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THE ALLEGED "TORYISM"

OF THE

Clergy of the United States

AT THE BREAKING OUT
OF THE

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

AN HISTORICAL EXAMINATION

—BY—

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In an interesting and readable article in a recent number of The American Historical Register, the able and impartial organ of the patriotic and hereditary societies of late coming into prominence throughout our land, the clergy of our colonial period are charged with "toryism." The writer of this article, a well-known and popular authoress of the American Church, and evidently with the laudable purpose of freeing the "loyalists" from the bitter judgments and personal vilification which has ever attended those who espoused the cause of Great Britain at the period of our struggle for freedom, thus revives an old misrepresentation which has been refuted over and over again. The words to which we refer are these:

"Two thirds of the property owners in New York were loyalists. . . . The immediate descendants of William Penn were loyalists. . . . The illegitimate son of Benjamin Franklin was a loyalist—and the clergy of the Episcopal Church, stipendiaries of the English Church, were loyalists almost to a man.

"Methodists were urged by Charles [John] Wesley to stand by the king, and many of them did so. The Quakers were accused of making their religion a cloak for Toryism.

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'Only for the Presbyterian clergy,' wrote John Adams, 'the Revolution never would have succeeded,' etc.* A critic of the Bishop of Delaware's painstaking and clever work on "The Church in America," in *The Evening Post*, of July 16, 1895, repeats this slander in these words:

"That as to 'constituting the nation,' a series of events known as the War for Independence, or the Revolutionary War, had much to do with this, and over this Dr. Coleman passes lightly with a *suppressio veri*, which comes very near to being a *suggestio falsi*, if it does not overlap. It is true that there were Episcopalian clergymen and laymen of fine parts and lofty character on the American side, but the clergy as a body were faithful to their oath of allegiance to the Crown, and nothing in their lives became them more than their fidelity. To pretend that the Episcopal Church as such took part in 'constituting the nation,' is, to speak plainly, ridiculous."

Premising in passing that the statement attributed to John Adams that "only for the Presbyterian clergy, the Revolution never could have succeeded," is utterly unhistorical and incorrect, as well as inconsistent with other utterances from the same source, we propose to consider the charge that "the clergy of the Episcopal Church, stipendiaries of the English Church, were

* American Historical Register (1894-95), I, 636.

loyalists almost to man," and the further assertion of *The Evening Post* that "the clergy as a body were faithful to their oath of allegiance to the Crown, and nothing in their lives became them more than their fidelity." These assertions we pronounce to be equally unhistorical and untrue, with the assertion alleged to have been made by John Adams as to the service rendered to our freedom by the ministers of the Presbyterian body.

There had been two thousand and more "clerks in Holy Orders," clergymen of Anglican, Scotch or Irish ordination, or converts from the Church of Rome to a true Catholicity, who had labored on the North American Continent since its discovery by Cabot in 1497. At the time of the breaking out of the War of the Revolution there were fully two hundred of the Anglican clergy, who were incumbents of cures or missions scattered throughout the colonies, or were engaged in tutorial or professorial work in the thirteen colonies. We have the names of these clergymen of the Colonial Church with abundant references to their careers. We have traced their respective life histories and acquainted ourselves with their political preferences and affiliations. Less than a third of the whole number were "stipendiaries of the English Church." Of the two hundred and more Colonial clergymen who were engaged in the exercise of their ministry at the beginning of

the War of the Revolution, less than one-fifth were active adherents of the royal cause. Less than one-fourth of the whole number appear, by any overt act or public avowal, to have taken sides with the mother land. Fully two-thirds acquiesced in the measures adopted by the friends of liberty, and, in common with their fellow-citizens, took with a good grace and, we believe, *ex animo*, the oaths of allegiance to the Independent states of America. The major part of this number were active, ardent, devoted supporters of the American cause; and it is in view of these facts, which we now propose to support by direct and detailed proofs—the documentary evidence for which is in our hands or within easy reach, that we deny the charge that “the clergy of the Episcopal Church, stipendiaries of the English Church, were loyalists almost to a man,” or that “the clergy as a body” were faithful to the British Crown.

We proceed then to consider

THE POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE COLONIAL
CLERGY AT THE BEGINNING OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

The volleys of musketry discharged by the minute-men at Lexington and Concord-Bridge—heard, as Whittier writes, “around the world”—were but the echoes of earlier shots fired for freedom which we may not wisely forget. The maxim so dear to freemen, that “resistance to tyrants is obedi-

ence to God," was learned by English settlers in America at an early day.

It is not, as has been so persistently asserted and generally believed, only, or even chiefly, in New England that the rights of free-born English colonists, domiciled on American soil, were both claimed and maintained at the point of the sword, from the very primal days of settlement. The foundations of our national freedom were laid long before the "Pilgrim Fathers" set foot on Plymouth Rock.

The fact is too generally overlooked, that the rebellious and even defiant spirit so often displayed by the ministers and magistrates of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, in their struggles with the Crown and their vauntings of independence, were directed chiefly toward the establishment, not of popular liberty, but of a theocracy as exclusive and undemocratic as illiberality could make it; and as cruel and relentless in its administration as the Inquisition itself. It was the Puritan Church-member alone who possessed the franchise in Puritan New England; and dissent from the Congregationalist establishment known as the "Standing Order" deprived the refractory Churchman, Baptist, Antinomian, Quaker, of civil as well as religious privileges; and subjected the offender to pains and penalties, to cruel scourgings, imprisonment and even death. The idea of popular liberty was as foreign to the Puritan

thought as was the toleration of differences in religious belief. There was liberty, toleration, sufferance only for those who were of the Puritan establishment, and accepted the stern tenets of the Puritan creed.

For the earliest struggles for freedom on this continent we must look outside of New England. For the first outcroppings of American democracy—the earliest assertions of the duty of freeborn Englishmen to resist encroachment on their inalienable rights, as maintained against the officers of the Crown, whether this tyranny was attempted in England or on American soil, we cannot look to the colonies of the Massachusetts Bay or Connecticut. Throughout New England, outside of Rhode Island, an ecclesiastical tyranny, hard to be borne, pitiless in its administration, cruel even in its tender mercies, prevailed till the profligate Charles II. of England superseded its charters, and the “King’s Missive” compelled respect for the rights of man. It was in Virginia, in the year of grace 1619, ere the founding of the Colonies of Plymouth or the Massachusetts Bay, that the first elective representative body that assembled on American soil convened. It met in the choir of the little church of Jamestown, Va., and in its wise legislation for commonwealth and Church laid on sure and broad foundations the corner-stone of American liberty and the free institutions which are our pride and privilege to-day.

It was not without meaning that the deliberations of this House of Burgesses, elected by the people they were commissioned and convened to represent, were prefaced by the Church's prayers and benediction from the lips of the excellent "Parson Bucke." The Church, of which this good man was a devoted priest, had ever been on the side of liberty and law. *Magna Charta*, which had declared the Church of England free and possessed of inalienable rights, was itself a declaration of the liberties and privileges which had been the heritage of the English race since King Alfred set forth his body of laws for peer and peasant alike, founded on the Ten Commandments; and *Magna Charta* was secured by the English barons under the leadership of Stephen Langdon, Archbishop of Canterbury; the primatial See of the Church of England. The papal bull, attempting to annul this great charter of English constitutional freedom, was futile save as indicating the attitude of the papacy, then, as well as now, opposed to civil or ecclesiastical liberty. The Church of England, freed, in the language of the Litany suffrage of its first Prayer Book, "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities, good Lord, deliver us;" and transplanted to the North American continent—the very discovery and occupancy of which was in defiance of the Borgia's bull giving to Spain the new world

to hold as an appanage of Rome—could not be other than the friend of freedom and solicitous for the liberties and rights of man.

And thus, with the Church's blessing, the work of proclaiming liberty to all the world went on. It was in those humble homes of the Colonial clergy where the parson—the "person" of the little community—whether it were hamlet or town—in poverty and obscurity, struggling with narrow means and often laboring in the exercise of his sacred calling without fee or reward other than the meagre stipend sent for his bare maintenance by his fellow Churchmen across the sea, not only taught his people of "the liberty wherewith Christ doth make us free," but trained the children God had given him, as well as the people of his charge, to do and dare for freedom, when the time came for deeds to take the place of words. The study of the precedent events and causes leading to the Revolution reveals plainly the part borne by the Colonial clergy in the pulpit, in the home, at the popular gatherings, and among the people at large in securing for us our independence. We may say in passing that of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, two-thirds of whom were Churchmen, six were sons or grandsons of Colonial clergymen, while as many more were by blood, family or marriage, allied to the clergy of the Colonial Church.†

† Of the "signers," Francis Lewis, of New York, was the

It was the struggle, not only in Virginia, but all through the south where the Church of England was in a measure "established"—of the Colonial vestries for the right of choosing and inducting their respective clergy, as opposed to the exercise of this power by the royal governors or by the commissaries of the Bishop of London—the diocesan of the American Colonial Church—that prepared the popular mind to resist the arrogant measures of the British ministry, and inspired the people to make the appeal to arms. It was the determined and persistent resistance on the part of these Colonial vestries to interference from abroad in spiritual matters, quite as much as the spirit aroused and the measures adopted in the the town meetings at the north, that stimulated the colonists to an

son of a clergyman of Llandaff, Wales; the grandson of another clergyman, and the nephew of a dean of S. Paul's, London. William Hooper, of North Carolina, was the son of the Rev. William Hooper, sometime rector of Trinity, Boston, Mass., a convert to the Church from the Congregationalists. Cæsar Rodney, of Delaware, was the grandson of the Rev. Thomas Crawford, one of the earliest clergymen in Pennsylvania, and the first rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia. George Ross, of Delaware, was the son of the Rev. George Ross, for upwards of half a century the devoted mission-priest of New Castle, Delaware. He was also a brother of the Rev. Æneas Ross, one of the most devoted and popular of the Colonial clergy. Of George Taylor, of Pennsylvania, little is known, save that he was a son of a clergyman of the Church of Ireland. Samuel Chase, of Maryland, was the son of the Rev. Thomas Chase, rector of S. Paul's Church, Baltimore. Robert Morris, of Pennsylvania, married the sister of William White, rector of the united churches of Christ Church and S. Peter's, Philadelphia, one of the first chaplains of Congress, and afterwards first Bishop of Pennsylvania. The sons or grandsons of James Wilson, of Pennsylvania, of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, the great-grandson of John Langdon, the Congregationalist "signer," from New Hampshire, and the great-great-great nephew of William Whipple, another Congregationalist "signer" from the same state, with many others, took orders in the American Church.

impatience of subjection and a willingness to fight even to the death for God and native land.

It was an easy transition from the wish and purpose for independence in "spiritualities," to a longing and a determination to obtain liberty in temporal affairs. This spirit of independence appears in Virginia as early as 1635, a date when the Massachusetts Bay people were in a formative state and without any settled policy in political affairs. The arbitrary conduct of Sir John Hervey, Governor of Virginia, in espousing the cause of the Romanist Lord Baltimore, in his controversy with William Claiborne, the original settler of Kent Island, Maryland; his persistent endeavors to administer the affairs of the colony without regard to his council; his appropriation of the public fines to his personal use, his intrigues with the Indians, and his refusal to forward to England the protest of the Assembly, criticising his measures and the policy he had pursued, caused an insurrection against his authority in which the Rev. Anthony Panton, the incumbent at Kiskiack, York County, Va., appears to have taken a leading part. In this "open rebellion" against constituted authority, the clergyman was the object of the governor's special resentment. His goods were confiscated, and he was banished from the Colony for "mutinous, rebellious and riotous actions." In the end the popular cause

triumphed, and the obnoxious governor was removed from office. The sentence against Panton was reversed, and the confiscated estates of the leading spirits of the insurrection were restored. In this stand for liberty and right, the priest, though not a martyr, for no blood was shed in the controversy, was certainly a confessor in the cause of the people, and in defence of the liberties of free-born Englishmen. The name of this brave "clerk in Holy Orders," Anthony Panton, may well head the long list of the Church clergy of Colonial days, who were among the foremost in the struggle for freedom from tyranny and for personal liberty, provided for and protected by constitutional law.† Nearly half a century later, in Nathaniel Bacon's rebellion, the same spirit of freedom and the same willingness to maintain inalienable rights by the appeal to arms was displayed both by clergy and laity, antedating by a century the beginnings of the War of the Revolution.

Connected thus with the very earliest outcroppings of the temper of resistance to the tyrannical measures of the ill-advised ministers of the Crown, the Colonial clergy, at the outset of the struggle for independence, spoke out with no uncertain sound from platform and pulpit in support of the popular cause. It is, in fact, to the clergy

† *Vide*. "The Early Relations between Maryland and Virginia," by John H. Latane, A. B., Baltimore, 1895. Pp. 20, 22.

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of the Colonial Church more than to any other body of men that our fathers owed the moral support which, throughout the war, proved so great a factor in their heaven-given success.

Dating back to the very beginnings of the strife we would cite among the noteworthy discourses still in print and well attesting the reputation for eloquence and argumentative force they obtained at the time of their first utterance, the masterly sermon, full of patriotic fire as well as of calm, convincing reasoning, entitled, "The Present Situation of American Affairs," delivered by the Rev. William Smith, D. D., Provost of the College and Academy of Philadelphia, in Christ Church, on June 23, 1775. It is a matter of history that to this discourse, written by, without doubt, the foremost ecclesiastic on the northern continent, and who had himself suffered imprisonment in his adopted city of Philadelphia for his bold resistance to arbitrary and irresponsible rule, is due more than to any other printed document the clear understanding abroad of our fathers's position. This sermon was published in almost countless edition at home, in England and on the continent of Europe. It was translated into various languages — German, Swedish, Welsh; and so convincing was its logic, and so lucid was its style, that Chamberlain, of London, was at the charge of an edition of 10,000 copies, which were circu-

lated broadcast throughout Great Britain.

A little later, on July 7, 1775, in the same historic Christ Church, Philadelphia, the eloquent assistant to the rector, the Rev. Jacob Duche', who is remembered as having offered the first prayer in the Continental Congress in Carpenters' Hall the preceding year (1774), delivered a scarcely less famous discourse before the First Battalion of the city and liberties of Philadelphia on "The Duty of Standing Fast in our Spiritual and Temporal Liberties." This was followed, a few weeks later, by the appearance of another discourse on "The American Vine," which attained equal celebrity, as full of patriotic counsel suited to the times. On July 20, 1775, in the same Christ Church, Philadelphia, which may well be claimed to be with Faneuil Hall—the gift of a Churchman to Boston—the cradle of our country's liberty, as it is without question the cradle of the autonomous, independent American Church, the Rev. Thomas Coombe, the gifted and popular assistant-minister of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's, Philadelphia, delivered a discourse of like tenor and with equal effect.

On the day when the proclamation of the signing of the Declaration of Independence was made and a Churchman and vestryman of Christ Church and S. Peter's, John Nixon, read this document in Independence Square, while the State House bell proclaimed liberty to all the world, the

rector, the Rev. Jacob Duché, who had succeeded the Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, and the vestry of Christ Church and S. Peter's, the first of all ecclesiastical bodies to recognize the birth of our nationality, ordered the omission of the "State prayers" and suffrages for the King of Great Britain "and all the royal family," with the collect for "the high court of Parliament" from the Prayer Book as used by the clergy and people of the united parishes; and by this unique and notable act placed the Church and the country side by side on the platform of independence. In Boston, the Rev. Samuel Parker, afterwards second Bishop of Massachusetts, and already one of the foremost, if not first of all, by birth, learning, eloquence and exalted character of the clergy of the New England Church, made a similar change in the Prayer Book services as used in Trinity, Boston, on the Sunday after the news of the Declaration of Independence was received. This course was followed both at the north and south, wherever the clergy espoused the American cause, which was the case of the majority of those in Holy Orders at the time, and the Churches were kept open; and where this course was not taken the Churches were closed and the clergyman's public ministrations ceased.

We have no wish or purpose to conceal the fact that, in common with the other religious bodies of the land, there were num-

bers of the Colonial clergy who were loyal to the Crown of Great Britain, and inimical to the cause of American liberty and independence. Even of those who sympathized openly with the armed resistance of the Americans to the obnoxious measures of the British ministry, and were conspicuous in their patriotism amidst the opening scenes of the war, some were not ready for the entire severance of the colonies from the Crown and the sundering "at one fell swoop" of all ties connecting America with the mother-land. For a time Dr. William Smith was under suspicion of "Toryism" because, with John Dickinson and many others of note in Pennsylvania and elsewhere, he deprecated the Declaration of Independence (carried finally by a Pennsylvania Churchman's voice and vote), till further efforts for the redress of the acknowledged wrongs of the colonies had been made, and fitting guarantees for the prevention of further infraction of the people's rights had been secured. But the die once cast, this able man took the oath of allegiance to the United States of America, and from his facile pen our first American Prayer Book—the "Proposed" book of 1786—received its "Form of Thanksgiving for the Fourth of July," still used in our Churches on the nation's birthday, and breathing no thought but that of exalted patriotism, recognizing God as the source and supporter of the people's liberty and

the people's rights. Jacob Duché faltered after bravely bearing imprisonment for his patriotic sentiments, and his burning words in defence of the popular cause. His childish appeal to Washington to end the strife is remembered against him, while the devotion to the popular cause he had earlier shown, and his intimate connection with the first events of the struggle for freedom, as well as his longed-for and late return to his native Pennsylvania to die, are all forgotten. His vacillating course was more than made good by his friend and associate in the ministry at Christ Church and S. Peter's, William White, whose consistent and outspoken patriotism, and whose state-craft in shaping the course of the Church of which he was for half a century the revered and beloved head, have given him the fitting title of "Our Ecclesiastical Washington."

The Rev. Dr. Blackwell, long associated in after years with Bishop White in his ministry to the United Churches, was a chaplain in the American army in the dark days of Valley Forge. The Rev. Dr. Richard Peters, whose last official act was the opening for the Continental Fast-services, of Christ Church and S. Peter's, of which he was the rector at the beginning of the war, was on the popular side. We can thus claim, without the possibility of contradiction, that the leading clergy of Pennsylvania were both at the first, and

even throughout the war to be ranked as patriots.

Delaware's most gifted clergyman, to whom was tendered informally, if not by actual vote, the episcopate of the Church in this state — Charles Henry Wharton, D.D.—after writing, while still a Romanist priest at Worcester, England, "A Poetical Epistle to Gen. George Washington," full of the most exalted sentiments of patriotism, crossed the ocean to become a priest in "the free Church in the free State," recognizing, even ere the episcopate had been obtained for America, or the struggle for independence had actually closed, that the "Italian Mission" was in no sense the representative of true Catholicity in the land of his adoption or rightly to be regarded as the American Church. Nor was he the only patriot priest of little Delaware.

In New Jersey we must not forget that John Croes, afterward the first bishop of the Church in this state, bore arms in the strife and that Uzal Ogden, D. D., New Jersey's first bishop-elect, was prominent on the patriot side.

In New York, Samuel Provoost, afterwards first bishop of the state, was a chaplain of Congress and chosen by the patriotic vestry on the evacuation by the British to be the rector of Trinity, New York. If Benjamin Moore, the second Bishop of New York, and also rector of Trinity, was a "Tory," he was never recognized as such

by the "Whigs" of his day, to whom he ministered at Trinity, and who were themselves open and avowed "rebels" against the Crown. Even in Connecticut there were earnest sympathizers with the popular cause among the clergy, and fully half of the incumbents of the missions established by the English Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, remained at their posts, and ere the war was really over met at Woodbury, ten in number, to choose the first American bishop.

The distinguished son of the learned and saintly Samuel Johnson, D. D., of Oxford, and the first president of King's, now Columbia, College, New York, William Samuel Johnson, himself an Oxford D. C. L., was trusted by his fellow-citizens of Connecticut to represent them in the Constitutional Convention which framed our government when the war was over, and we may well believe that in the Stratford rectory of his eminent father he learned his love of liberty and his confidence in popular government, which distinguished his after days.

The Church laity in Rhode Island were almost to a man patriots, and their clergy, few in number and advanced in years, were divided in their views, though, with perhaps two exceptions, remaining at their posts with their people, and rendering to them such services as they could. In Massachusetts, Parker, of Trinity, Boston,

Massachusetts's second bishop, was outspoken in his patriotism, and Bass, afterward the first Massachusetts bishop, was dismissed from the service of the Propagation Society for keeping a "Continental" fast.

In Maryland two-thirds of the clergy were patriots. In Virginia more than a score of the clergy were chairmen of the committees of correspondence and safety, which were the centres of inspiration for the patriots; while of the nearly one hundred clergymen resident and laboring in the state, less than a dozen were "Tories." The members of the Continental Congress, from Virginia, the leading Virginian generals and officers of lower grades, the statesmen of the day who had in nearly every instance been vestrymen in their respective parishes, were in many cases allied to their clergymen by marriage or by blood; and no list of the patriots of the state during the entire revolutionary period would be complete without numbering among its most honored names those of James Madison, president of William and Mary College, first Bishop of Virginia, and a relative of the president of the same name, who was an ardent patriot, and David Griffith, the friend and rector of Washington, and the first Bishop-elect of Virginia, who, with the great majority of the Virginia clergy, sympathized from first to last with the efforts of their patriotic laity, and often did per-

sonal service in the cause of American liberty.

Proudly may we claim as a true son of the American Colonial Church that noble patriot of Lutheran training and German descent, John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, who, after his ordination by the Bishop of London, sought the work of the ministry in the wilds of the Virginia border. Awakening among his people the spirit and love of liberty, we are told that in his famous discourse on his last Sunday's priestly ministrations, when the news of Bunker Hill was firing every patriotic heart, he reminded his congregation that there was a time to preach as well as to pray, but that for him the time to preach had passed. "It is now," he cried, with clarion voice, "the time to fight," and throwing off his priestly vestments he stood forth before his excited flock in the garb of a Virginia colonel. Striding to the door of the house of God he enlisted, then and there, his congregation for the war, and so led them forth to the field, where he, with them, won honor, while they sealed their devotion to their country with the willing offering of their very lives. May we give the answer addressed by this brave man to his brother, who had remonstrated with him for this exchange of the priestly calling for that of the man of blood? "You may say that, as a clergyman, nothing can excuse my conduct. I am a clergyman, it is true; but I am a member of society as well

as the poorest layman, and my liberty is as dear to me as any man. I am called by my country to its defence. The cause is just and noble. Were I a bishop . . . I should obey without hesitation; and so far am I from thinking that I am wrong, I am convinced it is my duty so to do—a duty I owe to my God and my country." Ah! brave priest and soldier of the heroic age! We seem to see him now, as he appears in bronze of heroic size in the Capitol at Washington, throwing aside the clerical robe and standing forth as a soldier of his God and native land, with the ringing echo of liberty's legend sounding in his ears, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

And "the warrior parson of the Shenandoah," Charles Minn Thruston—he, too, was a priest of the Virginia Church, who after presiding at the meetings of the committee of safety of the friends of liberty, led a regiment to the field and won promotion by his bravery and skill. But why need we recapitulate facts that must be known to all? It is certainly a matter of interest to note in connection with this effort to rebut a slander against the patriotism of the Church and its clergy at the revolutionary period which "will not down," though refuted again and again, that no religious body of the land can show a tithe of the direct connection with the American success as appears in these words of ours

giving the true attitude of the Colonial clergy during the years 1774–1783. But we have not done. Of the score of South Carolinian clergymen serving in their scattered cures at the opening of the war, fifteen espoused the American side. And one, at the beginning of the strife temporarily in England, at great pains and cost crossed the ocean to throw in his lot with his countrymen who had struck for liberty. Robert Smith, afterwards first Bishop of South Carolina, like Provoost of New York, a graduate of the University of Cambridge, England, was an active combatant in the strife, and, as an officer of the line, became an original member of the Society of the Cincinnati of his adopted state. William Percy, D.D., of Charleston, S.C., was also an officer in the South Carolina troops, attaining the rank of Judge Advocate General and suffering personal indignities at the hands of the British troops when in the fortunes of war he chanced to fall into their hands.

It is not to be forgotten that the entire delegation to the Continental Congresses for successive years, from South Carolina, was composed of Churchmen, and of these patriots several were allied by blood to the clergy of the colony, the great body of whom, from the start, sympathized with the popular cause. Even after the war was over it is a significant fact that the diocesan convention of South Carolina chose

as its deputies to the General Convention in Philadelphia, at that time the national capital, the representation from the state in Congress—the leading men in Church and State thus being identical! In Georgia, where each signer of the Declaration, save one, was a Churchman, the Rev. Edward Ellington was an earnest patriot, and little Bethesda College, just outside of Savannah, the development of the Orphan House, a Church charity established by Whitefield, the evangelist priest of the Church of England, had at its head this excellent patriot priest; while another clergyman connected with this institution, William Percy, D. D., who was afterwards a South Carolina priest and of whose patriotism we have already spoken, learned in this little Church college the love of liberty he showed throughout his career. William and Mary College at Williamsburg furnished its full quota of officers and graduates to swell the numbers of the active sympathizers with the friends of freedom and of its academic staff contributed notable clerical names to the patriot side. It was in Bruton Church, at Williamsburg, the seat of the provincial government and the college, that the solemn fast days, which prefaced with an appeal to Heaven the final appeal to arms of the Americans, were observed by the patriot clergy of the town and college.

It was of one of these days in 1774 that

Washington's private diary records that he "went to church and fasted all day." The College and Academy of Philadelphia, which Franklin largely helped to found, and of which William Smith, D.D., was the provost, gave of its graduates, both clerical and lay, a large number who distinguished themselves as patriots in the pulpit, in Congress and on the field; more, we believe, than any, if not all, of the older American colleges. It is said that nearly, or quite half of the then living graduates of Harvard, and among these the most noted and prominent of the time, were Tory sympathizers. Yale certainly furnished numbers from her graduates to the thousands of refugees who gave up their country rather than forswear their allegiance to the Crown. The same is true of Princeton, whose honored head, the celebrated Witherspoon, was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. The predominance of the Presbyterian and Congregationalist elements in the refugee emigration to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick at the close of the war, gave to the dissenters from the establishment that ascendancy in the provinces they, after a century, retain to-day. The Methodists were, almost to a man, Tories, as might have been expected from the attitude of Wesley himself in his published "Calm Address." Francis Asbury was long a "suspect," confined at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The Quakers, with

some notable exceptions, known as the "fighting Quakers," were loyal to Great Britain. King's College, now Columbia, New York, which contributed from its students, at the breaking out of the war, the young Churchman, Alexander Hamilton, to the patriotic side, had both clergy and laity from among its earliest graduates who fought and labored and suffered for freedom. In short, of the whole number of the Colonial clergy—we speak advisedly and after years of investigation—the major part, as we have already said, were either active in their sympathies for the American side, or were at least passive in accepting the new order of things without a murmur.

That there were loyalist clergymen of the Colonial Church, outspoken and defiant, true to their oaths of allegiance, actively hostile to the American cause, is confessed. Such were Samuel Seabury and Myles Cooper, of New York; Henry Caner and Mather Byles, of Massachusetts; Graves and Pigott, of Rhode Island; John Beach, of Connecticut; Willard Wheeler, Wiswall and Baily of Maine; Samuel Cooke and Thomas Bradbury Chandler, of New Jersey; Jonathar Boucher, of Maryland, and others of less note. But the clergy, as a whole, were as true to the cause of freedom as the ministers of any religious body whatever in the land, and it is the proud distinction of the autonomous American Church that her spiritual independence

was secured when our national independence was gained, and that the men who, in the halls of Congress, or on the fields of battle, throughout the war spoke and fought for their country's freedom, were the men who, in general and diocesan conventions, framed and fashioned,—not *founded*,—for Christ alone could *found* a Church,—on principles analagous to those they had adopted in civil matters, the Church of the United States—the adaptation in this new world, of the mother Church of England, connected with every event of our national history, and also the representative on American soil of the universal, the Catholic Church of our Lord Jesus Christ.

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