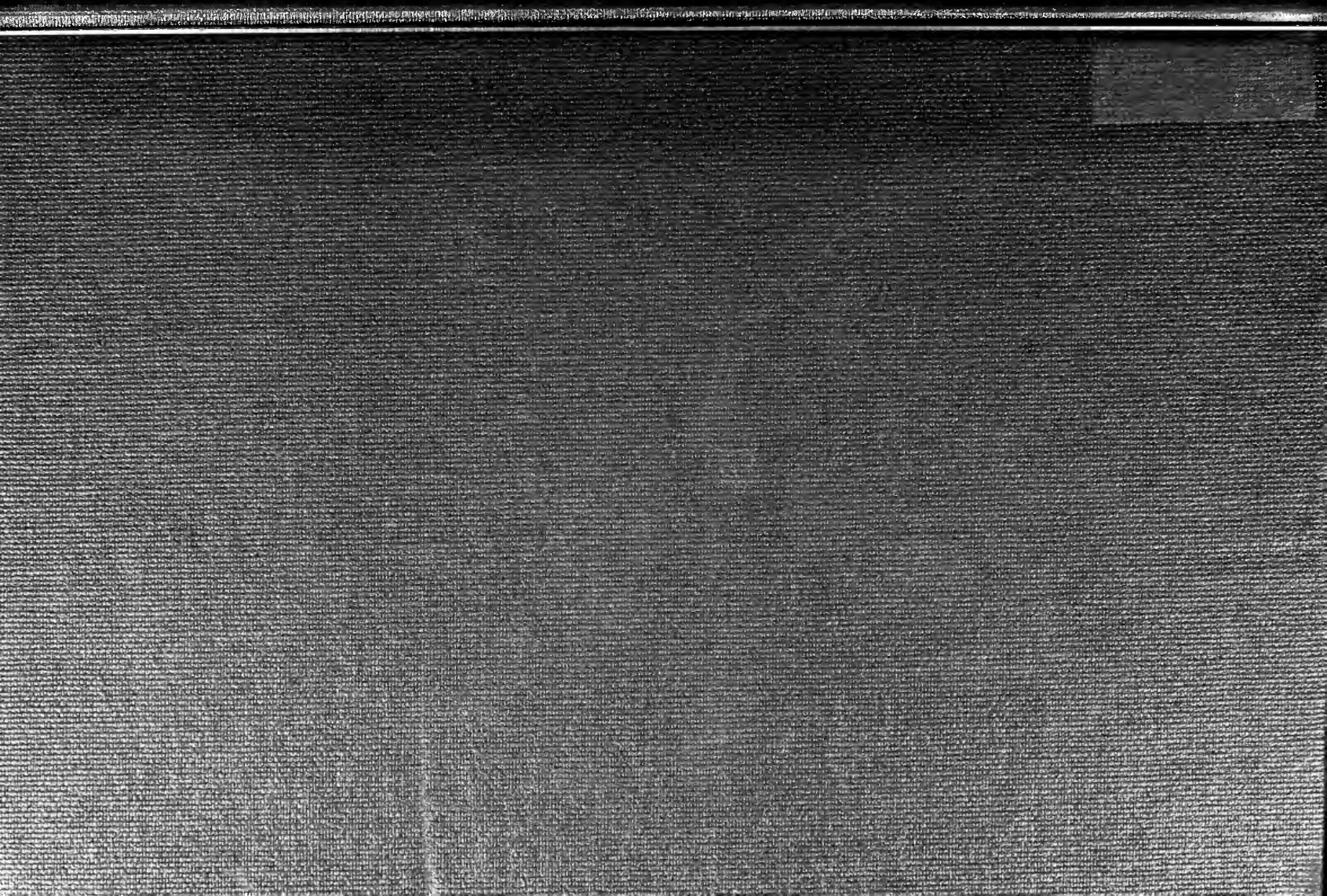
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