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THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS AND
THE ASSIMILATION OF FOREIGN PROTESTANTS IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA

by

Anne Polk Diffendal

A DISSERTATION

Presented to the Faculty of
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In Partial Fulfillment of Requirements
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of History

Under the Supervision of Professor Jack M. Sosin

Lincoln, Nebraska

August, 1974

TITLE

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
TABLE OF MAPS	ii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I. The Anglican Church and the Foreign Protestants .	4
CHAPTER II. The Dutch in New York	20
CHAPTER III. The Germans in Pennsylvania	57
CHAPTER IV. The Germans Elsewhere in North America	81
CHAPTER V. The Swedes along the Delaware River	101
CHAPTER VI. The French in North America	114
CHAPTER VII. Conclusions	133
BIBLIOGRAPHY	142

TABLE OF MAPS

	Page
New York - the Dutch Settlements	19
Pennsylvania - the German Settlements	56
New York - the German Settlements	80
Delaware River Valley - the Swedish Settlements	100
South Carolina - the French Settlements	113

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ERNY The Ecclesiastical Records of New York

Fulham Papers The Fulham Palace Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library

HMPEC Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church

Smith Papers The Papers of William Smith in the Church Historical
Society, Houston, Texas

SPCK The Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge

SPG The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts

Introduction

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts from its foundation in 1701 to the beginning of the American Revolution attempted to minister to non-English white settlers in the North American colonies. The Society sent clergymen to Dutch, to Germans, to Swedes, and to French Huguenots in various provinces, gave financial help to foreign ministers, and distributed books to foreign churches. Anglican religious services were open to foreigners living near the Society's missions. These activities have been chronicled in 1952 in a dissertation by William A. Bultmann, who published two articles from that paper. One is a brief summary of the dissertation and the other concerns the SPG and Huguenots in South Carolina. Some work of the Society among foreign settlers is mentioned in a few histories of specific ethnic or national groups (eg., William A. Knittle's The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration or Arthur H. Hirsch's The Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina); in some state histories of the Anglican Church (Nelson Rightmyer's The Anglican Church in Delaware and Nelson R. Burr's The Anglican Church in New Jersey); and in writings on other churches such as Frank Klingberg's article on "Colonial Anglo-Lutheran Relations."

This study attempts to analyze the role of the SPG as an agency for assimilating non-English white settlers into the British North American colonies by investigating several questions. Did the Society aid foreign settlers for different reasons from those that motivated

its support of Englishmen? Did the aims of the Society extend beyond acquiring converts for the Church of England to include helping to assimilate foreigners into colonial society? Did the aims and activities of colonial Anglicans coincide with the official policy of the Society? Since requests outnumbered instances of aid, how did the following factors affect the Society's decision to assist foreigners: the power or influence of individuals requesting support; the connection between religion and factional political controversy in some colonies; and the nature of the church to which the foreigners belonged, that is, its relationship to Anglican theology, polity, and liturgy. Were the Anglicans willing to allow foreigners to retain their customary language and ecclesiastical practices? In the process of investigating these questions, this study will attempt to determine if the sources relating to religious affairs provide sufficient information to test some of the following factors of assimilation suggested by modern theorists: the size of the immigrant group in relation to other groups or to the entire community, the relation of the immigrant group to its homeland, the length of time since settlement, the number of personal relationships with members of the English society, and the role of elites -- in this instance the Clergy -- in assimilation.¹

¹ See for example Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life (New York, 1964); W. Lloyd Warner and Leo Srole, The Social System of American Ethnic Groups (New Haven, Connecticut, 1945); Joshua A. Fishman, Language Loyalty in the United States: the Maintenance and Perpetuation of Non-English Mother Tongues by American Ethnic and Religious Groups (The Hague, 1966); and Robert E. Park and Herbert A. Miller, Old World Traits Transplanted (New York, 1921).

The basic sources are letters and journals of the SPG in the Library of the Society in London and the Fulham Papers of the Bishop of London in the Lambeth Palace Library as well as pamphlets and newspapers. Collections of letters and contemporary accounts of various groups of foreign settlers have been translated into English, for example, records of Swedish parishes in Delaware, correspondence between the Dutch Reformed Church in New York and in Amsterdam, and the journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg concerning the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER I

The Anglican Church and the Foreign Protestants

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, chartered in 1701, was a voluntary society founded by Thomas Bray at a time when such organizations were a popular method for promoting religious interests. Bray, a former Commissary of the Bishop of London in Maryland, earlier had founded the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge to supply libraries for missionaries. He intended that this new society should aid the Bishop of London carry out his religious duties in Britain's overseas possessions.¹ The organization, known variously as the SPG, the Venerable Society, or simply the Society, was not technically an official agency of the Church of England, but it had a quasi-official status owing both to its membership and to its purpose and activities. The Archbishop of Canterbury served as President.

¹ Bishops Henry Compton, John Robinson, and Edmund Gibson (in his first years) exercised customary jurisdiction over the religious affairs of the colonies. The Bishop's main function was to ordain and certify ministers for the colonies. Commissaries were appointed to oversee ministers and make reports to the Bishop of London. Gibson, wanting to secure legal sanction for this practice, obtained an order from the Privy Council in 1726 which was re-issued in 1728. Gibson's successor, Thomas Sherlock, claimed that this order was defective, and he and his successors returned to a customary form. Edward Carpenter, The Protestant Bishop: Being the Life of Henry Compton, 1633-1713 (London, 1956), 229-30, 254; Norman Sykes, Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, 1669-1748 (London, 1926), 336-9; William W. Manross, A History of the American Episcopal Church (New York, 1935), 46.

Its ex-officio members included, among others, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London and Ely, the Deacon of Westminster and the Dean of St. Paul's. All Bishops who became members were automatically made Vice-presidents. The Society's membership was composed of prominent laymen and clerics.² According to its charter the objects of the SPG were "(1) providing a maintenance for an orthodox clergy in the plantations, colonies and factories of Great Britain beyond the seas, for the instruction of the King's loving subjects in the Christian religion, (2) making such other provisions as may be necessary for the propagation of the Gospel in those parts, and (3) receiving, managing and disposing of the charity of His Majesty's subjects for those purposes."³

From the beginning the SPG was interested not only in English colonists but also in Indians, Negroes, and non-English white settlers in British territory. One historian of the Society has estimated that from its founding to the American Revolution, the SPG spent about

²The standard account of the SPG is C.F. Pascoe, Two Hundred Years of the SPG: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701-1900 (2 vols., London, 1901). An early treatment by a Secretary of the Society is David Humphreys, An Historical Account of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (London, 1730; facsimile reprint, New York, 1969). See also Raymond W. Albright, A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church (New York, 1964), 1-113; Manross, History of the American Episcopal Church, 38-92, 112-37, and Hans J. Cnattinguis, Bishops and Societies: A Study of Anglican Colonial and Missionary Expansion, 1689-1850 (London, 1952).

³Humphreys, Historical Account, xv-xxxi; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, I, 7.

£227,000 and supported more than 300 missionaries in North America out of a total of nearly 2000 Anglican clergymen who served in America from 1607.⁴ Approximately one-tenth of that aid sent by the Society went to foreign Protestants, among them French, Dutch, Swedish, and German settlers in the English colonies. Among the kinds of support the Society supplied were salaries for missionaries appointed to serve congregations that included foreign settlers, gratuities either to Anglican or to foreign clergymen who occasionally officiated to non-English settlers, salaries for schoolmasters to teach English, and books, some in English, but most in the native language of the recipients.

Because the Society desired to make converts to the Church of England, outright support of a foreign minister or the appointment of an English missionary to a congregation of foreigners would be approved only after the SPG received evidence of conformity by the congregation and of ordination, preferably by the Bishop of London, of the missionary.⁵ The Society did, however, send books and pious tracts for some who had not yet conformed to the Church of England.⁶ It gave gratuities to foreign missionaries, especially Swedish Lutherans, who visited

⁴Albright, History of Protestant Episcopal Church, 30.

⁵Journal of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, Dec. 16, 1709, Vol. I, 432; ibid., Dec. 30, 1709, 435-6; ibid., Jan. 20, 1709/10, 445. Hereafter cited as SPG Journal.

⁶Ibid., Jan. 17, 1770, Vol. XVIII, 297-8.

Vacant Anglican parishes, and it approved of its own missionaries officiating to foreign congregations provided that they used the liturgy of the Church of England.⁷

That the SPG allowed, or even encouraged, such relations with foreign Protestants may be attributed in the eighteenth century partly to attitudes of important members of the Anglican Church toward other Protestants. At the end of the seventeenth century and through the beginning of the eighteenth the number of contacts among Protestant churches in Europe increased. Protestants, reacting to some success of the Catholic Church, sought closer co-operation among themselves. Many Anglicans considered their Church a via media both in form and in doctrine which had thrown off the power of the Pope without rejecting the ancient episcopal organization and in the Thirty-Nine Articles and the Book of Common Prayer had also retained the essentials of the liturgy. Other Protestant Churches had not been so fortunate in their attempts at reform, and most, for example, had rejected the episcopacy. Accordingly, Anglicans believed that the Church of England ought to take the lead in initiating contacts with foreign churches to effect some sort of accommodation, if not a union, among Protestants.⁸

⁷Ibid., Oct. 16, 1719, Vol. IV, 72; ibid., Sept. 15, 1738, Vol. VII, 277.

⁸Carpenter, Life of Compton, 57-8, 344; Charles J. Abbey and John H. Overton, The English Church in the 18th Century (rev. ed., London, 1887), 147-8.

William Wake, the Archbishop of Canterbury (1716-37), initiated efforts towards union with continental churches by corresponding with theologians to resolve doctrinal differences. In an exchange of letters with Gallican divines and with theologians of both the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, Wake insisted upon a distinction between a few fundamentals of doctrine that all must accept and a much larger number of less important issues over which churches could differ and still unite. He projected an ideal plan in which a number of national churches, each with power over its own membership in matters of doctrine, government, and discipline, and each organized according to an episcopal form, agreed among themselves and united on fundamentals of belief.⁹

One of the most significant episodes in the general union movement illustrates both the nature of the movement as well as its failure. Anglican bishops and theologians negotiated with the clergy of the Moravian Unitas Fratrum to arrange a union of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in the lands of the King of Prussia and eventually of their union with the Church of England after they had adopted an episcopacy and a liturgy based on the Book of Common Prayer. Despite many years of discussion the only result was a declaration by Parliament in 1749 that the Unitas Fratrum was an ancient episcopal church.¹⁰ The union

⁹Norman Sykes, William Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury (2 vols., Cambridge, 1957), I, 254-60; Abbey and Overton, English Church in 18th Century, 156.

¹⁰Norman Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker: Aspects of English Church History, 1660-1768 (Cambridge, 1959), 136-8.

movement failed because of differences over the Eucharist, Predestination, and Reprobation that were more serious than Wake seemed willing to admit. In addition, foreign Protestants generally resisted Anglican demands for the restoration of the episcopacy as a condition of union.¹¹

While the movement for outright union failed, instances of cordial relations between Anglicans and foreign Protestants continued because the existence of a refugee problem made communication and co-operation among Protestants necessary.¹² The English government accepted large numbers of French Huguenots, Palatine Lutherans and Calvinists, as well as members of various German sects, who were allowed to establish their own congregations in England when they had available ministers.¹³

Lutherans and Calvinists were permitted to take communion in the Anglican Church when they could not attend one of their own.¹⁴ The government also encouraged and supported refugee settlements in the colonies. One project involved the settlement of Palatines in New York in 1709-12. In another, French and German Protestants were sent to Nova Scotia by the Board of Trade.¹⁵ The SPG admitted many foreign members who were kept informed of the Society's activities by copies of a French trans-

¹¹Sykes, William Wake, I, 21, 88.

¹²Carpenter, Life of Compton, 344.

¹³Ibid., 325.

¹⁴Sykes, William Wake, I, 20.

¹⁵W.A. Knittle, Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Philadelphia, 1936) and Winthrop Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1961).

lation made of the yearly abstract of proceedings which was sent to the Continent. For many years one member of the Society took responsibility for all foreign correspondence, and enjoyed the unofficial title of "foreign secretary", although there was no such formal office within the society.¹⁶

A second feature of eighteenth century Anglicanism that tended either to encourage or to permit contacts with foreign Protestants is described by the term Latitudinarianism. Neither a doctrine nor a party, Latitudinarianism was rather a mood or a posture of most of the Anglican clergy, including the bishops. The term originated at the end of the seventeenth century to describe proposals for a new formulation of the church so to encompass a large proportion of the English Nonconformists.¹⁷ Men of Latitude stressed the doctrine of God the Father and benevolent Creator which they interpreted to mean that men ought to extend God's good works through acts of charity toward other men. Such a position encouraged acts of individual charity as well as the establishment of charitable institutions such as hospitals, orphanages, schools, and refugee relief committees. Voluntary societies such as the SPG and the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge flourished in this atmosphere. Religion was not separated from everyday life; sermons

¹⁶SPG Journal, June 15, 1711, Vol. II, 56-7; *ibid.*, Mar. 20, 1711/12, 177; *ibid.*, Feb. 3, 1715/16, Vol. III, 107.

¹⁷Abbey and Overton, English Church in 18th Century, 147.

stressed practical piety and sobriety in the conduct of life.¹⁸

Latitudinarians were much less concerned with fine points of doctrine than they were with a pious life. They admired the forms of the Church of England but were willing to grant that a different kind of worship might be more suitable for other men. They tended to lack zeal and at worst made Christianity into a simple moral code.¹⁹

One consequence of the dominance of the Church of England by the spirit of Latitude was the Church's hatred of "enthusiasm," a term of opprobrium for sentiment within the Church that took the form in the eighteenth century of Methodism. The expression did not necessarily mean excessive emotion but rather referred to special spiritual power or divine guidance claimed by individuals without the established forms of existing churches to aid them.²⁰ Reacting at first against the religious indifference that the tone of moderation and sweet reasonableness of the Latitudinarians bred, the enthusiasts came to differ with the Churchmen on many fundamentals of polity, liturgy, and doctrine. This schism within the Church of England found a parallel in other churches in Europe when pietistic, evangelical reformers struggled with

¹⁸L.P. Curtis, Anglican Moods of the 18th Century (Hamden, Conn., 1966), 32; Norman Sykes, Church and State in England in the 18th Century (Cambridge, 1934), 257-8, 271-2.

¹⁹Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, 146; Curtis, Anglican Moods, 46-7.

²⁰Abbey and Overton, English Church in 18th Century, 227; Sykes, From Sheldon to Secker, 146.

orthodox, liturgical churchmen.²¹ The pietists favored a sectarian form of organization that was voluntary and exclusive, requiring a religious experience as a test of membership, and they rejected traditional liturgical practices and emphasis on forms as a hindrance to the individual's direct experience of God. According to the orthodox party, a church was an inclusive institution, generally national in scope, that used intellectual assent to a creed and conformity to a ritual as the standards for membership. Sacraments were a means of grace rather than merely symbols as the pietists claimed.²² The Church of England shared the characteristics of a church with the Lutherans and Reformed on the Continent, and it also shared with them an aversion to the enthusiasm of the pietistic factions within each church, and of the sectarians who had departed. The necessity of fighting sectarian opposition tended to bring the Protestant Churches closer together.

²¹Robert M.R. Libby, "Anglican-Lutheran Ecumenism in Early American History," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXXVI (1967), 231. Hereafter cited as HMPEC; F. Ernst Stoeffler, The Rise of Evangelical Pietism (Leyden, 1965), 9.

²²H. Richard Niebuhr, The Social Sources of Denominationalism (New York, 1929), 17-20, 35-8, 122-32; Stoeffler, Rise of Pietism, 10-8, 22-3; Wilford O. Cross, "The Doctrine of the Church in the Tudor and Caroline Writings," HMPEC XXX (1961), 12-6.

Max Weber, "The Social Psychology of the World's Religion," in Garth and Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (New York, 1940) and Ernst Troelsch, Social Teachings of the Christian Churches (2 vols., New York, 1949), I, 331-43, originated the "sect-church" concept for explaining the nature of religious organizations. Niebuhr added an historical dimension to this analysis by maintaining that most churches originated as sects when reformers set out to simplify existing churches by stripping away non-essentials of doctrine and liturgy. The sects later turned into churches themselves as they became educational and disciplinary institutions for the children of the first voluntary generation.

This religious conflict was transmitted to the colonial churches with the result that Anglican missionaries tended to be closer to foreign Protestants who shared their concept of the Church and condemned enthusiasm than they were either to English dissenters or to foreign Protestants of different views.²³ In the colonies two additional issues, the ordination of ministers and the language used for worship, distinguished the factions within each church. The hazard and expense of the long journey to Europe for ordination by Americans required by the Churches and the insufficient number of ministers sent from Europe made supplying the needs of the colonial churches difficult.²⁴ Sectarians used this problem as an argument against the demand for conformity to tradition made by the churches. For the foreign Protestants, whether to retain their old language for church services or to adopt English when members used the new language in other aspects of their lives, often became the

²³Nelson Rightmyer, The Anglican Church in Delaware (Philadelphia, 1947), 90-100.

²⁴Thomas Barclay to SPG, Sept. 26, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 176, pp. 520-6; Albright, History of Protestant Episcopal Church, 99-100; Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 56, 155.

symbol for all other differences between the opposing parties.²⁵ This struggle became most intense at the time of the Great Awakening.²⁶

The attempts at a Protestant union, Latitudinarianism, and difficulties between orthodox Anglicans and the enthusiasts or pietists could be contradictory at times and did not always tend to the same end. Correspondence among theologians examining the prospects for union tended to highlight the points of difference among the churches even as their intention was to achieve the opposite. Since most clerics could not take Wake's sanguine attitude toward the possibilities of resolving differences, the very efforts toward union may have widened the division. Anglicans insisted upon a re-establishment of episcopal forms as the only way to bring Protestant Churches into accord, but this demand drove some foreign Protestants further away from the Church of England. This position did not always seem consistent with the spirit of Latitude. Neither did an attitude of tolerance and moderation, the mark of Latitudinarianism, prevent acrimonious relations between Anglicans and some English dissenters, especially the Quakers. Nor did it improve associations with Methodists after the revival gained wide, popular support.²⁷

²⁵Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. trans. Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein. (3 vols., Philadelphia, 1942-58), I, May 31, 1751, 283; Hereafter cited as Muhlenberg Journals; Reinhardt Erickson to Classis of Amsterdam, July 16, 1764, in Edward T. Corwin, (ed.), Ecclesiastical Records of the State of New York (7 vols., Albany, 1901-16), VI, 3936, 3826. Hereafter cited as ERNY.

²⁶Gerald J. Goodwin, "The Anglican Reaction to the Great Awakening," HMPEC, XXXV (1966), 357.

²⁷Ibid., 344, 357.

At the same time, some of these trends did re-inforce each other. The threat to orthodoxy in each church from enthusiasm and pietism brought the orthodox factions closer to each other.²⁸ In similar fashion, the need to aid French and German refugees often caught the attention of Anglican divines as a result of their correspondence with the Continent about union. This problem in turn provided an opportunity for the exercise of charitable works that formed an important part of the Latitudinarian spirit.²⁹

Within this generally sympathetic posture toward foreign Protestants that pervaded the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century, the SPG followed a relatively consistent policy in its special concern with the American colonies. In its mission to foreign Protestants, as in its aid to other colonists, the SPG did not intend to be the sole support for religion.³⁰ It supplied aid upon receipt of requests from congregations that conformed to the Church of England but could not fully support a minister and maintain a church.³¹ In colonies where the Church of England was established by law Anglicans required and received less help from the SPG than elsewhere. As a consequence the Society

²⁸Carpenter, Life of Compton, 344.

²⁹Ibid., 345.

³⁰SPG Journal, Feb. 19, 1741/42, Vol. IX, 7-8.

³¹Ibid., Jan. 20, 1709/10, Vol. I, 445.

had relatively little contact with non-English settlers in the southern provinces of North America. For example, it helped no foreign Protestants in Virginia or Maryland; it sent aid only a few times to congregations in North Carolina and Georgia; and, except for the French Huguenots, no money for foreigners reached South Carolina. In other colonies where foreign Protestants did receive the Society's bounty several criteria governed the decisions to send help.³² First, aid had to be solicited, most often in the form of requests to the Society but sometimes as requests to the Bishop of London, Archbishop of Canterbury, or other Bishops, and forwarded to the Society. The SPG expected that a congregation requesting help had been contributing to the utmost of its ability and would continue to do so. The Society withheld support if it thought church members were not giving a sufficient amount, but it had great difficulty in seeing that this requirement was met. The Society always asked for some testimonial or statement of need. If the request came from a minister, certificates from the people he served were usually required. Letters from prominent Anglican laymen as well as from colonial officials were good evidence also. Periodic certificates of service were necessary for continued support. Requests from a congregation were best supported by Anglican ministers in the area as well as by Anglican laymen known to the Society

³²Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 70-1, 75, 86, 91.

and by colonial officials.³³ In almost every instance when giving grants of money to ministers, whether as a regular salary or as occasional gratuities, the Society required that the clergymen be ordained in the Church of England and use its liturgy when they performed divine services. The SPG waived this requisite for Swedish missionaries because the Swedish Lutheran Church, which had retained an episcopal form, was considered to have a special relationship to the Church of England.³⁴ The Society sent books--Bibles, Common Prayer Books, catechisms, and pious tracts--upon request in whatever language was necessary without demanding conformity of the recipients and welcomed reports of its missionaries officiating to foreign Protestants so long as that did not interfere with their regular duties.

The Society applied this policy consistently throughout the decades before the American Revolution. On only a few occasions when it did not have sufficient funds did it refuse requests from those who complied with its requirements. Although the intent and application of policy by the SPG was relatively uniform, the results to the recipients and to the colonies in which they lived were not. Many factors determined

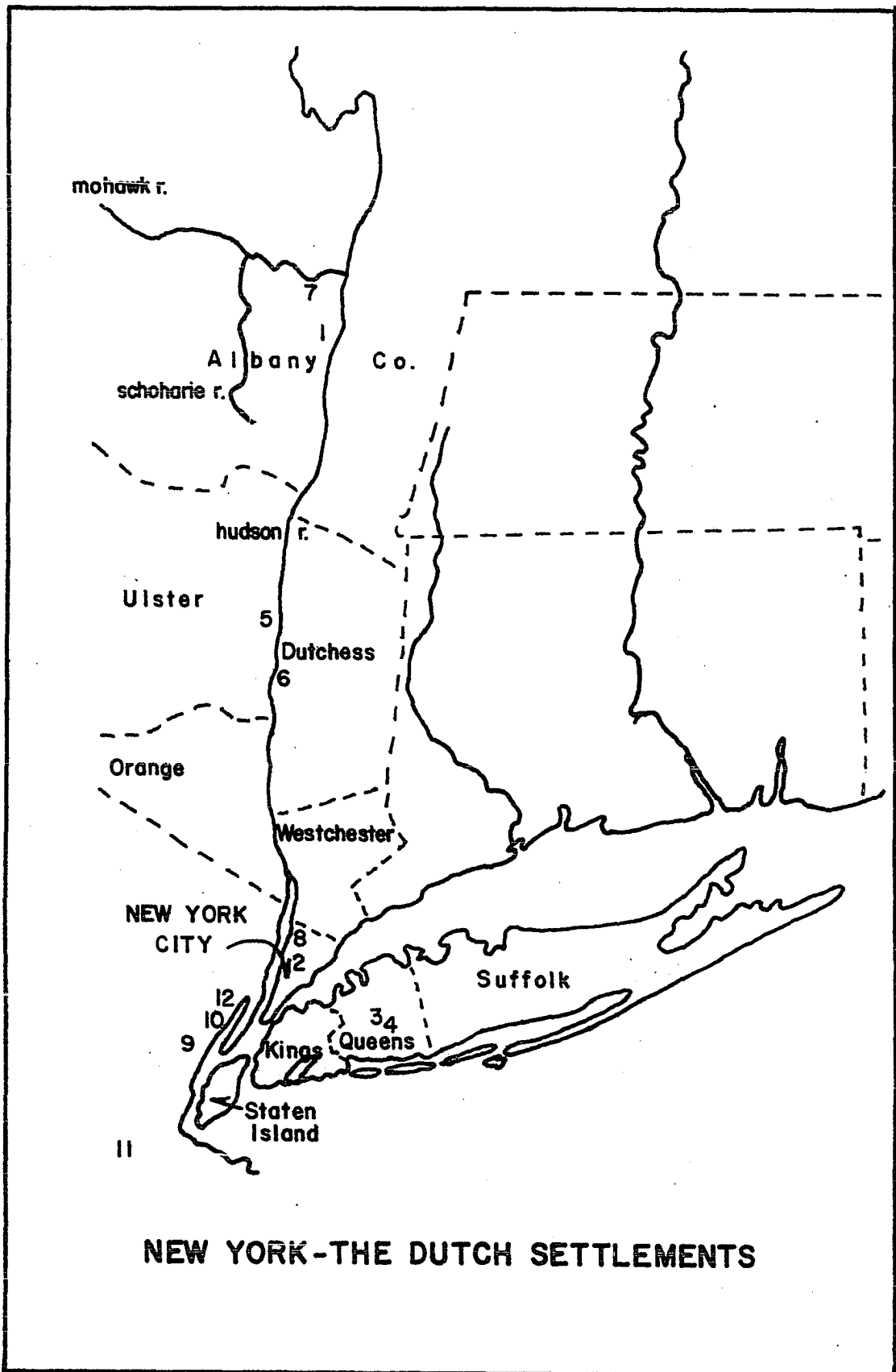
³³A good example of this policy applied to a specific case is that of Henry Beyse, former Dutch Reformed minister, missionary to Harlem. SPG Journal, Feb. 10, 1709/10, Vol. I, 454; *ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1710, 518-9; *Ibid.*, Jan. 19, 1710/11, 557-8; Certificate of the Inhabitants of New Harlem in Behalf of Mr. Beyse, Nov. 25, 1712, SPG Letters, A. 8, 229-34; SPG Journal, May 22, 1713, Vol. II, 292; Col Morris to SPG, May 30, 1709, SPG Letters, A. 4, No. 149, pp. 503-4.

³⁴Nelson W. Rightmyer, "Swedish-English Relations in Northern Delaware," *Church History*, XV (1946), 114-5; SPG Journal, Jan. 20, 1709/10, Vol. I, 445.

the consequences of men, money, and books sent by the Society including the number of foreigners in relation to the total population, their social and political status, the length of time since their arrival, their relations with the church in their homeland, and the leadership role of individuals, both Anglican and foreigner, in the colony. Generalizations about the results of SPG concern for foreign Protestants depend upon an account of the situation of each group to which substantial aid was sent.

NEW YORK - THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS
(key to numbers of following map)

- 1 - Albany
- 2 - Harlem
- 3 - Hempstead
- 4 - Jamaica
- 5 - Kingston (Esopus)
- 6 - Poughkeepsie
- 7 - Schenectady
- 8 - Yonkers
- 9 - Elizabethtown
- 10 - Newark
- 11 - New Brunswick
- 12 - Second River



NEW YORK - THE DUTCH SETTLEMENTS

Chapter II

The Dutch in New York

After the British acquired New Netherland from the Dutch in 1664, they governed a heterogeneous population that included Englishmen, Swedes, a few French, and many Dutch. Even as late as the year 1700 there were nearly 8650 Dutch inhabitants of New York out of a total of 16,000 whites. The predominant religion in the colony was the Dutch Reformed Church, the national church of the Netherlands. Out of fifty churches in New York in 1700, twenty-nine were Reformed Dutch.¹ In 1693 the New York Assembly passed the Ministry Act to settle Protestant ministers in the counties surrounding New York City, the counties of New York, Richmond (Staten Island), Westchester, and Queen's (on Long Island). The act provided that the freeholders in each county were to elect wardens and vestrymen who could hire a minister and raise money for his support, but its interpretation was much disputed. Anglicans, including Governor Benjamin Fletcher, undoubtedly intended that Church of England clergymen be settled in the counties concerned, but their opponents argued that, since the words of the law allowed for any minister whom the wardens and vestry

¹Marcus L. Hansen, "Minor Stocks in the American Population of 1970," Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States. Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1931 (2 vols., Washington, 1932), I, 366; Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1957 (Washington, 1960), 756; Edward T. Corwin et al., A History of the Reformed Church, Dutch, the Reformed Church, German, and the Moravian Church in the United States, vol. VIII in The American Church History Series (13 vols., New York, 1893-97), 124.

would choose, any form of Protestantism could be set up.² The Dutch Church, which had been assured of its customary privileges in the colony by the English government, continued to be the major religious body, and for several decades after the conquest the Church of England was very weak. Until Trinity parish was established in 1697, the only Anglican services in the colony were provided in the Dutch Church by the chaplain of the English garrison.³

The Dutch in the province had developed a society that featured many customs and institutions transplanted from their homeland including the Dutch language and the Dutch Reformed Church. With help from the Church in the Netherlands in the eighteenth century, they were able to support their own religious institutions without aid from the English. Like the Church of England in that century, the Dutch Church was challenged by pietistic reformers. In New York these ecclesiastical disputes coincided with the rise in sentiment for abandoning Dutch customs during the process of assimilation into the English colonial society. Prolonged internal controversies over ordination of ministers, the structure of church government and liturgical practices, especially the use of the English language in religious services, divided the Dutch into an orthodox or conservative faction which wanted to retain the traditional customs and a pietistic or reforming faction that sought to adapt old forms to circumstances of the New World. Traditionalists among the Dutch found support

²Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 113; ERNY, II, 1076-9.

³Albright, History of Protestant Episcopal Church, 68-9.

for their position among the Anglicans in New York who used this religious bond to enhance their own power in a struggle with the Presbyterians for political dominance in the province which reached a crisis in the decade of the 1750's over the issue of control over and funding for King's College. The two English parties used the religious divisions in the Reformed Church to further their own ends. While the Anglicans courted the conservative Dutch, the Presbyterians cultivated the reformers. Although the SPG played no direct role in these factional struggles, its financial support was indispensable to the existence of the Church in New York and influenced the fortunes of the Anglican faction.

The real beginning of the Anglican Church in New York came when some influential members of the Church in that colony, including Caleb Heathcote and Lewis Morris, obtained a charter from the colonial government in 1697 to establish Trinity Parish. The vestry called William Vesey, who went to England for ordination by the Bishop of London. Upon his return late in 1697 he officiated for a time in the Dutch Church until his own building was completed.⁴ Further impetus to the growth of Anglicanism came when, shortly after the Society's founding, it sent George Keith to tour the colonies. From his account of the state of the Church in North America, SPG officials learned that there was a thriving parish in New York City to which some of the Dutch and French belonged. Some counties which were populated almost entirely by Dutch, including Albany, Ulster, Orange, and King's, had neither Anglican ministers nor schoolmasters. When people at Kingston (also called Esopus) in Ulster County had recently lost their

⁴Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 114-5.

minister and applied to Amsterdam for a replacement, the Governor, Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, had sent an Englishman there temporarily. This situation seemed to offer a good chance to settle an Anglican missionary. Vesey of Trinity Church visited King's County on Long Island after the death of the Dutch minister there. Some of the Dutch at Yonkers attended the Anglican Church at Westchester where John Bartow was rector.⁵

The Church of England in New York was under the patronage of prominent laymen who frequently sent the Society reports on the state of the Church and requests for ministers, schoolmasters, and books. Caleb Heathcote persuaded Governor Cornbury to send the first SPG missionary assigned to New York to his county of Westchester.⁶ Thereafter, Heathcote constantly brought to the attention of the Society ways in which it could further the interests of the Church, not only in New York but also in Connecticut. Other zealous champions of the Church were Lewis Morris and Governor Cornbury. These men, not intent simply on the advancement of the Church, advocated causes that would further their personal and political ends. Cornbury was especially concerned to secure converts as one way of weaning colonists away from Dutch customs and language.⁷ Among others, the Governor

⁵An Account of the State of the Church in North America by Mr. Geo. Keith and Others, Mar. 19, 1702/03, SPG Journal, App. A, No. 27; The State of the Church in the Province of New York, Oct. 20, 1704, *ibid.*, App. A, No. 48; A Summary Account of the State of the Church in the Province of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, Oct. 11, 1704, *ibid.*, App. A, No. 58, pp. 336-48; The Memorial of Col. Morris Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys, Sept. 19, 1702, *ibid.*, App. A, No. 2; Lewis Morris to SPG, summer 1704, SPG Letters, A. 1, No. 171.

⁶Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 117.

⁷Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, to SPG, Nov. 22, 1705, SPG Letters, A. 2, No. 131.

urged the SPG to supply ministers for New York because English families went either to the Dutch Church or to none at all. English ministers and schoolmasters would be an important means of making the colony English and thereby securing the loyalty of its inhabitants.⁸ Because the Dutch seemed friendly to the English customs and religion, English ministers who could speak Dutch or who learned the language would be very useful.⁹

Cornbury tried to gain control of the Dutch Church by forcing its ministers to settle only under his license. In turn the Dutch feared that he planned to force the English Church upon them by creating an excuse to send English ministers to Dutch congregations when the Dutch clergymen refused to seek a license. The Governor did achieve a limited success in the case of Henricus Beyse, a Dutch minister who refused to obtain a license in order to accept his call to Kingston. At the urging of Lewis Morris, a leader of the English opposition to Cornbury, Beyse sought ordination in the Church of England.¹⁰ At first the SPG rejected Beyse's request for ordination and appointment; but after hearing good reports from Morris, from some of its correspondents in Leyden, and from

⁸Ibid.; Cornbury to SPG, Nov. 29, 1707, ibid., A. 3, No. 155, pp. 404-14.

⁹The State of the Church in the Province of New York, Oct. 20, 1704, SPG Journal, App. A, No. 48, P. 246.

¹⁰See below pp. 35 & 37 Journal of Domine Beyse, Jan.-Mar. 1706, ERNY, III, 1615-9; State of Dutch Churches in New York and Request for Redress, May 24, 1706, ibid., 1660; Church of New York to Classis of Amsterdam, June 10, 1706, ibid., 1667-8; Edward T. Corwin, A Manual of the Reformed Church of America (Formerly Reformed Protestant Dutch Church), 1628-1878 (3rd ed., New York, 1879), 182; Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 134.

the Chaplain of the Royal Dutch Chapel at St. James's in London, the Society reconsidered and appointed him to Harlem with a salary for one year only. The SPG warned that it would continue his salary only if it was satisfied that his congregation had conformed to the Church of England. Both Morris and Governor Robert Hunter reported that Beyse was officiating to the Dutch in their own tongue and recommended that the SPG send him Common Prayer Books in Dutch. Not all reports were so favorable, however. Commissary Jacob Henderson in Maryland complained that Morris had misrepresented the likelihood of Beyse's attracting a congregation in order to secure a salary for someone to teach the Morris children. Since he had little else to do, Beyse spent most of his time as a private tutor.¹¹ The SPG decided to stop the salary and did not relent despite requests from Governor Hunter and a long petition from Beyse. The missionary submitted that he had been very diligent and had achieved some success although his progress was necessarily very slow because he did not have enough Common Prayer Books in Dutch. He had, however, opened a school to catechize in both Latin and Dutch. He needed the Society's allowance since his people were obliged to contribute to Trinity Church, the parish established under the Ministry Act for the county of New York. The SPG agreed to continue his salary for one more year until Beyse could make other provisions for himself, but it would cease thereafter because he did not have a congregation that conformed to the Church of England.¹²

¹¹Jacob Henderson to SPG, July 1, 1712, SPG Letters, A. 7, 24.

¹²Morris to SPG, Oct. 21, 1709, *ibid.*, A. 4, No. 149, pp. 503-4; SPG Journal, Dec. 16, 1709, Vol. I, 432; *ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1709, Vol. I, 435-6; *ibid.*, Jan. 20, 1709/10, Vol. I, 445; *ibid.*, Feb. 10, 1709/10, Vol. I, 454; Morris to SPG, July 25, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 143; Morris to SPG, Nov. 15, 1710, *ibid.*, A. 6, No. 3; Gov. Robert Hunter to SPG, Nov. 14, 1710, *ibid.*, A. 5, No. 178; Morris to SPG, Jan. 1, 1711/12, *ibid.*, A. 7, 159-61; Certificate of the Inhabitants of New Harlem in Behalf of Mr. Beyse, Nov. 25, 1712, *ibid.*, A. 8, 229-34; SPG to Beyse, Mar. 7, 1712/13, *ibid.*, A. 8, 317; Hunter to SPG, Mar. 14, 1712/13, *ibid.*, A. 8, 123-4; Petition of Henricus Beyse to Bishop of London, received April 1713, *ibid.*, A. 8, 47-9; SPG Journal, May 22, 1713, Vol. II, 292.

Beyse was the only former Dutch minister ever supported by the Society and the only missionary sent to a congregation composed entirely of Dutch.

The SPG, however, did support English ministers to congregations that included former members of the Dutch Church and in communities with a large Dutch population. One of the most important missions was located in Albany where the SPG maintained one or more missionaries to the Indians and to the English garrison stationed there on the frontier. The mission was established in 1704 and was maintained until the last SPG missionary left in 1777. The missionaries served the Dutch, at times reported Anglican converts among them, and generally enjoyed good relations with their Dutch Reformed colleagues. The first missionary, Thoroughgood Moore, who arrived in 1704 to serve the Indians, was cordially received by the Dutch Domine Lydius and spent the winter in his house.¹³ When Moore found that the Dutch traders had successfully turned the Iroquois against the English, he decided that one way to make his Indian mission effective was to seek a missionary for the whites at Albany who could establish a school "to make the growing generation Englishmen." Although such a move would relieve some immediate problems, ultimate assimilation of the Dutch into British society depended upon stopping the supply of ministers from Holland and the termination of all Dutch schools.¹⁴ Meanwhile, the SPG, in response to requests from Moore and

¹³Thoroughgood Moore to SPG, Mar. 8, 1704/05, SPG Letters, A. 2, No. 75.

¹⁴Cornbury to SPG, Nov. 29, 1707, *ibid.*, A. 3, No. 155; Moore to SPG, Nov. 13, 1705, *ibid.*, A. 2, No. 122; John Calam, Parsons and Pedagogues: the SPG Adventure in American Education (New York, 1971), 14-5.

Governor Cornbury, appointed Thomas Barclay, who had been serving as Chaplain to the English soldiers garrisoned on the frontier, as missionary and schoolmaster to the whites at Albany. Once appointed, he received a number of Bibles and Common Prayer Books in English and Dutch.¹⁵ Barclay seemed especially suited for the post because he was fluent in the language and had married a Dutch woman whose family lived in Albany.¹⁶

The Society enlarged this mission to include Schenectady, another frontier garrison, about twenty miles from Albany where the Dutch congregation was without a minister. After Lydius died at Albany, the nearest Dutch minister was in New York, and so Barclay served the Dutch in both Albany and Schenectady where he reported a very friendly relationship with them. He catechized the children, set up an English school at Schenectady, and designed his sermons to explain the many points of agreement between the Dutch and English Churches.¹⁷ He resented the Reverend DuBois, Dutch minister at New York, who came twice a year to Albany and filled "the people's minds with prejudices" against the Church of England. Stung by this challenge, Barclay redoubled his efforts to show similarities in doctrine between the two churches, preaching in Dutch as well as in English.¹⁸ Barclay reported that he had converted a number of

¹⁵SPG Journal, Oct. 21, 1709, Vol. I, 407; ibid., Nov. 18, 1709, vol. I, 421.

¹⁶Elias Neau to SPG, July 5, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 134, pp. 381-4.

¹⁷Thomas Barclay to SPG, July 5, 1709, ibid., A. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-4; Barclay to SPG, Sept. 26, 1710, ibid., A. 5, No. 176, pp. 520-6; Barclay to SPG, Dec. 7, 1710, ibid., A. 6, No. 50.

¹⁸Barclay to SPG, June 11, 1711, ibid., A. 6, No. 129.

prominent Dutch families at Albany including the families of Peter Schuyler and William Van Rensselear, both members of the Provincial Council; Robert Livingston, Jr., then mayor of Albany, and Evert Banker, a former mayor. At Schenectady he converted the families of two Justices of the Peace, Captain Sanders and Adam Shooman.¹⁹ His solicitations for a church building at Albany met with good response among the Dutch. While he personally raised over £100 on a trip to New York including a contribution from the Reverend Du Bois, others, including Dutch laymen secured subscriptions for him on Long Island.²⁰ Barclay continued to report success in his mission but the Society, in an economy move, discontinued some salaries including his. Since he had an allowance from the government of New York, the SPG reasoned that he could subsist without its help.²¹ To further confuse matters, Barclay went mad in 1722, and upon hearing of the distress of his family the Society granted them 30, but no regular salary was again allowed him.²² The SPG resumed its support of this mission in 1728 when John Miln was sent to Albany where he continued Barclay's work among the Dutch and received more Common Prayer Books in English and Dutch.²³ Henry Barclay, son of Thomas, took his

¹⁹Barclay to SPG, Apr. 17, 1713, ibid., A. 8, 166.

²⁰Barclay to SPG, Oct. 22, 1714, ibid., A. 9, 159.

²¹SPG Journal, Mar. 6, 1715/16, Vol. III, 121.

²²Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 123; SPG Journal, Feb. 15, 1722/23, Vol. IV, 250-1; ibid., Mar. 21, 1722/23, 262; ibid., Apr. 26, 1723, 267.

²³Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 856; SPG Journal, Jan. 16, 1729/30, Vol. V, 233.

father's place in 1738 and continued the practice of preaching to the Dutch in their own language.²⁴ Upon his resignation to become the rector of Trinity Church, he recommended John Ogilvie as his replacement, and from that time the Society maintained a regular mission at Albany and Schnectady until the American Revolution.²⁵

Another early mission supported by the SPG was established at Staten Island where the English made up less than one-third of the population, the remainder was Dutch and French. Aneas Mackenzie, sent there in 1705, was certain that any hostility towards the Church of England was due to ignorance and he was equally optimistic that a school would help turn the children away from their parents' attitudes and customs.²⁶ When the SPG sent him Dutch Common Prayer Books but did not immediately respond to a request for schoolmasters, Mackenzie recommended two men who were currently teaching on Staten Island to the support of the Society.²⁷ Adam Browne was instructing "a mixture of almost all Nations," and Benjamin Drewit taught mostly French children. The Society agreed to make them an allowance, and it continued to support a school there for many years.²⁸ Early in 1712 a church building was erected and a glebe and house purchased. Subsequent missionaries reported some conversions

²⁴Ibid., Apr. 13, 1739, Vol. VIII, 34-5; ibid., Mar. 20, 1740/41, 252-3.

²⁵Ibid., Mar. 17, 1748/49, Vol. XI, 101-2; ibid., Jan. 18, 1750/51, 296-300; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 855.

²⁶Aneas Mackenzie to SPG, Nov. 8, 1705, SPG Letters, A. 2, No. 116.

²⁷SPG Journal, Mar. 28, 1706, Vol. I, 231.

²⁸Mackenzie to SPG, July 20, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 148, p. 415; SPG Journal, Oct. 20, 1710, Vol. I, 517-8; ibid., Nov. 10 1710, 524.

from the Dutch Church, especially during the confusion of the Great Awakening. The last missionary died in 1777.²⁹

The SPG also settled missionaries in Queen's County in the middle of Long Island. The eastern county on the island, Suffolk, was settled by English Dissenters from New England; the western county, King's, by Dutch from New York. Queen's had a mixed population. SPG missionaries were settled continuously at Jamaica near its center from 1702 until 1783 and periodically at Hempstead. Religious affairs on Long Island, seldom tranquil, erupted into controversy before an Anglican mission was sent to Jamaica. Dissenters who had called a minister and started to build a church, contended with SPG missionaries over possession of the church building, parsonage, and salary. Finally the colonial courts awarded the salary to Thomas Poyer, the Anglican, and the buildings to the Presbyterians.³⁰ The Dutch Church also had its divisions and lost some members to the Church of England because of the conflicts on Long Island. A dispute between the Dutch ministers Bernardus Freeman and Vincentius Antonides that had begun in 1705 over the propriety of Freeman's seeking a license from the Governor developed into a long personal feud. Many of

²⁹Mackenzie to SPG, May 4, 1711, SPG Letters, A. 6, No. 74; Mackenzie to SPG, Mar. 18, 1712, *ibid.*, A. 8, 130-3; SPG Journal June 22, 1711, Vol. II, 71; *ibid.*, Oct. 9, 1713, 320; Mackenzie to SPG, Oct. 9, 1713, SPG Letters, A. 8, 130-3; Jonathan Arnold to SPG, Nov. 10, 1742, *ibid.*, B. 10, No. 82; Samuel Bearcroft, Sec. SPG, to Arnold, June 14, 1743, *ibid.*, No. 195b; Richard Charlton to SPG, Apr. 9, 1766, *ibid.*, B. 3, No. 81; SPG Journal, July 18, 1766, Vol. XVII, 90; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 855.

³⁰Manross, History of American Episcopal Church, 119-21; SPG Journal, May 15, 1713, Vol. II, 291; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 856.

the Dutch turned to the Anglican Church, notwithstanding that church's own difficulties. The Dutch in Queen's County were reportedly friendly to the Church of England and much closer to the Anglicans than they were to the English Dissenters.³¹

The Anglican parish in the city of New York was able to support itself without aid from the SPG. Its rectors, William Vesey (1697-1746), Henry Barclay (1756-64), and Samuel Achmuty (1764-75) acted as unofficial heads of and spokesmen for the Church in the colony when they sent reports and supported requests for aid to the Society. The most significant aid provided by the SPG to that parish went to support schoolmasters. When William Huddleston reported that he was teaching Dutch and French children in addition to English, he received books in all languages as well as grants of money from the SPG until the Society gave him a regular salary in 1716.³² The SPG maintained this salary to an Anglican schoolmaster until learning that in New York there were ten English schools, one Latin, one Dutch, and one French, whereupon it decided that there was no need to continue support for this post. William Vesey, however, urged the Society to reverse that decision because its school was the only one

³¹Nelson R. Burr, "The Episcopal Church and the Dutch in Colonial New York and New Jersey," *HMPEC*, XIX (1950), 104. Caleb Heathcote to SPG, Jan. 5, 1711, *SPG Letters*, A. 7, 177-80; Leonard Cutting to SPG, Dec. 28, 1768, *ibid.*, B. 2, No. 144, p. 478.

³²William Huddleston to Mr. Postlewaithe, Oct. 9, 1706, *ibid.*, A. 3, No. 8, p. 31; Petition of Huddleston, (1706), *SPG Journal*, App. A, No. 77, pp. 459-61; Heathcote to SPG, Nov. 14, 1705, *SPG Letters*, A. 2, No. 118; Huddleston to SPG, July 15, 1708, *ibid.*, A. 4, No. 58, p. 205; *SPG Journal*, Feb. 11, 1708/09, Vol. I, 369; *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1708/09, 372.

taught by an Anglican and recommended a schoolmaster for the position. The Society considered his suggestion and decided to continue the charity school in New York.³³

Dutchess County along the Hudson north of Westchester had no settled Anglican minister. When at the invitation of some of the inhabitants Samuel Seabury, missionary at Hempstead, visited the area in 1756, he found only one Dutch minister, one Presbyterian preacher, and a Quaker meetinghouse in the county. Seabury suggested that he could serve the people as an itinerant missionary, but the Society refused to release him from his regular appointment. It did, however, encourage him to visit Dutchess County when his regular duties allowed. At times he was able to preach in the Dutch church building.³⁴ John Beardsley also visited the area from his mission in Connecticut. After a schism had divided the Dutch congregation, so many of the Dutch left their own Church to attend the Anglican services that in 1766 Beardsley was sent as a missionary to Poughkeepsie in Dutchess County. At his request the Society established a school to provide an English education for the children of the Dutch and sent some copies of the book *Common Prayers* and some pious tracts.³⁵

Missionaries from Westchester County also visited the Dutch and the English at Yonkers. At the suggestion of John Bartow, the SPG provided

³³*Ibid.*, Mar. 18, 1742/43, Vol. IX, 133; William Vesey to SPG, Dec. 9, 1743, *SPG Letters*, B. 11, 17-9; Joseph Hildreth to Vesey, Nov. 1, 1743, *ibid.*, B. 11, 120-1; *SPG Journal*, Mar. 16, 1743/44, Vol. IX, 246.

³⁴*Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1756, Vol. XIII, 205-6; *ibid.*, June 19, 1761, Vol. XV, 106-7.

³⁵John Beardsley to SPG, Sept. 5, 1767, *SPG Letters*, B. 3, No. 25; *SPG Journal*, Jan. 15, 1768, Vol. XVII, 427-8; Burr, "Episcopal Church and the Dutch," 104-5.

for a schoolmaster at Yonkers to teach English to the Dutch children. In 1753 a church was erected and the town became a mission of the Manor of Phillispsburg. When the Society assumed support of the mission in 1765, it appointed Harry Munro to the post who discovered that the people still clung to their Dutch customs and speech.³⁶

Many of the Dutch had moved into New Jersey where three or four towns were served by a Dutch minister from New York. SPG missionaries were settled in two towns where the Dutch predominated. Edward Vaughn, who regularly visited Second River from his mission at Elizabethtown, was convinced that many of the Dutch there would conform to the Church of England because of a quarrel in 1743 between the Dutch minister, Gerardus Haeghoort, and the patron, John Schuyler. The following year the SPG established a new mission at Newark to include the congregation at Second River.³⁷ When Isaac Browne arrived to take up the new post, he recognized the need of a school for the Dutch. Many of them understood English well enough, but who did not were too poor to support a school by themselves. The Society set up a school for Browne and continued the support of a schoolmaster for many years.³⁸ In 1757 the SPG settled another mission

³⁶SPG Journal, Oct. 10, 1712, Vol. II, 243; *ibid.*, July 18, 1766, Vol. XVII, 90-1; Burr, "Episcopal Church and the Dutch," 105-6.

³⁷Memorial of Col. Morris Concerning the State of Religion in the Jerseys, Sept. 19, 1702, SPG Journal, App. A., No. 2; Edward Vaughan to SPG, Dec. 17, 1743, SPG Letters, B. 11, 166; SPG Journal, July 20, 1744, Vol. IX, 287; Churchwardens and Vestry of Second River and Newark to SPG, Jan. 28, 1747/48, SPG Letters, B. 18, 45.

³⁸Isaac Browne to SPG, Sept. 25, 1750, *ibid.*, B. 18, 142; SPG Journal, Jan. 19, 1753, Vol. XII, 203; *ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1754, 349-50; *ibid.*, May 21, 1756, Vol. XIII, 148-9; *ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1766, Vol. XVII, 201-2.

among a large Dutch community in New Brunswick, which also had a Dutch and a Presbyterian church. The three congregations reportedly lived together in harmony.³⁹

These missions and schools aided by the SPG comprised the extent of formal support by the Society for the Dutch. However, the Church of England in New York and New Jersey extended beyond those congregations sustained by the Society that helped the Dutch. From its founding to the American Revolution, the SPG sent a total of fifty-eight missionaries to New York and New Jersey, representing nearly all of the Anglican ministers who ever served in these colonies. In New York thirty-one of them had substantial contact with the Dutch, as did six in New Jersey.⁴⁰ The association of the Anglicans with the Dutch, however, was more complex than these encounters between missionaries, schoolmasters, and congregations. The relations between the Church of England and the Dutch Reformed Church were determined in part by the legal status of the two churches, in part by the political and social status of the Dutch community, and in part by the controversy within the Dutch Church over the proper response to the gradual disappearance of Dutch customs and language in New York. Because the growth of the Reformed Church in that province occurred independently of the Church of England, the development of the internal crises faced by the Dutch must be traced in order to understand their true relationship with the Anglicans.

³⁹Ibid., Nov. 17, 1758, Vol. XIV, 102-3; Cutting to SPG, Oct. 3, 1764, SPG Letters, B. 24, 289.

⁴⁰John Webb Pratt, Religion, Politics, and Diversity: The Church-State Theme in New York History (Ithaca, 1967), 53; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 854-6.

The legal privileges of the Dutch Church had been confirmed by the English government when it assumed control of the colony. The English pledged not to interfere, in the maintenance of a clergy, in church discipline, and in the regulation of services. The Dutch considered themselves an established church in New York, and the Anglicans usually respected their claims to that status. In order to confirm their position, the Dutch had sought charters for their churches, the first one granted by Governor Fletcher in 1696. Anglicans were willing to accommodate Dutch requests because members of the Church of England, outnumbered by the Dutch and the English Dissenters, needed the former's friendship. In the late seventeenth century influential Dutch families demonstrated good will toward the Church of England in return for favors by the government to their Church. The zeal of Governor Cornbury to advance the Anglican Church disrupted this harmony for a time, but calm returned only to be shattered later. Divisions within the Dutch Church, first apparent in isolated disputes, opened into general conflict in the 1740's and profoundly affected its relations with the Church of England.⁴¹

In the eighteenth century the Dutch Reformed Church in Holland, prosperous and well-supported, was composed of individual congregations that shared a consensus of belief and custom. The congregations were bound together in regional organizations of ministers called "classes" and in a national organization called a "synod." Synods, which met infrequently, passed on matters of doctrine and jurisdiction; classes,

⁴¹Burr, "Episcopal Church and the Dutch," 95-8; Pratt, Religion, Politics, and Diversity, 49.

which met more often and maintained a regular administrative staff, examined and ordained ministers for vacant congregations. Because there was no provision for missionary organizations, the colonial congregations were under the care of the Classis of Amsterdam with which they maintained a frequent and lengthy correspondence. Each congregation elected its own deacons and elders, who comprised the Consistory. This body assumed great importance in determining the affairs of the church in American because of the distance from governing bodies in Holland.⁴²

Both the Dutch Reformed and the Anglican Churches laid stress on the proper church order. The doctrine as defined by the proper organ of the national church and written into the confession, liturgy and forms of worship including language, and acknowledgement of discipline as it existed in the authority of the hierarchical forms of the church were essential features of both churches. Pressure to change any traditional aspects, either from individuals dissatisfied by the existing order or from new circumstances, often seemed to threaten the very being of the Church. When both of the churches felt such pressures in the eighteenth century, conservative members of each Church frequently found themselves in closer accord with each other than with the other party in their own church. The Dutch conservatives were in a more difficult position than were the English because they represented a national church in the territory of another nation. The Classis of Amsterdam which did not always appreciate the difficulties, admonished the clergy of New York that

⁴²Corwin, Manual of Reformed Church, 6-20.

your churches remain bound to that Church Order even though they have passed under another political sovereignty. This Order is grounded on legal methods and strong arguments, and has for its objects the preservation of the orthodox liberty and unity of the Dutch churches⁴³

The traditionalists in the Church of England could accept this position, but not all Anglicans could nor could all among the Dutch in New York. The issues became clear early in the century in a series of conflicts within the Dutch Church. The several questions merged and some of the participants in earlier disputes joined in a general controversy in the 1740's that was part of the Great Awakening. They also coincided with the crisis engendered by assimilation into the English culture.

An early dispute among the Dutch arose over Governor Cornbury's insistence on licensing all ministers. In 1705 Bernardus Freeman was called by some Dutch congregations in King's County on Long Island. When he hesitated before accepting, perhaps, because the salary was too low, the churches called Vincentius Antonides instead. In the meantime, Freeman changed his mind, took out a license from Cornbury, and began to preach. Each man had his supporters and some churches elected two Consistories. Because the dispute had driven many of the Dutch to nearby English missions supported by the SPG, both men appealed to the Classis of Amsterdam for help. Antonides asked the Classis to intercede for him in England so that pressure could be applied on the colonial government. While the Classis supported Antonides and admonished Freeman, it acknowledged that it was helpless to determine matters under the jurisdiction

⁴³Classis of Amsterdam to Bernardus Freeman, Mar. 14, 1713/14, ERNY, III, 2034.

of another government. The Dutch government also promised to intercede in England on behalf of the Classis but it too had no success. Such evidence of impotence by the Classis encouraged Freeman in his course of action.⁴⁴ This controversy raised the question of order as it applied to calling ministers. The ordination of ministers and the determination of the legality of calls was at the heart of most of the conflicts in the Dutch Church. Church members and ministers differed over whether this power should reside in the American church.

Shortly after the controversy between Freeman and Antonides died down another broke out in the congregation of the Reverend Theodore Frelinghuysen in Raritan, New Jersey. In 1723 Frelinghuysen and his Consistory issued "Letters of Citation" against some members of his congregation accusing them of following the Domines Du Bois and Boel of New York in caring too much for the mere forms of the liturgy. The "Letters" further charged that some members of the congregation looked upon Du Bois and Boel as their "popes" and "bishops" and after outlining some differences between Presbyterians and Anglicans, condemned the latter for excessive concern with "Forms." The members to whom the letters were addressed issued their own statement in a reply that became known as the "Complaint" against Frelinghuysen, whom they accused of being a sectarian and of adhering to the doctrine that the regeneration of another can be infallibly determined, a tenet the Dutch Church had condemned under the

⁴⁴Classis of Amsterdam to Freeman, July 1710, *ibid.*, 1859-60; Classis of Amsterdam to Vincentius Antonides, Feb. 4, 1708/09, *ibid.*, 1719; Classis of Amsterdam to Du Bois, Lydius, and Antonides, July 1710, *ibid.*, 1857; Consistories of Midwout, Brooklyn, and New Amersfoort to Classis of Amsterdam, Jan. 28, 1712/13, *ibid.*, 1973, 1976.

the name of Labadism.⁴⁵ The Complainants upbraided Frelinghuysen for forbidding unconverted children from reciting the Lord's Prayer and for refusing to baptize some people until they had been converted. They also rebuked him for being too friendly with the English Dissenter Gilbert Tennent and charged that, in fact, Tennent was acting as an assistant to Frelinghuysen.⁴⁶ By following such practices Frelinghuysen had separated himself from the Dutch Church. The Complainants claimed further that the charges against them were really a condemnation of the Church of England rather than a true account of their own position.⁴⁷

These accusations opened a prolonged controversy. Frelinghuysen has been described as a forerunner or an originator of the American phase of the revival known as the Great Awakening during which the churches of Europe which followed established forms, among them the Church of England and its SPG supporters, were challenged by men who felt that the emotional aspect of religion had been neglected and who rejected rigid application of old methods of discipline and worship to colonial society. For the Dutch Church in an English colony, questions of form included that of

⁴⁵Jean de Labadie (1610-74) was an important figure in Reformed pietism in the Netherlands. He started a reform movement within the Dutch Church but was forced to separate from it. See Stoeffler, Rise of Pietism, 169.

⁴⁶Classis of Amsterdam to Consistory of Raritan, May 7, 1731, ERNY, IV, 2538-40; Freeman to Classis of Amsterdam, Apr. 27, 1725, ibid., III, 2307-8.

⁴⁷Complainants against Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen, 1725, ibid., 2249-63; James Tanis, Dutch Calvinistic Pietism in the Middle Colonies: A Study in the Life and Theology of Theodorus Jacobus Frelinghuysen (The Hague, 1967), 57-62, 68-70.

language because many people believed that the Dutch language was the most important symbol of the ancient customs and traditions. Most watched with resignation, if not approval, as English replaced Dutch as the means of everyday communication. Many were concerned, however, that the young people should still be taught Dutch to use in worship. When it was apparent that parents had neglected this duty, a Dutch schoolmaster was appointed by the Consistory of New York in 1726 to instruct youth "not only in the Dutch language, but also in the elements of Christian piety."⁴⁸

The form for ordaining ministers, at issue earlier, was debated again. Under the traditional order, a candidate was examined and ordained by the Classis of Amsterdam and sent to one or more congregations that had requested him. Many of the Dutch in New York believed that this procedure was impractical because of the time, danger, and expense the voyage involved. Since the Church was losing members from want of ministers, the power to ordain in America was one departure from tradition that circumstances demanded. Frelinghuysen led the faction seeking this power, arguing that unless it were granted irregularities would be common. The opposing party viewed some departures as more serious than simply matters of the exigencies of time and money. They claimed that Frelinghuysen deliberately carried out his religious duties as a colleague of Tennent, that he sought close relations with the English Dissenters, and that he preached in English in the Dutch Church because of his "own self-opinionated ways."⁴⁹

⁴⁸Act Appointing Barend de Foreest as Schoolmaster, Jan. 5, 1725/26, ERNY, IV, 2337; Public Announcement of de Foreest's Appointment, Jan. 9, 1725/26, *ibid.*, 2340-3.

⁴⁹Complainants of Raritan to Classis of Amsterdam, May 4, 1732, *ibid.*, 2589.

The Classis of Amsterdam urged reconciliation of the parties at Raritan. Some of the Domines were convinced that an organization which they called a "Coetus" should be established in New York endowed with enough authority to keep order and to prevent irregular practices. When the two sides at Raritan attempted to draw up articles of peace, the problem of language proved difficult to solve. The Complainants insisted that their minister should speak only Dutch while Frelinghuysen wanted approval also for "an orthodox minister, but of another language." The Classis tried to reconcile them by arguing that, although the English did have their orthodox party, it would be difficult to determine if a given minister was orthodox unless he preached only in Dutch. The Classis suggested that either the phrase "but of another language" be dropped or, if it were kept, to add "ordained according to the Dutch Church-Order, lawfully called, examined and ordained, with the acceptance of Formulas."⁵⁰ Ministers who supported the idea of a Coetus generally belonged to the faction that supported Frelinghuysen against his Complainants or who sympathized with his position; domines who supported the Complainants opposed the formation of a Coetus.⁵¹ The Classis would not oppose a Coetus so long as it remained subordinate to the Classis and would approve an organization similar to one already formed in Dutch Surinam so long as it did not deal with matters of doctrine and with the preparation and final examination of ministers. Despite these conditions, even before

⁵⁰Classis of Amsterdam to Frelinghuysen, Oct. 4, 1734, ibid., 2660.

⁵¹Antonides, Henricus Boel, G. M. Mancius, and Fredericus Muzelius to Classis of Amsterdam, Sept., 19-30, 1737, ibid., 2692-4; Gerard Haeghoort to Classis of Amsterdam, Sept., 23, 1737, ibid., 2696.

the Coetus was formed its supporters began asking permission to ordain ministers.⁵²

Relations between the two factions grew worse with a visit in 1743 from George Whitefield, the English revivalist. After William Vesey refused permission for him to speak in Trinity Church, Domine Boel did likewise for the Dutch Church because it was "against the Charter, as he did not belong to us, . . . on account of his fanaticism . . . and lastly, because he was condemned by the English Bishop, and rejected by the Episcopal Church here." The Anglicans supported Boel's decision. Meanwhile, the Dutch minister, Gualterus Du Bois, Frelinghuysen, and an English Dissenting minister escorted Whitefield to a field outside of the city where he preached.⁵³ Although he had been outmaneuvered in this matter, Boel continued to oppose change. He enjoyed good relations with Vesey because both men agreed that it was in the best interests of each church to follow its own traditional order.⁵⁴

As revivalism grew the question of ordination brought the conflict between the factions to a crisis. After J. M. Goetzius was ordained by Frelinghuysen to officiate on Long Island, in an effort to prevent more abuses, Domines Curtenius, Erickzon, and Haeghoort asked permission for the Coetus to ordain Benjamin Vander Linde. They believed that by granting

⁵²Classis of Amsterdam to Friends of Coetus, June 9, 1738, *ibid.*, 2712; Classis of Amsterdam to Opponents of Coetus, June 9, 1738, *ibid.*, 2713; Acts of the Classis of Amsterdam, Apr. 6, 1739, *ibid.*, 2719; Freeman to Classis of Amsterdam, Apr. 23, 1741, *ibid.*, 2752; Du Bois to Classis of Amsterdam, May 14, 1741, *ibid.*, 2756-7.

⁵³Boel, Muzelius, and Mancius to Classis of Amsterdam, Apr., 14-25, 1743, *ibid.*, 2789.

⁵⁴Boel to Classis of Amsterdam, June 5-16, 1746, *ibid.*, 2912.

its permission the Classis could preserve some order. The Classis preferred that he be sent to Holland but agreed that if this were impossible they would give permission in this instance provided that Vander Linde were properly examined, called, and ordained by the Coetus convened for that purpose and in the name of the Classis.⁵⁵ The Classis continued to regard Goetschius as a candidate and not properly ordained. It referred to this case as an example of the disorder and confusion that beset the Church and insisted on the establishment of a Coetus. The rules for a Coetus were adopted by a meeting of ministers on April 28, 1748, that included the Domines Du Bois, Ritzema, Erickzon, Curtenius, Frelinghuysen, Van Sinderen, Freeman, and Haeghoort. Du Bois, the only former opponent of a Coetus who joined, had changed his position after becoming convinced that this organization could bring about a reconciliation of the factions. Putting aside his earlier misgivings, he became a leader of the Coetus faction.⁵⁶

Organizing the Coetus settled none of the problems. The ministers who remained outside, Boel, Muzelius, Mancius, and Arondeus, refused to acknowledge the decisions of that body. Some members proposed that the Coetus be changed into a Classis with full powers over the affairs of the

⁵⁵Anthony Curtenius to Classis to Amsterdam, Mar. 15, 1745/46, *ibid.*, 2901; Haeghoort to Classis of Amsterdam, May 12, 1746, *ibid.*, 2905; Classis of Amsterdam to Haeghoort, Oct. 3, 1746, *ibid.*, 2926.

⁵⁶Classis of Amsterdam to Consistory of New York, Jan. 9, 1747, *ibid.*, 2942; Acts of Coetus, Apr. 28, 1748, *ibid.*, 3012; Du Bois, John Ritzema, Erickzon, Curtenius, Theodore J. Frelinghuysen, and U. Van Sinderen to Classis of Amsterdam, May 21, 1747, *ibid.*, 2959, Du Bois to Classis of Amsterdam, Nov. 2, 1748, *ibid.*, 3037.

Church in North America. The Consistory of New York, adamant against this proposal, decided that the Coetus no longer served a useful purpose, and declared null a clause in the call of Domine De Ronde which required him to be a member of the Coetus. It disapproved of the "spirit of independence" shown by a certain few members that would not be quenched by an American Classis. At the same meeting in which these decisions were made, the Consistory resolved to petition the Assembly for a Dutch Professor of Divinity in King's College and directed Domines Ritzema and De Ronde with two elders to prepare the draft.⁵⁷

This action by the Consistory openly linked the crisis in the Dutch Church with the political struggle in the colony over King's College. In the decade of the 1750's factions in New York quarrelled over the charter of a college and the use of public funds for its support. This college was a major issue between Anglicans and Presbyterians, the latter led by William Livingston. Since the Dutch constituted an important bloc in the Assembly, both sides courted them.⁵⁸ Those among the Dutch favorable to an American Classis were sympathetic to a plan by Theodore Frelinghuysen of Albany, eldest son of the revivalist, for an academy in America to train ministers for the Reformed Church. The faction opposed to Frelinghuysen's scheme was drawn to the Anglicans, especially after the division

⁵⁷Acts of Consistory of New York, Oct. 1, 1754, *ibid.*, V, 3495; Consistory of New York to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 17, 1754, *ibid.*, 3499.

⁵⁸There is a good account of this dispute in Milton M. Klein, "The American Whig: William Livingston of New York," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954; also see Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775* (New York, 1962), 143-68; Samuel Johnson to Archbishop of Canterbury, July 10, 1754, in E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols., Albany, 1856-87), VI, 850.

over the American Classis. The Dutch Church in New York City petitioned the Assembly for a Dutch professor in King's College.⁵⁹ Livingston thought that whatever the result of this request his own position could only be enhanced. Should the petition be granted, the presence of a Dutch professor would keep the Church of England from complete control of the college. If because of Anglican anxiety it were not granted, the Dutch would turn away from the Church of England.⁶⁰

While the Anglicans pressed for a charter, Governor James De Lancey wavered, irritated that the Dutch had gone to the Assembly with their demands. He finally convened the provincial council and on October 31, 1754, signed and sealed a charter in which the Anglicans were given a large majority on the Board of Governors that also included Livingston and Domine Ritzema but no Dutch professorship was provided. For reasons that are not clear, the charter was not delivered, and so the legal status of the college was uncertain. The Presbyterians turned to the Assembly for a charter and lottery funds to support their own school.⁶¹ A bitter pamphlet battle followed, in which Livingston enhanced his reputation as the strongest foe of the Church of England. Upon a petition of Ritzema and some other members of the Board of Governors, the Governor granted a supplementary charter that allowed for a Dutch professor at King's College.⁶²

⁵⁹Acts of the Consistory of New York, Oct. 1, 1754, ERNY, V, 3495.

⁶⁰William Livingston to Noah Welles, Oct. 18, 1754, ibid., 3501.

⁶¹Klein, "American Whig," 405-6, 413.

⁶²Petition of Ritzema to Governor and Council of New York, May 7, 1955, ERNY, V, 3542-3; Petition of Governors of King's College to Governor James De Lancey, May 13, 1755, ibid., 3544; Minutes of the Council of New York, May 30, 1755, ibid., 3554.

Ritzema understood that he was to get this position, but his Consistory at New York censured him for taking a post on the Board and for supporting the provisions for a Dutch professorship with very limited powers. A salary was never provided, and the professorship never established.⁶³

Throughout the King's College controversy, Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, helped to maintain good relations between the Church of England and the conservatives in the Dutch Church. Well regarded among the Dutch since the time of his appointment to the SPG's mission at Albany, he spoke Dutch and could sympathize with those who wished to retain the language.⁶⁴

While one Dutch faction was unsuccessful in its quest for a professor in King's College, the other party, led by Frelinghuysen, continued to seek a separate institution for the Dutch alone. The College became part of the plans for an American Classis. Those opposing a Classis were afraid that a separate college would admit Independent or Congregational and Presbyterian students and that the Dutch Church would be governed "after the Presbyterian fashion."⁶⁵ On May 27, 1755, Frelinghuysen called a special convention to act on his proposals, but Ritzema, Secretary of the Coetus, branded the meeting illegal and refused to attend. When a committee was sent to take the minute book of the Coetus from him, he would not surrender it.⁶⁶ This action marked the formal division of the

⁶³Censure of Ritzema, Aug. 11, 1755, ibid., 2574-6; Klein, "American Whig," 425.

⁶⁴Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 855; Mancius and Consistory of Kingston to Classis of Amsterdam, June 27, 1755, ERNY, V, 3564.

⁶⁵Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Feb. 20, 1755, ibid., 3533.

⁶⁶Special Session of Coetus, May 27-30, 1755, ibid., 3546-51; Acts of Coetus, Oct. 7-9, 1755, ibid., 3597-9.

parties. The Classis faction, which retained the name of Coetus, claimed that it was saving the purity of the Dutch Church from the designs of the Anglicans. The anti-Coetus group, which later took the name of Conferentie, countered that it was saving the Church from Presbyterianism.⁶⁷

The anti-Coetus party, sensitive to the position of the Church in New York, denied that subordination to the Classis of Amsterdam might conflict with its members' position as subjects of Great Britain. It maintained that subordination meant only that the Dutch Reformed Church in New York was governed according to the constitution of the Church of the Netherlands, and as a consequence the Dutch Church was not simply tolerated as a dissenter group but rather accepted as an established church. To separate from the Classis of Amsterdam might jeopardize this position.⁶⁸ The Conferentie party wanted the Classis of Amsterdam to have the Ambassador of the States-General in Great Britain request the King to protect them from the Domines, who, it charged, were suppressing the liberties of the Dutch Church through "a spirit of independency." It hoped the King would be sympathetic since the Dutch Church had always been regarded by the Anglicans as a national church and individual churches had been granted charters by the government of New York.⁶⁹ Frelinghuysen's zeal for a

⁶⁷Mancius and Consistory at Kingston to Classis of Amsterdam, June 27, 1755, ibid., 3564; Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Nov. 5, 1754, ibid., 3519; Coetus to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 14, 1755, ibid., 3610.

⁶⁸Ritzema to John Wynkoop, Aug. 6, 1764, in Acts and Proceedings of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church in North America (2 vols., New York, 1859), I, cxx.

⁶⁹Conferentie to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 22, 1765, ibid., cxxv-cxxvi.

Dutch Academy seemed excessive to some Dutch ministers. Opponents of an American Classis and of a Dutch Academy included Domines Curtinius, Haeghoort, Ritzema, De Ronde, Vander Linde, Peck, De Groot, Leydecker, Westervelt, Marinus, and Schuyler.⁷⁰ Among them were some men who had always opposed a Coetus. Ritzema and De Ronde, who had been leaders of the Coetus, joined the Conferentie when their Consistory at New York opposed an American Classis. Heghoort, Curtinius, and Erickzon were also former members of the Coetus. Uneasy when the Coetus ordained ministers without permission from the Classis of Amsterdam, they feared that these new proposals were too extreme and broke with the Coetus.

The Classis of Amsterdam supported the position of the opponents of an American Classis. It was "displeased" at the idea of a Dutch Academy because it could not see any source of authority, money, or professors for the undertaking and opposed an American Classis intended only, as they charged, to satisfy the ambitions of a few individuals. A Classis would not destroy the factionalism that had plagued the Coetus because without a government to support it, a Classis would be no more powerful than a Coetus. Ordination of ministers in the colonies was not desirable because there was no place for the proper preparation of candidates. Furthermore, a Classis would alienate the colonial church from its homeland. Authorities on the Classis could not believe that distance presented difficulties to the Church in the East Indies, and so thought that the Church in North America could also survive. They also asserted that a Coetus was a proper

⁷⁰Opponents of an American Classis to Classis of Amsterdam, Sept. 30, 1755, ERNY, V, 3589-90.

body in the Dutch Church-Order, similar to groups with other names in the Cape Colony, in Batavia, and in Surinam.⁷¹

Ritzema was convinced that for the party forming the American Classis the "single test-question now is as to whether they have the Spirit. Learning is not of so much consequence. And, what is infinitely worse, such men are called Independents. Already a well-thought-out sermon is getting to be called 'literary work'" To preach "extempore -- that is the preaching of the Spirit" was best they thought.⁷² He argued that, despite Frelinghuysen's claims, favoring or opposing true piety was not in question. The true Church-Order should be applied "without respect to persons, whether one bears the name of being pious or not; because our action does not concern one's inward experience, but one's actions, so far as these are known" ⁷³

The Classis of Amsterdam continued to urge reunion while it refused permission for ordination in America. It did agree to accept those ministers already ordained by the Coetus and promised, if the division were ended, to consider allowing examination of candidates by the unified body. The Classis was concerned lest the disturbance bring the loss of privileges which the Church has enjoyed. Recognizing that the use of the Dutch language was declining, it argued that language changes had nothing to do with subordination to the Classis. The "Church can be preserved, although the language changes. Those who speak English can pursue their

⁷¹Classis of Amsterdam to Coetus, Dec. 9, 1755, ibid., 3636-40.

⁷²Ritzema to Classis of Amsterdam, June 16, 1758, ibid., 3714.

⁷³Ritzema to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 13, 1755, ibid., 3607.

studies in our University These may then be examined through the Latin tongue, and ordained"74

The Classis, in its comments on the relation of language to subordination of the American Church, had accepted an almost inevitable conclusion: that English would become the language of the Dutch Church in North America. Not all of the Dutch in America were so resigned. Because the Dutch language was a symbol of the old ways, its abandonment was a measure of the acceptance of all English customs. Many of the Dutch resisted change and clung to traditions including the use of the old language in their Church. In 1726 the Dutch Church leaders had recognized that English was increasingly used in secular affairs. Since the children were not being taught Dutch at home, it was necessary to appoint a Dutch schoolmaster in New York to be certain that the people could participate in worship and understand the sermons.⁷⁵ Language was an issue in the city of New York, on Long Island, and in New Jersey where the Dutch came into frequent contact with Englishmen. It was less of a problem, however, in some of the more isolated communities north of the city where Dutch was spoken into the nineteenth century.⁷⁶

⁷⁴Classis of Amsterdam to Consistories of New York, Jan. 13, 1761, *ibid.*, VI, 3802; Classis of Amsterdam to Coetus, Jan. 11, 1763, *ibid.*, 3853; Classis of Amsterdam to Coetus, June 3, 1765, *ibid.*, 3993; the two factions were finally united in October 1771 under rules adopted by a General Convention of the churches, *ibid.*, 4218-26.

⁷⁵Appointment of Dutch Schoolmaster, Jan. 9, 1725/26, *ibid.*, IV, 2340.

⁷⁶Bertius H. Wabeke, Dutch Emigration to North America, 1624-1860 (New York, 1944), 70; Alexander C. Flick (ed.), History of the State of New York (10 vols., New York, 1933-37), III, 71; Alice P. Kenney, "The Albany Dutch: Loyalists and Patriots," New York History, XLII (1961), 331-2.

The question seemed more pressing in times of stress, and language was involved in most of the religious controversies beginning with the complaints against Frelinghuysen and continuing through the Coetus-Conferentie dispute. Each faction claimed to be interested in the preservation of the Dutch Church and the maintenance of its true interests. Some of the charges against Frelinghuysen were his preaching in English, preaching to English congregations, or welcoming English-speaking preachers to his pulpit. The Complainants accused him of allowing English Dissenters into the Church and demanded as part of the articles of peace that no minister be permitted to preach in another language.⁷⁷ The younger Frelinghuysen's plans for a Dutch Academy included admitting non-Dutch students. He claimed that language did not matter so long as religion was preserved. The Domines who followed him frequently preached in English and this party was close to the English revivalists. Coetus members argued that it would be impossible to get a sufficient number of English-speaking ministers from Holland. But the Classis of Amsterdam did not agree, and by 1765 it was willing to send ministers who could preach in English.⁷⁸

Members of the anti-Coetus faction opposed using English in the Church as one of several departures from tradition urged by their opponents. However, their sweeping condemnation of the use of English was

⁷⁷Complainants of Raritan to Classis of Amsterdam, May 4, 1732, *ERNY*, IV, 2587; Classis of Amsterdam to Frelinghuysen, Oct. 4, 1734, *ibid.*, 2660.

⁷⁸Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Feb. 20, 1755, *ibid.*, V, 3533; Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Sept. 3, 1755, *ibid.*, 3584; Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Nov. 5, 1754, *ibid.*, 3519; Coetus to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 13, 1764, *ibid.*, VI, 3965; Classis of Amsterdam to Coetus, June 3, 1765, *ibid.*, 3993; De Ronde to Classis of Amsterdam, Oct. 29, 1765, *ibid.*, 4031.

more often rhetoric than an accurate statement of their position. In practice they did not fear contact with all Englishmen, nor did they eschew the use of English entirely. They were willing to honor a request of Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church and friend to the Dutch, to preach in English. Domine De Ronde preached in English upon request of his congregation.⁷⁹ The orthodox faction in the Dutch Church was at a disadvantage in a country where English was the predominant language. The consequences of this situation were most obvious to the Dutch in the city of New York. The Dutch Church there generally supported the anti-Coetus or Conferentie party, and change of language caused extended controversy. As early as 1748 there was talk of calling a minister who could preach in English according to the Dutch Church-Order upon the death of Du Bois. The issue was postponed until the 1760's when it was debated as a separate question, unrelated to other divisive matters. In 1762 some members of the Church in New York petitioned the Consistory to call an English-speaking minister. This request generated a counter-petition from a group that became known as the "Dutch Party." A compromise plan allowed the call of an English-speaking minister who would officiate only in the Second or New Dutch Church and preach once in Dutch every Sunday and after six to ten years a third church would be built for English services only.⁸⁰ The Dutch Party explained to the Classis of Amsterdam

⁷⁹Curtenius to Classis of Amsterdam, Feb. 20, 1755, ibid., V, 3533.

⁸⁰Du Bois to Classis of Amsterdam, Nov. 2, 1748, ibid., IV, 3038; Meeting of Consistory of New York, May 3, 1762, ibid., VI, 3818; Meeting of Consistory of New York, July 6, 1762, ibid., 3826; Meeting of Consistory of New York, Jan. 6, 1763, ibid., 3842.

that they wanted only to protect their "church in its doctrine and language." The Classis could understand this concern if it meant the "retention of the clearness of expression of thought of that language, in reference to that pure Scriptural doctrine . . . in the reformed Church." But if it meant only the "external utterances of that language, -- this is of small consequence indeed, and we are neither against it or in favor of it, except as the particular circumstances of congregations require"81 Because many members of the Church spoke English, the Classis believed that it would be wise to have an English-speaking minister to prevent members from leaving to join other churches. The Reverend Archibald Laidlie was called in 1763 to preach in English and in the following year a translation of the Heidelberg Catechism in English was approved for use in the Dutch Church in New York. The call of Laidlie did not end all opposition, however. In a final effort to prevent his preaching, the Dutch Party petitioned the Governor and Council for redress, but the petition was denied.⁸²

The Dutch language had been one issue in the political controversy of the 1750's, when Anglicans supported the use of Dutch in church services. They argued that a change to English would allow the Presbyterians

⁸¹Opponents of Laidlie to Classis of Amsterdam, July 22, 1763, *ibid.*, 3892; Classis of Amsterdam to Opponents of Laidlie, Oct. 3, 1763, *ibid.* 3898.

⁸²Acts of Consistory of New York, June 5, 1764, *ibid.*, 3924; Remonstrance against Preaching in English in the Dutch Church, July 6, 1767, *ibid.*, 4094-5; Consistory of New York to Governor and Council, Sept. 23, 1767, *ibid.*, 4104-8; for a more detailed account of the controversy including details of several proposals for compromise see Alexander J. Wall, "The Controversy in the Dutch Church in New York Concerning Preaching in English, 1754-1768," New York Historical Society Quarterly Bulletin, XII, (1928).

to seize control of the Dutch Church. At the same time the Presbyterians claimed that the Anglicans' support for the Dutch language was merely a device to split the Dutch from their brothers in the English Presbyterian Church. To keep the old language would destroy the Dutch Church, and the Anglicans could thereby acquire new members.⁸³ In addition to the practical consequences of separating the Dutch from the English Dissenters, the Anglicans had another reason for supporting the retention of the Dutch language. Like the conservative members of the Dutch Church, Anglicans also stressed form in religion. Faced with the Methodist challenge to orthodoxy, Anglicans could understand the need for many of the Dutch to cling to their traditional language. According to the position of the Church of England, choice of language was one of the non-essential practices that could be allowed each Protestant church. Colonial Churchmen in New York seemed to share this view and treated the Dutch accordingly.⁸⁴

Although the society in London was only peripherally involved with the controversies in New York and its members ignorant of the political consequences of its aid, nevertheless, its missionaries and their congregations were counted among the Anglican faction. Support of orthodoxy by the Church of England encouraged the traditionalists among the Dutch in the dispute within their own Church. The existence of a large body of people with different customs and language seemed less of a threat to

⁸³William Livingston, Preface to Independent Reflector, June 1754, ERNY, V, 3459-60.

⁸⁴Charles Inglis to SPG, Mar. 17, 1780, SPG Journal, Vol. XXII, 96.

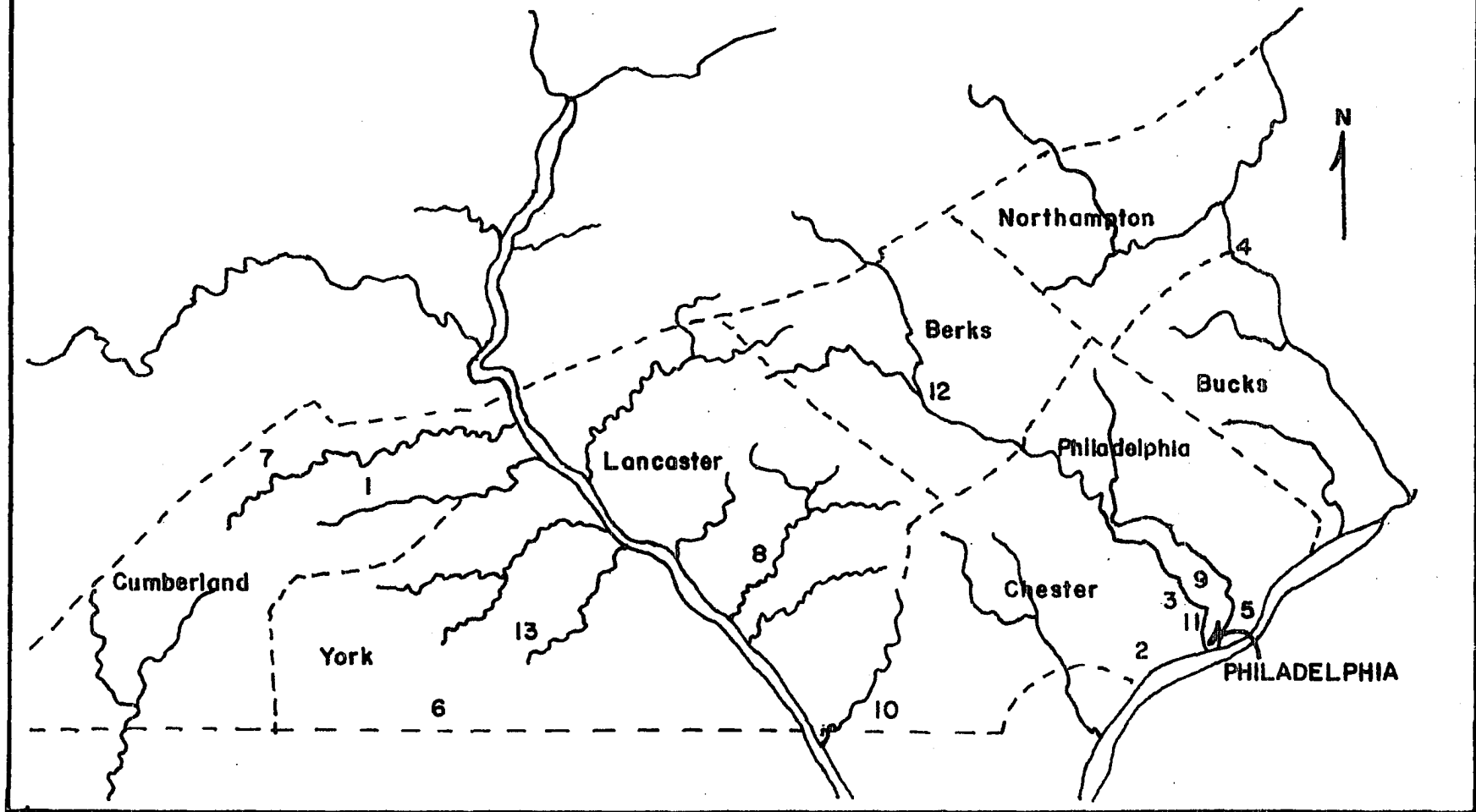
order than did the changes demanded by the reforming factions of the Churches. Because the Dutch were adopting English manners when they moved in the society at large, most colonial Churchmen were willing to allow their traditions within their churches and homes. By encouraging the retention of Dutch customs, the Anglicans were able to attract support from the conservatives in political struggles with the Presbyterians. The SPG, through aid to supplement local maintenance for the Church of England, inadvertently supported some religious usages of which it approved as well as some political activities of which it was largely unaware.

PENNSYLVANIA - THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS

(key to numbers on following map)

- 1 - Carlisle
- 2 - Chester
- 3 - Concord
- 4 - Easton
- 5 - Germantown
- 6 - Hanover
- 7 - Huntingdon
- 8 - Lancaster
- 9 - Montgomery
- 10 - Oxford
- 11 - Radnor
- 12 - Reading
- 13 - York

PENNSYLVANIA-THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS



Chapter III

The Germans in Pennsylvania

The SPG, in its contacts with the Germans in North America, encountered a different situation from that which it found with the Dutch. The Society's activities were governed by the pattern of German settlement, by the fact that the Germans belonged to a variety of sects as well as to the Lutheran and the Reformed Churches, and by the absence of a strong national church in the homeland upon which the newcomers could rely. The Germans, who made up the largest body of immigrants from outside of Great Britain, settled throughout North America but about half of them went to Pennsylvania. Alarmed lest the large numbers of new people in the mid-eighteenth century disrupt the social order, officials in the Quaker colony tried to devise a method to assimilate the Germans quickly. Like their bretheren in New York, Pennsylvania's Anglican leaders, enjoying some financial aid from the SPG, tried to attract support from a substantial body of foreign Protestants in order to improve the position of their faction. In this process, the Germans became an element in the struggle between Anglicans and Quakers for political control of Pennsylvania.

The Germans migrated to British America in many small groups of which the first, composed of Mennonites, came with Francis Daniel Pastorius in 1685 to settle Germantown in Pennsylvania. The next large group came from the Palatinate to New York in 1708-9. Heavy German

immigration began in the 1720's and reached a peak in the decade of the 1740's.¹ The term Germans is used as a convenient label for these people. Germany, representing a geographical expression rather than a national state, was made up of small political units ruled by princes, bishops, dukes, or electors. According to the principle of cuius regio, eius religio enunciated in the treaties of Westphalia in 1648, each ruler could impose religion upon his own state. The cause for emigration of German-speaking people varied according to local circumstances. Some moved because of religious controversy, more frequently they left for economic reasons. Hunger and disease sometimes prompted migration; devastation resulting from war with the French forced many people off the land. Most of the Germans who came to British America departed from states along the Rhine River that had experienced economic disaster.²

The majority of Germans, attracted originally by the promotional efforts of William Penn, settled in Pennsylvania. They arrived in small numbers during the early decades of the eighteenth century. From 1727, when the first official records were kept in Philadelphia, until the American Revolution, 68, 872 immigrants arrived of whom nearly half came between 1749 and 1754. By the time of the Revolution, an estimated

¹Fredric Klees, The Pennsylvania Dutch (New York, 1955), 15; Sydney George Fisher, The Making of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1896; reprinted New York, 1969), 75, 97-8.

²William Beidelman, The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans (Easton, Pennsylvania, 1898; reprinted, Detroit, 1969) 19-34.

one-third of Pennsylvania's population was German. Although most of the Germans resided in Pennsylvania, groups also settled in New York, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Nova Scotia. In these various colonies they received aid from the SPG, but the greatest support went to those colonies where they settled in the largest numbers.³

The relationship between the Society and the Germans was affected by the varieties of religious organization in Pennsylvania. The Society's missionary Thomas Barton found that in addition to his Anglican communicants at Lancaster he lived among "German Lutherans, Calvinists, Mennonists, Moravians, New Born, Dunkards, Presbyterians, Seceders, New Lights, Cormanters, Mountain Men, Brownists, Independents, Papists, Quakers, Jews" Among these groups he listed, Germans composed the Mennonite, Dunkard, Amish and Moravian sects as well as the Lutheran and Reformed or Calvinist Churches. The Sectarians had arrived first in Pennsylvania. A group of German "churchmen" went to New York in 1708, and in the 1720's significant numbers of churchmen had begun to arrive in Pennsylvania.⁴

³Robert Proud, The History of Pennsylvania (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1797), II, 273-4; Report of the Committee on Linguistic and National Stocks in the Population of the United States, Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1931 (2 vols., Washington, 1932), I, 291-4; Oscar Kuhns, The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania (New York, 1914), 31, 57.

⁴Thomas Barton to SPG, Mar. 15, 1765, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 14; Klees, Pennsylvania Dutch, 138.

The German sects differed from the German churches as the pietists differed from the orthodox. Instead of separating within a single organization like the Dutch Reformed and the Anglicans in the eighteenth century, these two religious modes were most significantly presented among the Germans in different organizations.⁵ While the Church of England found itself in close accord with the German churches, it was not in sympathy with the pietism of the sects. At one time Anglicans also had a special relationship to the Lutheran Church because Prince George of Denmark, husband of Queen Anne, was a Lutheran. He had endowed a German chapel at the court of St. James, and even after his death the queen retained a special affection for the Lutherans. After Anne's death the English throne passed to the Lutheran family of Hanover. In attempts to re-unite Protestantism under the Church of England, Anglican divines had examined the German Lutheran doctrine and found that the question of Episcopacy was the only important disagreement between the two churches.⁶

In the eighteenth century the Reformed Church was stronger among the Germans in North America than was the Lutheran, but most laymen perceived little difference between them. The doctrinal distinctions that kept European theologians debating meant little either to the average colonist or to many of the missionaries. Ministers frequently

⁵Lars Pederson Qualben, The Lutheran Church in Colonial America (New York, 1940), 90.

⁶Ibid., 95, 172; Klee, Pennsylvania Dutch, 81-2; Muhlenberg Journals May 31, 1751, I, 282-3; Ibid., Dec. 3, 1759, I, 422-3.

filled vacant pulpits of churches other than their own, convinced that any form of service would benefit a community that would otherwise have none.⁷ Both Reformed and Lutheran congregations were established along the Delaware River before the German church people arrived. German settlers attended services of Swedish Lutheran and Dutch Reformed, as well as Anglican, churches. Because the newcomers had no strong national church to supply them with money or ministers, the German Lutherans depended primarily upon the Swedish Church for help, while the Reformed looked to the Dutch Church in New York which was encouraged by the Classis of Amsterdam to help its co-religionists. The Church of England generally aided both. Since all of the churches suffered in comparison with the sects because of their need for trained ministers who could be ordained only in Europe, the Mother Churches, therefore, generally approved of mutual aid among the colonial churches as a temporary expediency.⁸

The position of the German churches improved after the arrival of two ministers from Europe -- the Lutheran Henry Melchior Muhlenberg and the Reformed Michael Schlatter. Before Muhlenberg arrived in 1742

⁷Qualben, Lutheran Church, 90; Klees, Pennsylvania Dutch, 72; Kuhns, German Settlements, 162.

⁸Harry M.J. Klein, The History of the Eastern Synod of the Reformed Church in the United States (Lancaster, Penn., 1943), 79; Julius H.E. Horstmann and Herbert H. Wernecke, Through Four Centuries: the Story of the Beginnings of the Evangelical and Reformed Church (St. Louis, 1938), 42-3; Klees, Pennsylvania Dutch, 77-8; SPG Journal, Feb. 19, 1747/48, Vol. XI, 4; Jonathan Oswald, (trans.), Reports of the United German Lutheran Congregation in North America, especially in Pennsylvania (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1880-1) I, 241-2 (Originally published in German as Hallische Nachrichten, Halle, 1750).

the Lutheran Church among the Germans lacked organization, had few ministers and no congregations. Muhlenberg visited Lutherans in Pennsylvania, along the Delaware, and in New York, and as a result of his efforts in organizing the first Lutheran Synod in America, he was the most influential Lutheran clergyman in the New World. From his church in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, he became the spokesman for the Lutheran Church in America and a source of information on its situation.⁹

Michael Schlatter, sent to Pennsylvania by the Synods of North and South Holland to organize the Reformed churchmen, established an Annual Synod which first met in Philadelphia in 1747. Until 1793 the Reformed Church in Pennsylvania operated under the care of the Church of Holland.¹⁰ After the German church people had been organized they were less dependent upon other churches in the colonies but continued to associate with them as brothers. Fraternal ties between the churches did not extend to relations with the sects whose pietism separated them from the churches. The sects also had the advantage of being self-contained units with no need for ministers supplied from Europe, and so they needed less aid from the outside to maintain their religion.

For the more dependent German Lutheran and Reformed help came from the Church of England. Among forty-seven missionaries sent by the SPG to Pennsylvania and Delaware, nearly all who went to the back-country of Pennsylvania had contact with the Germans. None of the

⁹Richard Charles Wolf, "The Americanization of the German Lutherans, 1683-1829," PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1947, v.

¹⁰Klein, History of Reformed Church, 22, 28, 70.

congregations in that part of the colony had a sufficient number of clergymen, and so most appointments were itinerant. The missionaries served any church people they found. The first SPG missionary to Pennsylvania, Henry Nichols, was an itinerant appointed in 1703 to Chester, Radnor, Concord, and Montgomery. The Swedish Lutheran, Andrew Rudman, was appointed to Oxford and Franklin in 1705. From that time until the Revolution, Radnor, Oxford, and Chester were continually supplied with the Society's missionaries who also visited surrounding settlements to serve the English and the Welsh who lived in the midst of Germans and Scotch-Irish.¹¹

Service to Oxford brought the minister near a large settlement at Germantown. Hugh Neill was the first SPG missionary to establish good relations with the inhabitants where there were no Anglicans, but some English families who wanted a service in English other than the Quaker, the only one available to them. The English were so divided that no one faction could afford to support a minister. When Neill proposed to preach to them on Sundays after his regular duties were completed, he was offered the use of both the German Lutheran and Reformed churches. Neill was convinced that the clergy and the congregations were more willing to have an Anglican preach where the younger Germans who spoke English might attend than to have a minister of any other denomination. Indeed he seemed to have some success among the English-speaking Germans at Germantown as well as among those at Oxford.¹²

¹¹Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 852.

¹²Hugh Neill to SPG, May 12, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 110; Neill to SPG, June 8, 1761, ibid., B. 21, No. 112; SPG Journal, Oct. 15, 1762, Vol. XV, 265-6.

Lancaster was served at first by an itinerant who was also responsible for Pequa, Carnarvon, Huntingdon, and Carlisle. The first resident Anglican minister, Richard Locke, who arrived in Lancaster in 1744, applied for and received an appointment from the SPG the following year.¹³ The post at Lancaster was filled by George Craig in 1748 and then in 1759 by Thomas Barton who remained until 1778. Locke seems to have had an abrasive personality which made relations between him and his congregation difficult.¹⁴ Craig and Barton, however, had good success with the people of their own congregation as well as with those who were not. Barton was accepted by many of the Germans, especially the Lutherans. Many of them would come to Anglican services, he speculated, if the church had an organ like the one to which they were accustomed. Toward the purchase of an organ, Doctor Kuhn, a prominent German physician in the town, gave Barton a small donation.¹⁵ The parish received additional help from the Germans in the spring of 1761 when the Anglicans held a lottery but failed to raise enough money to furnish the church, and so shortly afterward they joined the German Reformed

¹³See William F. Worner, "The Church of England in Lancaster County," Papers of the Lancaster County Historical Society, XL (1936), 79-92, 139-50; XLI (1937), 19-32.

¹⁴Ibid., XL (1936), 89.

¹⁵Barton to SPG, Dec. 6, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 8.

congregation in another lottery.¹⁶ When Trinity Lutheran Church was consecrated on May 4, 1766, the German congregation invited Barton to preach and made no objection when he used the Common Prayer Book and spoke in English.¹⁷ Barton recommended the son of Dr. Kuhn as a candidate for Holy Orders, who while he served the Lutherans as a deacon had proven himself a popular preacher. Barton urged the SPG to appoint him to a mission for both English and Germans, but after the Society reported that it had no suitable place vacant, Kuhn went to Sweden hoping to win an appointment to a Swedish mission in Pennsylvania.¹⁸ The next English mission to be established after Lancaster was an itinerant post in York and Cumberland counties. Thomas Barton, the first appointee, was welcomed by both the German Lutheran and Reformed congregations which offered him the use of their churches. Many of the Germans who understood English attended his services.¹⁹

Some of the most prominent Anglicans in Pennsylvania sought help from the SPG that would go beyond service to Germans who lived near an

¹⁶Minutes of the Vestry of St. James Church in H.M.J. Klein and William F. Diller, The History of St. James Church (Protestant Episcopal) 1744-1944 (Lancaster, Penn., 1944), 36.

¹⁷Barton to SPG, Nov. 10, 1766, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 17; Klein and Diller, History of St. James Church, 44.

¹⁸Barton to SPG, Dec. 17, 1770, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 23; Barton to SPG, June 20, 1771, ibid., No. 24; SPG Journal, Mar. 15, 1771, Vol. XIX, 19-22; Klein and Diller, History of St. James Church, 53.

¹⁹SPG Journal, Jan. 17, 1755, Vol. XIII, 8-9; ibid., Apr. 15, 1757, Vol. XIII, 262-3; ibid., June 1758, Vol. XIV, 80-2.

English mission. At the request of George Craig at Chester and William Smith, Provost of the College of Philadelphia, for example, the Society in 1762 sent a missionary to Reading and Molatton in Berks County. No English minister had ever visited the area settled mostly by Germans.²⁰ William Smith, Richard Peters, and Jacob Duche promoted the cause of the German T. Frederick Illing, who had been ordained by the Bishop of London and sent to Middletown to preach in English and German. While the Society would not grant Illing a salary, it did send him some prayer books and small tracts in English and in German.²¹

The Anglican leadership of Pennsylvania showed interest in the Germans out of more than simple concern for the state of their religion. As a result of the large German immigration, some of the colony's leaders were fearful lest the substantial body of foreigners disturb the social order. Some Anglican leaders took advantage of this apprehension to use the Germans in their own attempt to wrest political power from the Quakers. Before the mid-1750's the Germans, who were not politically

²⁰George Craig to SPG, July 17, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 46; SPG Journal, Apr. 17, 1761, Vol. XV, 77-9; William Smith to SPG, March 11, 1762, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 250; SPG Journal, Apr. 16, 1762, Vol. XV, 221-2; ibid., July 15, 1763, Vol. XV, 400-1.

²¹Smith to Col. James Burd, Dec. 22, 1773 in Horace W. Smith (ed.), The Life and Correspondence of the Rev. William Smith, DD. (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1880), I, 487; Richard Peters, William Smith, and Jacob Duche to SPG, May 17, 1774, ibid., 491; SPG Journal, June 17, 1774, Vol. XX, 164; Barton to SPG, Jan. 8, 1779, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 36.

active, generally followed the lead of the Quakers controlling the Assembly, but several circumstances combined in that decade to politicize the Germans and to assimilate them more rapidly into the colonial society.²²

Leading German as well as some of the Anglican ministers recognized the need to educate those German children whose parents were too poor to support teachers. The Reverend Michael Schlatter, originally sent by the Dutch Church to organize the Reformed congregations, returned to Holland in 1751 and collected a substantial sum of money. David Thomson, pastor of an English Reformed Church in Amsterdam, spoke on behalf of the Pennsylvania Germans during a visit to his home and received a good response both in Scotland and in England. The amount of money collected was so large that an organization was chartered in England to administer it. This group, named the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge among the Germans in Pennsylvania, allocated sums to Lutheran and Reformed ministers who taught German children. However, the most important activity of this Society, and the one to which nearly all the money collected in Europe was directed, was a project known as the Charitable School Movement for the education of poor Germans.²³

²²William S. Hanna, Benjamin Franklin and Pennsylvania Politics (Palo Alto, Cal., 1964), 14; Dietmar Rothermund, The Layman's Progress: Religious and Political Experience in Colonial Pennsylvania, 1740-1770 (Philadelphia, 1961), 118.

²³Horstmann, Through Four Centuries, 40; Arthur D. Graeff, The Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities, 1750-1776 (Norristown, Penn., 1939), 44; William Smith, A Brief History of the Charitable Scheme for Instructing the Poor Germans in Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1755), 3-6; the most complete account of this topic is Samuel E. Weber, The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1905; reprinted, New York, 1969).

That the Society's funds were channeled into this program was due largely to William Smith, the Anglican minister who had come to Pennsylvania in 1754 to take the post of Provost of the College of Philadelphia. Smith quickly became acknowledged as one of the most important spokesmen for Anglican interests in the colony and as a leader of the Proprietary Party in its struggles against the Quakers. A proponent of close ties between Anglicans and the German churches, he was a main source of information about the Germans in North America. The SPG sought his advice on appropriate kinds and amounts of aid for Germans, not only in Pennsylvania but elsewhere. In turn Smith frequently requested help from the Society and sent reports on the relationship between Anglicans and Germans.²⁴

The Charity Schools were only one means of binding the Germans to the Anglican interest but they served this purpose in several ways. In a letter to the SPG, Smith explained how the schools could be useful.

. . . their [the Germans] having no opportunity of acquiring our language, and their living in a separate body, without any probability of their incorporating with us, are most alarming By a common Education of English and German Youth at the same Schools, acquaintances and connections will be form'd and deeply impressed upon them in their cheerful and open moments. The English language and a conformity of manners will be acquired, and they may be taught to feel the meaning and exult in the enjoyment of liberty, a home and social endearments when once a few intermarriages are made between the chief families of

²⁴James H. Hutson, Pennsylvania Politics, 1746-1770: The Movement for Royal Government and Its Consequences (Princeton, N.J., 1972), 162-4; Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 89, 105; Edwin A. Garrett, "The Evolution and Early Years of the Episcopal Academy in Philadelphia," HMPEC, XXI (1962), 462; William Smith, A General Idea of the College of Mirania (New York, 1753).

the different nations in each country, which will naturally follow from school acquaintances, and the acquisition of a common language, no arts of our enemies will be able to divide them in their affection; and all the narrow distinctions of extraction, etc., will be forgot -- forever forgot -- in higher interests.²⁵

Smith expected that the schools would draw Germans toward the Church of England and away from the Quakers as well as provide a supply of students for the College of Philadelphia.²⁶

The Charity School system, based on a design by Smith, was never as extensive as he or the other original supporters had envisioned. In the colony there was a board of Trustees-General consisting of James Hamilton, Lieutenant-Governor of Pennsylvania; William Allen, Chief Justice (leader of the Old-Side Presbyterians); Benjamin Franklin, Postmaster-General; Richard Peters, Secretary of Pennsylvania (an Anglican priest); Conrad Weiser, Interpreter (a German Reformed minister and father-in-law of Muhlenberg); and William Smith.²⁷ Michael Schlatter was appointed Superintendent of the schools over the first six erected at Reading, York, Easton, Lancaster, Skippack, and Hanover. A group of Deputy-Trustees was designated to administer the operation of each

²⁵Smith to SPG, Dec. 13, 1753 in Smith, Life and Correspondence, I, 30-1.

²⁶Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 89,119; Bruce Richard Lively, "William Smith, The College and Academy of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania Politics, 1753-1758," HMPEC, XXXVIII (1969), 245-6; Smith to Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 19, 1754, Smith Papers, S, I, 8; Hanna, Benjamin Franklin, 84.

²⁷Weber, Charity School Movement, 31-2.

school. Some of these Deputies were to be German Reformed, some Lutheran, and the remainder English. Smith promised to provide a number of suitable schoolmasters from among students at the College who could speak both English and German.²⁸

The Movement began with great optimism and with the full support of the German church people. Schlatter, the leading Reformed minister, was Superintendent. Muhlenberg, the leading Lutheran minister, approving the scheme, participated in order to help the Germans adjust to colonial society while preserving the essentials of the German religion. He hoped that the scheme might solve the problem of an adequate supply of Lutheran clergymen because eventually a seminary might be built to receive the young Germans educated in the Charity Schools and was not concerned lest the schools limit the use of the German language and consequently curtail German culture because he believed it inevitable that the Germans

²⁸Ibid., 32-2, 44.

adopt English.²⁹ Churches that refused to use the English language would lose their congregations. According to Muhlenberg, language was less important than doctrine. "We should look at language as a bridge over a river," he argued. "Whether it is made of oak or of 'kuano' is not important, so long as it holds and enables us to get

²⁹There is some question about the nature of Muhlenberg's pietism. He has frequently been labelled "pietist" both by his contemporaries and by later historians of religion. The main reasons for this description seem to lie in his having studied at Halle, which was known as a center of pietism in Germany, in his friendship with the clergy and members of many different churches in the colonies, and in his advocacy of the use of English by the Germans in America. These two latter characteristics are claimed by many church historians to be "good" qualities that belonged only to the pietistic factions of Protestant churches, from which many modern American denominations trace their descent.

Muhlenberg, himself, did not seem comfortable with the label. In his Journals he claimed that "a rumor . . . [is] current only among the ignorant people . . . that the Hallesians are Pietists and not real Lutherans" (I, 446). Israel Acrelius, a Swedish Lutheran Commissary, also argued that "it was a groundless charge to call him [Muhlenberg] a 'Hallesian,' meaning thereby that he was a 'Pietist,' on account of his having been from Halle" (Acrelius, History, 249).

From the account of his life in his Journals, Muhlenberg seems to have had as many and as cordial contacts with pietists as with traditionalists. He was friendly with Englishmen of all religions, Quakers and Presbyterians as well as Anglicans, and with German, Dutch, and Swedish Lutheran and Reformed of all modes. He seems to have had infrequent encounters with the German sects.

The question of language among the Germans did not separate the churches to coincide with a pietist-liturgical division during the Great Awakening as it did in the Dutch Reformed Church in New York. That Muhlenberg advocated the use of English by the Germans in daily life and did not object to the new language in church services did not make him a pietist. This course seemed to him the only practical way for new immigrants to adjust to the colonial society. Nor did the use of a variety of languages seem strange to a German clergyman who often worked with English, Dutch, and Sweds.

Muhlenberg was a warm and understanding man who could welcome variety among his contemporaries. Those qualities frequently seem lacking among historians who have sought to put him in one or another rigid category for their own purposes.

across and toward our goal."³⁰ He preached frequently in English to provide services for English-speaking Germans as well as for the English people. Lancaster, where he resided, was the site of one of the original and most successful of the Charity Schools.³¹

Schlatter and Muhlenberg helped remove some suspicions of the German church people, but soon after its founding the program generated opposition among the German sects. They had not been a part of its founding, and their leaders, who disagreed with Muhlenberg on the importance of retaining the German language, soon became alarmed that the success of the scheme would lead to the destruction of German traditions. Moreover, the sectarians feared the Germans would ally with the Anglicans rather than with the Quakers among the English. This opposition was consolidated and strengthened by the Saur, Christopher, junior and senior, of Germantown. The colony's leading German printers during the years of the Charity School Movement, they opposed the scheme vigorously and rallied the sects against the schools while

³⁰Henry Melchior Muhlenberg to Charles Magnus Wrangel, Aug. 12, 1761, in Heinrich P. Suhr, (trans.), "Muhlenberg's Opinion on the Introduction of English in the Swedish Churches, 1761," The Lutheran Church Quarterly, XIII (1940), 83-4.

³¹Hanna, Benjamin Franklin, 68-9; Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 93; the school is described in William F. Worner, "The Charity School Movement in Lancaster County," Lancaster Historical Society Publications, XVII (1938), 5-11; Weber, The Charity School Movement, 33-4; Wolf, "Americanization of the German Lutherans," 191-2; Muhlenberg Journals, Nov. 6, 1768, II, 372.

they helped turn the original sympathies of many churchmen who now began to fear the end of the German language.³²

Schlatter faced such strong opposition that he resigned as Superintendent in 1756. The Trustees sought to counter attacks by the Saur by purchasing a press from Franklin and by publishing their own paper from 1755 to 1757, but they had few subscribers and great financial problems. Despite their efforts, the Trustees were never able to compete successfully with the Saur.³³ The Trustees-General originally intended to open twenty-five schools, but established no more than twelve. With the resignation of Schlatter and opposition from the Germans intensifying, the Movement lost its initial momentum. Beginning in 1760 the irregular financial support from the Society in London compounded the continual burden of finding a supply of schoolmasters. The scheme disintegrated under its problems, and the last school was closed in 1764.³⁴

³²Smith to Thomas Penn, May 1, 1755, Thomas Penn Papers, Roll 8, 159-63; Kuhns, German Settlements, 147-8; Christopher Saur to Conrad Weiser, Sept. 16, 1755, in Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 172; Weber, The Charity School Movement, 34-5, 39; Muhlenberg, "Opinion on English in the Swedish Churches," 79-85.

³³Smith to Thomas Penn, July 2, 1755, Thomas Penn Papers, Roll 8, 198-9.

³⁴Muhlenberg Journals, July 8, 1763, I, 648; Worner, "Charity School Movement in Lancaster County," 9, 58-9; Francis Alison to William Smith, June 24, 1762, Smith Papers, S,I, 37.

The failure of the Charity School Movement did not mean that the Anglicans failed in their attempts to generate political support from among the Germans. During the course of the Movement, Anglicans and German churchmen worked closely, and this co-operation reinforced the tendency toward union that was founded on political issues of the 1750's. Before that decade the Germans followed Quaker leadership which had not yet been seriously challenged by the numerically inferior Proprietary interest. The vulnerability of western settlements to attack by Indians and French caused a crisis for the government of the pacifist Quakers. Germans and Scots-Irish living on the frontier demanded protection during the threat of war. They wanted increased appropriations for defense, an adequate militia law, and more representation in the Assembly for the western counties. The Anglican Proprietary faction supported these demands and succeeded in securing a militia law and a small increase in representation.³⁵

While the Proprietary part did not win control of the Assembly the controversy did awaken many Germans to their political interests. The conflict created two factions. The first was a Proprietary party basing its power on the appointive offices controlled by the Penn family and consisting of Anglicans, German churchmen, and Old-Side Presbyterians led by Chief Justice William Allen. In the 1750's it also included Benjamin Franklin, who worked with the Charity School Movement.

³⁵Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 120; Dietmar Rothermund, "The German Problem of Colonial Pennsylvania," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, LXXXIV (1960), 5-6; Muhlenberg Journals, Nov. 1748, I, 212; Smith to Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 22, 1755, in Smith, Life and Correspondence, I, 119.

This faction was opposed by Quakers who controlled the elective Assembly, supported by those Germans in the sects which shared the religious pietism and pacifism of the Quakers.³⁶ This alignment held in 1764 when the German churches united with Anglicans and Old-Side Presbyterians in opposing an attempt to dissolve the proprietorship and make Pennsylvania a royal colony. The Quakers, joined now by Franklin, had conceived the idea as a means of destroying Proprietary interests. The German churchmen, led by Muhlenberg, and the Swedish Lutherans, led by Commissary Charles Magnus Wrangel, believed that they were safer to insist on the preservation of their liberties enjoyed under the Proprietors than to risk any change.³⁷ Upon the urging of William Allen and William Smith, Governor John Penn in 1765 granted charters of incorporation to the Lutheran and to the Reformed Churches in Pennsylvania to reward them for their support and to attach them more securely to the Proprietary cause.³⁸

Despite the efforts of the Proprietary Party, this factional alignment began to disintegrate in 1766. Allen and Smith differed on the question of an Anglican bishop for the colonies. The Presbyterians'

³⁶Hutson, Pennsylvania Politics, 160; Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 98-101.

³⁷Hutson, Pennsylvania Politics, 162-4, 173; Hanna, Benjamin Franklin, 161; Muhlenberg Journals, Oct. 3, 1764, II, 123; William Allen to Thomas Penn, Oct. 21, 1764, Thomas Penn Papers Roll 9, 269.

³⁸Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 104; Gov. John Penn to Thomas Penn, Oct. 14, 1765, Thomas Penn Papers, Roll 9, 340-1.

shift away from the Anglican faction, which had begun as "Old-Sides" and "New-Sides" reconciled some of the differences of the Great Awakening, was confirmed with the parting of these two leaders. After 1766 the Germans did not play as strong or positive role as they had previously. While the German Churches moved closer to the Presbyterians because they did not support an American bishop, Presbyterians and German churchmen began to dominate the Proprietary Party and Anglican influence declined.³⁹

The SPG was only peripherally associated with either the Charity School Movement or the Anglican's political struggles in Pennsylvania, but in some measure its aid supported both. Well-informed about the nature and purposes of the Charity School Movement through the reports of William Smith, officials of the Society were in agreement with the need for educating both German and English children and also approved of co-operation with the foreign Protestants. Members of the SPG contributed to the Society incorporated in London, but the Movement did not interfere with the SPG's own support of schoolmasters. The need was too great for any one organization to meet, moreover, the SPG never administered schools; rather it provided money for salaries and sent books. Since it never gave the entire salary needed by a schoolmaster or by a missionary who also taught, it always welcomed aid from any charitable source and especially contributions from other European

³⁹Hutson, Pennsylvania Politics, 208, 213; Rothermund, Layman's Progress, 125-6.

churches. Whenever possible missionaries served as Deputy-Trustees and as schoolmasters with full approval of the SPG.⁴⁰

While the SPG knew of and approved of the Charity School Movement, it is doubtful that its officials understood the political controversy in Pennsylvania. Nor would the Society have thought it appropriate to interfere, especially since the interests of the Church were well-protected in that colony. But, in fact, the SPG did have an effect on Anglican political fortunes. Its salaries for missionaries and schoolmasters strengthened the Church and so also the Anglican faction in that colony, and its affinity with the Lutheran and Reformed Churches in Europe and their congregations in the British colonies permitted the Society to endorse the attempts of its missionaries and other Anglican ministers to develop good relations with the German churchmen. Therefore, the Anglicans in Pennsylvania found it natural to seek political support from the German churches.

The Society considered William Smith the leading Anglican spokesman in the colony. Although it granted him a salary as missionary to Oxford from 1770 to 1775, it never supported him in the years of his most important political activity. It did, however, rely upon him as a source of information on the state of the Church in Pennsylvania and often sought his advice about requests it received from Anglican congregations or from its own missionaries. The SPG also consulted Smith

⁴⁰Smith to SPG, Dec. 13, 1753 in *Smith, Life and Correspondence*, I, 29-38; Smith to Bishop of Oxford, Nov. 1, 1756, *Smith Papers*, S, I, 20; Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Penn, Richard Penn, and Samuel Chandler to Trustees-General of the Charity Schools [?], Apr. 9, 1764, *Smith Papers*, S, I, 41.

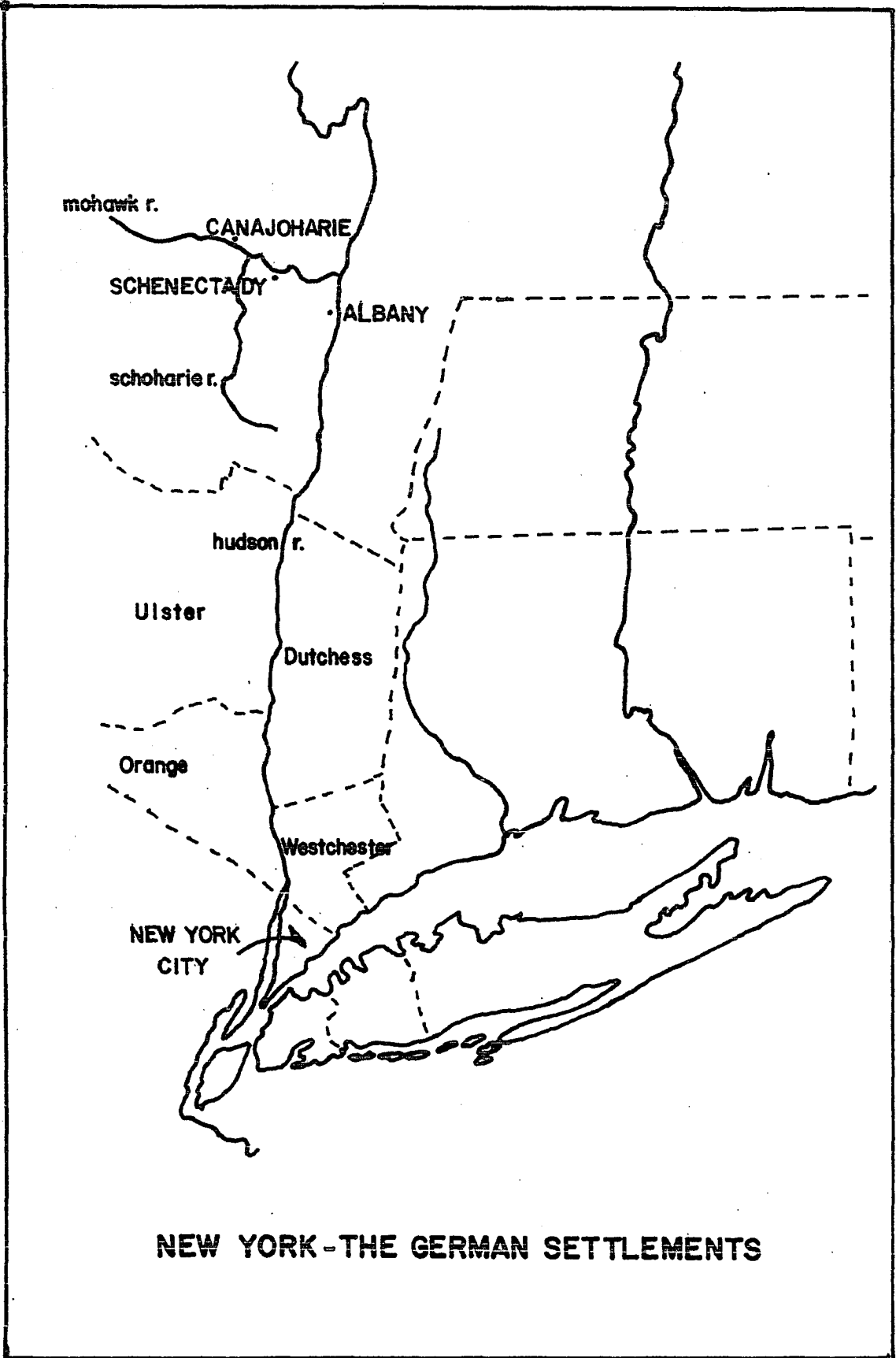
on the needs of the Germans in other colonies.⁴¹ Smith used his station to advantage while he informed the Society of his plans for the Charity Schools and he offered advice about aid to the Germans. At his request the SPG appointed Thomas Barton, his protege from the College of Philadelphia, as itinerant in York and Cumberland counties from 1754 to 1758 and then as itinerant at Lancaster, Pequa, and Carnarvon in 1759. Barton served as Smith's representative to the Germans living in these areas in order to encourage their alliance with the Proprietary Party.⁴²

Anglican leaders in Pennsylvania were able to use the kinship of the Church of England to the German churches in their political activities. In the Charity School Movement they tried to assimilate the Germans quickly into colonial society and received support from most of the German church leaders who believed that loss of their own language would not destroy the essentials of their religion. Pietistic sects, which led the opposition, were joined by some churchmen more traditional than their ministers. For a few years the Anglicans enjoyed the support of the German churches while they struggled with the Quakers over defense of the colony, but this alliance foundered on the issue of an American bishop. The Germans, who had rejected an episcopal form of church

⁴¹Smith to Bishop of Oxford, Nov. 1, 1756, Smith Papers, S, I, 20; Bishop of Oxford to William Smith, Feb. 1, 1755, ibid., S, I, 10; SPG to William Smith, Dec. 4, 1766, ibid., S, I, 53; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 852.

⁴²Lively, "William Smith," 248; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 851; Barton to William Smith, Aug. 15, 1755, Smith Papers, S, I, 14; Smith to Archbishop of Canterbury, Oct. 19, 1754, ibid., S, I, 8.

government, opposed attempts to have the Church of England send a bishop to the colonies. Although the Society's aid to Germans in Pennsylvania enhanced the efforts of the Anglican faction in that colony, the SPG was largely unaware of the political consequences of its bounty. In Pennsylvania, as in New York, the effects of the Society's contributions were governed by the interests and desires of the Anglican leadership in that colony and not by the SPG.



NEW YORK - THE GERMAN SETTLEMENTS

Chapter IV

The Germans Elsewhere in North America

Although most Germans resided in Pennsylvania, others settled in nearly all of the remaining mainland colonies. The SPG did not aid all German immigrants, but it did send substantial help to large German colonies in New York and Nova Scotia and lesser amounts to scattered communities in Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In accordance with its practice in Pennsylvania, the Society aided only the German churches and not the sects. Nowhere else, however, were the settlements large enough either to affect factional political struggles in the manner of the Germans in Pennsylvania or to generate fears of social disorder that prompted Pennsylvania leaders to press for rapid assimilation of the newcomers. But because of the small number of German colonists in relation to the size of the communities where they settled, German customs and language were lost more quickly than they were in Pennsylvania. Although effects on colonial factions were minimal, the SPG's bounty to these Germans produced another sort of political consequence to Nova Scotia and to New York. In these provinces the Society responded to the Board of Trade, an agency of the British government, which sponsored colonization programs to achieve certain political and military objectives for the Empire.

The first instance of help to these Germans occurred shortly after the Society's founding when it was requested by the Board of Trade in 1708

to aid the "poor Palatines" who were to be settled in New York.¹ Forced from their homes by famine and local destruction by French armies, these people stirred the sympathies of Queen Anne of England. Great Britain received about 11,000 refugees of Lutheran, Reformed, and Catholic faith, but the government had no further plans for the newcomers who settled near London. Because their needs overwhelmed the capacity of local relief, the Church of England undertook a charity drive, collecting funds throughout the kingdom. After the first benevolent impulse slackened, the presence of the Palatines created difficulties. The lower classes of London resented their competition for poor relief and for jobs; the upper classes feared a rising crime rate and disliked the added financial burden. Because the British government had no plans for the Palatines beyond accepting them into the country, its efforts at re-settlement were largely responses to the immediate problems that the destitute Palatines brought to the London area.² A small number of families were settled with government help in Limerick in southwestern Ireland. Another group led by Baren Christopher de Graffenreid migrated to North Carolina where they took up land at New Born on the Neuse River. The largest group was re-located in New York under the direction of the government.³

¹The only comprehensive account of the scheme for settling the Palatines in New York is a monograph by Walter A. Knittle, The Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration (Philadelphia, 1936).

²Ibid., 1-27, 65-71.

³Ibid., 82, 98.

The need to re-settle a substantial number of the Palatine immigrants coincided with consideration of plans to encourage the production of naval stores within the Empire. Britons depended upon the Baltic countries for their major source of naval stores. While British officials disliked the high prices resulting from the Swedish monopoly, they feared that the supply of these vital products might be disrupted by war. An act of Parliament in 1705 enabled the government to send the Palatines to New York, settle them on suitable land, and give them enough supplies and equipment to begin production of naval stores. In this manner, the British hoped to recover losses incurred in relief of the Palatines from the savings on naval stores, while securing a dependable supply of the products. Furthermore, the frontiers of New York would be buttressed by the additional settlers.⁴

The Palatines were to be located on several tracts of land. One, 6300 acres on the west side of the Hudson River about ninety miles from New York City, was already owned by the Crown. An equal amount of land on the east side of the River was purchased from Robert Livingston in addition to 800 more acres nearby.⁵ When the main body of Palatines, nearly 2500 people, arrived in 1709, most of them went to the allotted

⁴Ibid., 111, 132-8.

⁵Ibid., 156-8; I. K. Steele, Politics of Colonial Policy: The Board of Trade in Colonial Administration, 1696-1720 (London, 1968), 117-8, 121-2.

tracts, although some never left New York City. In 1711, there were approximately 1900 destitute Palatines on the Hudson and over 300 still in New York.⁶

The scheme for producing naval stores never succeeded because the British government did not continue its support and relied for most of the financing on provincial authorities who were not prepared to sustain the venture. The Palatines complained that they were not given enough supplies and that the land chosen was unsuited for producing naval stores. Lacking experience and proper training, they manufactured inferior naval products. When Governor Robert Hunter announced in September 1712 that the Palatines would have to subsist on their own because his credit was exhausted, some of the Germans moved to the Schoharie Valley, north and west of the lands originally allocated to them.⁷ Within five years of their arrival, the Palatines had scattered. Many went to other colonies, especially to Pennsylvania; others went to the Schoharie Valley or settled on land purchased from the Indians in the Mohawk Valley. Many remained on the Livingston Manor as tenants.

Part of the government's plan included provision for the spiritual welfare of the Palatines. A Lutheran minister, Joshua Kocherthall, accompanied a small advance party in 1708, while the Reformed minister,

⁶Glenn Weaver, "John Frederick Hager, SPG Missionary to the Palatines," HMPEC, XXVII (1958), 113.

⁷Knittle, Palatine Emigration, 188-9, 205; Fisher, Making of Pennsylvania, 108-9.

John Frederic Hager, went with the main body a year later. Even before the government had decided to send the Palatines to New York, the SPG had received requests to aid them with a German-speaking minister and some liturgies in German.⁸ When the Society agreed to supply a minister to the emigrants, it accepted testimonials from John Frederic Hager, who was ordained in Anglican Orders and preached and read prayers to the satisfaction of a committee of the Society.⁹ Hager faced difficulties in his efforts to convert the Palatines to the Church of England. Kocherthall, who had arrived in New York before Hager, had separated Lutherans from Reformed and was preaching to the former. The Reformed resented the Lutherans being allowed to retain their old practices while they were pressured to conform to the Church of England by the Society's missionary.¹⁰ Kocherthall requested support from the Society because his salary from the government was insufficient to maintain his family. He admitted that the Lutherans were averse to joining the Anglican Church, but he promised to try to win them over. To show good faith, he sought to persuade them to conform by reading from the Book of Common Prayer. He administered the Eucharist with the form of bread used in the Church of England while the people were kneeling,

⁸SPG Journal, May 16, 1709, App. B, No. 134; *ibid.*, May 20, 1709, Vol. I, 382.

⁹*Ibid.*, Dec. 16, 1709, Vol. I, 429; *ibid.*, Dec. 30, 1709, Vol. I, 435.

¹⁰John Frederic Hager to SPG, July 25, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 6, No. 21; Morris to SPG, July 25, 1710, *ibid.*, A. 5, No. 143; SPG Journal, Mar. 17, 1709/10, Vol. I, 469.

according to Anglican practice, instead of standing as was the Lutheran custom. However, due to opposition from older members of his congregation, he could do no more.¹¹ The SPG decided that it could not make Kocherthall a missionary because he was not in Anglican orders. It did, however, grant him several gratuities for his efforts to convert the Lutherans.¹²

The authorities in New York welcomed the Society's help because the colonial government was burdened with support of the Palatines until they could become self-sufficient. Officials planned to encourage assimilation by the Germans as quickly as possible. To that end, James Du Pre, the Commissary who had come with the Palatines from London, sought Society funds for a schoolmaster who could teach the children English. He argued, with support from Hager, that if this extra expense were borne for a short time, eventually there would be no need to maintain separate German ministers.¹³ Attempting to reduce its obligations the Society decided that it could not afford additional responsibilities. In fact, it petitioned the Crown to take over Hager's salary as well as that of its Missionary, Interpreter, and Schoolmaster to the Mohawk Indians in New York.¹⁴

¹¹Joshua Kocherthall to SPG, Nov. 15, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 6, No. 45; SPG Journal, May 18, 1711, Vol. II, 40; Kocherthall to SPG, June 12, 1713, SPG Letters, A. 9, 103.

¹²SPG Journal, Sept. 17, 1714, Vol. II, 397.

¹³James du Pre to SPG, n.d. [late March 1711/12], SPG Letters, A. 7, 12-3; du Pre to SPG, Mar. 20, 1711/12, SPG Letters, C. 1; SPG Journal, Oct. 24, 1718, Vol. III, 408-9.

¹⁴Ibid., Jan. 11, 1716/17, Vol. III, 194; ibid., Oct. 18, 1717, Vol. III, 311-2.

The SPG discontinued Hager's salary in 1717. When it was not assumed by the government, a petition on his behalf to the Society asserted that his people were too poor to support him. The SPG responded with a shipment of Common Prayer books in German and a gratuity of £50.¹⁵ After Kocherthall died in 1720 and Hager two years later, the Germans, bereft of any minister, petitioned the Society. Because some Germans were sailing for New York accompanied by their own minister, the SPG decided to see whether the newcomers settled near the petitioners. If so, the new minister could serve them all.¹⁶ But the Palatines had scattered far from their original settlements near the Hudson. John James Ehlig, the new minister, found, like his predecessors, that the Palatines were too greatly dispersed to be served adequately by one minister but at the same time they were too poor to support any clergyman. Ehlig begged that the Society allow him the salary formerly sent to Hager. Still unwilling to increase its permanent commitments, the SPG promised only to grant him an occasional sum upon proof of his ministry.¹⁷

¹⁵Petition of Jeremiah Long, July 21, 1721, SPG Letters, C. 1; SPG Journal, Aug. 18, 1721, Vol. IV, 167; ibid., Nov. 17, 1721, Vol. IV, 179.

¹⁶Petition of a German Minister at Kingsburg to Gov. Burnet, Aug. 1722, SPG Letters, A. 16, 237; SPG to Burnet, Aug. 30, 1722, SPG Letters, A. 16, 264; SPG Journal, Aug. 17, 1722, Vol. IV, 227.

¹⁷ibid., Nov. 20, 1724, Vol. V, 13-4; ibid., Jan. 21, 1725/26, Vol. V, 76; ibid., Mar. 19, 1730/31, Vol. V, 290-1; ibid., May 21, 1736, Vol. VII, 33-4.

John Jacob Oel, a German who had received Anglican Orders in London, also sailed with the Germans in 1722. He officiated to the Palatines who had moved to the Mohawk River near Mohawk Flats. The Calvinists whom he served rejected the liturgy of the Church of England, and when these Palatines left, Oel moved to Conajaharie and preached to the whites and Indians there. The Society never supported him as a missionary to the Germans, but, after receiving his petitions and reports of him from Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity Church, the SPG appointed him to the Indian mission at Albany.¹⁸ Upon the failure of the project to produce naval stores, the Germans in New York moved from their original settlements. Once they scattered, the responsibility of the SPG under its obligation to the original request from the Board of Trade ceased. Thereafter, the Society helped the Palatines only occasionally.

Yet another request from the Board of Trade involved the SPG in a further scheme to settle Germans in America. Some decades after the re-settlement of the impoverished Palatines, the Society provided support for the religion of the foreign Protestants sent to Nova Scotia by the British government. Great Britain had acquired Acadia from the French by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, but would never securely control it

¹⁸John Jacob Oel to SPG, July 20, 1743, SPG Letters, B. 13, 318-9; Henry Barclay to SPG, Nov. 7, 1748, ibid., B. 16, 55-8; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 856.

until the territory was filled with settlers loyal to Britain. However, serious difficulties hindered any such undertaking. In 1729 the Commission of Trade at Whitehall reported:

greater encouragement will be necessary to induce people to settle in Nova Scotia . . . a country without defence exposed to the fury of the savage Indians and to the encroachments of the French . . . the public must be at some expence to make any schemes for this purpose effectual, and that the terms must be more advantageous to the adventurers, than these that are to be met with the colonies already settled.¹⁹

The government did nothing to consolidate its rule until the War of the Austrian Succession underlined the precarious position of Nova Scotia within the Empire.²⁰ The Board of Trade in 1749 under the presidency of the Earl of Halifax developed a plan that included diverting part of the large non-English immigration to North America into Nova Scotia. The idea attracted further support from Governor William Shirley of Massachusetts, one of the most outspoken proponents of settling Nova Scotia. The organizers did not intend to intermingle the settlers, rather to establish separate towns for the foreigners.²¹ Under this plan, between 1749 and 1752, 2724 foreign Protestants composed of Germans, French, and both French and German-speaking Swiss were sent to Nova Scotia. Landing at Halifax, most of

¹⁹Council of Trade and Plantations to the Committee of the Privy Council, June 7, 1727, Calendars of State Papers, Colonial, Series, America and West Indies, 1726-1727 (38 vols., London, 1860-), No. 586, p. 298.

²⁰W. Stewart MacNutt, The Atlantic Provinces: The Emergence of a Colonial Society, 1712-1857 (Toronto, 1965), 12-3.

²¹Winthrop Bell, The Foreign Protestants and the Settlement of Nova Scotia (Toronto, 1961), 11, 16-7, 317-23, 86.

them moved to Lunenburg when that town, westward along the coast from Halifax, was laid out. The Board suspended the migration of foreign Protestants in 1752 because of the danger of attack from the French and the Indians. Although the scheme was not officially abandoned, colonization never resumed.²²

An integral part of the settlement plan was the provision for a religious establishment for the settlers. The Board of Trade requested the SPG grant salaries for a minister and a schoolmaster for each township laid out and appoint a man qualified for each position. The Society quickly resolved to supply six school masters and six clergymen of the Church of England for Nova Scotia and to allow each the highest salary ever granted to that time in addition to a substantial subsidy to help them settle. Because the colonization plan was never fully implemented, the Society never maintained as many missionaries and schoolmasters as it had promised. It joined with the SPCK to furnish Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, Catechisms, and other religious works.²³ Anxious to accommodate the foreign Protestants, the Society in November 1751 appointed Peter Christian Berger, a Reformed minister, and sent

²²George W. Hill, "History of St. Paul's Church, Halifax, Nova Scotia," Collections of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, I (1879), 46; Bell, Foreign Protestants and Nova Scotia, 109-10, 208, 284.

²³Minutes of the Board of Trade, Apr. 5, 1749, Journal of the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1749/50-1753 (14 vols., London, 1920-1938), 401; Minutes of the Board of Trade, Apr. 13, 1749, Ibid., 406-7; SPG to John Pownell, Sec. of Board of Trade, Apr. 1749, SPG Letters, B. 17, 194-5; SPG Journal, Mar. 16, 1749/50, Vol. XI, 209.

over some Bibles and Common Prayer Books in German. Berger disappeared on his way to America and was presumed to have been lost at sea.²⁴ Until the SPG could find a suitable replacement, it urged John Breynton, missionary to the English at Halifax, to learn German. To help him, it sent a German grammar and dictionary as well as the Book of Common Prayer. At his request it sent spelling books and catechisms for the children of the foreign Protestants. The Society made an allowance to Robert Vincent, an English missionary at Lunenburg, to teach the German children English.²⁵ Vincent found that many Germans, preferring to keep their own language, resisted his attempts to teach their children. The Society authorized an assistant for Vincent hoping that an English teacher would be more acceptable if he were of no expense to the Germans, who paid part of Vincent's salary.

The Germans wanted a minister of their own. They were satisfied neither with the Englishman Breynton nor with J.B. Moreau, who officiated to them while filling his appointment to the French Protestants at Lunenburg. The Germans mostly Lutheran and Reformed, while not averse to joining the Church of England were disturbed that their children

²⁴Minutes of the Board of Trade, Mar. 28, 1754, Trade and Plantation Journal, 1754-1758, 22; SPG Journal, Nov. 15, 1751, Vol. XII, 74-5.

²⁵SPG to John Breynton, Apr. 10, 1753, SPG Letters, B. 20, 25; Robert Vincent to SPG, Jan. 12, 1763, ibid., B. 25, No. 20; Lt. Gov. Jonathan Belcher to SPG, Feb. 3, 1763, ibid., B. 25, No. 21; SPG Journal, Feb. 16, 1753, Vol XII, 210-1; ibid., Mar. 16, 1753, Vol. XII, 236; ibid., May 17, 1754, Vol XII, 356-7; ibid., Oct. 19, 1759, Vol XIV, 197-8; ibid., Apr. 16, 1762, Vol. XV, 210-2.

were growing up without a schoolmaster or clergyman who used their own language. Apprehensive lest the older German people turn from the English should they be disappointed in their desires, the government of Nova Scotia, nevertheless, sought to absorb the foreigners as quickly as possible.²⁶ As Governor Charles Lawrence remonstrated in asking for an English minister who could speak German:

the old inhabitants are sufficiently acquainted with the English Language, and the young people scarce speak in any other Tongue; that by this means, in a little time, the German Language may fall into disuse, and with it, their manners and Customs, so apt to create Differences, and to prevent a thorough union and Harmony with the rest of His Majesty's Subjects.²⁷

When the Germans at Lunenburg threatened to build their own meeting house and to call a German minister, Vincent and Breynton appealed to the SPG for a missionary who could officiate both in German and in English.²⁸ In considering their request the Society asked William Smith and Richard Peters of Pennsylvania to recommend a qualified person. They suggested Paulus Bryzelius, a Lutheran minister, who also received testimonials from Henry M. Muhlenberg and Charles M. Wrangel, Commissary of the Swedish Lutheran Church. After Bryzelius took Anglican Orders

²⁶Address of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia to Gov. Charles Lawrence, Jan. 5, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 11; Vincent to SPG, Apr. 29, 1765, ibid., B. 25, No. 65.

²⁷Gov. Lawrence to Board of Trade, Jan. 12, 1760, ibid., B. 25, No. 5.

²⁸Breynton to SPG, June 14, 1765, ibid., B. 25, No. 67; SPG Journal, July 15, 1763, Vol. XV, 388-94; Vincent to SPG, June 19, 1764, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 46.

he was sent to the Germans and the English at Lunenburg.²⁹ Officials in Nova Scotia urged Bryzelius to preach frequently to English in order to familiarize the children with the liturgy in that language. The appointment of Bryzelius did not satisfy the unhappy Germans, however. The Reformed among them had written to the Coetus at Philadelphia for a minister; the Lutherans also planned to seek a minister. A conference of the ministers in Nova Scotia suggested that a German deacon or schoolmaster to assist Bryzelius, who should be recommended by Muhlenberg, might induce some of the Germans to return to the established church.³⁰ After the death of Bryzelius in 1763, Peter de la Roche, missionary to the French-speaking settlers at Lunenburg, assumed his duties with the help of William Ellis, an English itinerant. The Germans complained that like the French they ought to have their own minister. The Society tried to help de la Roche as they had Breynton by sending him a German grammar and a dictionary in addition to a collection of

²⁹Paulus Bryzelius to SPG, Dec. 18, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 25, No. 115; Luther Rudolf to Sebastian Zeuberbuhler, June 10, 1767, *ibid.*, B. 25, No. 109; SPG to William Smith, Feb. 28, 1767, Smith Papers, S, I, 54; Smith to SPG, Dec. 15, 1766, SPG Letters, B. 21, No. 255; Muhlenberg summarized the entire affair in Muhlenberg Journals, Nov. 6, 1768, II, 370-2.

³⁰Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, Oct. 6, 1769, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 139; William Smith to Bishop of London, Dec. 18, 1766, The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, VIII, 31-3; Proceedings of the Committee of Correspondence, Mar. 13, 1770, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 147; SPG Journal, Mar. 17, 1769, Vol. XVIII, 106-8.

sermons in German that he could read to the congregation.³¹ While de la Roche remained, the Lunenburg Germans received no other minister, but they were appeased after his appointment was broadened to include the entire settlement rather than the French alone. When de la Roche left, the SPG in 1785 appointed Michael Houseal, a German minister who fled New York at the end of the American Revolution to receive Anglican Orders in London. The Society continued to support a missionary to the Germans through the first decades of the next century.³²

The larger communities of Germans in New York and Nova Scotia attracted the bulk of assistance from the SPG to Germans outside of Pennsylvania. The Society rendered limited aid to settlements scattered in other colonies and on occasion refused appeals for aid, but it had no contact at all with many Germans. For example, a Swiss nobleman, Baron Christopher de Graffenreid, stopped in London with a group of 1500 German-speaking Swiss on his way to North America. The Queen arranged for 650 of the poor Palatines in London to join his company. De Graffenreid arrived in December 1710 to settle in North Carolina on a tract of land

³¹*Ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1773, Vol. XX, 24; *ibid.*, Dec. 17, 1773, Vol. XX, 26-8; *ibid.*, Jan. 21, 1774, Vol. XX, 70; *ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1775, Vol. XX, 296-300; Peter de la Roche to SPG, Sept. 15, 1775, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 189; SPG Journal, Nov. 15, 1776, Vol. XXI, 109-11.

³²Account of the Salary Dispute between Rev. Michael Houseal and the Vestry of St. George's, Halifax, Feb. 26, 1788, SPG Letters, B. 1, No. 270, pp. 967-71; SPG Journal, Jan. 21, 1785, Vol. XXIV, 20-2; *ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1785, Vol. XXIV, 138-9; *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1785, Vol. XXIV, 174.

he purchased between the Neuse and Cape Fear Rivers and petitioned the SPG for the support of a minister for the mixed assembly of Lutheran and Reformed as it had done for the Palatines sent to New York. The Society initially deferred consideration and never acted on the matter.³³

Another petition for aid came from Swiss and Germans settled on the Rappahannock River in Virginia. The hundred or so who had come there between 1714 and 1718 sought a minister who could officiate in German according to the Anglican liturgy. Inasmuch as Virginia was not under its immediate care, the SPG decided that it could not comply, but it did resolve to send some copies of the Common Prayers in German.³⁴ A community of about 350 Swiss from Neuchatel led by John Peter Purry arrived in 1731 to settle on the east side of the Savannah River, thirty miles inland. Francis Varnod, the Society's missionary at St. George's, South Carolina, had accompanied Purry in his search for a location to settle. The SPG, asked to send substantial help including salaries for two missionaries, one for the French and one for the Germans in

³³Ibid., Jan. 18, 1711/12, Vol II, 156-7; ibid., July 20, 1711, Vol II, 80; G.D. Bernheim, History of the German Settlements and of the Lutheran Church in North and South Carolina (Philadelphia, 1872; reprinted Spartanburg, S.C., 1972), 69-71

³⁴SPG Journal, Oct. 2, 1719, Vol. IV, 70; ibid., Mar. 18, 1719/20, Vol. IV, 98; The Case of Thirty-two Protestant German Families Settled in Virginia, Oct. 2, 1719, SPG Letters, A. 14, 21-2.

Purrysburg, limited its largesse to some copies of the Book of Common Prayers in German and never included any funds for salaries.³⁵

Bartholomew Zouerbuhler, the young son of a Reformed minister, who lived in Purrysburg sought a post for himself in 1737.³⁶ First soliciting a call from Orangeburg, a settlement of German and Swiss Lutherans on the Edisto River in South Carolina, he planned to go to England for Anglican Orders. However, only a small faction in Orangeburg preferred him to their own minister.³⁷ Zouerbuhler next sought a post at Savannah, where the Trustees of Georgia appointed him in 1745 upon his receiving Anglican Orders to serve not only the English but also the Germans and French living nearby. The Society granted him the salary it had previously allowed a missionary to Savannah.³⁸ When Samuel Frink, his successor in 1766, requested the Society's bounty for his German members who needed a minister capable of performing services in German and of teaching their children English, it decided to comply

³⁵Petition of John Vat, June 18, 1725, ibid., C. 7, No. 134; Francis Varnod to SPG, Dec. 22, 1731, ibid., A. 23, 310; SPG Journal, Nov. 21, 1735, Vol. VI, 295; ibid., Jan. 16, 1735/36, Vol. VI, 304-5; ibid., Feb. 15, 1760, Vol. XIV, 249.

³⁶Bernheim, German Settlements in North and South Carolina, 88-9, 96-8.

³⁷Ibid., 110-8; Memorial from the Trustees of Georgia, Nov. 1, 1745, SPG Letters, B. 12, No. 137.

³⁸Memorial from the Trustees of Georgia, Nov. 11, 1745, ibid., B. 12, No. 134; Bartholomew Zouerbuhler to SPG, Mar. 14, 1763, ibid., C. 8, No. 12A.

as soon as a suitable person could be found. To that end, the Secretary wrote to William Smith in Philadelphia, but no one was ever appointed.³⁹

A group called the "Palatines of South Carolina" appealed for a minister to the Board of Trade, the commissioners passed on the request to the SPG, which recommended Samuel Frederic Lucius, a German Lutheran, for Holy Orders and granted him a salary when he went to Coffeetown. At his request the SPG sent Books of Common Prayer in English and in German as well as some spellers. As a refugee in Charlestown Lucius received support throughout the Revolution. After the war he moved to a settlement of Germans on the Congaree River.⁴⁰

The Society also occasionally assisted several other German settlements. It sent some German Common Prayer Books for the congregation at Orangeburg when it learned that the German minister was in London to receive Anglican Orders.⁴¹ Some English and German Common Prayers

³⁹Several of the Germans to the SPG, Feb. 20, 1767, *ibid.*, C. 8, No. 40; Churchwardens and Vestry and Rev. Samuel Frink to SPG, Feb. 23, 1767, *ibid.*, C. 8, No. 29; SPG Journal, May 15, 1767, Vol. XVII, 313-6; *ibid.*, June 12, 1767, Vol. XVII, 336; *ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1767, Vol. XVII, 377-8; Daniel Burton to William Smith, Dec. 7, 1767, Smith Papers, S, I, 58.

⁴⁰Petition of the Palatines in South Carolina to the Board of Trade, July 1769, SPG Letters, C. 8, No. 76; John Pownell, Secretary to the Board of Trade, to SPG, July 28, 1769, *ibid.*, C. 8, No. 75; SPG Journal, Sept. 15, 1769, Vol. XVIII, 207-8; *ibid.*, Oct. 20, 1769, Vol. XVIII, 236; *ibid.*, Nov. 17, 1769, Vol. XVIII, 252; *ibid.*, July 19, 1771, Vol. XIX, 88-9; *ibid.*, Mar. 21, 1783, Vol. XXIII, 66; *ibid.*, Feb. 20, 1784, Vol. XXIII, 272-5.

⁴¹*ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1749, Vol. XL, 153.

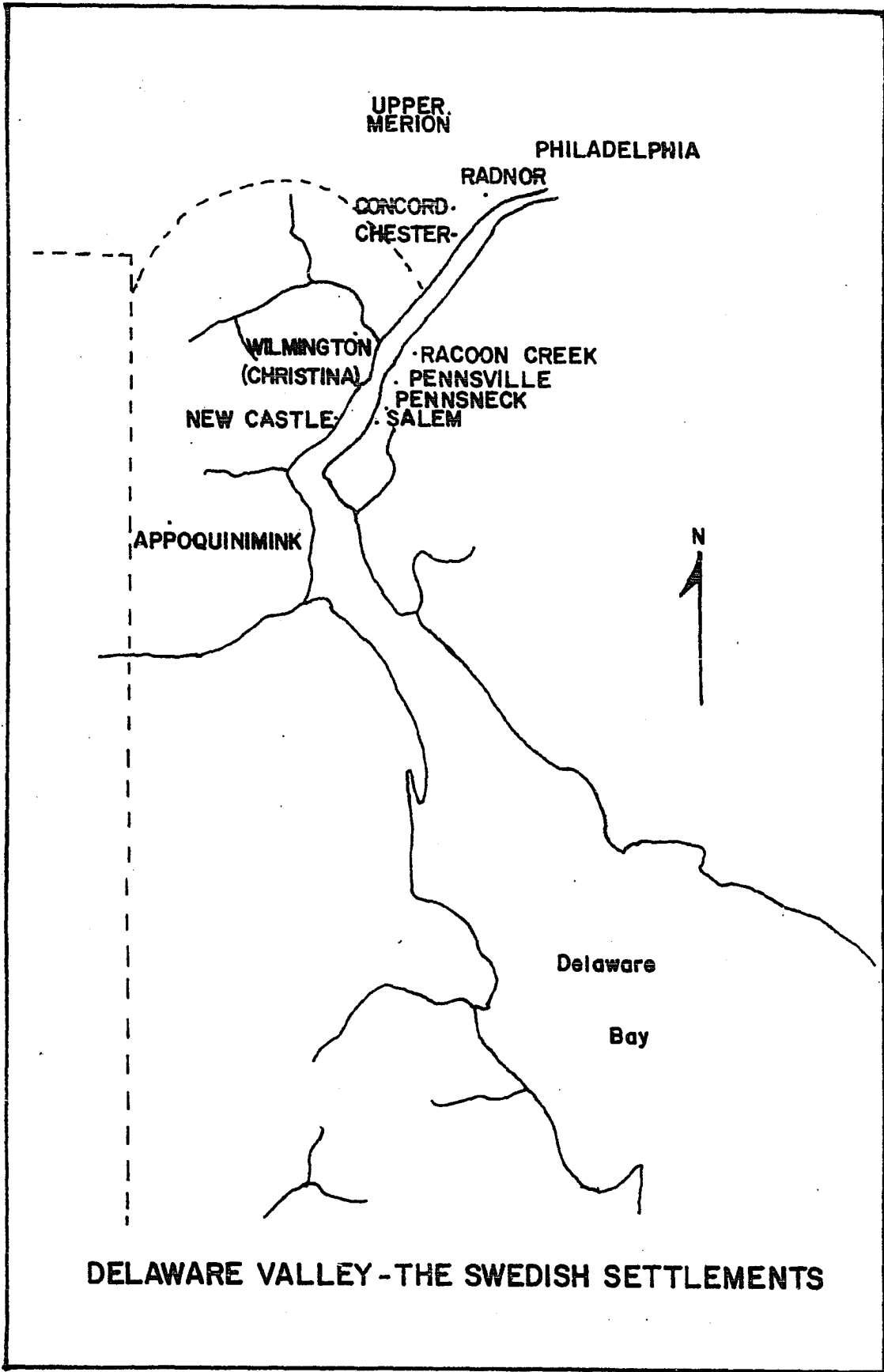
were also dispatched to a small settlement of Germans who attended the Church of England in Braintree, Massachusetts.⁴² German Lutherans in Salisbury, North Carolina, conducted a drive to raise money to support a minister and a schoolmaster whom they planned to bring from Germany. Since they were reportedly freindly to Anglicans living near them, the SPG contributed £40 to their collection.⁴³

The relationship of the Church of England to the Germans in New York, Nova Scotia, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia did not produce the political consequences that it did in Pennsylvania. In most other places the Germans were too few to constitute either a threat to the social order or an attractive source of support for developing political factions. Bounties to German churchmen in Virginia and the Carolinas were given by the Society simply because the communities were too poor adequately to support religion. The aid to some of the Germans outside of Pennsylvania, however, did reveal that the SPG was being used once again for reasons other than simply to supply the spiritual needs of the recipients. The projects to settle poor Palatines in New York and foreign Protestants in Nova Scotia were devised by the British government to satisfy political and military needs. The Society was requested to provide for the religious establishment in these colonies in order to complement the plans of the Board of Trade. It continued to supply aid

⁴²Ibid., Nov. 21, 1755, Vol. XIII, 82-3.

⁴³Theodorus Drage to SPG, Feb. 25, 1771, SPG Letters, B. 5, No. 21; SPG Journal, July 19, 1771, Vol. XIX, 94; ibid., Oct. 23, 1772, Vol. XIX, 309.

at the request of colonial officials who believed that the missionaries and schoolmasters could help the foreigners adopt English customs more quickly.



DELAWARE VALLEY - THE SWEDISH SETTLEMENTS

Chapter V

The Swedes Along the Delaware River

Among the foreign Protestant churches represented in the New World, the Swedish Lutheran Church was closest to the Church of England in government and doctrine. Because the national church of Sweden had retained an episcopal form, Anglicans recognized the legitimacy of clergymen who had received its Orders. In the eighteenth century the Church of Sweden supported an extensive missionary effort to the descendants of Swedish settlers on the Delaware River. Welcoming this venture, the SPG encouraged co-operation among Anglican and Swedish missionaries in the region.

The Swedish government in 1638 had planted a colony on the Delaware with the main settlement at Fort Christina, now Wilmington, Delaware, which fell first to the Dutch in 1654 and then to the English a decade later. The Swedish settlers, numbering 924 people in 1693, were too few and too scattered among the colonies along the Delaware to constitute an important source of political power. They did belong, however, to the Anglican faction in Pennsylvania during the height of political controversy in that province. The small size of the Swedish settlements rendered the maintenance of the Swedish language and customs very difficult. Missionaries from the homeland and financial aid from the Swedish national church enabled the colonists to keep their traditional religion longer than would otherwise have been possible. While the Dutch controlled New Sweden the Lutheran Church declined for want of

support from Europe, but this situation improved in 1693 when the Swedish settlers appealed for aid.¹ Upon the endorsement of the King of Sweden, the Archbishop of Upsala chose three divinity students, Andrew Rudman, Eric Biorck, and James Auren, to be ordained for service in America. These men, the first of a total of thirty missionaries sent from Sweden, arrived in 1697 where they served six Swedish churches, among the most important were Holy Trinity at Christina, founded in 1699, and Gloria Dei at Wiccaco near Philadelphia, built in 1700.² The other Swedish congregations were on Raccoon Creek at Swedesboro, New Jersey, founded in 1704; at Pennsville, New Jersey, founded in 1717; at Upper Merion, Pennsylvania, a branch of Gloria Dei, built in 1758; and St. James Church of Kingsessing in Philadelphia, founded in 1760. A close relationship developed between these Swedish Lutheran congregations and the Anglicans in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey that reflected the concord between their Mother Churches. In addition to the general harmony between Anglicans and Lutherans because of similarities in liturgy and doctrine, these two churches shared an episcopal form as well as the position of established national churches.³

¹Adolph B. Benson and Naboth Hedin, Americans from Sweden (Philadelphia, 1950), 24, 35-6, 40-1, 44-6.

²Ibid., 47-8; Adolph B. Benson and Nabeth Hedin (eds.), The Swedes in America, 1638-1938 (New Haven, Conn., 1938), 40-2, 46-51.

³Nelson Rightmyer, The Anglican Church in Delaware (Philadelphia, 1947), 96-7; Tobias Eric Bjorck, The Planting of the Swedish Church in America, dissertation, University of Upslas, 1731. Translated by I. O. Nothstein (Rock Island, Ill., 1943), 32; Andrew Hesselius and Abraham Lidenius to SPG, 1772, SPG letters, B. 6, No. 255.

Swedish and Anglican divines joined in mutual support of religion in the colonies. The early Swedish missions to Delaware were overseen by Jesper Svedberg, appointed Bishop of Skara in 1702, who urged his missionaries to co-operate with the Anglicans as he worked with the Church of England through the SPG. Doctor Bibberge, Bishop of Strengness and a member of the SPG, was among the network of correspondents established by the Church of England in its attempt to unify European Protestantism.⁴ The Swedish missionaries were instructed "to maintain friendship and unity with the English, so that we and the English church shall not reckon each other as dissenters like the Presbyterians, Anabaptists, Quakers, etc., but as sister Churches."⁵

Some of the Swedes, grateful for the opportunity to retain their customary religion, explained that their adherence to the national religion of Sweden would not conflict with their duty as British citizens in a statement issued by the congregation of Holy Trinity Church at Christina.

and it is moreover in accordance with our duty to our gracious sovereignty in this part of the world, to so orderly conduct ourselves in as much as this church discipline will in no way prejudice the government of this country, and the Priests themselves who are sent here as faithful Swedish by His Royal Majesty in Sweden, are assured of the gracious permission and free license of her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, to

⁴Israel Acrelius, A History of New Sweden, or the Settlements on the River Delaware. Translated by W. M. Reynolds. (Philadelphia, 1874), 362; Nelson H. Burr, "The Early History of the Swedes and the Episcopal Church in America," HMPEC, VII (1938), 117; Dr. Nichols to SPG, Oct. 21, 1709, SPG Letters, A. 5, 53.

⁵Record of Eric Biorck, May 20, 1712, in Horace Burr (trans.), The Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church, Wilmington, Delaware, 1697 to 1773 (Wilmington, 1890), 143.

teach and enjoy the Christian Lutheran religion in this country, and so long as God and the authorities ordain and decide that we shall remain in the country belonging to the Crown of Great Britain, we will bind ourselves in all humble respect and veneration to her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain, being indebted to her the same as her own subjects are⁶

The Swedes on many occasions showed their eagerness to befriend the Anglicans. Andrew Rudman, one of the original Swedish missionaries tended to the Anglican Parish of Christ Church in Philadelphia in the absence of its minister Evan Evans. Rudman also officiated to the Welsh at Oxford and Radner, much to the chagrin of the Quakers who had hoped to win the Welsh from the Church of England.⁷ The Swedes helped the Anglicans in 1710 when the latter asked for and received permission to hold services in the Swedish Church at Wiccaco while their own was being enlarged. Again in 1715, when the English minister was jailed in a civil case, the English went to services at Wiccaco rather than the Presbyterian meeting house. While the Anglicans attended Wiccaco, they were occasionally served by visiting English clergy.⁸ The relationship of the two churches took many forms. For example, the Swedish clergy nearly always

⁶Church Book of Christina Congregation, May 30, 1713, *ibid.*, 178.

⁷Jehu Curtis Clay, Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware, from their First Settlement in 1636 to the Present Time (2d ed, rev., Philadelphia, 1858), 78; Julius F. Sachse, The German Pietists of Provincial Pennsylvania, 1694-1708 (Philadelphia, 1895; reprinted, New York, 1970), 476-7; Record of Eric Biorck, May 20, 1712, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 143.

⁸Andreas Sandell, "Extracts from the Journal of Rev. Andreas Sandel, Pastor of Gloria Dei Swedish Lutheran Church, 1702-1719," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXX (1906), 448; Acrelius, History of New Sweden, 219-20.

participated in the consecration of new Anglican churches. Englishmen attended Swedish services, and Anglicans were permitted to be buried in the churchyard at Christina. The conference of Swedish clergymen in America endorsed the practice of most Swedish missionaries of officiating in vacant English parishes if they did not neglect their first duty to their own people.⁹

Anglicans, acknowledging the help that they received from the Lutheran missionaries, tried to repay these favors by petitioning the SPG to assist the Swedish clergy. The Society responded with three forms of support for the Swedish Lutherans: money to Swedish missionaries when they officiated at vacant English congregations or when they preached to Anglicans who did not live near an organized parish, money to aid the passage of Swedish missionaries to and from America, and encouragement to its own missionaries who officiated to Swedes living near an Anglican congregation.

As a general practice, the Society would grant £10 to Swedish clergymen for each year's service to Anglicans. Andrew Rudman was the first to receive this stipend in 1704 and 1705 for his services in Philadelphia and at Oxford and Radner.¹⁰ Following Rudman other Swedish ministers also obtained aid. Eric Biorck attended both Appoquinimink and

⁹Ibid., 220-1, 361-2; Andrew Rudman to Prof. Jacob Arrhenius at Upsala, Oct. 20, 1697, in Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 62; Meeting of the Vestry, Nov. 13, 1748, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 438; Muhlenberg Journals, Sept. 15, 1760, I, 432; Biorck, Planting of Swedish Church in America, 26; Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 94.

¹⁰SPG Journal, Sept. 15, 1704, Vol. I, 165-6; ibid., Nov. 16, 1705, Vol. I, 205; Sachse, German Peitists, 477; Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 78.

and Newcastle in the absence of English ministers there. Andrew Sandell followed Rudman at Oxford and Radner. Both Andreas and Samuel Hesselius were commended by the Society for serving "several vacant parishes in Pennsylvania." The SPG sent Samuel Hesselius frequent grants from 1721 until his return to Sweden in 1732 for his visits to White Clay Creek, Newcastle, Chester, Chichester, and Concord.¹¹ Abraham Lidenius was also rewarded for preaching in various parishes in Pennsylvania. When ill health forced the reverend John Vicary to visit London in 1722, his post in Philadelphia was filled according to a schedule that included several Anglicans and the Swedes Lidenius, Andreas Hesselius, and Jonas Lidman.¹² Petrus Tranberg officiated at Penn's Neck and Salem after SPG missionary John Holbrooke left in 1731. John Eneberg received a gratuity from the Society for visiting White Clay Creek, as did Israel Acrelius for officiating in Chester County, including the settlements at Concord and Chichester, as well as at Newcastle. The society rewarded Eric Unander for visiting these places as well as Salem and Gloucester, New Jersey.¹³

¹¹Vestry of Appoquinimik to SPG, Dec. 11, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 6, No. 57; SPG Journal, June 15, 1711, Vol. II, 55-6; *ibid.*, Oct. 16, 1719, Vol. IV, 72; *ibid.*, Apr. 21, 1721, Vol. IV, 156-7; *ibid.*, Apr. 19, 1728, Vol. V, 160-1; *ibid.*, June 20, 1729, Vol. V, 206-7; Record of Eric Biorck, Mar. 23, 1712, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 139; Church Book of Christina Congregation, July 1720, *ibid.*, 257-8.

¹²SPG Journal, Sept. 17, 1725, Vol. V, 57; *ibid.*, Oct. 15, 1725, Vol. V, 60; Clergy of Pennsylvania to SPG, Nov. 15, 1726, SPG Letters, A. 19, 376-7; SPG Journal, June 16, 1727, Vol. V, 126-7; Several of the Clergy of Pennsylvania to SPG, March 28, 1722, SPG Letters, B. 6, No. 261.

¹³Inhabitants of Penn's Neck to SPG, May 27, 1731, *ibid.*, A. 23, 382-3; SPG Journal, Mar. 17, 1731/32, Vol. VI, 11; *ibid.*, May 7, 1734, Vol. VI, 147; Peter Tranberg to SPG, Oct. 22, 1734, SPG Letters, A. 25, 24-5; SPG Journal, May 16, 1735, Vol. VI, 241-2; *ibid.*, May 16, 1735, Vol. VI, 242; *ibid.*, May 21, 1736, Vol. VII, 33; *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1757, Vol. XIII, 226-8; Church Book of Christina Congregation, Nov. 8, 1748, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 409.

In addition to granting gratuities for officiating to Anglicans, the SPG, to help Swedish ministers on their journeys to and from Sweden, spent £260 from 1714 to 1781 in aid for many of the same missionaries who had been awarded other gratuities including Biorck, Sandell, Hesselius and Lidman.¹⁴ The Society gave £15 each to Tranberg and Andreas Windrussa who were shipwrecked in 1726 on their way to America.¹⁵ It also helped Gabriel Falk who had difficulties getting to Pennsylvania in 1733.¹⁶ Others aided in their return home were Eric Unander, Commissary Charles Magnus Wrangel, and Andrew Guranson, the last Swedish missionary to North America, who suffered losses during the American Revolution.¹⁷

Fewer SPG missionaries reported serving Swedish settlers than the Swedes reported serving Anglicans, but those Anglicans who did preach to Swedish Lutherans were encouraged by the Society. After John Holbrooke served them at Salem until his departure in 1731, both English and Swedish there were visited by Swedish missionaries. Nathaniel Evans officiated to the Swedes at Gloucester, Waterford, and Egg Harbor, New

¹⁴SPG Journal, Sept. 17, 1714, Vol. II, 397; *ibid.*, Jan. 17, 1723/24, Vol. IV, 290-1; *ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1723/24, Vol. IV, 297; *ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1730/31, Vol. V, 284.

¹⁵Peter Tranberg and Andrew Windrussa to SPG, Feb. 18, 1725/26, SPG Letters, A. 19, 39-40; SPG Journal, Feb. 18, 1725/26, Vol. V, 78-9; *ibid.*, Feb. 18, 1731/32, Vol. VI, 6.

¹⁶*ibid.*, June 15, 1733, Vol. VI, 88; *ibid.*, Feb. 21, 1745/46, Vol. X, 108.

¹⁷*ibid.*, Sept. 19, 1760, Vol. XV, 6-9; *ibid.*, Nov. 18, 1768, Vol. 18, 55-6; *ibid.*, Apr. 20, 1781, Vol. XXII, 233-4.

Jersey, in 1766 and 1767. William Smith also served Swedes during his appointment to Oxford in the 1770's.¹⁸ Perhaps Anglican priests served relatively few Swedes because the Swedish settlers were adequately supplied by their own missionaries. On the Delaware, the Anglican Church was probably weaker than the Swedish. Anglican clergy may, however, have served more Swedish church people than they reported. The missionaries were so concerned over the numerous German sectarians, Quakers, Presbyterians, and other adherents of "enthusiasm," that they may have neglected to mention the Swedes, who shared the Anglicans' aversion to pietism. The Swedes may also have been so well assimilated that they did not attract special attention. Other than church membership, the language that they spoke was the most striking characteristic separating the Swedish colonists from the English. Because the Anglicans did not believe that membership in the Lutheran Church made the Swedes very different from themselves, when the Swedes gave up their language they became less distinguishable from the English.

In the seventeenth century, the Swedes had preserved their language and customs while they lived together in communities where they first settled. After the Dutch captured the colony, there were very few new immigrants from Sweden, and so the children and grandchildren of the

¹⁸Nathaniel Evans to SPG, Dec. 12, 1766, SPG Letters, B. 24, No. 126; William Smith to SPG, May 3, 1771, *ibid.*, B. 21, No. 269; Inhabitants of Penn's Neck to SPG, Apr. 17, 1733, *ibid.*, A. 24, 446; John Holbrooke to SPG, Nov. 17, 1727, *ibid.*, A. 20, 196.

original settlers acquired English as a second language. Eventually many young Swedes could not speak their native tongue or found little chance to use it, as they moved away from the original settlements and often married into English or Dutch families.¹⁹ The only regular Swedish school closed when Andrew Hessilius left for Europe in 1723.²⁰ By the mid-eighteenth century travelers from Sweden were amazed to find so little Swedish culture remaining. A Swedish minister, arriving in 1745, observed that

in this country scarcely one genuine Swede [is] left, the most of them are either in part or in whole on one side or other descended from English or Dutch parents Many of them can just recollect that their grandfather or mother were Swedish. In general there is such confusion in their lineage, that they themselves can't tell, if they spring from English or Dutch, Swedish or German parents. The English are evidently swallowing up the people and the Swedish language is so corrupted, that if I did not know the English, it would be impossible to understand the language of my dear Sweden.²¹

The only close and continuing contact with Sweden was provided by the Lutheran clergymen. Yet from the beginning these men encouraged close ties with the English. Like the Dutch, the crisis of assimilation for many Swedes was symbolized by the controversy over what language to use in church services. However, many of the Swedish clergy were less concerned than were some older members of their congregations about using English in the Swedish churches, and so the ministers, who might have slowed the change, tended to hasten it.

¹⁹Acrelius, History of New Sweden, 360; Andrew Rudman to Jacob Arrhenius, Oct. 20, 1697, in Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 62; Benson (ed.), Swedes in America, 54-5, 57.

²⁰Record of Israel Acrelius, 1748, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 422; Meeting of the Swedish Ministers, 1722, in Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 103.

²¹"Reincke's Journal of a Visit among the Swedes of West Jersey, 1745," April 8, 1745, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, XXXIII (1909), 101.

Services in English in the afternoon had been initiated at Christina in 1740 to accommodate both Englishmen as well as Swedes who preferred the English language, but the arrival of Israel Acrelius in 1749 precipitated a controversy over the language. Before leaving Europe, Acrelius had been concerned lest his English be inadequate. Perhaps because he was not competent in the language, many of the older members tried to remove English from the services. Acrelius, surprised at the extent to which the old language had disappeared, arranged for a schoolmaster to teach the children Swedish. However, the families who wanted a teacher were so scattered that it was impossible to conduct classes. Instead, the teacher had to live with each family in succession in order to tutor the children. Acrelius, anxious to please the other faction within his congregation as well as to further the accord with the Anglicans, continued to conduct some of the services in English despite his limitations.²² The congregation at Wiccaco in 1758 requested that services be held occasionally in English because "the Swedes and English were becoming so intermixed as to render necessary instruction in both languages."²³ By 1770 the Swedish language had nearly disappeared in almost all of the churches. Only in the oldest did vestiges remain. At Christina Swedish was used two or three times a year only on special feastdays and in good weather when the "Old Swedes" were likely to attend. The traditional tongue was used at Wiccaco only when visitors from Sweden were present.²⁴

²²Acrelius, History of New Sweden, 295, 360-2; Record of Israel Acrelius, Dec. 27, 1748, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 424; Record of Israel Acrelius, 1748, ibid., 415; Church Book of Christina Congregation, 1741, ibid., 380; Rightmyer, Angli-Church in Delaware, 103.

²³Congregation of Wiccaco to Archbishop and Consistory of Upsala, Jan. 2, 1758, in Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 115.

²⁴Conrad J. I. Bergendoff, "The Swedish Church on the Delaware," Church History, VII (1938), 225.

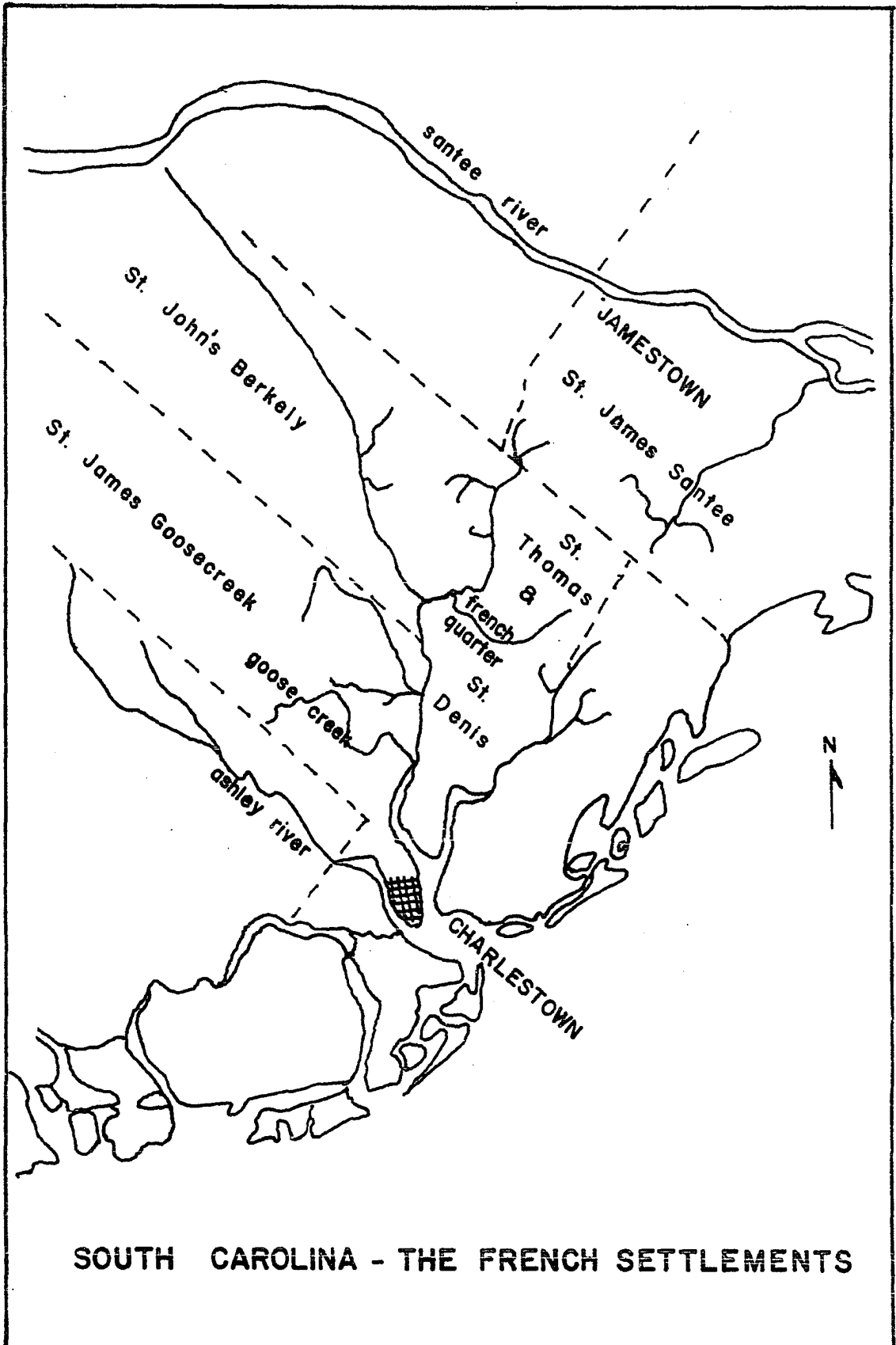
During his years in America, Commissary Charles Magnus Wrangel hoped to unite the Swedish Lutheran churches with the Church of England. When the American Revolution separated Anglicans in the former colonies from those at home, the Swedish Church also lost the support it had received from England. The Church of Sweden in 1775 reduced missionaries salaries and fourteen years later the Swedish congregations requested that no more missionaries be sent. Desiring to choose their own ministers, they disliked the almost automatic change of missionaries every seven or eight years. Only a very few of the old people still clung to the Swedish language. The King agreed to this request and recalled the two remaining Swedish missionaries.²⁵ One by one, the Swedish congregations merged with the Protestant Episcopal Church, the American church organized by the Anglicans.²⁶

The Swedes, unlike the Germans in Pennsylvania or the Dutch in New York, were not a potent political force. Few in number, they lived in widely scattered areas of Pennsylvania, in the lower counties along the

²⁵Ibid., 225-6; Archbishop Uno von Troil to the Swedish Congregation in America (early 1790's), in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 517; Richard Peters to Bishop of London, Aug. 30, 1768, Fulham Papers, VIII, 36-7; An Account by Nicholas Collin, Dec. 10, 1791, in Clay Annals of the Swedes, 127-8; Meeting of the Vestry at Christina, Jan. 6, 1773, in Burr, Records of Holy Trinity Church, 500-1.

²⁶There had been some discussion of a possible merger with the German Lutherans. The two churches were close in doctrine and liturgy. There were good relations among Swedish and German church leaders. But as the Swedes abandoned their traditional ways, they adopted English ones, not German. They also lived among the English rather than the German, most of whom settled farther west. See Nelson W. Rightmyer, "Swedish - English Relations in Northern Delaware," Church History, XV (1946), 114-5 and Clay, Annals of the Swedes, 142-3.

Delaware, and in New Jersey. Because the Swedish ministers in Philadelphia were very close to the leaders of the Anglican faction, especially Richard Peters and William Smith, and to the German Lutherans who also supported Peters and Smith, the Swedes could usually be counted among members of the Anglican faction. However, securing their support was not of great concern. Due to their long association with the Church of England, Anglican leaders could rely upon the support of the Swedes while they concentrated upon other matters, notably organizing the Germans.



SOUTH CAROLINA - THE FRENCH SETTLEMENTS

Chapter VI

The French in North America

A number of Protestants who left France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 were received into England where they were allowed to set up congregations and worship according to their own liturgy. Many Huguenots also went to British North America, settling in the coastal area of several mainland colonies. Unlike the Dutch and the Swedes, the French had no strong church at home upon which to rely. If they could not support their own congregations, they either abandoned their own forms to join other religions or depended upon support from other churches to maintain French Calvinism in exile.

In accord with its general policy of helping foreign Protestants, the SPG aided French Protestants in three colonies. It supported several settlements of Huguenots in South Carolina, it maintained a mission to Huguenots who had settled at New Rochelle, New York, and finally, the Society in response to an appeal from the Board of Trade supplied ministers and schoolmasters for the French as well as the Germans in Nova Scotia. Continued and substantial aid from the SPG to the French, like that for most other foreigners, depended upon their conformity to the Church of England. Thus those French congregations which depended upon the Anglicans for support were eventually to lose the special identity they had solicited help to preserve. The speed and nature of the loss, however, as well as the form and consequences of the Society's help varied with the

circumstances of the French communities. For example, the Society's efforts in New York were confined to the support of a mission among a relatively isolated and homogeneous settlement of Huguenots who retained the French language and their traditional customs throughout the eighteenth century. In Nova Scotia, the SPG responded not to appeals from the settlers but rather to a request from an agency of the British government to aid in securing that colony for strategic reasons. Providing ministers for the French Protestants was complicated by the proximity of French Catholics as well as by the presence of Germans in the same settlement. These Huguenots lost their distinctive identity relatively soon after settlement.

Aid to the French in South Carolina commenced during the course of a political controversy in which the factions were divided over religious issues. The Society's bounty to the French assisted the Church Party which, with the support of the Huguenots, was able to establish the Church of England in South Carolina against opposition from the Dissenters. Although the religious issue dominated politics during the years from 1700 to 1712, the factions involved had been formed decades earlier. From the beginning, the government of South Carolina was dominated by the so-called "Goose Creek faction," a group of Anglicans from Barbados who had settled on or near Goose Creek, a tributary of the Cooper River. A campaign by the proprietors of the colony to promote settlement of the province by publicizing its advantages among dissenters, English Baptists and Presbyterians as well as French Huguenots, stirred controversy in the 1680's. The old settlers, led by the Goose Creek faction, opposed this plan because they feared losing control of the government. The new

immigrants formed the chief support for the Proprietary faction which was led by Dissenters but also included some Anglicans from England who remained apart from their fellow Churchmen from Barbados.¹ The Huguenots, who had responded to the Proprietors' appeal in greater numbers than did the English dissenters, were to reverse sides and eventually to join the Barbadian Anglicans as a result of several developments during the last decade of the seventeenth century. The Goose Creek faction, after removing the Proprietors' Governor James Colleton, replaced him in 1690 with Seth Sothel. Next the assembly granted naturalization to all French and Swiss Protestants in the colony provided they registered with the government within six months. This law seemed to have produced the desired effect because thereafter most of the Huguenots apparently supported Sothel's administration. Meanwhile anti-Huguenot sentiment began to grow in the old Proprietary faction led by dissenters primarily because they resented the Huguenot support for Governor Sothel. A wave of anti-French feeling during King William's War enabled this party to reduce the political power of the French by eliminating the assembly seats of Craven County where most of the Huguenots had settled.²

Beginning in 1700 religious issues became the main basis for factional divisions when an Anglican, James Moore, was chosen Governor over the dissenter, Joseph Morton. The Proprietors shifted their position

¹M. Eugene Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina: A Political History, 1663-1763 (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1966), 17-8, 36-7, 40-2.

²Ibid., 46-50, 61, 68; Arthur H. Hirsch, The Huguenots of South Carolina (Durham, North Carolina, 1928; reprinted, London, 1962), 107.

on religion, and John Carteret, Lord Granville, the palatine of Carolina, pressed for the establishment of the Church of England and the exclusion of dissenters from political office. The main question in the colony was whether the Church Party, led by the Goose Creek faction and now supporting the Proprietary policy, could impose establishment on the Dissenter Party. Among approximately 4200 whites in South Carolina in 1700, there were 2000 dissenters (including 1000 Presbyterians), 1800 Anglicans, and 800 French Huguenots. Because dissenters had led the attempts to suppress French immigration in the mid-1690's, the Huguenots could be counted among the Church Party. In addition to this support in the province, the Church Party could expect aid from the SPG in London. The Society did not intend its assistance to benefit any political faction, but its financial aid did enhance the position of the Church Party not only because the colony could thereby afford to maintain a religious establishment but also because the Huguenots were attracted by the native Frenchmen sent as ministers by the Society and by its shipments of Anglican literature in the French language. Not all of the English Anglicans joined the Church Party, however. A significant number of them living in the southwestern part of the colony generally supported the Dissenter Party in demanding that the Commons House of the Legislature rather than the Governor direct the Indian trade and that presents from the Indians go to the public treasury rather than to the Governor.³

Nathaniel Johnson, who replaced Moore as Governor in 1702, led the Church Party in its quest for an Anglican establishment in such an extreme

³Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina, 76-9.

fashion that he drew criticism as a bigot. The Church Party was able to pass an act in 1706 which divided the colony into parishes and provided government aid for ministers. The French were required to conform to the Church of England, but they could conduct all rites and services in the French language provided they used the John Durrell translation of the Book of Common Prayer. The following year factional bitterness shifted to the question of Indian trade, and the Dissenter Party, supported by Anglicans outside the Church Party, was able to vest control of the trade in the Commons House and to allow the governor ~~£~~\$100 annually in lieu of Indians presents which went instead to the public treasury. Partly as a result of these concessions on the Indian trade, the Dissenters relaxed their opposition to the Church Act and by 1711 had accepted the established church. The old political factions disappeared to be replaced by new alignments formed on different issues.⁴

Although the Church Act of 1706 had legally incorporated the French into the colonial establishment and after 1712 their participation in politics was no longer governed by religious questions, their complete assimilation proceeded more slowly. Not all of the churches abandoned Huguenot liturgy and the French language at the same rate, and the SPG exercised its most important influence on the French during this process. Five Huguenot churches had been organized before 1706: Charlestown, Goosecreek, Orange Quarter, St. John's Berkely, and Jamestown or French Santee. A sixth was established in 1763 in the backcountry at New

⁴Ibid., 87-97; Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 126-7.

Bordeaux by a newly arrived company of French and Swiss Protestants. Four of the five Huguenot churches were absorbed into the legal establishment upon the passage of the Church Act. Although the Huguenot Church at Charlestown, with the largest French congregation in the colony, 195 members in 1699, did not conform, this congregation enjoyed good relations with the Anglicans. Its minister Paul L'Escot was close to Commissary Gideon Johnston, who reported that L'Escot had "greatly distinguished himself in favour of the Church of England, against the Dissenting Ministers hereabouts." L'Escot seemed willing to go to England for Anglican orders, but the leaders of his congregation opposed it because they were satisfied that his ordination by the French ministers in London was valid and because they could not be without him during his journey to Britain.⁵

Members of several of the French congregations complained about some features of the merger with the Church of England. They had no quarrel over matters of doctrine, nor did they object to their favored status as members of the established church, but conflict arose over the liturgy, especially over the form of rites for baptism and communion. Many Huguenots claimed that French churches in England were permitted variations according to their own customs and wanted this same privilege in South Carolina. In this period of transition the Huguenots were irritated by the zeal of some Anglican religious leaders, especially

⁵Ibid., 47-8, 55-6, 60, 130-3. A brief account of each parish is given on pp. 50-86; Commissary Gideon Johnston to SPG, July 5, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 158, pp. 453-4.

Commissary Johnston and Governor Johnson, whose demands for the immediate abandonment of French forms were unrealistic. The SPG as well as the ministers, both English and French, who served the Huguenots were more tolerant of their irregular liturgical practices.⁶

The French at Orange Quarter, a large church with 101 members in 1699, were eager to retain their special identity. They were organized as a separate parish (St. Denis) within the English parish of St. Thomas until the inhabitants should cease speaking the French language. Despite this division, the French minister, John LaPierre, and the English missionary, Thomas Hassell, were very friendly. LaPierre served from 1708 to 1723 except for a two year interval. His requests to be made a missionary of the SPG were never answered, but he did receive aid in the form of books for use by the French and bounties for his service to some of the English when Hassell could not visit frequently.⁷ LaPierre was often discouraged over disputes within his congregation because many of the French were unwilling to follow Anglican forms. In 1720, during one such time of controversy, he traveled to St. James Santee to serve that congregation after the death of its French minister. When he returned in 1723, he reported that almost everyone in St. Denis spoke

⁶Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 132-4; Sirmans, Colonial South Carolina, 87.

⁷Ibid., 74, 133-4; SPG Journal, Oct. 20, 1710, Vol. I, 512; Thomas Hassell to SPG, Dec. 27, 1716, SPG Letters, A. 12, 157; SPG Journal, Aug. 20, 1725, Vol. V, 52; ibid., Oct. 20, 1709, Vol. I, 416; John La Pierre to SPG, May 18, 1715, SPG Letters, A. 10, 103-4; SPG Journal, Jan. 15, 1719/20, Vol. IV, 83.

English except a few "ancient Persons" and that the congregation wished not to be "Lookt upon as Foreigners." He resigned in 1728 and went to Cape Fear in North Carolina because his former congregation had no need for a French minister. The French in Orange Quarter became part of Hassell's responsibility and continued to be served by the Society's missionary Alexander Garden, who replaced Hassell in 1744.⁸

The French at St. James Santee, like those at St. Denis, clung to their traditional liturgy. Probably the largest congregation after Charlestown, by 1700 it included 100 families in the Jamestown settlement. Ant two decades later the church had 116 French and 54 English members. The Church of England continued to supply it with French ministers. After its incorporation into the Anglican establishment, during the early decades of the eighteenth century the SPG supported these clergymen. Upon the appointment of James Gignillet, it gave him money for French books and a surplus and bestowed on his successor, Philip de Richebourg, a bounty because of his extreme poverty. After the death of de Richebourg in 1720, the congregation petitioned for another French minister and received Albert Pouderous, who could speak no English. The SPG refused to make Pouderous a missionary because it could not "make any Establishment for Ministers but such as officiate to English Congregations according to the Church of England." Apparently the Society felt that its leniency toward serious departures from the Anglican liturgy should cease. It

⁸LaPierre to SPG, Feb. 15, 1715/16, SPG Letters, B. 4, No. 52; La Pierre to SPG, Apr. 5, 1719, *ibid.*, A. 13, 208-10; La Pierre to SPG, Jan. 20, 1722/23; *ibid.*, B.4, No. 136; La Pierre to Bishop of London, Oct. 9, 1733, Fulham Papers, VI, 244; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 849.

did, however, appoint Pouderous catechist to the French children and to the Negroes and sent him occasional grants.⁹ After Pouderous' death his congregation succeeded in obtaining ministers who could preach both in English and in French until 1736. For several years thereafter, bickering between English-speaking and French-speaking members made it impossible to settle on a minister satisfactory to all parties in the parish. Finally the Englishman Samuel Warren, who was sent in 1758, proved acceptable.¹⁰

The remaining French congregations served by missionaries of the Society had no objections to the Anglican liturgy. The first SPG missionary to South Carolina, Samuel Thomas, was settled at the English church in Goose Creek. After he was replaced in 1706 by the Frenchman Francis Le Jau, who had been ordained in London, the French congregation merged with the English. Le Jau, one of the most influential of the Anglican clergymen in South Carolina, served as Deputy Commissary during Gideon Johnston's absence. After Le Jau died in 1717, the Society continuously maintained a missionary at Goose Creek. One, Timothy

⁹Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 60; SPG Journal, Dec. 2, 1709, Vol. I, 424; Philip de Richebourg to SPG, Feb. 12, 1715/16, SPG Letters, A. 11, 140-2; Representation of the Inhabitants of St. James Santee, n.d. [1720], ibid., A. 15, 64; SPG Journal, Nov. 4, 1720, Vol. IV, 128-9; ibid., May 11, 1722, Vol. IV, 205-6; ibid., Nov. 17, 1727, Vol. V, 145.

¹⁰Wardens and Vestry of St. James Santee to Bishop of London, June 2, 1731, Fulham Papers, IX, 256; Alexander Garden to Bishop of London, Nov. 8, 1732, ibid., IX, 266-7; Garden to Bishop of London, Dec. 28, 1733, ibid., IX, 278-9; Quentin B. Keen, "The Problems of a Commissary: the Reverend Alexander Garden of South Carolina," HMPEC, XX (1951), 152-3.

Mellechamp, was French; the others were English.¹¹ The congregation at St. John's Berkely merged with the English one after the death of their French minister Philippe Trouollard in 1712. They began coming to the services of SPG missionary Robert Maule, who reported that almost all understood English. Thereafter, the parish was served by Englishmen supported by the Society. In the 1720's they ceased to mention the French as a distinct part of the Congregation.¹² That the French were no longer regarded as a special group within this Anglican parish is an indication that they had assimilated into the colonial society. There was also other evidence of the change. After 1712 factional controversy based on religion ceased; by the 1720's disputes over the liturgy had subsided. The French language was dying out, and, with the Society's help, the Anglican Church in South Carolina had absorbed most of the French Protestants.

¹¹Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years*, II, 849-50; SPG Journal, Dec. 21, 1705, Vol. I, 207; Bishop of London to SPG, Dec. 23, 1708, SPG Letters, A. 4, No. 167, p. 236; Hirsch, Huguenots of South Carolina, 68.

¹²Robert Maule to SPG, Jan. 23, 1714/15, SPG Letters, A. 10, 78; Brian Hunt to SPG, May 18, 1723, ibid., A. 17, 102; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 849-50.

The Society was requested to help 300 French Protestants who settled in the backcountry at New Bordeaux in Greenville County in 1764. It sent Common Prayers, Bibles, and religious tracts. Upon a request of the community, the SPG appointed Peter Levrier as missionary in 1772, but he stayed for only a few months. See SPG Journal, May 18, 1764, Vol. XVI, 139; Petition of Louise de St. Pierre on behalf of the Inhabitants of the Township of Hillsborough or New Bordeaux in Granville County, 1765, SPG Letters, B. 5, No. 256; SPG Journal, Apr. 10, 1772, Vol. XIX, 242-3; ibid., Nov. 20, 1772, Vol. XIX, 312-7.

A somewhat different situation existed among another group of French refugees who received aid from the SPG. One of the missions maintained the longest by the Society was in the French Protestant community of New Rochelle, located on the Hudson River in Westchester County, New York. Daniel Bondet, a refugee from France who had been serving a Huguenot church in Boston, went to New Rochelle in 1696. Anglicans in New York helped the settlers, who could not maintain a church by themselves. Elias Neau loaned Bondet a silver chalice and sent him some French Prayer Books. Prominent Anglican laymen, including Caleb Heathcote, Colonel Lewis Merris, and Colonel Francis Nichol森, supported the French in their appeals to the SPG for favors.¹³ The Society refused to make Bondet a missionary until he and his congregation conformed to the Church of England, but, in the meantime, sent him a gratuity.¹⁴ When it received testimonials of his conformity, it appointed him as a regular missionary in 1709 and sent the first of many shipments of Common Prayer Books in French to New Rochelle.¹⁵ Bondet

¹³A Summary of the early years of the mission at New Rochelle is in Humphreys, Historical Account of the SPG, I, 207-9; Caleb Heathcote to SPG, Nov. 9, 1705, SPG Letters, A. 2, No. 117; Inhabitants of New Rochelle to SPG, n.d. [1709], SPG Journal, App. B, No. 124; Bishop of London to SPG, n.d. [Mar. 22, 1706/07], SPG Letters, A. 3, No. 31, p. 76; Elias Neau to SPG, July 5, 1709, ibid., A. 4, No. 151, pp. 507-9; Certificate of the Service of Daniel Bondet, original - May 29, 1696, copy - May 5, 1709, SPG Journal, App. B, No. 122; Albright, History of Protestant Episcopal Church, 70-1.

¹⁴SPG Journal, May 17, 1706, Vol. I, 238.

¹⁵Ibid., June 3, 1709, Vol. I, 387-8; Heathcote to SPG, Jan. 13, 1708/09, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 5; SPG Journal, Oct. 21, 1709, Vol. I, 409; John Bartow to SPG, Nov. 30, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, No. 179.

officiated mostly in French but preached in English every third Sunday. He requested in 1714 some Common Prayers in English in addition to the French ones as well as a large English Bible.¹⁶ Bondet remained until his death in 1722. When the inhabitants of New Rochelle begged for a missionary who could preach in both English and French, they received Peter Stoupe, a former pastor to the Huguenots in Charlestown, South Carolina.¹⁷

In the period of transition between Bondet and Stoupe, the community was thrown into discord by the frequent visits of M. Moulinars, a Huguenot clergyman from New York City. When some members had left the congregation at New Rochelle after Bondet accepted Anglican Orders, Lewis Rou, Huguenot minister in New York City, declared their action illegal and refused them aid. In the early 1720's, Moulinars quarreled with Rou over the latter's friendship with the Anglicans whom Moulinars charged were too like Roman Catholics.¹⁸ At most the Huguenots in New York and on Staten Island were close to the Anglican priests and schoolmasters. William Vesey and his successor Henry Barclay at Trinity Church

¹⁶Daniel Bondet to SPG, Apr. 3, 1714, ibid., A. 9, 113-5.

¹⁷Inhabitants of New Rochelle to SPG, Nov. 26, 1722, ibid., A. 16, 221-2; SPG Journal, Dec. 20, 1723, Vol. IV, 287.

¹⁸Bondet to SPG, July 14, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 5, 310-3; Robert Hunter to SPG, Sept. 21, 1720, ibid., A. 14, 9-10; Peter Stoupe to SPG, May 12, 1725, ibid., A. 19, 156-8; Lewis Rou, The True State of Mr. Rou's Case or a Short Discourse Concerning His Difference with the Present Consistory of the French Church in New York (New York, 1726); A Collection of Some Papers Concerning M. Lewis Rou's Affairs (New York 1725).

cooperated with the French clergy. The SPG sent French books to Elias Neau for the Huguenot children whom he taught along with the Negroes in his school in New York, and the Society's schoolmaster and missionaries on Staten Island included French among their congregations and in their classes.¹⁹ Moulinars encouraged the dissidents at New Rochelle, who protested affiliating with the Anglican Church. When Stoupe arrived at New Rochelle, he discovered that Moulinars had persuaded some of the congregation to leave the Church of England and to build a meeting house with help from French dissenters, who supported Moulinars against Rou in New York.²⁰ Among a community of 400 people at New Rochelle, just over half were members of the Anglican Church. Most of the remainder joined the dissenters. In addition to his French congregation, Stoupe served some of the English and the Dutch living nearby. He requested books in French but asked for many in English because the English books would "be a means of inducing the People to attend the Service more regularly and more constantly than they are wont to do."²¹

¹⁹SPG Journal, June 20, 1707, Vol. I, 289; Bondet to SPG, Nov. 14, 1710, SPG Letters, A. 6, No. 47; Neau to SPG, Oct. 3, 1710, *ibid.*, A. 6, No. 43; Bishop of London to SPG, Mar. 27, 1702, *ibid.*, A. 1, No. 1; Aeneas MacKenzie to SPG, June 13, 1709, *ibid.*, A. 5, No. 18, pp. 40-3.

²⁰Stoupe to SPG, May 19, 1724, *ibid.*, B. 1, No. 100; Stoupe to SPG, Dec. 11, 1727, *ibid.*, A. 20, 203; Thomas Standard to SPG, Nov. 5, 1729, *ibid.*, A. 22, 365; Gov. William Burnet to Bishop of London, Oct. 18, 1726, Fulham Papers, VI, 84; Rou in A Collection of Some Papers. 23.

²¹Stoupe to SPG, Aug. 28, 1731, SPG Letters, A. 23, 350; SPG Journal, Dec. 17, 1731, Vol. V, 319; Stoupe to SPG, Aug. 10, 1733, SPG Letters, A. 34, 465-7.

When Stoupe decided in 1743 to retire because of age, his congregation divided over the proper man to replace him. One group petitioned the SPG for a missionary who could speak both French and English because there "were several Ancient People, who do not understand English." An opposing faction did not believe that a French speaking clergyman was necessary. They argued that

"half the Families in New Rochelle understand no French at all, and that most of the others were born there and understand English as well as French, and that they do not know any of the old French People that do not understand English and that there are only four persons from Old France now living there, who attend the Service of the Church of England."

They claimed that many people from neighboring towns would attend services if the minister preached in English. After the Society had decided to appoint an English missionary, Stoupe determined not to resign, and so the decision on a replacement was postponed.²² Under the threat of losing communicants, he initiated a new schedule for services. In the summer he preached in French every Sunday morning and in English every afternoon; in the winter he officiated two Sundays in French and every third one in English. The SPG encouraged the increase in his English preaching ostensibly because that practice seemed to conform to the wishes of his congregation.²³

²²Stoupe to SPG, Oct. 28, 1742, *ibid.*, B. 10, No. 74; Inhabitants of New Rochelle to SPG, Dec. 1, 1742, *ibid.*, B. 10, No. 75; Inhabitants of New Rochelle to SPG, Dec. 1, 1742, *ibid.*, B. 10, No. 76; SPG Journal, Apr. 15, 1743, Vol. IX, 147-8.

²³*ibid.*, Feb. 17, 1743/44, Vol. IX, 239; Stoupe to SPG, June 5, 1744, SPG Letters, B. 13, 247; Stoupe to SPG, May 10, 1752, *ibid.*, B. 20, 75; Stoupe to SPG, Nov. 15, 1744, *ibid.*, B. 13, 249-50; SPG to Stoupe, Aug. 1, 1753, *ibid.*, B. 20, 37.

Upon Stoupe's death in 1760 the language question was raised once more. Some of the congregation suggested that it would be helpful, but not necessary, to send a priest who spoke French as well as English since all but a few of the old people could speak English and many of the young knew no French at all. The Society sent Michael Houdin, a Frenchman and former Roman Catholic, who had been a missionary in New Jersey. He served until his death in 1767.²⁴ At that time no new missionary was appointed because the Society had judged that there was a greater need for its support elsewhere in America, and so New Rochelle was placed under the care of Samuel Seabury, the Society's missionary to Westchester, who reported that all but a few people understood English well.²⁵

The community at New Rochelle retained the French language longer than did the Huguenots in South Carolina, who had migrated to America at the same time. The French at New Rochelle had joined the Church of England, not from legal coercion, but because they could not support a minister and conformity was a pre-requisite to the necessary aid from the SPG. This conversion did not, however, occur without controversy. A substantial number of the French at New Rochelle objected to the

²⁴SPG Journal, Nov. 21, 1760, Vol. XV, 22-3; Members of the Church of New Rochelle to SPG, July 30, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 3, No. 176; Nicholas Varga, "The Rev. Michael Houdin (1706-1766) -- A Shepherd in the Mist," HMPEC, XXXIII (1964), 344-5.

²⁵SPG Journal, Oct. 16, 1767, Vol. XVII, 373-5; Samuel Achmuty to SPG, Oct. 21, 1766, SPG Letters, B. 2, No. 19, pp. 70-1; Samuel Seabury to SPG, June 25, 1767, ibid., B. 2, No. 171, pp. 592-3.

Anglican liturgy and left the congregation in protest against the abandonment of their traditional religion. The Huguenots who remained did not think the Anglican Church very different from their own. Neither the Society nor the Churchmen in New York expected the French to abandon their language, and so they encouraged the missionary at New Rochelle to follow the wishes of his congregation.

The third and final company of French Protestants given substantial aid by the SPG was among the foreign Protestants sent by the Board of Trade to Nova Scotia in 1750.²⁶ When the Society agreed to send missionaries and schoolmasters to Nova Scotia, the Commissioners of Trade suggested that one of the missionaries should be a Frenchman who could attempt to convert the French Catholics there. William Tutty, the Society's first missionary in Halifax also requested a French clergyman, but he thought that a minister was more important for those among the newly arrived foreign Protestants who spoke French.²⁷ The missionary appointed by the SPG was J.B. Moreau, he served at Halifax until 1753 when the town of Lunenburg was set up, and then moved there with most of the foreign Protestants, about 2000 people. Here he served the Germans as well as the French and even officiated to a few English

²⁶For the SPG and foreign Protestants in Nova Scotia, see above pp. 81-3.

Among those immigrants who spoke French, it is likely that more of them were from Switzerland and from the principality of Montbelliard than were from France. See Bell, Foreign Protestants and Nova Scotia, 99-100, and SPG Journal, Mar. 16, 1753, Vol. XII, 223-4.

²⁷William Tutty to SPG, Mar. 17, 1749, SPG Letters, B. 17, 5-14; Tutty to SPG, July 18, 1740, ibid., B. 18, 1-3; SPG Journal, Apr. 7, 1749, Vol. XI, 105-8; ibid., Feb. 16, 1749/50, Vol. XI, 186-9.

settlers.²⁸ To help Moreau in 1754 the Society sent a schoolmaster to the French.

Moreau was relieved of his duties to the Germans in 1767 upon the appointment of Paulus Bryzelius. When Moreau died, Peter de la Roche, another Frenchman, was appointed to the French and English at Lunenburg. In the 1770's de la Roche reported that the French were moving away from the town and not enough of them remained to need a minister of their own. After the death of Bryzelius, de la Roche began to learn German in order to assume the mission to the Germans.²⁹ The latter were unhappy that they no longer had a minister of their own while the small group of French did. De la Roche believed that the several factions among them would never agree on any one German minister, but he also hesitated to report to them about a decision by the Society not to send a German minister. At the same time, the French were disturbed that he preached in German. In an effort to satisfy all the parties, de la Roche decided to declare himself "a Missionary not only to the French, but to all such as adhere to the Church of England, of whatever nation or language." He requested that the Society in the next yearly Abstract of its proceedings list him as "Missionary at Lunnenburgh and

²⁸Ibid., Dec. 21, 1753, Vol. XII, 310-2; ibid., May 17, 1754, Vol. XII, 356-7; ibid., Dec. 17, 1756, Vol. XIII, 194-5; ibid., Oct. 19, 1759, Vol. XIV, 197-8.

²⁹Bell, Foreign Protestants and Nova Scotia, 550-1; SPG Journal Oct. 19, 1770, Vol. XVIII, 411-4; ibid., Mar. 15, 1771, Vol. XIX, 22; ibid., Sept. 17, 1773, Vol. XIX, 467-9; ibid., Dec. 17, 1773, Vol. XX, 26-8.

not Missionary to the French, unless the Society would add to the Germans and English." A missionary to the Germans replaced de la Roche in 1784, but no more missionaries were sent to the French.³⁰

Despite the early pressure from the Board of Trade, the Church of England made little contact with French Catholics in Nova Scotia. Most of them were too distant from the English settlements to be served by the missionaries. The French Protestants accepted the Church of England and began to adopt the English language. By the decade of the 1770's, they had either moved away from the original settlement of foreign Protestants or had so changed as to nearly disappear as a distinct group within the British population of Nova Scotia.

Each of the three groups of French Protestants responded in a different fashion in its relationship with the Church of England. In South Carolina the existing French congregations were incorporated into the church establishment by law in 1706 after the French had joined with Anglicans to support that legislation over the opposition of English dissenters. Only after the Huguenot churches had become part of the legal establishment did the SPG give substantial aid which helped facilitate their adjustment to the Anglican liturgy and the use of English. In contrast, the French settlement at New Rochelle was supported by the Society shortly after its founding. As a requirement for aid the congregation conformed to the Church of England. Some members objected

³⁰Address of the General Assembly of Nova Scotia to Gov. Charles Lawrence, Jan. 5, 1760, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 11; SPG Journal, Feb. 17, 1775, Vol. XX, 296-300; Peter de la Roche to SPG, May 10, 1775, SPG Letters, B. 25, No. 189; Pascoe, Two Hundred Years, II, 861-2.

and departed. The Society never forced the remainder to abandon the French language. These people required the services of a French-speaking minister much longer than did those in South Carolina. Requests for the Society's support to the French in Nova Scotia came initially, not from the colony, but rather from the Board of Trade in London. Consistent with its responses to other requests from the Board, the SPG offered generous bounties in order to help the government in its plans to secure Nova Scotia more firmly to the British Empire. There were fewer French among the foreign Protestants sent to Nova Scotia than there were Germans. Within twenty years after the colonization, most of the French had moved away from the major English settlements or had abandoned their language and customs to lose their separate identity.

Chapter VII

Conclusion

During the course of the eighteenth century, the SPG carried out a consistent policy of assistance for the foreign Protestants in North America which included certain principles applied to all aid bestowed by the Society. Upon the premise that organized religion answered spiritual needs as well as supported the social order, the Society provided for the Church of England where the colonists could not fully maintain a church. It appointed and subsidized missionaries as well as schoolmasters, and shipped Bibles, book of Common Prayer, and pious tracts to impoverished settlements. Most aid depended theoretically upon the recipients' conforming to the Church of England.

The foreign Protestants benefited from the largesse of the Society because they were part of its general responsibility to the Church in the colonies, but assistance to this group also rested upon some special considerations. Aid to non-English churchmen was encouraged by the spirit of Latitude that pervaded the Anglican Church in the eighteenth century. English theologians tried to define a few essentials of doctrine that all Christians shared and to disregard differences in liturgical practices among Protestants as non-essential. They intended to overlook variations among the churches with the hope of restoring a fundamental harmony among all baptized men as children of God. As one result of this precept, the SPG did not demand that the foreign Protestants abandon all of their religious traditions as a condition for aid, nor that they exactly follow

all Anglican practices in order to be judged in conformity with the Church of England. Variations in the forms of Baptism and the Eucharist were allowed the French Huguenots, for example. The most common departure from Anglican liturgy was the use of a language other than English. Rather than demand that the foreign Protestants give up their language, the SPG sent thousands of books of Common Prayer, Bibles and tracts in German, Dutch, and French to enable the foreigners to subscribe to Anglicanism without giving up their language. That most of the foreigners did eventually adopt English was not the result of pressure from the English Church. In fact, worship services were frequently the last occasion in which the old language was used. Some congregations clung to their language even at the risk of losing young members who had abandoned their parents' tongue.

In addition to helping foreigners because of Latitudinarianism, the Church of England tried to initiate a re-union of the Protestant Churches of Europe. If, as Anglican divines maintained, agreement on only a few doctrines was essential, attempts to resolve the differences among Protestants should in time be successful. Meanwhile, optimistic that the Church of England would eventually head a united Protestantism, Anglicans were friendly with European churchmen. This association was transmitted to North America with several results. It encouraged the SPG to succor needy foreigners. In the colonies Anglicans were particularly close to Swedish Lutherans who not only resembled the Church of England in doctrine but also had retained an episcopal government. In addition, Anglicans were close to German Lutherans and Reformed as well as Dutch and French Reformed.

Although the Church of England was tolerant of many differences among churches, it could not accept the position of pietists who attempted to infuse the spirit of "enthusiasm" into religion. In the eighteenth century nearly all of the churches were threatened by a reform movement that rejected the traditional orthodoxy represented by the national churches. Most churches were split between an orthodox or traditional faction which insisted that the established church was the proper means to union with God. These conservatives believed that a church should accept all people seeking salvation through the agency of a lawfully ordained ministry, the sacraments, and the liturgy. Their opponents rejected the forms and traditions of the existing churches, arguing that salvation came directly from God and that membership in the community of Christians came only after conversion. Reformers complained that the churches over-emphasized doctrine and form of worship to the neglect of the emotional aspects of the religious experience. When a crisis occurred at mid-century during the revival known as the Great Awakening, the orthodox factions of the Protestant churches, faced with serious challenge from the pietists, were drawn closer together. The division within the churches helped determine the relations between the SPG and the foreign Protestants. The Society gave no aid to the pietistic sects but rather supported only the churches or the orthodox factions in the colonies.

Despite the relatively consistent policy of the SPG towards foreign Protestants, the effects of its bounty upon the recipients varied greatly according to the circumstances in which the foreigners found themselves. Among the factors influencing the results of aid from the Society were whether the newcomers could depend upon a strong Mother Church at home; the size of the immigrant group, especially in relation to the larger

society in which it settled; the length of time since its arrival; the political situation in the colony where the foreigners settled including the strength of the Anglican interest; and finally whether the foreigners were sent by the British government or relied on their own resources in moving.

Those foreign Protestants, such as the Dutch and the Swedes, who could rely on strong churches at home needed little support from the SPG. They were able to retain their liturgy and language for a longer time than the French who were very dependent upon help from other churches, including the Church of England. The Churches of Holland and Sweden supported extensive missionary efforts in the eighteenth century, much like the Anglicans. The type of relationship that existed in Europe among the national churches characterized the attitudes of their ministers and congregations in the colonies. There were many instances of mutual aid. Not only did the Church of England help the foreigners, but, in parts of New York where the Dutch outnumbered the Anglicans and along the Delaware where the Swedish Church was strong, Anglicans received the aid. Swedish Lutherans joined with Anglicans to defend orthodoxy; traditionalists among the Dutch found support from the Church of England in its struggles with the pietists. An indication of the close ties among the churches was the merger of the Swedish congregations with the American Episcopal Church after the Revolution. Anglicans were sympathetic with the desires of these churches to retain their liturgy and supported the Dutch faction that wanted to use the Dutch language in religious services.

In contrast to the Dutch and the Swedes, the French refugees had no support from the Mother Country. They either joined other churches or

sought help to maintain their Huguenot churches. In South Carolina, for example, the Huguenots joined with the Anglicans to benefit from inclusion in the colonial religious establishment. However, this affiliation brought pressure from colonial Churchmen to conform in all aspects of the liturgy while the SPG seemed less concerned with this problem. Eventually the Huguenots merged completely with the Anglicans in South Carolina and abandoned their special practices. In New York, the relatively isolated settlement at New Rochelle was able to keep the French language longer than did Huguenots in South Carolina. Like their southern brothers, however, the French in New Rochelle asked for assistance from the Church of England to preserve their religion. In order to get a missionary from the SPG, many of them agreed to join the Anglican Church. Others, refusing to abandon their old religion, received help from a dissenting faction in the Huguenot Church in New York.

Whereas the Dutch and the French represented the two extremes in the plight of foreign Protestants, the Germans were neither as fortunate as the Dutch nor as unfortunate as the French. There was no national church of Germany, but the Lutherans received help from the University at Halle and from the Swedish Lutherans. The Dutch in New York sustained the Reformed. Both German churches were aided by the Anglicans.

A second factor affecting the circumstances of the foreign Protestants was their size in relation to the rest of the population. The French, who scattered in many colonies, were unable to preserve their customary life and language because there were too few people to sustain a community. For the same reason, the Swedes also mixed into the English society. The Dutch, however, had built an organized society before the English captured New Netherland. For many decades, the Dutch outnumbered

the English in New York. They controlled the economy and exercised political power. Dutch manners and the language were abandoned so slowly that in many isolated communities Dutch was still spoken in the nineteenth century. The Germans constituted a substantial part of the population in Pennsylvania where they settled in greatest numbers. Rural settlers kept their traditional German customs, but the Germans never developed the kind of complex society in Pennsylvania that gave the Dutch such power in New York. The German society was underdeveloped because they arrived in the New World in significant numbers relatively late. The size of their migration shocked colonial officials who sought to have them absorbed as quickly as possible. Pressure on the foreigners to change their lives was greater on the Germans than on other newcomers. The SPG, which was generally unconcerned with language or secular customs of its beneficiaries, found that its aid was used by Anglican officials in Pennsylvania who sought to make the Germans English. Unlike the Germans, the Swedes and the French, who were present in small numbers, had been in the colonies for enough years that they had lost most of their traditional culture by the time of the American Revolution.

Another factor governing the circumstances of the non-English Protestants was the state of factional politics in the colonies where they settled. Both in New York and in Pennsylvania, leaders of competing factions courted the foreigners to enhance their power. The dissimilar conditions of the non-English groups in these two colonies produced different political situations. While the Anglicans and Presbyterians fought for political power in New York, the Dutch were experiencing a religious crisis that split their church into two parties. The Anglicans

sympathized with the orthodox faction which demanded retention of the Dutch language in worship services and continuing subordination to the Church in the Netherlands. This Dutch party, in turn, supported the Anglicans on the issue of control of King's College. In Pennsylvania, where the Anglicans contended with the Quakers, the most immediate problem was to attract the Germans from their passive adherence to Quaker policies. A partial solution was found in attempting to make the Germans part of the new society as quickly as possible by teaching them English. The real answer appeared in the question of military defense for the frontier. German Lutherans and Reformed joined Anglicans against the pacifism of the Quakers and German sects. These political ties were reinforced by the affinity between Anglicans and German churchmen who shared the orthodox or liturgical mode in religion and opposed the pietism of the sects. The German churches also supported the adoption of English because certain leaders, notably Henry M. Muhlenberg, were convinced that it was necessary to the prosperity of the Germans in the New World. In Pennsylvania, unlike New York, Anglican support encouraged the abandonment of foreign manners.

The French and the Swedes, few in numbers were scattered in several provinces. Wherever they did concentrate, they were not pursued to enhance the power of political factions to the extent that the Dutch and the Germans were courted. The Swedes did, however, join the Anglican interest in Pennsylvania. In South Carolina the French had joined with Anglicans against dissenters to obtain passage of the Ministry Act in 1706. After this success they were integrated into the Anglican establishment and did not act politically as a distinct group.

One other circumstance affected support by the SPG for foreign Protestants. At least two large groups of foreign Protestants were settled in North America by the British government through the agency of the Commissioners of Trade, a fact-finding and advisory board to the imperial government on colonial matters. The SPG responded very quickly when it was asked to supply ministers and schoolmasters for the poor Palatines settled in New York and for the French and Germans sent to Nova Scotia. Its aid for the Palatines in New York diminished when the government ceased supporting these people after the plan for producing naval stores failed. Once the Palatines scattered in New York, keeping them sufficiently supplied with ministers proved impossible. More than half of them moved to Pennsylvania and joined the other German churchmen in that colony. Support for the foreigners in Nova Scotia continued longer. Although the British government suspended the transportation of the foreigners soon after it began, the need to organize these newcomers into settlements and to keep them loyal to the British Crown remained. For as long as they remained in Halifax or in their town of Lunenburg, supplying them with ministers and schoolmasters was relatively easy. The smaller French group moved away from the towns within twenty years of settlement, and the SPG heard little from them thereafter. The Germans remained together longer and were served by the Society long after the French mission ended. The government of Nova Scotia was too young to have developed the kind of factional politics that might make the foreigners important to contending parties. In New York the Palatines were too few and too scattered to take part in that government's disputes.

As in the cases of the Dutch in New York and the Germans in Pennsylvania, the Society's aid to the religious needs of the foreign Protestants

sent to New York and Nova Scotia had political consequences. But the results in the latter situations did not affect the political fortunes of colonial factions. Rather the Society responded to plans of the Board of Trade to strengthen the Empire. The Palatines were to produce strategic materials and, by their presence on the frontier of New York, to act as security for that province. The foreign Protestants in Nova Scotia were to fill that territory with settlers loyal to Britain and so also to secure that colony from the threat of France.

The SPG, founded upon a benevolent impulse to encourage religion in the colonies, formulated its policies to include support for the needy settlers who desired to conform to the Church of England. This plan included foreigner as well as Englishman. However consistent the Society's policy, the effects, both direct and indirect, varied according to the conditions of the foreigners, the actions of colonial Churchmen, and the plans of British officials. By design or by accident it also served as an agency for assimilating non-British white settlers.

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