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THE S. P. G. IN NEW ENGLAND,
1760-1784:

A SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

25

By

IRVING HENRY KING

A. B., University of Maine, 1959

A THESIS

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts
(in History)

Division of Graduate Study

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PREFACE

The history of the religious organizations in New England during the American Revolution has been written largely in terms of the experience of the Congregational Church. That is natural, for the part played by the Congregational Church loomed larger there than that of any other denomination, and it was the Congregational organization which took some of the most important steps in initiating the colonial resistance which led to independence. But while the role of the Anglican Church in the crisis was not so significant as that of the Congregational, it certainly was not trivial. It constitutes a story that deserves to be told, but it has not been.

The history of the Anglican Church organization, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, was more complex than old traditions have made it out to be. The characterization of the S. P. G. by text book writers as a very insignificant and ineffective organization in New England is not at all accurate. The S. P. G. was a forceful organization in the period before the American Revolution. It was increasing the influence, economic stability, and membership of the Anglican Church in the years between 1760 and 1774. It most probably would have made the Anglican Church one of the strongest religious

organizations in New England if peace had continued. But it did not.

The Revolutionary War brought the wrath of persecution down on the Anglican Church in New England and left it a mere shadow of its pre-war self.

The search through the records was especially facilitated by the kindness shown to me by the librarians and their assistants at the John Carter Brown Library. They helped me find and use the Sermons and Abstracts of the S. P. G. which have not, to my knowledge, been utilized in a work similar to this one.

The manuscript was read in various stages of progress by Associate Professor George A. Billias and Professor Robert M. York. I am indeed indebted to these men for their many helpful suggestions. Without their advice this thesis would include many more faults in style and content than it now has.

THE S. P. G. IN NEW ENGLAND, 1760-1784:
A SOCIAL ASPECT OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By Irving H. King

An Abstract of the Thesis Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts (in History).

February, 1962

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CHAPTER I

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS

The year 1701 served as a landmark for the Episcopal Church in New England. Before that year the significance and size of the church in the Northern colonies was quite limited and there seemed to be little potential for growth. But in 1701 the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, or S. P. G. as it became known, was organized. From this point on, the chances for expansion increased immeasurably.

In 1701, there were only about 700 members and only two clergymen of the Church of England in all of New England.¹ To be sure, the Anglican Church in the area had received support from the mother country. One of the purposes of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in England was to provide religious books for the North American Colonies.² But no organization in the mother

¹Charles F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., (London: by the Society, 1901), 86-87.

²Ibid., 4.

country was sponsoring or training missionaries for America or raising money for such purposes.

Thomas Bray, the Bishop of London's commissary in Maryland, appealed to William III in March, 1701, to take some steps to further the cause of the Anglican religion in the American colonies.³ The King responded by incorporating the S. P. G. on June 16 that same year and granted the organization the authority of

Receiving, Managing, and Disposing of
the Charity of such Persons as would be
induced to extend their Charity towards
the Maintenance of a learned and Orthodox
Clergy, and the Making such other Provisions
as might be necessary for the Propagation
of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,⁴

Thus, the program for providing Anglican missionaries for the colonies got underway.

The primary purpose of the Society was two-fold: to send missionaries to convert Christians of other sects to Anglicanism; and to proselytize non-Christians such

³Ibid., 5.

⁴Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Cwen and T. Harrison, 1761), 21-22; hereinafter referred to as S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts.

as Indians and Negroes to the Anglican faith.⁵ The Society in 1710 stressed especially the aim of working among non-Christians: "conversion of heathens and infidels [should] be prosecuted preferably to all others." As shall be shown, this policy was never pursued very

⁵Pascoe, op. cit., IX; Oliver Perry Chitwood, A History of Colonial America, 2nd. ed., (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1948), 518; Max Savelle, The Foundations of American Civilization, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942), 320-21; Curtis P. Nettels, Roots of American Civilization, (New York: Appleton Century Crafts, Inc., 1938), 480.

strenuously and was not very successful.⁶

⁶Pascoe, Ibid. The failure of the Society to gain many converts among the Indians and Negroes has led some historians erroneously to conclude that the S. P. G. was not very successful.

Max Savelle, Ibid., explained why the Society failed among the Indians and Negroes. Then he broke off his discussion of the Society and thus gave the impression that it was a complete failure: "Another effort to bolster the failing Anglican way was made in the organization of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. This society, chartered in 1701, had as its objective the sending of missionaries to the colonies to work among the Indians, slaves, white servants, and others not already Anglicans. But it was not successful. The few missionaries sent to the Indians failed to make any considerable number of converts and generally returned to the settlements; the plantation owners objected to the conversion of slaves, for fear a common religion might be conducive to the organization of slave rebellions."

Curtis P. Nettels, Ibid., said that the S. P. G. was poor and a failure throughout the eighteenth century: ". . . the society accomplished little. It lacked popular support as indicated by its small yearly income (£1,000 to £1,500 obtained chiefly from high churchmen), and for this reason it could sustain only a few missionaries. . . . Despite the efforts of the S. P. G. Anglicanism steadily lost ground as a popular religion in eighteenth-century America."

This writer believes such erroneous statements are due to a general belief in the primacy of the Society's goal of converting Indians and Negroes. The lack of research done on the activities of the S. P. G. in America during the eighteenth-century has also had an effect. One of the aims of this study is to show that the Society made substantial progress among the white settlers in New England until the American Revolution. With the coming of the war, the Society was practically destroyed.

The Society was very careful in its selection of personnel and tried to make sure of their good moral character and theological qualifications before sending them to the colonies. The first appeal for missionaries was made in January and February of 1702. A request was circulated asking persons to submit the names of worthy candidates but to

recommend no Man out of Favour or affection, or any other Worldly consideration; but with a sincere Regard to the Honour of Almighty God and our Blessed Savior. . .⁷

Letters of recommendation were to include detailed information about the social, intellectual, political, and religious background of the candidate. The Society specifically wanted to know:

- I. The Age of the [Candidate] .
- II. His condition of life, whether Single or Married.
- III. His temper.
- IV. His Prudence.
- V. His Learning.
- VI. His Sober and Pious Conversation.
- VII. His Zeal for the Christian Religion, and Diligence in his Holy Calling.
- VIII. His affection to the present Government, and
- IX. His Conformity to the Doctrine and ⁸ Discipline of the Church of England.

⁷Pascoe, op. cit., 837.

⁸Ibid.

In order to screen the candidates even more closely, the Society required that the qualifications of each potential missionary be attested to by their Diocesan or three other members of the Church of England who were known to the Society. Such witnesses were usually active missionaries who were particularly well-qualified for the task.

Even after the missionaries arrived in the colonies, the Society continued to check upon their conduct and qualifications. In 1760, the Society asked the American colonists to report any missionary who was a disgrace to the character of the clergy of the Church of England. The S. P. G. sent a "public List of the Names of the Missionaries of [the] Society, published annually with the Abstracts of their Proceedings, . . ." to the colonists in order that complaints could be filed against any offenders. If conduct unbecoming of a clergyman was reported against any missionary, the S. P. G. promised the colonists to "put away from them that wicked person."⁹

⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 64-65.

Apparently the close scrutiny of candidates proved to be quite effective. The Society seems to have had a higher caliber of Anglican clergymen than the appointees of the bishop of London, if George Trevelyan, the English historian, is to be believed. Trevelyan was very critical of the Anglican clergy in Virginia and Maryland--colonies where the Society had provided no missionaries. On the other hand, he had the highest praise for the Anglican clergy in Connecticut¹⁰ where the Society was especially strong. Trevelyan was equally high in his admiration of the Anglican clergy in Massachusetts.¹¹ Indeed, as this study will show, Trevelyan's praise could have included the clergy of New Hampshire and Rhode Island as well as the other New England colonies.

Between 1702 and 1785 the Society spent £227,454 to promote the Anglican Church in New England alone.¹² This

¹⁰George Otto Trevelyan, The American Revolution, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), Part II., II., 290-92. See also Herbert L. Osgood, The American Colonies in the Eighteenth Century, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1924), III, 103.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Pascoe, op. cit., 86-87.

amount of money spent to back the religious policy of the mother country is most impressive when compared to monies spent to back her mercantile policies. For example, England spent the following sums in New England for naval stores: "from 1730 to 1750, about £17,000 a year; from 1750 - 1763, about £24,000; and from 1763 - 1775 about £34,000."¹³ And the figure loses little of its forcefulness even when compared to the £1,438,702 expended in all of the colonies between 1706 - 1774 in bounties for naval stores.¹⁴ England was quite clearly interested in promoting the Anglican faith in America despite the high cost.

The Society expended vast sums of money in the New England colonies from 1701 until 1785 when the last of its missionaries left the area. Most of the money went for the payment of missionaries' salaries. The majority of the missionaries were paid fairly well and received an annual salary of fifty pounds. By comparison, a free laborer in

¹³Nettels, op. cit., 434; England also paid a bounty of £4 a ton for pitch and tar between 1705-18 when New Englanders shipped 86,000 barrels to the mother country.

¹⁴Richard B. Morris (ed.), Encyclopedia of American History, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), 485.

the colonies was receiving an average of about "£18 a year in New England, £12 in the Middle Colonies, and £20 in the South."¹⁵ Sometimes missionaries' salaries ranged from twenty to seventy pounds a year depending on the number of people in their mission and the importance of their mission to the Society. Gratuities of fifteen pounds a year were occasionally added to a missionary's pay for religious services rendered in towns neighboring his parish.¹⁶ In addition, the parishioners of several missions helped their clergymen by providing them with homes, farm lands, and gifts of money.

Besides salaries, religious literature constituted a second major expenditure. The Society provided each of its missions with a library so that the clergymen could stay profitably occupied. Bibles, Common Prayer Books, and other devotional tracts were common to these mission libraries. The Society also provided literature for distribution among the parishioners. Ten pounds worth of books were provided annually for each library, and five

¹⁵Oscar T. Barck and Hugh T. Lefler, Colonial America, (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958), 296.

¹⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 46-51.

pounds worth of additional small tracts were contributed to each new parish.¹⁷

The Society's investment in men and money proved to be worthwhile. By 1760 more than 100,000 white persons had been baptized into the Anglican Church in addition to several thousand Indians and Negroes. More than 130,000 Bibles, Common Prayer Books, and other books of devotion and instruction, and an innumerable quantity of pious small tracts had been distributed in areas designated by the Society as "foreign parts."¹⁸ Most important of all, there was a "very hopeful and improving appearance of Religion in the public Worship of God, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, in a great Number of Churches in [the] Plantations in America, . . ."¹⁹

¹⁷Ibid., 51-52.

¹⁸These "foreign parts" included Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, the Bahama Islands, and Barbadoes.

¹⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 22-23.

CHAPTER TWO

THE S. P. G. IN CONNECTICUT, 1760-73

The history of the S. P. G. during the years 1760-1773 presents the historian with a curious paradox. During this stormy period when the political and economic relations between the American colonies and mother country were deteriorating, the religious ties between the two were being strengthened--at least so far as the S. P. G. was concerned. Surprisingly enough, some of the major gains made by the S. P. G. were in New England--the most rebellious region of all.

The fact that the S. P. G. was making great strides in New England was demonstrated by a number of developments that took place during this period. There was an increase in church membership in the old and established missions. A number of new missions and parochial schools were founded. Anglican ministers appeared to be more acceptable to the members of the dissenting Protestant sects that controlled religious affairs in the New England colonies. And the economic position of the S. P. G., on the whole, appeared to be stronger.

The success of the S. P. G. in spreading the doctrine of the Anglican Church during the period, 1760-1773, is best

illustrated by developments in Connecticut--the New England colony with the largest number of missionaries. There was a total of sixty-four missionaries serving in ten of the thirteen original colonies by 1763. Twenty-seven of these were in New England: one in New Hampshire; four in Rhode Island; seven in Massachusetts; and fifteen in Connecticut.¹

Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, one of the most successful S. P. G. missionaries, wrote that he had begun his thirteenth year of service as the Society's Itinerant Missionary for Connecticut on November 12, 1762. In his twelve years of missionary work he had raised five churches throughout the colony and an additional six churches in New Haven, Guilford, and Bradford. The latter three towns boasted some 160 communicants of the Anglican faith by 1762. Moreover, the people in one of his towns, Guilford, promised to raise £30 a year to support a minister whom they would also provide with a glebe as soon as they were able.²

¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 46-51. These annual reports provide the basis for the detailed study of the activities of S. P. G. missionaries during the period covered in this chapter.

²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 52-53.

When Mr. Bela Hubbard returned from England sometime before 1764, he settled in his native town of Guilford as an Anglican clergyman. He began to proselytize in neighboring towns. A parish was soon formed by thirty-one families in Milford. Thanks to the generosity of one Mr. George Talbot,³ a church was started in that community in the spring of 1765. The church building was not completed for ten years, but by that time the number of Anglicans at Milford had increased to 153.⁴

Rev. Punderson's efforts of some twelve years were thus rewarded by the beginnings of twelve new churches, one new minister, and hundreds of new worshipers. Similarly impressive accomplishments were recorded by all of the Society's missionaries in that colony and are well worth studying.

Rev. Jeremiah Leaming became the Society's missionary at Norwalk in 1760 and found his following most generous. They "enclosed the Glebe land, built a barn, dug a Well, and repaired the house. . . ." for him in his first year of

³Mr. George Talbot was a wealthy Anglican layman. He was a very close friend of several Anglican clergymen in Connecticut, and he gave the Anglican clergymen in Connecticut more than \$1,000 between 1763 and 1765.

⁴Edwards E. Beardsley, The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1883), I, 236-38.

residence.⁵ The church building was completed the following year and a 600 pound bell was purchased for the steeple.⁶

In his first three years at Norwalk, Rev. Leaming baptized 102 children and eight adults while adding forty-three communicants to the fifty-nine that were there when he arrived.⁷ Some idea of the growth of his church at Norwalk was evident by the fact that in 1772 he was serving communion to 150 church members.⁸

But his efforts were not restricted to increasing the church membership in Norwalk. He also served communion to more than sixty persons at Ridgefield.⁹ He preached on occasion to thirty families at Danbury, and saw the chances for increasing church growth there when Mr. Talbot gave £100 toward a church building and another £100 for a glebe.¹⁰

⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 40.

⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 45-46.

⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 70-72.

⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 23.

⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 70-72.

¹⁰Ibid.

By 1772 a church had been built at Pomfret, and Rev. Daniel Fogg was assigned to that new mission by the Society,¹¹ thus greatly increasing the potential for further church growth in the southeastern part of the colony.

In 1760 a small church was completed at Stratfield and Revs. John Beach and Christopher Newton served the congregation. Rev. Newton also served the town of Ripton, where a number of people erected a church thirty-six feet long and twenty-six feet wide in just six weeks. More than 300 people reportedly celebrated the first divine service in the new church in 1760.¹² Four years later the mission was prospering, and had a good chance to expand according to Rev. Newton. To prove this point, Rev. Newton noted that he had baptized forty-five infants at Ripton in 1765 alone, to say nothing of an additional eighteen children in the neighboring town of Milford.¹³

Rev. Beach had two very large congregations at Newtown and Reading in 1764. Two thousand inhabitants resided in these two towns, and more than half of them belonged to

¹¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 23.

¹²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 40-41.

¹³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 54-55.

the Anglican Church. About four or five hundred people attended services at Reading. The difference in the size of the two congregations was explained by Rev. Beach as the result of the building of four small Anglican churches at Danbury, Ridgebury, North Fairfield, and North Stratford, which limited the growth of the Reading congregation, while the attendance at the Newtown church greatly increased as a result of the Independents' disgust with the Antinomian preachers there.¹⁴

About one hundred children were baptized each year by Rev. Beach and the number of his communicants continually increased. In 1764, he served 280 communicants;¹⁵ in 1768, 310; and in 1773, 340. This was a most impressive accomplishment, and it becomes even more significant when it is realized that this increase occurred at a time when a large number of Beach's parishioners were moving into the back country into other communities.¹⁶

In 1772 the Society proudly reported that Rev. Beach's "reflections on his various dangers and fatigues [at Newtown and Reading, gave] him pleasure, because the Church of England [had] increased much more than 20 to 1; and

¹⁴Ibid., 57-58.

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 25.

[because] many of its members [were] remarkable for piety and virtue."¹⁷

The people of Rev. Edward Winslow's and Dr. Samuel Johnson's mission at Stratford in 1760 were noted for their piety.¹⁸ They were also increasing in numbers as witnessed by Rev. Winslow's baptism of thirty-three white and three Negro children in 1760-61¹⁹ and thirty-nine persons in 1762-63.²⁰ The number of communicants in the Stratford church likewise increased between 1761 and 1763.²¹

Rev. Winslow was transferred to Braintree in 1763, and the Society thereafter received its reports on the Stratford mission from Dr. Samuel Johnson, the pastor. Dr. Johnson served about one hundred church families and 140 communicants in 1764. He felt these statistics might be difficult for the Society to understand after having received so many accounts of the increasing numbers of

¹⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 20.

¹⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 45.

¹⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 41-42.

²⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 65-66.

²¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 41-42; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 65-66. There were 150 Communicants in Stratford in 1761.

church members in his and other missions. But that was easily explained, he pointed out, because there were

very frequent migrations, especially from the sea-coast to the inland parts, where land [was] much cheaper and where many of [his] people, particularly the youth, [had] from time to time removed. In Stratford, for instance, had all that conformed to the church, with their descendents, continued [there] . . . , instead of one hundred, . . . there would be two hundred families.²²

In spite of the emigration of some of Rev. Johnson's parishioners, his mission was so large by 1770 that he needed help to assure the people of Stratford of adequate service. The Society answered this need by sending Rev. Ebenezer Kneeland to assist Rev. Johnson in his efforts.²³ However, two years later Rev. Johnson died and Stratford was left with Rev. Kneeland as its only minister.²⁴

The total population of Stamford and Greenwich in 1764 was 4,850 whites and 110 Negroes. Of these inhabitants the Anglican Church claimed 170 heads of families, sixty-one actual communicants, and seventy-five new members through

²²Beardsley, op. cit., 238-39. For information on Connecticut's emigrations during this period see Oscar Zeichner, Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 29-30.

²³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1770, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1771), 20-21.

²⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 21-22.

baptism.²⁵ Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee, the minister of the area, saw his congregation grow every year from 1764 to 1771.²⁶

Nor was the numerical growth of Dibblee's church the only indication of its prosperity. George Talbot gave Rev. Dibblee's parish a bell, a silver tankard, a Salver for Holy Communion, and twenty-two acres of land worth £600 in 1765.²⁷ Thus the economic stability of the church as well as its numerical growth was assured.

Rev. Dibblee's relationship with the Congregationalists of Stratford and Greenwich seems to have been satisfactory also. Generally speaking, Rev. Dibblee's parishes in these two towns were in a peaceful and flourishing condition in 1768-69; "a good peaceable, and encouraging state" in 1770; and in a good state as late

²⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 55-56.

²⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 21-22; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 52-53; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1767, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1768), 50-51; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 22-23; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1770, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1771), 21-22. Rev. Dibblee also preached on occasion in Salem, Sharon, Salisbury, Danbury, and in New York Province.

²⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 21-22.

as 1771.²⁸

Rev. Samuel Peters served the Society's mission at Hebron. This location proved to be unsuitable because of the long distances he had to travel to carry the gospel into the neighboring communities. Nevertheless, he managed to preach almost one hundred weekday lectures in 1762 and to increase the number of Anglican Church families in Hebron from thirty to fifty-seven. In addition, he baptized twenty-eight infants and one adult at Hebron, fifty children at Simsbury, two infants at Hartford, and nine infants at Marshfield.²⁹ By 1765, his parish had not only increased in numbers, but the economic stability of his church was more sound. A new church building had been erected and the parish had become economically secure as the result of a legacy from a Dr. Samuel Shippen.³⁰

²⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 22-23; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1770, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1771), 21-22; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1771, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1772), 19-20.

²⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 68-70.

³⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 23-24.

All of Litchfield County--including Canaan, Norwalk, Goshen, Torrington, New Hartford, Harwinton, Litchfield, and Cornwall--were served by Rev. Therias Davies in 1763. Such a large area was, of course, impossible for one man to serve satisfactorily. But Rev. Davies baptized seventy-four children and four adults in the year preceding June of 1763.³¹ Those baptisms, added to the fruits of Rev. Solomon Palmer's labors before his removal to New Haven, made a total of 509 children and nine adults baptized by the Society's missionaries in Litchfield County by 1763.³²

Rev. Davies reported in 1764 that the people of his mission were unhappy because the services were so infrequent due to the great size of his mission. He therefore recommended that the towns of New Milford, Woodbury, Kent, and New Fairfield be included in one mission and that he live in New Milford with his family. Then he would be able to preach at three towns on each Sunday: at New Milford, where a new church was going to be built; at Woodbury, where a church was nearly finished; and at New Preston, a new parish in Kent, where materials had been

³¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 53-56; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 72.

³²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 68-70.

gathered for a new church.³³

Rev. Davies' plan was approved by the Society which agreed to send another missionary to serve the areas of Litchfield County left without a minister.³⁴ The vacancy was filled in 1771 by Rev. Richard Mosley, who unfortunately was disliked by his parishioners and met with so little success that he was transferred to New York two years later.³⁵ Thus a large part of Litchfield County had no minister by the time of the American Revolution.

But the towns taken over By Rev. Davies until his death in 1766 fared much better. Rev. Richard Clarke, a very competent man indeed, succeeded Rev. Davies, and in 1768 he was able to report that "The Church in those parts [was] in a very flourishing condition."³⁶ Indeed his report was quite accurate. There were ninety-two families and fifty communicants in the Church of England in New Milford; fifty families and thirty-five communicants in Woodbury; and sixty-five families and forty communicants

³³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 61-62.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 26.

³⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1768, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1769), 23.

in Kent.³⁷ In 1769, the church membership increased even more as the number of church families grew: there were one hundred in New Milford; seventy in Woodbury; seventy in Kent; and twenty-five in Sharon.³⁸ In the years that followed, the mission continued to increase its membership.³⁹

Rev. Matthew Graves' church at New London was enlarged in 1760 but was still not large enough to accommodate his growing congregation.⁴⁰ In 1775, four more pews had to be built in the church and were filled as soon as they were finished.⁴¹

Even more encouraging was the decline of the prejudices of the "dissenters"⁴² toward Rev. Graves' church at New London:

³⁷Ibid.

³⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 23-24.

³⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 25-26.

⁴⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 46-47.

⁴¹Beardsley, op. cit., 235-36.

⁴²The term "dissenters" is used here as it was used by the Anglican clergymen in New England before the American Revolution. It refers to any non-Anglican.

How acceptable I am to the dissenters of all sorts [he said] appears from their sending for me in their illness, and desiring my spiritual advice in the most necessitous times, which I always comply with. My prayers, without books, earnestly engage their attention, and gradually wear away their prejudices, when they find we can pray without a form, as well as their own teachers.⁴³

Rapid progress was also being made with the Indian tribes in the area of Rev. Graves' mission. In 1764, he preached to two tribes who welcomed him.⁴⁴ The following year he preached to four tribes a total of twenty-six times. This response led Rev. Graves to be most hopeful for the chances of his church among these people.⁴⁵ He subsequently recommended the Narragansett Indians to the Society's care. Later in the same year, he was given a gratuity of £15 a year to serve as their schoolmaster.⁴⁶

At Waterbury, Westbury, Northbury, and New Cambridge Rev. James Scovil enjoyed what might be called a very prosperous mission in the years before the American

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 56.

⁴⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 22.

⁴⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 36-43, 53-54.

Revolution. When he arrived at this mission in 1759 there were 110 church families and 150 communicants compared to 147 families and 216 communicants in 1763,⁴⁷ 164 church families and 214 communicants in 1764,⁴⁸ 180 church families and 261 communicants in 1766,⁴⁹ and 198 church families and 275 communicants in 1772.⁵⁰ The Society assigned Rev. James Nichols to serve the three towns of Waterbury, Northbury, and New Cambridge in 1773 because of Rev. Scovill's tremendous success in developing the church in these towns.⁵¹

Success also rewarded the efforts of Rev. Samuel Andrews whose mission at Wallingford, Cheshire, Meriden, and North Haven flourished in 1763 and continued to flourish in 1764.⁵² Between the time of Rev. Andrews'

⁴⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 72-73.

⁴⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 63.

⁴⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 55.

⁵⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 24.

⁵¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 26-27.

⁵²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 74-75; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 63-64.

arrival at this mission in 1762 and 1765, the number of families belonging to the Anglican Church increased from eighty-three to 145 and the number of communicants from ninety-six to 168.⁵³ Although he had to travel great distances to preach and administer the sacraments throughout the surrounding area, Rev. Andrews was confident that the church would increase in size in the future.⁵⁴

At Fairfield, Rev. Joseph Lamson was greatly encouraged in 1762 when George Talbot gave the mission £100 for a glebe and when the church numbers increased through the baptism of nineteen infants and three adults.⁵⁵ In 1764 the situation was even better. The church was repaired at a cost of £100 sterling, and fourteen new families joined the church while fourteen persons were baptized in a period of just six months.⁵⁶ The continued growth of this mission seemed assured as Rev. Lamson baptized

⁵³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 23-25.

⁵⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 55-56; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1767, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1768), 51-53.

⁵⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 47.

⁵⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 54-55.

seventy-eight persons in 1772.⁵⁷ But the minister died the next year, and left Fairfield without a minister of the Anglican faith.⁵⁸

Despite strong opposition from some Congregationalists, Rev. John Beardsley's mission at Groton and Norwich prospered in 1764. This growth was especially rewarding because of the disorders among the Congregationalists that resulted from the visits of George Whitefield, the famed English revivalist.⁵⁹

Ten years later, Rev. John Tyler reported from the same mission that he was losing "many of his hearers by their removal into new settlements." Yet his mission continued to prosper. Tyler also reported that he was most satisfied with the "dissenters'" attitude of peace and good will toward the Church of England.⁶⁰

The Society's mission at Simsbury was of substantial size in 1764 consisting of 180 families out of 540

⁵⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 22-23.

⁵⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 24.

⁵⁹Beardsley, op. cit., 235; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 64-65.

⁶⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 27.

families in the town.⁶¹ By 1775 this mission was "in a flourishing state" according to the Rev. Roger Viets, who baptized sixty-seven infants and seven adults in that year.⁶² Perhaps more important to the Society's chances for future development, however, was the report that "in most parts of the mission there was more harmony than formerly between his people and the Dissenters."⁶³

Rev. Richard Mansfield, the Society's missionary at Derby and Oxford, was even more encouraged by the state of the church in 1764. One hundred pounds had just been received from Mr. Talbot for a glebe. There were eighty-one families and eighty-two communicants belonging to the Anglican Church in these two towns. And the prospects for church growth were increasing at Great Barrington and Spencer Town, where there were more than one hundred church families under Rev. Mansfield's care.⁶⁴

By 1770, Rev. Mansfield's mission at Derby and Oxford had increased to ninety-seven families and ninety-one

⁶¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 58-59.

⁶²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 25-26.

⁶³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 22.

⁶⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 59-60.

communicants.⁶⁵ The mission grew still further when Rev. Mansfield served some 110 communicants just two years later.⁶⁶

The statistics of each of Connecticut's missions are most impressive when viewed individually. They leave no doubt that the Society's missionaries were spreading the gospel of the Anglican faith in that colony. They point out very effectively the fact that the Anglican missions of Connecticut were growing in both numbers and potential with the passage of each year. And they illustrate that in several towns the opposition of the "dissenters" to the Church of England was continually decreasing despite the deterioration of relations with the mother country.

These statistics lose little of their significance when one notes the increase in Connecticut's population during the same period. There were about 140,000 people in Connecticut in 1762 and 190,000 in 1774. This was an increase of 50,000⁶⁷ people or of about thirty-five per cent. The growth of the Anglican Church in Connecticut during the same period was at least thirty-five per cent

⁶⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1770, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1771), 22.

⁶⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 25-26.

⁶⁷Zeichner, op. cit., 29-30, 144, 234.

and probably closer to 50 per cent.

The statistics of each of Connecticut's missions are even more impressive when viewed collectively. For example, there were twenty missionaries of the Church of England and forty missions in Connecticut by 1774. There was one Episcopalian for every twelve non-Episcopalians in the state. One out of every three persons in Fairfield County was a member of the Church of England.⁶⁸ "[O]ne out of every seven families in New Haven County and one out of every twenty-two families in Litchfield County, . . . belonged to the Episcopal Church. . ."⁶⁹ The Anglican Church, indeed, was on its way to becoming one of Connecticut's more influential theological organizations on the eve of the American Revolution.

⁶⁸Beardsley, op. cit., 288-89.

⁶⁹Zeichner, op. cit., 233.

CHAPTER THREE

THE S. P. G. 1760-1773: MASSACHUSETTS, NEW HAMPSHIRE AND RHODE ISLAND

MASSACHUSETTS

The Anglican missionaries of Massachusetts improved not only their religious but their social and economic status as well between 1760 and 1773. They began new missions and increased the membership of their old ones. To their gratification the Congregationalists began to find them more and more acceptable as time went on. As their own parishioners became more generous with their contributions, the financial problems of many missionaries became less burdensome.

Rev. Jacob Bailey, who served that area of the Massachusetts colony which is present-day Maine, was one of the most capable missionaries on the frontier. His mission was a very difficult one to handle because of its great size. He was responsible for the towns of Pownalborough, which is now Dresden, Georgetown, Brunswick, Harpwell, Richmond, and Gardiner's Town. But if there were difficulties, there were rewards as well. Reverend Bailey was the only resident Anglican clergyman--available

to some 7,000 persons in the eastern frontier.¹

Under such conditions it was almost certain that he would improve the standing of the Anglican Church in that region, and indeed he did. The number of Anglicans increased throughout his territory as a whole,² but the most impressive gains of all were made in Pownalborough where Bailey resided. Bailey seems to have baptized an average of about forty persons a year in Pownalborough and to have increased his communicants by about two each year.³ Even more impressive was the fact that twenty-one of the forty-three persons baptized in 1772 came from families that were Congregationalists.⁴

Bailey found his efforts rewarded in still another

¹ S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 60; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 56-58. Bailey--claimed to be the only clergyman of any faith available, but one must remember that many of the S. P. G. Missionaries considered their faith to be the only one existing in America.

² Ibid.; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 47-48; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 56-58.

³ S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 50-51; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1767, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1768), 49; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 23.

⁴ S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 23.

way. In 1766, Dr. Sylvester Gardiner, a Boston physician, gave the Pownalborough mission a parsonage house and a farm. Dr. Gardiner expressed the additional intention of providing a glebe, church, and parsonage house for the support of a missionary for Gardiner's Town.⁵ However, the mission at Gardiner's Town never materialized before the war. The construction of a church was started in 1775. Later that same year "the public distractions. . . obliged Dr. Gardiner to suspend any further progress in his pious designs, . . ."⁶ and the church remained unfinished.

The Society did lighten Bailey's load somewhat by approving a mission for Georgetown in 1767. Rev. Willard Wheeler was appointed to serve the mission in 1768 and by 1769 had the construction of a church well underway.⁷ Wheeler, however, only served in the Georgetown mission until 1772. In that year he was transferred to Newport, Rhode Island, as an assistant to Rev. Marmaduke Brown.

A third mission established by the Society at Falmouth in 1765 enjoyed even greater success. The people of Falmouth in 1764 sent a bond to the Society to pay the

⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 50-51.

⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1775, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1776), 36.

⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1767, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1768), 48-49.

salary of a missionary and promised to provide a house and glebe for any clergyman assigned to them.⁸ Rev. John Wiswall, a former Congregational divine in Falmouth, arrived back in the town the following year. In 1765 alone, Wiswall increased the membership of the Anglican Church by some seventy families. Between 1766 and 1769, his communicants increased from twenty-one to thirty-one.⁹ Wiswall also boasted that the antipathy that had existed against the Anglican Church in the area was beginning to lessen. By 1769, for example, Congregationalists were attending his church on occasion and any disputes between his parishioners and members of other sects had come to an end.¹⁰ Beloved by his congregation, Wiswall continued to be a most effective clergyman for the Church of England as the Revolutionary War drew near.

The Anglican Church prospered in the older and more settled areas of Massachusetts as well as along the frontier. Some of the greatest gains were destined to come in the

⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 49-50.

⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1766, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1767), 51-52; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 21-22.

¹⁰Ibid.

coastal communities of maritime Massachusetts.

The mission of Rev. Ebenezer Thomson in Scituate, Hanover, and Marshfield witnessed an increase during the 1760's and 1770's. During this same period, Thomson was able to report that relations with the Congregationalists in his area had become more friendly.¹¹

The Reverend Edward Bass at Newbury spotted a good opportunity to increase the membership in his church when several influential Congregationalists began to attend his services regularly in 1760.¹² Indeed, his church membership did increase, albeit somewhat slowly. Bass baptized twenty-two persons in 1761¹³ and added another eighteen in 1763.¹⁴

The mission for Braintree, Stoughton, and Dedham grew stronger both in spiritual and economic terms during the 1760's and 1770's. In 1765, Rev. Edward Winslow preached to over eighty families and administered communion to

¹¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 62; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 23.

¹²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 44.

¹³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 40.

¹⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 60-61.

about eighty people in this mission.¹⁵ The congregation remained steadfast to the Church of England during the trying years of 1772 and 1773.¹⁶ Winslow was also able to enjoy the luxury of a new house and seven acres of land his faithful followers had provided for him.¹⁷

Marblehead, one of the largest communities in Massachusetts, offered a fertile ground for the S. P. G. Rev. Peter Bours served the town between 1752 and 1762, and reported that his congregation was unusually devout. Some idea of the size of his congregation can be gained from the fact that in 1761 he baptized fifty-nine infants and served forty-seven regular communicants there.¹⁸

When Rev. Bours died the next year, his place was filled by Rev. Joshua Weeks.¹⁹ The people of Marblehead

¹⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 21.

¹⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 20-21; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 22-23.

¹⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1765, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1766), 21.

¹⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1761, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1762), 41.

¹⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 44-45.

not only repaired the church for Rev. Weeks in 1764, but also purchased some land for a parsonage house.²⁰ The number of church members and communicants continued to increase from the time of his arrival in 1762 until 1773.²¹ By 1768, the Anglicans composed about one third of Marblehead's 5000 inhabitants.²²

Another very large coastal community in Essex County, Salem, also had a strong Anglican organization. In 1764 there were about 110 heads of families out of a population of 4,469 who belonged to the Anglican Church under Rev. William McGilchrist's care.²³ By 1772 the mission was so well established financially that Rev. Robert Nichols of Queens College at Oxford was engaged to assist Rev. McGilchrist at a salary of £100 a year.²⁴

²⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 51.

²¹Ibid.; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1768, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1769), 22; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 22-23.

²²Ibid. The S. P. G. report for 1768 listed Marblehead's population as 6,500. This figure is high. See: George A. Billias, General Glover and His Marblehead Mariners, (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960), 27.

²³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 51-52. Lyman P. Powell, Historical Towns of New England, (New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1898), 151.

²⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 21.

In addition to the growth in old missions, there were a number of new missions established in the more settled areas of Massachusetts. Rev. William Clarke was appointed to the new mission at Stoughton and Dedham in 1769. He reported a total of twenty-five families and twenty-three communicants of the Anglican faith that year.²⁵ Four years later, he boasted that he had added a considerable number including a number of Congregationalists who were heads of families.²⁶ In his 1764 report, Rev. Clarke substantiated what Rev. McGilchrist of Salem had noted: that the Society's efforts in America had done much to bring about peace and harmony between Anglicans and "dissenters" and to wean the latter from the idea that idolatry and superstition were part of the Anglican faith.²⁷

There were, of course, disappointments such as the one at Cambridge where Rev. East Apthorp had a small attendance at services in the winter and only twenty-six families during the summer months.²⁸ Even more dishearten-

²⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 22.

²⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 23.

²⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 51-52.

²⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 60-61.

ing was the fact that Rev. Apthorp resigned his position with the Society in 1764 to return to England.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

The Anglicans made some gains in New Hampshire before the Revolutionary War, but the church never did become large in that colony.

Rev. Arthur Browne's mission at Portsmouth presented a most encouraging picture to the Society. The church building was lengthened some twenty-five feet and finished in a very attractive manner.²⁹ In 1763, some 246 infants and six adults were baptized. Communion was regularly served to fifty-three people.³⁰ After this date, the congregation kept growing steadily.³¹

Outside of Portsmouth, there were numerous people who also wanted to be served by the Anglican Church. Rev. Browne visited the several towns of Nottingham, Barrington, Canterbury, Rumford, Bow, and Contotock in 1760 and found there was a favorable response to his ministrations.

²⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 49-51.

³⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 59.

³¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1768, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1769), 20.

People in these towns attended his services, presented their children for baptism, and at Barrington and Nottingham even agreed to join together to build a church.³²

The opportunity for people in the outlying areas to attend church services was greatly increased in 1767 when Reverend Moses Badger was assigned as the itinerant missionary for New Hampshire. Rev. Badger was well qualified for his office, being strong, resolute, active, and diligent.³³ During his first year, Rev. Badger visited all of the towns in his mission which kept him continually on horseback. There were 740 souls under his care when he arrived.³⁴ In less than one year, he had increased the number of people under his care to 1,132 and baptized 107 children and two adults.³⁵ When he first arrived in New Hampshire, he held services in private homes because of the absence of churches. But by 1769, the erection of several small churches had been started.³⁶

³²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1760, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1761), 42-43.

³³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1768, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1769), 20.

³⁴Ibid.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 20-21.

Governor John Wentworth, who was sympathetic to the efforts of the S. P. G., proved to be most helpful. By July of 1762, Wentworth had given the Church of England a proprietary interest in a share of land in at least 120 towns.³⁷ This assistance was gratefully received by Rev. Moses Badger and could have been as helpful to other missionaries, had there been any. Unfortunately for the Church of England, there were not enough Anglicans in New Hampshire to take much advantage of Wentworth's offer.

One other mission in New Hampshire made substantial progress and that was in Claremont. The people of Claremont agreed in 1769 to build a schoolhouse if the Society would provide them with a teacher. Samuel Cole was assigned to the job that same year and the school system was inaugurated.³⁸

Cole's school proved quite successful. He taught between thirty and forty children, and he helped to break down some of the local prejudice against the Church of England by teaching non-Anglican as well as Anglican

³⁷ Charles B. Kinney, Jr., Church and State, The Struggle for Separation in New Hampshire, 1630-1900, (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955), 68-69.

³⁸ S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1769, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1770), 21.

children.³⁹

Within four years after the school had opened, the Society appointed Rev. Ranna Cossit to a new mission in Claremont and Haverhill. A church fifty feet long and thirty-eight feet wide was quickly constructed and everything began to run smoothly for the new missionary. Cossit baptized thirty-one infants and administered communion to some twenty-four persons in his first year of residence.⁴⁰

RHODE ISLAND

The history of the S. P. G. in Rhode Island from 1760-1773 was a varied one with both triumphs and tribulations.

Rev. Marmaduke Browne of Newport presented the Society with its brightest reports. His mission flourished both spiritually and economically. In 1763, several gentlemen decided to enlarge Trinity Church at an expense of at least £500 sterling.⁴¹ Even then the building was still

³⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1771, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1772), 18; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 21.

⁴⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 22.

⁴¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 62-63.

too small to accommodate all of the parishioners who numbered some 120.⁴²

A school was opened at Newport by Rev. Browne and accommodated about thirty students in 1763.⁴³ Soon after its founding, the school was left an endowment from the estate of a Mr. Kay. The lands and houses which the school inherited were rented and brought in a profit of about £54 a year for the support of a schoolmaster. And an additional house was donated for the teacher's residence.⁴⁴ Thus, Newport not only had a fine Anglican Church, but a self-supporting school as well.

Relations between the Anglicans and other religious sects in the colony improved as well. The Quakers in particular expressed an affection for the Church of England because of the mildness and leniency of its administration under Rev. Browne.⁴⁵

In 1771, Browne died and his place was taken by Mr. Bisset who had assisted Rev. Browne and kept the school

⁴²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 52-53.

⁴³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 62-63.

⁴⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 52-53.

⁴⁵Ibid.

founded by Mr. Kay.⁴⁶ The next year the society transferred Rev. Willard Wheeler from Georgetown to assist Mr. Bisset at Newport.

The Society soon withdrew its support from Rev. Bisset's mission because the mission was so rich that it no longer needed the help of the S. P. G. There were other churches that needed the Society's help much more.⁴⁷

Reverend John Graves' mission at Providence was not quite as well off as the Newport mission, but it was prosperous. There were forty communicants in the church in 1772⁴⁸ and sixty just one year later.⁴⁹ Moreover, there was a cordial relationship between Rev. Graves and his people⁵⁰ and between Rev. Graves and the Presbyterians, Baptists, New Lights, and Quakers of Providence. Graves frequently had members of other sects attending his services.⁵¹

⁴⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1771, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1772), 19.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1772, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1773), 22-23.

⁴⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 23.

⁵⁰Ibid.

⁵¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1763, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1764), 64-65.

Reverend Graves' church also supported a school in Providence. Some fourteen children attended the school and were taught by a Mr. Taylor.⁵² In 1770, the school received a legacy of £100 which provided it with greater financial stability.⁵³

Neither of the other two missions in Rhode Island were as progressive as those of Newport and Providence, but they were doing a good job nevertheless. At Bristol, Rev. John Usher had a congregation of some fifty families and forty-three communicants in 1763. That was a total of about one-third the number of families in the town. He had also raised enough money to build a church.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, however, many of his parishioners emigrated from Bristol causing the church to decline in numbers by 1773.⁵⁵

Rev. Samuel Fayerweather of Narragansett was frequently confronted with expressions of bitterness against the Church of England. He reacted to those expressions by

⁵²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 23.

⁵³S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1770, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1771), 20.

⁵⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1764, (London: E. Owen and T. Harrison, 1765), 53-54.

⁵⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1773, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1774), 23.

being "mild and gentle, peaceable and forbearing, . . ."
and as a result many Anabaptists and others joined his
church. By 1762 his communicants numbered twenty or more
at Narragansett, and he served an additional fifteen people
at Warwick.⁵⁶

Thus in Rhode Island, as in the rest of New England,
the Anglican Church was making progress in the years just
before the American Revolution.

⁵⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1762, (London: E.
Owen and T. Harrison, 1763), 41-42.

CHAPTER FOUR

RELIGIOUS CAUSES FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY AND THE REVOLUTION

It is conceivable that the Anglican Church might have become one of the leading denominations in New England if its good fortune had continued. But unfortunately conditions were destined to change. The economic and political ties between the colonies and the mother country were strained to the breaking point by 1774, and this situation began to be reflected in the religious sphere. Anglican missionaries found it more and more difficult to remain out of the controversy, for they were being continually pushed into it by both the colonists and the mother country.

There were a few instances of conflict between Anglican missionaries and patriots of other denominations in New England in 1765 and again in 1772. These controversies, however, were without violence. They were also exceptions to the general atmosphere of outer peace and goodwill existing between the Anglicans and Congregationalists after 1760 before 1774.

"[T]he number of open conflicts between the Anglicans and the Congregational establishment declined, . . ." in Connecticut¹ and the rest of New England until 1774. This is not to say that the "religious and political fears and antipathies that they aroused in one another" were destroyed.² But they were dormant. They probably would have remained dormant, too, if it had not been for the legislation passed by the English Parliament in 1774.

In June of that year the mother country passed the Quebec Act and "sealed its infamy in the eyes of many Americans and gave colonial propagandists their juiciest plum since the Stamp Act."³ One part of the Quebec Act "pledged the British government to tolerate the Roman Catholic Religion in Quebec."⁴ This led many Americans who already considered England tyrannical to condemn her as an associate of "Popery."

Alexander Hamilton predicted the immigration of millions of Catholics from Europe and the encirclement of the Protestant colonies by "a Nation of Popists and Slaves."⁵ He told his countrymen that a Catholic should

¹Oscar Zeichner, Connecticut's Years of Controversy, 1750-1776, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 130. See also 128-31, 175-76.

²Ibid.

³John C. Miller, Origins of the American Revolution, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1943), 373.

⁴Ibid.

⁵Ibid., 373-74.

be feared more than a Calvinist despite the fact that "a superstitious, bigotted Canadian Popist, though ever so profligate, is now esteemed a better subject to our Gracious Sovereign George the Third, than a liberal, enlightened New England Dissenter, though ever so virtuous."⁶

The Quebec Act was pictured by American propagandists as a plot "to turn the empire over to the Pope."⁷ The farmers of New England became convinced that their religious liberties were in grave danger, and General Thomas Gage observed, "they cannot be made to believe the contrary." As a consequence "the Flame blazed out in all Parts at once beyond the conception of every Body."⁸

The Anglican missionaries of New England were soon accused of being a party to the "plot" to turn the empire over to the Pope. And that "Flame" which "blazed out in all Parts" soon engulfed those poor men, leaving them broken and destitute at home or driving them from their homes, families, and country.

At the time of the "Powder Alarm" in October, 1774, armed men filled the roads to Boston "cursing the King and

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 376

Lord North, General Gage, the bishops and their cursed curates, and the Church of England."⁹

Rev. Samuel Peters of Hebron, Connecticut, became the first Anglican clergyman refugee after the passage of the Quebec Act in 1774. His brother, Jonathan, was ridden out of Hartford on a rail the same year as the Whigs shouted: "A Tory, a Tory, a cursed Damd Churchman."¹⁰

Rev. James Nichols of Northbury, Connecticut, was confronted by about two hundred Farmington Whigs in September 1774. When they learned that he "had advanced sentiments and principles contrary to the current opinion of British Americans," they "forced" him to confess and recant his political heresey after "some considerable conversation."¹¹

Incidents of terror against the Anglican clergy in New England continued at a white heat after 1774. It is interesting to note that "In 1774. . . , the First Provincial Congress of Massachusetts acknowledged with profound gratitude the public obligation to the ministry (Congregational) as friends of civil and religious

⁹Ibid., 384. [quoted from the Boston Gazette, October 24, 1774, and the Newport Mercury, September 12, 1774.]

¹⁰Zeichner, op. cit., 176.

¹¹Ibid., 175.

liberty . . ."¹²

The troubles of the Anglican ministers in New England were caused by the personal spite of certain officials; the socio-economic atmosphere of the towns in which they lived; and the political and religious opinions of the ministers and their opponents.

There had been strong opposition to the Anglican Church in New England earlier in the colonial period. Because of its close identification with the mother country, the church was viewed with suspicion. It was looked upon by many as an intruder, for its teachings were in opposition to the ideas of the Reformation which were held by most of the settlers. In the words of one Anglican missionary, most of Connecticut's Congregationalists considered the Church of England to be "Rome's sister," or "little better than Popists." Giving the sign of the cross was considered to be "a mark of the beast," and other Anglican ceremonies were mere "idolatrous worship and superstitious ceremonies."¹³

Such harsh sentiments had gradually been softened by the work of the Society's missionaries. But the very

¹²John Wingate Thornton, The Pulpit of the American Revolution, (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1860), Introduction, XXXVII.

¹³Francis L. Hawks and William S. Perry, comps., Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America, (New York: 1863-64), I, 9, 17, 30.

success of these missionaries had caused their Congregational counterparts great concern. The increase in size and significance of the Anglican Church in New England had come at the expense of other denominations.

The Church of England made especially impressive advances in the period of and after the Great Awakening of 1740. This religious revival had caused the Puritan ministers to fear the Anglicans in New England. Those fears were heightened further during the 1760's as the Anglican Church continued to grow. One Congregational divine stated that as the Anglican Church grows, "We are breaking to pieces . . . very fast in Connecticut."¹⁴

As the Revolutionary war drew closer, the Anglican clergymen in New England became more apprehensive about the dangers of civil war. Before the first shot had been fired at Lexington in 1775, Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee of Norwalk and Stamford, Connecticut, foresaw that the trouble that was brewing would engulf the Anglican Church:

We view with the deepest anxiety, affliction, and concern [he wrote] the great dangers we are in, by reason of our unhappy divisions, and the amazing height to which the unfortunate disputes between Great Britain and these remote provinces

¹⁴ Zeichner, op. cit., 97.

have arisen, and the baneful influence they have upon the interest of true religion, and the wellbeing of the Church. Our duty, as ministers of religion, is now attended with peculiar difficulty: faithfully to discharge the duties of our office, and yet, carefully to avoid taking any part in these political disputes; as I trust my brethren in this colony have done as much as possible, notwithstanding any representations to our prejudice to the contrary. We can only pray almighty God, in compassion to our Church and nation, and the wellbeing of these provinces in particular, to avert these terrible calamities that are the natural result of such an unhappy contest with our parent State, to save us from the horrors of a civil war, and remove all groundless fears and jealousies, and whatsoever else may hinder us from godly union and concord.¹⁵

This was no statement by an English-born minister trained in the mother country. Dibblee had been reared in America, educated at Yale and Columbia, ordained as a Congregational clergyman, and then had been converted to Anglicanism. He was torn between his loyalty to his church and his colony.

Another native American and Yale graduate, Rev. John Beach of Newtown and Reading, Connecticut, disagreed with Dibblee's position because he felt it was mandatory to enter into the controversy. In 1765, at the time of the Stamp Act, Beach stated that he "made it a rule never to enter into any dispute with them [the Independent ministers] unless they begin, . . ." but they had "advanced such monstrous errors as do subvert the Gospel," he said, and he felt

¹⁵Beardsley, op. cit., 300, [quoted from a letter to the Society .]

obligated to guard his people against such false doctrines.¹⁶

Reverend Samuel Peters wrote in his General History of Connecticut that Rev. Richard Moyley [Mosley] had been arrested in Litchfield County in 1772 for marrying a couple belonging to his own church. For this "crime" he was fined £20 by the court because he could show no license to officiate other than that which he received from the Bishop of London "whose authority . . . did not extend to Connecticut. . . ."¹⁷ One judge, according to Rev. Peters, said that the Bishop of London had to be shown that his powers did not extend to America. And "if fines would not curb them in this point, imprisonment should."¹⁸

Reverend Samuel Seabury, missionary at Winchester, New York, and later the first Bishop of Connecticut, wrote that he had been forced to retire in 1775 because of the threats against himself and the church:

¹⁶ Beardsley, op. cit., 248. See Ibid., 240-42, for the Anglican Churches' reaction to the Stamp Act.

¹⁷ Rev. Samuel Peters, General History of Connecticut, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877), 144. See also Lorenzo Sabine, Biographical Sketches of Loyalists of the American Revolution with an Historical Essay, (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1864), II, 109.

¹⁸ Peters, Ibid. See also Hawks and Perry, op. cit., I, III, and 112, 166-69, 172-73, 199-200, for precedents for such a decision in New England.

The charge against the clergy here is a very extraordinary one [he wrote]--that they have in conjunction with the Society and the British ministry, laid a plan for enslaving America. I do not think 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 Independence.¹⁹

It was openly remarked by one Presbyterian deacon that "if the colonies carried their point, there would not be a church [Episcopal Church] in the New England States. . . ."20

Reverend John Sayre's parishioners at Fairfield, Connecticut, actually increased in their "attachment to the church" while the Revolutionary War was in progress. And for this "they were greatly oppressed, and many of them treated most cruelly, cast into prison and heavily fined."²¹

Speaking of the sufferings of the Anglican clergy in Connecticut, Rev. Charles Inglis stated that those poor men did not draw "this treatment on themselves by any imprudence, but for adhering to their duty, which gave

¹⁹Beardsley, op. cit., 302. Rev. Seabury later was proven to be a loyalist in the fullest sense of the word, but that does not lessen the accuracy of his statement about the intentions of the patriotic New Englanders.

²⁰Ibid., 312.

²¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 50-52.

great offence to some demagogues, who raised mobs to persecute them on that very account."²² In October, 1776, Rev. Inglis said: "Although liberty was the ostensible object, . . . it is now past all doubt that an abolition of the Church of England was one of the principal springs of the dissenting leaders' conduct, and hence the unanimity of the dissenters. . . ."²³

In 1774, Rev. Wiswall of Falmouth, Massachusetts, [now Portland, Maine], wrote the society of the great difficulties which he encountered "as an episcopal minister and servant of the Society, from the civil distractions of the province, . . ."²⁴

At Pownalborough, Massachusetts, [now Dresden, Maine], Charles Cushing, the sheriff, and Jonathan Bowman, the registrar of deeds, displayed their contempt for the Anglican Church both prior to and during the war. In "A Letter to a friend," Rev. Jacob Bailey related the actions of Bowman against himself and the church. Bowman rarely went to church. But when he did go, he "commonly behaved

²²Beardsley, op. cit., 312.

²³John Wingate Thornton, The Pulpit of the American Revolution, (Boston: Gould and Lincoln, 1860), Introduction, XXXI-XXXII.

²⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1774, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1775), 24-25.

with a great deal of irreverence."²⁵ It was not at all uncommon for him to contrive "by a multitude of boyish tricks, to make women smile." He put "soap, scraps of paper, news letters, and once a pack of cards" in the contribution box. And "he was always extremely industrious in procuring from Boston, and other places, all the little, dirty pieces that . . . appeared against the Church of England."²⁶

Bowman took other steps to embarrass Rev. Bailey and his church. He tried his best to prejudice "the minds of people against the services of the church." He condemned parts of the service as "contrary to Scripture," and scratched out several sentences in all of the Books of Common Prayer that the Society had sent to Rev. Bailey.²⁷ Even more obnoxious to Rev. Bailey were Mr. Bowman's written comments. He inscribed "Many low, dirty, and scandalous remarks," in the Bible and Common Prayer Book used in Divine Service.²⁸

²⁵William Stoodley Bartlet, The Frontier Missionary, (Boston: Ide and Dutton, 1883), 93.

²⁶Ibid., 94.

²⁷Ibid., 93.

²⁸Ibid., 94.

Both Charles Cushing and Mr. Bowman used all of their "influence and authority to prevent people from attending Divine Service." Mr. Cushing went so far as to prohibit his servants from attending services. The two men even prevented Rev. Bailey from officiating at services one Easter by sinking all of the canoes on the minister's side of the river in order to prevent his crossing.²⁹

When war broke out, it was the same two men who initiated and carried out the persecution and banishment of Rev. Bailey.³⁰

Whatever reluctance or pain a benevolent heart may feel in recounting such things, which are, indeed, a disgrace to humanity and religion, yet they ought to be held up to view, the more effectually to expose the baneful nature of persecution, make it detestable, and put mankind on their guard against its first approaches.³¹

The struggle to establish an Anglican Episcopate in America points out the entangling relationship of religion and politics before and during the American Revolution.

²⁹ Ibid., 95.

³⁰ The love of most of the townspeople for Rev. Bailey is evident in this incident which occurred between 1776 and 1779. When Rev. Bailey's name was placed on a list to be considered by the townspeople for transportation out of the colony, the qualified voters of Pownalborough voted in a town meeting to strike it from the list. See Charles E. Allen, Maine Historical Society Collections, 2nd. ser. vol. VII, "Rev. Jacob Bailey," (Portland: by the Society, 1896), 238.

³¹ Beardsley, op. cit., 316-17.

Before the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century the plans for an established bishopric in the colonies were considered spiritual matters only, but after that time they became closely involved with the political phases of American life.³²

When the opposition to the Anglicans was at its height in New Hampshire, Governor Wentworth devised an interesting project for establishing the Anglican Church in that province. In a letter to a friend he outlined that scheme:

My dear Sir, I cordially venerate the . . . Church of England and hope to see it universally in this Province, whose lasting welfare I have much . . . at heart. Whatever is done in this proposed Plan must be without parade or Show and under powerful Direction, or the whole Matter will be injured rather than served; and I should think that if the Bishop of London should wish well to this scheme, from being convinced of its utility and speedy practicability, His Lordship could represent it to his Majesty so effectually as to obtain the Chaplainship, which would be so eminently advantageous to the cause of our Religion, and exceedingly dignify and facilitate the Political Administration of the Government, both of them you are sensible, Sir, at this time, requiring all the care and prudence they can have.³³

While this plan was never carried out, it serves as an interesting example of the close connection which many

³²Arthur Lyon Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, (New York: Longman, Green, and Co., 1902), 268.

³³Ibid., 260.

colonial Americans saw between an episcopal form of religion and a monarchical form of government. It is also interesting as an example of the many attempts made to establish a resident Episcopal bishop in America prior to the American Revolution.

Arthur Lyon Cross in his work, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies, pointed out the public interest in that question as displayed in "the newspaper controversy of 1768-69; . . . the active part which such prominent men as William Livingston, John Dickinson, and Roger Sherman took in the agitation; and finally, . . . the fact that John Adams . . . expressed, later in his life, a firm conviction of the importance of the episcopal question in the final epoch of our colonial history."³⁴

Some historians have viewed these facts and stated that the attempt to establish a bishop in America was an important cause in bringing about the war for independence. Mellen Chamberlain put forth this view in an address on John Adams delivered before the Western Historical Society.³⁵

His argument was based largely on John Adams' letter to Dr. Jedidiah Morse written on December 2, 1815, in which Adams said:

³⁴Ibid., 268.

³⁵Ibid., 269.

Where is the man to be found at this day, when we see Methodistical bishops, bishops of the Church of England, and bishops, or archbishops, and Jesuits of the church of Rome, with indifference, who will believe that the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies? This, nevertheless, was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America. The objection was not merely to the office of a bishop, though even that was dreaded, but to the authority of parliament, on which it must be founded . . . if parliament can erect dioceses and appoint bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tithes, forbid marriages and funerals, establish religions, forbid dissenters.³⁶

George Trevelyan wrote that the American Revolution had arisen as a direct result of taxation. "[B]ut in 1775, as in 1642," he said, "the contending parties were inspired and stimulated by religious, at least as much as fiscal, considerations."³⁷

It is, of course, a fact that religious forces were active before and during the American Revolution. Fear and hatred of the Anglican Church was surely present in New England before the war. But they were not in and of themselves immediate causes for the war. Rather they were utilized by the anxious patriots, Calvinist preachers, and political leaders to stimulate the lukewarm or those on

³⁶John Adams, Works, X, 185.

³⁷Trevelyan, op. cit., 280.

the fence into active political opposition to Great Britain.³⁸

The fear, hatred, and religious prejudice of the colonists offered fertile soil for those who wanted to sow political discontent between the mother country and the colonies. But these religious reasons did not cause the war. Rather the war strengthened opposition to the Church of England and served to further embitter the colonists toward the church. One is forced to agree therefore with the conclusions of Arthur Lyon Cross that ecclesiastical problems were "secondary and contributing rather than primary and impelling. . ." in bringing about the Revolutionary War.³⁹

³⁸C. H. Van Tyne, The American Historical Review, XIX, "Influence of the Clergy, and of Religious and Sectarian Forces, on the American Revolution," (Lancaster, Pa.: The New Era Printing Company, 1914).

³⁹Cross, op. cit., 270.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND PERSONAL CAUSES FOR THE PERSECUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGY OF NEW ENGLAND

The clergymen of the Anglican Church in New England at the time of the American Revolution were almost all members of the S. P. G.¹ As such they were connected to the established church in England, and they were bound to the crown by a special oath of allegiance which required them to pray for the king and royal family. For this reason the clergymen of the Society were marked for what amounted to special persecution. They soon faced a dilemma as a result of state legislation which specifically prohibited them from abiding by this oath of allegiance.

At least two New England colonies took steps in this direction early in the war. The General Court in Massachusetts passed an act in March, 1777, "forbidding all expressions in preaching and praying that may discountenance the people's support of the independence of these colonies on the British Empire on the Penalty of

¹ Every Anglican clergyman who appears in this thesis was a member of the S. P. G. except Rev. Mr. Bisset of Newport, Rhode Island. Even he received S. P. G. financial aid until 1772 when the Society decided that the Newport mission was financially self-sufficient.

£50."² A similar act forbidding the Anglican clergymen to pray for the king and royal family according to the liturgy of the Church of England was passed by the General Court of Connecticut.

The S. P. G. missionaries in Connecticut and Massachusetts were quick to react to this move which would have forced them to violate their ordination oath. The Connecticut clergy met at New Haven on July 23, 1776, and resolved to suspend public worship in their churches.³ The ministers of Massachusetts did not agree in assembly to suspend public worship, but like their Connecticut colleagues, were forced to close their churches. Only one Anglican Church was kept open throughout the war in New England, and that was done in Newtown and Reading by John Beach who simply refused to close his church despite the threats and ill-treatment of the patriots.⁴

A second difficulty arose from the fact that most of the Anglican clergy received their salary from the S. P. G.,⁵

²Cross, op. cit., 259-60.

³Beardsley, op. cit., 318.

⁴William B. Sprague, Annals of the American Pulpit, Vol. V, (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1858), 82-85.

⁵All except Rev. Bisset of Newport, Rhode Island, received their salary from the S. P. G.

a salary which would be withdrawn if they were considered disloyal to their faith. This fact served to complicate the already perplexing questions of whether or not the Anglican ministers should adhere to fast days proclaimed by the Congress and to read the Declaration of Independence. The issues raised by these questions were illustrated in the case of two Massachusetts clergymen--Reverend Bass and Reverend Bailey.

Rev. Edward Bass of Newburyport had his financial support withdrawn by the Venerable Society and was dismissed from the Society in 1779 for allegedly keeping fasts appointed by Congress and for reading the Declaration of Independence.⁶ His case, however, was an exception to the rule. No other Anglican clergyman in New England lost his salary from the S. P. G.

Much more typical was the case of Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalborough. Rev. Bailey was in constant conflict with his own conscience over whether or not to comply with his oath of ordination or the demands of the patriots for a loyalty oath on his part.

The Pownalborough Committee of Correspondence Inspection and Safety met on May 24, 1776, to act on a

⁶Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, Vol. I, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950), 733.

complaint filed against Rev. Bailey. The committee resolved that Rev. Bailey had shown "an undue attachment to the Authority claimed by Great Britain over the united Colonies." More specifically, Rev. Bailey had not read proclamations issued by the Continental and Provincial Congress for days of public fasting and prayer. The committee considered Rev. Bailey's action a direct denial of the authority of the Congresses,⁷ and therefore ordered him to post a bond of £40 to assure his appearance before the General Court when called.

If Rev. Bailey had not aided the cause of the enemy, either directly or indirectly, if he had obeyed the orders, resolves, and laws of the General Court from May 24, 1776, to the end of the war, the charges and action against him would have been dropped.⁸ But Rev. Bailey did not comply with the conditions set forth by the committee in his bond, and on October 28, 1776, he was called before the committee once again.

The new charges against Rev. Bailey were that he had refused to read the Declaration of Independence in contempt of an Order of Council for the State of Massachusetts-Bay.

⁷J. P. Baxter, Documentary History of the State of Maine, Vol. XIV, "Complaint against Rev. Jacob Bailey, May 24, 1776." (Portland: Lefavor Tower Company, 1910), 349.

⁸Ibid., 353.

He had also persisted "in praying for the King of Great Britain on every Lords day . . . as the King and Governor of these united States."⁹

The missionary gave his reasons for not reading the Declaration of Independence. He had taken a solemn oath of allegiance to the King of Great Britain before Almighty God. He could not break that oath, and he must patiently suffer the penalty for refusing to break it, for his "Duty" was "to obey God rather than Man--"¹⁰

Rev. Bailey then went on to say that he had not knowingly defrauded anyone, intended to injure anyone in his business, tried to encourage private quarrels, meddled with his neighbors' religious, civil, or domestic concerns, or labored to create discord in families. In short, he had been a good, law-abiding citizen.

He went on to point out that he had done nothing to injure the American cause. He had not taken up arms for Great Britain, defended the pretensions of either the King or parliament, prevented anyone from enlisting in the service, conveyed any intelligence to the enemy, or aided or assisted the invaders of America. He had done only what

⁹Ibid., "Rev. Jacob Bailey's Case, Oct. 28, 1776," 389-90.

¹⁰Ibid., "Rev. Mr. Bailey's Reasons for not Reading the Declaration of Independence," 390.

his oath to God and the king demanded of his conscience. He argued that he was not unfriendly to America. He wished to see the prosperity of his country and was willing to submit to the authority of the government in all lawful and indifferent matters, but he could not absolve himself from his former oath of allegiance.¹¹

Rev. Bailey did admit, however, that he had neglected to read the Declaration of Independence. This was the crux of the matter so far as the Pownalborough committee was concerned. His reasons for refusing to do so were unsatisfactory to the committee.¹²

The views of the Pownalborough committee were expressed in a letter to the Massachusetts General Court by Charles Cushing. "He [Rev. Bailey] was not so particular as to say that the oath he was Under was made to King George the 2nd . . . (the oath of Allegiance is not to the King and his successors)."¹³ Bailey by his own confession had prayed for the King. But he had failed to inform his congregation that they were praying for the American cause when that was the case. He had also neglected to pray for the successes of the American forces when he had been ordered to do so.¹⁴

Indeed, in a letter to one of his colleagues, Bailey admitted the charges against him were true. He had prayed for the king even after he had been ordered to stop. He

¹¹Ibid., 390-91, 397-98.

¹²Ibid., "Rev. Jacob Bailey's Case, Oct. 28, 1776," 390.

¹³Ibid., "Letter from Charles Cushing, Nov. 16, 1776," 397-98.

¹⁴Ibid.

refused to read the Declaration of Independence because he "had already offended beyond the hopes of pardon."¹⁵ Rev. Bailey went on to tell his colleague that he had "left out the most obnoxious sentences," but he had "never omitted to pray for the King." He confessed that he "continued to officiate, not to please our enemies, but the Royalists scattered through the country."¹⁶

Reverend Bailey was admittedly passively loyal to the British crown and continued to comply with the letter of the law of his ordination oath. But, at the same time, he was also sympathetic with the cause of the colonists. He never actively opposed the patriots. Nor did he actively aid the enemy. One might say that he attempted to ride the fence so as to remain loyal to both his native country and his adopted religion. But the patriots refused to allow such indecision. He was forced to suffer insults, threats, and even attempts on his very life.¹⁷

The pressure was more than Bailey could bear and in July, 1778, he petitioned the General Court for permission to leave for Nova Scotia. Bailey's petition stated that his

¹⁵William Stoodley Bartlet, The Frontier Missionary, (Boston: Ide and Dutton, 1853), 114-15.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Charles E. Allen, Maine Historical Society Collections, 2nd Ser., Vol. III, "Field Day, 1891," (Portland: by the Society, 1890), 91.

parishioners were mostly poor Germans who could not afford to supply him with any assistance and that he could not support his family any longer by himself. His wife and child were already "Suffering for the Necessaries of Life," and he had nothing left to his name but a few pieces of furniture worth less than one hundred dollars.¹⁸ Because of his economic plight and his being "exempted by Law from doing military Duty and paying any tax," Bailey said that he felt he was only a burden upon the state.¹⁹

The picture Bailey painted of his economic plight was accurate. But he confessed in a letter to one of his friends that he had advanced economic reasons for leaving because such an argument would be more effective to the General Court.

Reverend Bailey really left Pownalborough for a variety of reasons. His religious convictions were considered an affront to the patriot cause, as were his political beliefs. Personal spite entered into the relations that Bailey had with some local officials. Jealousy of the minister's social status in the community also may have caused opposition to him. Only in the light of all of these factors can one appreciate the difficulty Bailey found himself in.

¹⁸J. P. Baxter, Ibid., Vol. XVI, "Petition of Jacob Bailey, Boston, July 28, 1778," 43.

¹⁹Ibid.

Like Rev. Bailey, the rest of the Society's missionaries in New England were nurtured in sentiments of loyalty to the crown. They too recognized the king as the earthly head of their church. They derived most of their financial support from the S. P. G. in England. In view of these sentiments, it is not surprising to find that they remained passively loyal to the mother country during the war.

Many of the members of their congregations did likewise. Out of 130 families attending Rev. Mansfield's churches at Derby, Westbury, and Waterbury, Connecticut, for example, 110 families remained loyal, as did almost all of the men in the congregations of Revs. James Scovil and John Beach.²⁰

In a letter dated Dec. 19, 1775, Rev. Richard Mansfield of Derby stated:

As soon as these sparks of civil dissension appeared, which have since been blown up into a devouring flame, I did (as I thought it my duty) inculcate on my parishioners both from the pulpit and in private conversation, the duty of peaceableness, and quiet subjection to the King and to the parent State; and I am well assured that the Clergy in general of the Church in the Colony of Connecticut, . . . did the same.²¹

²⁰ Pascoe, op. cit., 41-42. [Rev. Mansfield to the Society, Dec. 1775].

²¹ Sprague, op. cit., 131.

Rev. Mansfield went even further. He wrote Governor Tyron that he believed thousands of men in the western counties of Connecticut would aid the King's troops if they were sent there to protect the loyalists.²²

Other factors that led to the unpopularity of the Anglicans in New England were the concessions that they had gained in Massachusetts and Connecticut where the Congregational Church was supported by public taxation as the established church. Members of the Church of England in Massachusetts had complained that they were being taxed to support the Congregational ministers and meeting-houses while they attended services at their own churches. Under a law in 1742 Anglicans were still taxed, but the taxes they paid were thereafter turned over to support ministers of their own faith.²³

A similar act was passed in Connecticut in 1727. However the Connecticut law provided that church taxes paid by Anglicans within a Congregational parish would be given to an Anglican minister only if there was an

²²Ibid., 132. See also Zeichner, op. cit., 91-92, 229-30, 306 (Footnote 12), for information on the Anglicans' loyalty to Great Britain in Connecticut.

²³Massachusetts-Bay General Court, Charter, Acts, & Laws of Massachusetts-Bay, 1692-1773, "An Act in Addition to the several Acts or Laws of this Province for the Settlement and Support of Ministers," (Boston: S. Kneeland, 1742).

Anglican parish established in his town.²⁴ This limitation was an obvious hindrance, for each Anglican minister in Connecticut served several towns, but was a resident in only one town. The assembly only returned the taxes in the town in which he lived.

As one would expect, such laws led to ill-feeling between the Congregationalists and Anglicans. A case in point was the episode that occurred in Pownalborough.

The church taxes of the Anglicans in Pownalborough were turned over to Rev. Jacob Bailey in accordance with the Massachusetts law of 1742. Because his parishioners were mostly poor people, Rev. Bailey returned the money raised for his support to the people who had paid it in taxes.²⁵ This led the Congregationalists to oppose Rev. Bailey, for they believed that his actions prevented the establishment of a Congregational Church in Pownalborough.

A meeting of the West Precinct of Pownalborough was called in 1773 to organize a new church. The religious

²⁴Origen Storrs Seymour, Connecticut Tercentenary Commission Publication, "The Beginnings of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut," (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934).

²⁵Charles E. Allen, Maine Historical Society Collections, 2nd. Ser., Vol. VII, "Rev. Jacob Bailey," (Portland: by the Society, 1896), 259.

denomination was to be determined by a majority of the voters present.²⁶ The Congregationalists took advantage of this meeting by refusing the right of about twenty persons to attend "because they were Episcopalians." These people therefore withdrew from the meeting and never attended another thereafter.²⁷ Consequently in 1776, seven, eight, or nine Congregationalists voted to tax everyone in the precinct for the support of a minister they would hire.²⁸

After the Anglicans had petitioned the General Court to alleviate their grievances in 1777, Charles Cushing wrote a letter asking the Court to refuse the "Petition of those pretended Churchmen." There was no doubt that the people of Pownalborough would have joined the Congregational Church, he said, "if they had not been grossly imposed upon and deceived by the Craft . . . Cunning . . . Falsehoods and Misrepresentations of . . . the pious Mr. Bailey." He had persuaded the good people of Pownalborough to "renounce the pure and undefiled Religion and instead"

²⁶Bartlett, op. cit., 99.

²⁷Baxter, op. cit., Vol. XV, "Petition of the West Precinct in Pownalborough, October 21, 1777," 258.

²⁸Ibid.

to embrace "Episcopacy." After condemning the Anglican Church, Mr. Cushing condemned Rev. Bailey as that "whore of Babilon" who, "must Fall to the ground. . . ." If the petition were granted, it would have a "tendency to encourage people to go over to the Church to Save their Taxes, or at least, to procure a Certificate from the pious Mr. Bailey and his Wardens." It would "prevent the Settlement of a Gospel Minister" in Pownalborough, and it would involve Mr. Cushing and his friends in "many and very Great Difficulties."²⁹

Rev. Bailey unfortunately suffered the greatest "Difficulties" because of this conflict with the magistrates of Lincoln County. His lot during the remainder of his stay in America was one of persecution at the hands of those Congregational patriots.

Ill-feelings were the result of the Massachusetts tax law of 1742 in yet another community. Rev. Samuel Peters wrote that the people of Great Barrington voted about £200 a year for the support of a minister. Although approximately one half of that money came from Anglicans and Lutherans, all of it was used to pay the Congregational minister at

²⁹Baxter, Ibid., Vol. XV, "Letter from Charles Cushing. Answer to the Inhabitants of the West Precinct in Pownalborough, July 27, 1777," 141-42, 150.

Great Barrington. This was because the members of the established church had a majority of voters in town meeting.³⁰

Finally the Lutherans and members of some other sects joined the Church of England giving them a majority of votes in Great Barrington. The shoe was now on the other foot. The Congregationalists immediately cried out they were being persecuted and applied to Gov. Hutchinson for relief. Mayor Hawley of Northampton was sent to moderate the town-meeting in Barrington, but the vote still favored the Anglicans. Therefore the money was turned over to the minister of the Church of England.³¹

Shortly thereafter the Congregational minister left Great Barrington because his parishioners could not support him. During the war, people from Connecticut came to Great Barrington and persecuted Rev. Gideon Bostwick, the Anglican minister there, with the intention of re-establishing the Congregational church.³² Rev. Bostwick, however, did not leave Great Barrington until after the peace treaty was signed in 1783.

³⁰Rev. Samuel Peters, General History of Connecticut, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877), 255-56.

³¹Ibid.

³²Ibid.

Similar episodes occurred in Connecticut. Four of Rev. William Gibbs' church members in New Cambridge, [now Bristol] were thrown into jail for refusing to pay taxes to support the Congregational church in 1749.³³ They finally paid their taxes and were released. Rev. Gibbs tried to reclaim the tax money through the courts, but he was unsuccessful. The Assembly would not recognize his parish as extending beyond Simsbury. Rev. Gibbs then refused to pay the cost of the court proceedings and was subsequently forced into submission by being jailed himself.³⁴

Shortly thereafter when another of Rev. Gibbs' parishioners at Cornwall was thrown into jail for refusing to pay taxes to the Congregational Church the minister paid the taxes and charges himself.³⁵ At that time, Rev. Gibbs complained:

this is the usage of . . . Churchmen here, which very much grieves me . . . The Dissenters . . . seem to be resolutely bent to hurt [and] to ruin the Church in these parts; and as to my mission, they look upon it to extend no further than Simsbury.³⁶

³³Seymour, op. cit., 11.

³⁴Ibid., 11-12.

³⁵Ibid.

³⁶Ibid.

Taxation, then, was a very real bone of contention between the Anglicans under Rev. Gibbs' care and the Congregationalists of the Simsbury area of Connecticut. Quite obviously the Connecticut law of 1727 had done little or nothing to correct this situation. Thus, the economic motive of taxation provided still another reason for the persecution of some Anglican ministers in New England.

No doubt personal spite and resentment led to the persecution of certain Anglican ministers. C. F. Pascoe in his work, Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G., listed twelve Anglican ministers³⁷ as the greatest sufferers of their profession during the American Revolution.³⁸ All twelve were stationed in New England. Ten were born and raised in America. Eight were educated at either Harvard or Yale. Three were converted from the Congregational faith, and an additional two were converted Congregational ministers.³⁹ Obviously an Anglican minister who had been

³⁷The twelve ministers were: Rev. S. Peters of Hebron; Rev. J. Wiswall of Falmouth; Rev. J. Cossit of Haverhill and Claremont; Rev. J. W. Weeks of Marblehead; Rev. Jacob Bailey of Pownalborough; Rev. R. Mansfield of Derby; Rev. Rev. R. Viets of Simsbury; Rev. W. Clarke of Dedham; Rev. J. Sayre of Fairfield; Rev. J. Leaming of Norwalk; Rev. M. Graves of New London; and Rev. E. Winslow of Braintree.

³⁸Pascoe, op. cit., 48-51.

³⁹Ibid., 852-54.

converted from another faith would be considered something of a turncoat and would engender hard feelings.

The air of superiority that English bishops bore toward the American colonies made the position of the local Anglican clergy even more difficult. On several occasions, English bishops represented the whole of America as a pagan land unexposed to any religious teachings and a fertile area where Anglican missionaries might perform a great service by bringing the word of God.⁴⁰ Such sentiments completely ignored the existence of other religious sects. Congregationalists and Presbyterians hardly took kindly to such remarks.

Nor can one doubt that the words of certain Tory writers and Anglican ministers caused some hard feelings. Members of the Congregational Church of Massachusetts and Connecticut must have been quite perturbed by the frequent references to them as "dissenters" by Anglican ministers.

New England patriots were quick to accuse the Anglican clergy of writing "amazing falsehoods" to England. After the war broke out, the patriots eagerly seized and published written evidence which they called treasonous

⁴⁰ These sentiments were expressed by Bishop Seeker of Oxford in 1742, the Bishop of Gloucester in 1766, and the Bishop of Llandoff in 1767 in their "Anniversary Sermons" before the Society. See the Society's Sermons and Abstracts for these years.

material. Rev. Peters, for example, had written on September 28, 1774, in anticipation of British troops entering Boston: "so soon as they come hanging work will go on."⁴¹ While such an utterance was hardly treason, it was certain to embitter the patriots against the Anglican clergymen.

Rev. Peters compounded his error in October, 1774, when he wrote another letter in which he said that the Church of England must fall a victim "to the rage of the Puritan nobility if the old serpent, that dragon is not bound."⁴² And calling attention to Whig support of the Puritan clergy he wrote: "spiritual iniquity rides in high places, with halberts, pistols and swords."⁴³ Can one wonder that the Anglican cause was condemned when these words were read before the Massachusetts Provincial Congress?⁴⁴

⁴¹C. H. Van Tyne, The Loyalists of the American Revolution, (1902), 109-11. See also Thornton, op. cit., 195.

⁴²Ibid.

⁴³Ibid.

⁴⁴Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX

PERSECUTION OF THE ANGLICAN CLERGYMEN OF NEW ENGLAND DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Anglican Church in New England suffered more of a setback than any other sect in that region during the Revolutionary War. This decline was due in large part to the mass exodus of the major Anglican leaders from rebellious New England to other colonies that remained loyal to the crown. Before they fled, however, some of the Anglican clergymen were to endure many hardships and to be subjected to severe persecution.

The treatment of the Anglican clergy in Connecticut was especially severe. These clergymen were humiliated as they were forced to witness the defilement of their churches. They were deprived of their legal rights and of the financial support available to them. They were even subjected to bodily harm, for some were beaten, shot at, and driven from their homes. Some were to die as the result of this abuse at the hands of the patriots.

At Hebron, for example, an outraged mob subjected Rev. Samuel Peters and his family to insults and humiliation. The minister himself was treated most cruelly and threats were made upon his life in 1774. At this point he abandoned his mission and left the American colonies as so

many of his fellow ministers were destined to do in the following years.¹

Rev. Richard Mansfield of Derby was forced to flee from home "to escape outrage and violence, imprisonment and death."² His own account of the flight and the mental anguish that it caused him follows:

I was forced to flee from home, leaving behind a virtuous, good wife, with one young child, newly weaned from the breast, four other children which are small, and not one of sufficient age to support themselves, and four others which are adults; and all of them overwhelmed with grief and bathed in tears, and but very faint hopes, if any at all, considering the badness of the times, of returning back to them in safety. But I hope to be able to maintain some fortitude of mind under adversity, and to improve in the virtues of patience and resignation to the disposals of the Divine Providence, which, since my misfortunes, I have found yield me some comfort and sensible relief.³

In 1776, Rev. Mathew Graves of New London was driven into the woods where he served a "large, but poor congregation . . ."⁴ His life in the wilderness was not a pleasant one. He finally took refuge in New York City in 1779, "after having undergone many trials, afflictions, and

¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1774, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1775), 29. See also Peters, op. cit., 260-74, for his own account of his persecution.

²Ibid., 41.

³Sprague, op. cit., 132.

⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1776, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1777), 55.

persecutions, almost even to death"5 He was to die there the following year.

Rev. John Sayre of Fairfield suffered even more and so did the members of his congregation. He and his church members were "oppressed merely on account of their Church and King." Many of his parishioners were "imprisoned on the most frivolous pretences and their imprisonment was aggravated with many circumstances of cruelty."6

The expansion of his church at North Fairfield was stopped "by the many abuses." His church shared the same fate as other churches in the mission. "Shooting bullets through them, breaking the windows, stripping off the hangings, carrying off the leads . . . and the most beastly defilements, make but a part of insults which were offered to them."7

In 1779, more than 200 armed horsemen appeared before Rev. Sayre's home and put his wife, who was pregnant, into "violent agitation" by their arrival. The minister was confined to his home for some time and then "advertised . . . as an enemy to his country for refusing to sign an association,

⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 50.

⁶Pascoe, op. cit., 48-51.

⁷Ibid.

which obliged the subscriber to oppose the King with life and fortune, and to withdraw all offices of justice, humanity and charity from every recusant. In consequence of this all persons were prohibited, by public advertisement, from holding any dealings with him."⁸ He was then ordered into exile at New Britain, Connecticut. He subsequently returned to Fairfield but was forced to remain there for some eighteen months.⁹

Rev. Sayre suffered misfortune at the hands of his friends as well as his enemies. When Fairfield was burned by Governor Tryon and his British troops in 1779,¹⁰ Rev. Sayre found himself in a situation which was even more desperate. His church and home were laid in ashes along with his library, and he, his wife, and eight children were left without food or shelter. Having no other choice, he left Fairfield and went to New York with Governor Tryon.¹¹ Then in 1783 he migrated to New Brunswick, where he died the following year.¹²

⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 50-52.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰In 1779, British troops under the command of Governor Tryon partially destroyed these Connecticut towns: Fairfield, Norwalk, and New Haven. See John C. Miller, Triumph of Freedom 1775-1783, (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1948), 394.

¹¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 50-52.

¹²Pascoe, op. cit., 854.

A similar fate was endured by Rev. Jeremiah Leaming of Norwalk. In the Tryon expedition he "lost all his furniture, books, papers, and apparel, besides other property which in the whole [was] estimated at 12 or 1300 pounds sterling."¹³ He, too, escaped with his life and went to New York.

Before he escaped to New York, Rev. Leaming suffered both mental and physical anguish at the hands of the patriots. The patriots seized a portrait of the minister, defaced it, and nailed it to a sign post. However, this humiliation was nothing compared to the physical punishment he had to endure. He was imprisoned and denied a bed during his detention. This cruel treatment resulted in his becoming a cripple for the rest of his life.¹⁴

Despite such cruel persecution, some courageous Anglican clergymen remained in Connecticut. In 1782, Rev. Daniel Fogg of Pomfret appealed to the General Assembly at Hartford, to allow him to go to New York to get his back salary for the preceding seven years. Although the selectmen of Pomfret supported Rev. Fogg as a man who had "conducted himself in a peaceable and quiet manner since the contest with Great Britain," the Connecticut legislature

¹³Ibid., 50.

¹⁴Pascoe, op. cit., 48-51.

refused his request.¹⁵

Mr. Marshall of Woodbury was subjected to physical abuse. All sorts of objects were thrown at him. He was often forbidden to preach and occasionally forced out of his own church. On one occasion he was beaten so badly that he was confined to his room for weeks.¹⁶

Rev. John Tyler of Norwich was forced to close his church, but he remained in Connecticut. He feared for his life to such a degree that he did not dare to drink water from his own well at one time.¹⁷ His fortune, however, changed for the better after November 27, 1778. On that day, the members of Rev. Tyler's congregation met and voted almost unanimously to reopen their church and to omit the prayers for the king and Parliament. Rev. Tyler's congregation agreed with him when he said: "Christ's kingdom is not of this world, and so may exist without civil powers: an obligation that becomes wrong, or impossible to adhere to, is of course null and void."¹⁸

¹⁵Beardsley, op. cit., 318.

¹⁶Ibid., 329.

¹⁷Sprague, op. cit., 58-59 n.

¹⁸Beardsley, op. cit., 320-21. This incident indicates that the Anglican clergy in Connecticut suffered because of the fulfillment of their ordination oath.

At Great Barrington, Rev. Gideon Bostwick was treated most cruelly and forced to sign the eighteen articles or League of Covenant for fear of being put to death.¹⁹ Rev. Roger Viets of Simsbury was taken by the patriots in 1776 and confined to jail in Hartford where he was kept "in irons" for some time.²⁰

At Norwalk and Stamford, Rev. Ebenezer Dibblee, his family and his parishioners suffered a great deal. Rev. Dibblee's "temporal interests [were] greatly impaired." His congregation grew smaller and smaller as people fled for their lives. Those of his parishioners who remained "were overborne and oppressed with fines, imprisonment, and impositions. . . ."²¹

Rev. Ranna Cossit of Claremont and Haverhill, New Hampshire, was thrown into jail for a period of four years. But imprisonment did not dampen his spirit. While in jail, he boldly continued to hold services according to the liturgy of the Church of England without even omitting the prayers for the king.²²

¹⁹Peters, op. cit., 254.

²⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1777, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1778), 47.

²¹Rev. W. O. Raymond, M.A., (ed.), Winslow Papers A.D. 1776-1826, (St. John, N. B.: The Sun Printing Company, 1901), 483n.

²²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 46-47.

There were Anglican clergymen in Connecticut who also continued to perform their religious services in spite of the dangers to which they were exposed. Rev. John Beach of Newtown and Reading explained in his letter to the S. P. G., October 31, 1781, that he had not written for so long (eight years) because:

of the impossibility of conveying from here; and now [he added, I] do it sparingly. A narrative of my troubles I dare not now give. . . Newtown, and the Church of England part of Reading are, (I believe) the only parts of New England that have refused to comply with the doings of Congress, and for that reason²³ have been the butt of general hatred. . . .

Rev. Bela Hubbard of New Haven and West Haven also was allowed to pursue his duties without any serious trouble from the patriots.²⁴ But the cases of Beach and Hubbard were exceptions to the rule in Connecticut.

Churches as well as clergymen were subjected to abuse. At Westbury (now Waterbury) the church windows were demolished. At Litchfield "American soldiers broke into the sanctuary, took the parish papers that were deposited in a chest, and tore them to pieces" ²⁵ In defiling church buildings Connecticut patriots gave vent to the hatred they harbored toward the Episcopal Church.

²³ Sprague, op. cit., 82-85.

²⁴ Ibid., 234-35.

²⁵ Beardsley, op. cit., 329.

The burdens of the Anglican clergymen in Massachusetts were even heavier than those borne by their colleagues in Connecticut. The Episcopal divines of the Bay colony probably suffered the greatest deprivation of liberties of any religious group in all of New England. Indeed, it may well be that the Anglican clergy in Massachusetts underwent the greatest religious persecution of any colonial churchmen during the war.

Rev. Winwood Serjeant of Cambridge, for example, was driven from his home in 1776.²⁶ He was to die in England four years later as a result of the ill-treatment he received at the hands of the patriots.²⁷

Rev. Joshua Weeks of Marblehead tried to placate the patriots by staying out of all civil affairs. But he was treated harshly despite his conciliatory efforts. Because he refused to take the oath of adjuration, he, his wife, and eight children were forced to seek shelter in the wilderness. He petitioned the General Court at Boston for permission to leave the country, but his request was refused. When he was asked to take the oath again and threatened with punishment if he did not, he fled to England leaving behind him his

²⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1775, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1776), 37-38.

²⁷Pascoe, op. cit., 854.

wife and family.²⁸

Rev. John Wiswall of Falmouth (now Portland, Maine) was taken prisoner, "greatly insulted and abused, and in danger of being shot to death."²⁹ A mob actually opened fire at him. Fearing for his life, he escaped to Boston and left his wife, two children, and worldly belongings behind. His wife and family were allowed to follow him, but were given just two days' provisions, wearing apparel, and bedding to take with them. Though exposed a good deal to the elements, his family managed to make the dangerous trek. "But within a few days after . . . his wife's arrival . . . greatly fatigued in body and mind, she with his only daughter flickered and died."³⁰

Rev. William Clark of Dedham suffered from a number of physical defects such as asthma, deafness, and difficulty of speech, and it might be assumed that his infirmities would have secured him from the rage of any mob.³¹ But

²⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 47-48.

²⁹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1775, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1776), 37-38.

³⁰Ibid. Rev. Wiswall's son evidently lived through the ordeal.

³¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 49-51.

such was not the case. He was, it seems, singled out for cruel and abusive treatment. When one of his church members was expelled from Dedham for expressing a wish that the king's government might be restored, Rev. Clark gave him a letter of recommendation to some one living in another colony. He was repaid for this act of kindness when a mob assaulted and ransacked his house in the middle of the night. The mob left only after Clark had promised to appear before a committee of patriots the next day. He appeared and was dismissed, but his troubles were not yet over.

A new charge was soon presented against Clark, and he was taken prisoner. During his captivity he was denied bail, hurried off to Boston, and given only a half an hour to procure bondsmen upon his arrival. He was denied counsel at his trial and was not told of the charge for which he was to be tried. Ultimately he was declared a Loyalist, his property was confiscated, and he was ordered to be banished from America.³² Because of his infirmities, the Committee of Correspondence finally allowed him to return to Dedham as a prisoner. From Dedham, he was permitted to proceed to Newport, Rhode Island, where Sir Henry Clinton arranged for his passage to England.³³

³²Ibid.

³³Ibid.

At Pownalborough, Rev. Jacob Bailey was even more severely persecuted than Rev. Clark. Twice he was assaulted by a furious mob. On one occasion, he was stripped naked by a mob which claimed he was planning to escape to Quebec and might have papers upon his person. He was hauled before the Committee of Correspondence Inspection and Safety and sentenced to heavy bond four different times, being hurried from one tribunal to another in the process. On three different occasions, he was forced to flee into the wilderness of Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts to save his life. He was actually shot at twice.³⁴ During all of this time, his family was suffering for lack of the necessities of life.

Rev. Bailey and his family finally escaped to Halifax, Nova Scotia, in 1779. By then their belongings and savings were all gone. "[T]hey had nothing remaining but two old feather beds: were destitute of money, and had not clothing sufficient to appear even among the lowest classes of mankind."³⁵

Rev. Edward Winslow preached at his church in Braintree until 1778, and until that time, he was not greatly bothered

³⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 46-49.

³⁵Ibid.

by the patriots even though he continued to pray for the king.³⁶ In that year, however, he was forced to take refuge in New York, where he was appointed chaplain for a Loyalist military unit.³⁷ On October 31, 1779, he died, leaving a widow and eleven children to mourn his death.³⁸ The report of his death noted that "[t]here is reason to believe that . . . his fate was not a little hastened by the calamities of the time. . . ."³⁹

Rev. William McGilchrist of Salem was broken by the events of the Revolutionary War. He was hurt by the unkindness and injurious treatment he received during those troubled years.⁴⁰ In 1780, he died feeling very sad and defeated.

At the request of his parishioners, Rev. Edward Bass of Newbury left the prayers for the royal family out of his services in 1779 and was subsequently dropped from the Venerable Society. He thus lost his salary although he had

³⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1777, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1778), 40.

³⁷S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 51.

³⁸S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1780, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1781), 43.

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 49.

remained loyal to the dogma of his faith and to the spirit of the Anglican Church.⁴¹ But he also remained in Massachusetts throughout the war--something that no other Episcopal clergyman was able to do.

The treatment of the Anglican missionaries in Rhode Island varied from town to town, and there was no evidence of a pattern or policy within the state.

Rev. Samuel Fayerweather of Narragansett took an oath of allegiance to the patriots of his own free will in 1780 and was subsequently released from the S. P. G. Thus, he became the only member of the Society in New England to freely and fully adhere to the American cause and to abandon all ties with the mother church in England.⁴²

Rev. Henry Caner of King's Chapel escaped from Boston on March 10, 1776, when the British troops evacuated that city. He then proceeded to Halifax, Nova Scotia, from whence he went on to London. There he was offered a choice of the missions then vacant in America. And after accepting the post at Bristol, Rhode Island, he returned to

⁴¹Sprague, op. cit., 143. It seems that the fulfillment of an ordination oath by the other Anglican divines of Massachusetts was the main cause for their suffering at the hands of the patriots during the war.

⁴²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1780, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1781), 39.

America in late 1776 or early 1777. He remained at Bristol to serve the Church of England until the end of the war.⁴³

Rev. George Bissett fled from his mission at Newport on October 25, 1779, when the British evacuated that city. Subsequently his wife was taken prisoner and had her furniture confiscated by the patriots. But in answer to a petition to the General Court, the confiscated goods were returned and Mrs. Bissett was allowed to rejoin her husband in New York.⁴⁴

Rev. John Graves remained in Providence throughout the war, but he kept his church closed. As late as 1782, he wrote that, although most of the churches that had been closed had been reopened, local conditions were such that he did not dare open his. Apparently the situation was not as bad as Graves pictured it. The people of his parish relieved him of his duties in 1782 because they wanted to start church services again.⁴⁵

⁴³Sprague, op. cit., 62.

⁴⁴Ibid., 80n.

⁴⁵S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1782, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1783), 53.

The Anglican clergymen of all four of the New England colonies were exposed to persecution, physical punishment and public humiliation. But of them all, Rhode Island seems to have been mildest in its treatment of the Anglican clerics. No doubt the tradition of religious tolerance upon which Roger Williams had founded the colony in 1636 lingered on to 1776.

This is not to say that religion was the only reason for the persecution of the Anglican clergy. It was not. There were also political, social and economic causes for their troubles. In any given case one of these forces might be predominant whereas in another case a different factor might be most important. In yet another instance a combination of issues might be responsible for the ministers' ill-treatment.

This already complicated picture is further complicated by the fact that the same issue often was seen as political by the patriots while being viewed as religious by the Anglican ministers. The controversy over the clergymen's prayers for the king was such an issue. Only after a much more thorough investigation of the conditions in each community would it be possible to state which factor played the leading role in the persecution of each minister.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE EFFECT OF THE REVOLUTION ON THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN NEW ENGLAND

American independence not only freed the colonies from the British empire; it also freed the Anglican Church in New England. The Anglican clergy though weakened in numbers by the war, demanded greater autonomy within the church. The clamor for an Anglican bishop in America grew louder, and, surprisingly enough, it was the Anglican clergy in New England who brought about this great change.

As soon as peace was signed, ten of the fourteen Episcopal clergymen left in Connecticut met and chose Jeremiah Leaming of Norwalk to go to England to be ordained as the first Bishop of America. But Rev. Leaming had suffered a great deal at the hands of the patriots during the Revolution, and his resultant poor health forced him to decline the honor.¹ The group then chose Samuel Seabury to proceed to England for ordination. He could not, however, swear to the oath of supremacy of the British sovereign and was consequently refused ordination by the English bishops.

¹ Seymour, op. cit., 16.

From England Rev. Seabury went to Scotland, where he was ordained as the first Bishop of America on November 14, 1784, by the non-juring bishops of the Scottish Episcopal Church.²

Two years after Rev. Seabury's ordination, the British Parliament passed a law authorizing the Church of England to ordain bishops for America so that the line of succession might be continued.³ Shortly thereafter Rev. Seabury, Dr. Samuel Provoost of New York, and Dr. William White of Pennsylvania went to England and were also consecrated. Thus by September 29, 1789, America had three bishops, "the number required by the canons of the Anglican Church for the perpetuation of holy orders. . . ."⁴

No longer would an American have to cross the Atlantic Ocean to be ordained a minister of the Episcopal Church. The authoritative control of the Church of England organization over the Episcopal Church in America was broken. The governmental power of another country over the Anglican Church in America thus was dissolved. Never again would an Anglican clergyman in America have the problem of deciding between two loyalties, his religious obligations or his

²Cross, op. cit., 264.

³Ibid., 266.

⁴Ibid., 266-67.

national allegiance. In 1786, the Protestant Episcopal Church was formed in the United States and the split from the national Church of England became even more complete. This move toward greater autonomy was the most important result of the Revolutionary War upon the Anglican Church.

But there were other results almost as profound. The Revolutionary War almost destroyed the Anglican Church in New England. More than two thirds of the resident clergymen of the S. P. G. left New England during the Revolution. Most of them went to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, or other parts of Canada. The rest moved to England, joined British army garrisons in North America, or changed their residence to the Middle Atlantic states. Only a handful remained in New England. The loss of most of its capable and devoted missionaries dealt a serious blow to the Anglican Church in New England.

Only fourteen of the Society's twenty-one ministers serving Connecticut at the outbreak of war were still associated with their parishes by 1783. Four of these left in the next two years, leaving just ten⁵ Anglican clergymen in the entire state. Rev. Peters had fled to England in 1774. Five years later the Revs. Graves, Sayre, and

⁵The ten clergymen who stayed in Connecticut were the Revs. Bostwick, Dibblee, Fogg, Hubbard, Jarvis, Mansfield, Marshall, Newton, Nichols and Tyler.

Leaming went to New York. By 1782, Gibbs, Kneeland, and Beach had died. Revs. Andrews, Clarke, Scovill, and Viets were still at their missions in 1783. But in the next two years, the first three migrated to New Brunswick while the fourth left for Nova Scotia.⁶

If the toll of the war was heavy on the Anglican clergy in Connecticut, it was even greater in Massachusetts. Only one clergyman, Reverend Bass, remained in that state after the war in comparison to the ten in Massachusetts in 1775. Revs. Bailey, Byles, Wiswall, and Weeks had been transferred to Nova Scotia. Revs. Clark and Caner had escaped to England and the grave had claimed Revs. McGilchrist, Serjeant, and Winslow.⁷

In New Hampshire there were two missionaries⁸ and one schoolmaster at the beginning of the conflict. None were left by 1783. Mr. Cole, the teacher, had died. Rev. Byles had been transferred to Nova Scotia, and Rev. Cossit had gone to England.⁹

⁶Pascoe, op. cit., 852-54.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Rev. Badger had resigned in 1774.

⁹Pascoe, op. cit., 852-54. S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1778, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1779), 46-47.

Rhode Island was unique in that one missionary, Rev. Caner, who had been chased out of Boston, had been re-established at Bristol in 1776 or 1777. But that did not change the disheartening comparison of the number of clergymen in the state before and after the war. Two out of three of the missionaries who were in Rhode Island in 1776 were gone by 1783. All were gone by 1785. Rev. Bissett had been transferred to New Brunswick and Rev. Fayerweather had died. Rev. Graves was still in Rhode Island in 1783, but he died two years later. And Rev. Caner had gone to England in 1782. Only Mr. Taylor, the schoolmaster at Providence had survived the war.¹⁰

Thus only eleven Anglican clergymen remained in New England by 1785 in comparison to the thirty-seven in 1775. Just before the outbreak of the war, the Church of England had stated that more missionaries were needed in the region. Obviously that need was even greater at the close of the war.

In addition to the loss of so many of her capable leaders, the church lost a great number of her followers. Many Anglicans who remained in New England were unable to get anyone to conduct church services for them. It is difficult to be sure just how many Anglicans left New

¹⁰Sprague, op. cit., 80n. Pascoe, op. cit., 852-54.

England during the Revolution, because there were no statistics kept at the time. The reports of the S. P. G. during the war and in the post-war period down to 1785 when the organization left New England are skimpy indeed.

In 1776 and again in 1779 the S. P. G. published the fact that it had heard little from its New England missionaries and little or nothing of its missions.¹¹ One New England missionary who did report, however, gave "this melancholy account of the state of New England, that religion has almost vanished out of it. . . ."¹² This, when added to the words contained in the Society's "Prayer for Peace,"¹³ for that year, gave a picture of despair and decline in the Society's New England missions.

In 1780, the Society received just one account from its New England missionaries and that was from Rev. Viets of Simsbury, Connecticut. On the basis of this fragmentary report and "general reports" from others, the S. P. G.

¹¹S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1776, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1777), 54; S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 49.

¹²Ibid., 47-49.

¹³That prayer in Ibid., 64, read: "May the God of peace and order dispose the minds of all to peace! May the present heats and animosities subside, which naturally tend to obstruct the propagation of religion both at home and abroad; and that, by an happy restoration of peace and union, the Society may be enabled again to carry on their original design, and make known the faith of Christ on earth, his saving health among all nations!"

concluded that the situation of the Anglican divines had actually improved.

The Society, again basing its conclusions on skimpy evidence, drew a rosy picture of continued growth in 1781:

Some general information, however, [they wrote] have come to the Society from other hands, by which it should seem that the church rather encreases than diminishes, and the condition of the Ministers [is] not so distressing as it had been.¹⁴

This report for 1781 went on to say specifically that the Anglican missions in Massachusetts and New Hampshire had grown in numbers despite the fact that there were no missionaries in the area. Services were kept up in Scituate, Marshfield, Salem, and Bridgewater by persons not belonging to the Society. And the church in Portsmouth, the report added, was being served on Sundays by a Mr. Adams from Dartmouth.¹⁵ When one considers that in 1779 an Anglican missionary had reported that the Anglican religion had "almost vanished out of it, [New England]," the statement in 1781 that the number of Anglicans had increased should come as no surprise.

In 1782, the Society received more letters from its missionaries, and a more accurate picture of the situation

¹⁴S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1781, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1782), 43.

¹⁵Ibid.

in New England emerged. The reports of growth in the missions of Massachusetts and New Hampshire proved to be unfounded.¹⁶ The report of 1782 did confirm the fact that there was a more tolerant attitude toward the church than earlier in the war. Future prospects for the church appeared to be more optimistic; more churches were reopening, and more clergymen were beginning to officiate again.¹⁷ But all this was only evidence of rebirth of a sect that had nearly been dealt a death blow.

This is not to say that the Anglican Church was dead in every one of its pre-war parishes. Rev. Beach's congregations at Newtown and Reading not only continued to increase,¹⁸ but became larger than those of any other denomination even prior to the signing of the peace treaty.¹⁹ Rev. Viets reported in 1784 that the losses of his congregation "by deaths, [and] emigrations" were "pretty nearly balanced by the accession of new Conformists."²⁰ But such reports were exceptions indeed.

¹⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1782, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1783), 52-53.

¹⁷Ibid.

¹⁸Ibid., 54

¹⁹Seymour, op. cit., 7.

²⁰Pascoe, op. cit., 48-51.

It seems fair to conclude that the membership of the Anglican Church in post-war New England was a mere shadow of its pre-war size.

There were also some very serious economic effects on the church as a result of the Revolution. Many churches were defiled and destroyed.²¹ More important, the New England missions lost the financial support of the S. P. G., which had done so much to build the church organization in that region.

The Society found itself deeply in debt in the middle of the war in 1779. In order to carry on its missionary work in America, the S. P. G. found it necessary to petition King George III. "to grant them his Royal Letter for a General Collection throughout England and Wales." The King not only gave the Society permission to take up a "General Collection" but gave the organization £500 as well.²² Others must have been equally as generous, for the "Royal Letter" fund drive took in £12,435 in 1779 alone, and a total of £19,369 between 1779 and 1783.²³

²¹The churches at Norwalk, Fairfield, New London, Portsmouth, and Falmouth were destroyed while those at Litchfield and Westbury were damaged.

²²S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1779, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1780), 56-57.

²³Pascoe, op. cit., 831.

But even this generous support did not provide enough to allow the Society to continue its work in New England and other parts of America.²⁴ Independence raised the whole question of whether the American missions should continue to receive financial aid from the Church of England. The Society therefore reported in 1784:

It must appear, from a perusal of their Charter, that the Society cannot imploy any Missionaries, except in the Plantations, Colonies and Factories belonging to the Kingdom of Great Britain; but at the same time, having fully considered the services, and the circumstances of those who are now officiating in the United States, have agreed to continue their present salaries to Michaelmas next; the option being given to them to remove into any of the King's dominions in America. And for such, as shall make that choice, the Society are engaged to provide to the utmost of their power.²⁵

Thus, the New England states lost the support of the S. P. G. which had labored so hard to bring the Anglican faith to this part of the world.

The Society regretted "the unhappy events which had confine[d] their labours to the Colonies remaining under

²⁴ Ibid., 830-31. The Society had operated in the black only three years between the Proclamation of 1763 and the "Royal Letter" collection of 1779.

²⁵ S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1784, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1785), 52.

His Majesty's Sovereignty." It was "far from their thoughts to alienate their affections from their brethren of the Church of England" under the American government. The Society prayed that the Americans' zeal might continue for the Episcopal form of religion.²⁶ However, this statement did not take into account the fact that the Anglican missions in New England were not in a position to support themselves.

The loss of financial support led to the loss of still more clergymen in New England. Four Anglican ministers left Connecticut for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia when the option of losing their salary or removing to a loyal British colony was presented to them.²⁷ Those few Anglican clergymen who did stay in New England had most difficult time of it. As local ministers in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, they were supposed to receive tax support from their parishioners. Until the final break

²⁶S. P. G., Sermons and Abstracts, 1784, (London: T. Harrison and S. Brooke, 1785), 52-55.

²⁷Revs. Andrews, Clarke, Scovill, and Viets, left Connecticut after the S. P. G. withdrew its financial support from the Anglican ministers in America. For a discussion of Viets reasons for leaving, see: Francis Hubbard Viets, A Genealogy of the Viets Family with Biographical Sketches, (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1902), 32-33.

between church and state in these states,²⁸ however, the non-Congregational parishes met with difficulty in obtaining their share. The Anglican Church thus deprived of financial support from the S. P. G. in England and from its parishioners at home was in no position to regain its pre-war strength rightaway.

One other effect of the American Revolution on the Anglican Church in New England must be mentioned. And that is the strength of character and courage shown by the Episcopal clergymen in the performance of their duties throughout the war.

These brave men endured cruelties and persecution, mental and physical anguish, and the loss of friends and family, but they continued to adhere to their religious beliefs and obligations in spite of their sufferings. And thus they distinguished themselves as virtuous and courageous men as surely as did the patriots who brought into being the United States of America.

²⁸The complete break between church and state did not come until 1818 in Connecticut, 1819 in New Hampshire and 1833 in Massachusetts.

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