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A Study of Religious Factors in the Revolutionary Movement in N.Y. (1750-1776)
A STUDY OF RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN NEW YORK FROM 1750 to 1776

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FOREWORD

There are perhaps few subjects in American history the outstanding facts of which are better known to the average student, and about which more literature exists, than the American Revolution. In spite of our knowledge of the immediate occasions of this movement, there yet remains room for a thorough study of the underlying causes, reaching back into the beginnings of colonial history, and of the complicating factors, which increased the bitterness and intensity of the struggle. Among those complicating factors which remain to be studied more thoroughly are the religious and sectarian forces, whose importance in the revolutionary movement has been, until quite recently, either neglected or very superficially treated by most of our secondary writers. Since the appearance of Mellen Chamberlain's essay on John Adams and the exhaustive study of Cross on the Anglican Episcopate, historians writing on the Revolutionary period have inclined to give a little more than passing mention to religious influences, though their discussion is often

2. Chamberlain, John Adams, the Statesman... (New York and Boston, 1899).
3. Cross, Anglican Episcopate... (New York, 1902).
based only upon the materials found in these two works. Writers of church history have noted the existence of religious factors in the war for Independence, but have not made the relation of these to political issues clear, as this was outside their field.

The two quotations of contemporaries, which are most often cited to call attention to the importance given by those who participated in the Revolution to at least one religious factor, may be repeated here, as indicating that a problem does exist, a small portion of which is dealt with in this thesis, the problem of ascertaining the nature of religious influences in the Revolutionary movement. John Adams, writing in 1815, asks,

"Who will believe that the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago, as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies?"

A still stronger statement is made by the Anglican clergyman, Jonathan Boucher, of Maryland, in 1797. The beginning of his remark helps to explain why most writers overlook the religious factors in an account of the Revolutionary struggle; the latter half indicates the problem.


5. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, 344-352; Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church, 1:165-166,180; Hodge, Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church, 345.

"That the American opposition to episcopacy was at all connected with that still more serious one so soon afterwards set up against civil government, was not indeed generally apparent at the time: but it is now indisputable, as it also is that the former contributed not a little to render the latter successful....this controversy was clearly one great cause that led to the revolution,..."

It seems to be true that political and economic considerations pushed the religious issue into the background, as most of the literature of the times is filled with such rallying cries as "No taxation without representation", a watchword which would appeal to all, regardless of sectarian antipathies. Those who had special religious interests in the struggle, as for example, zealous Anglicans, naturally emphasized the importance of such antipathies. Others, such as Galloway, who felt that the series of acts from 1765 to 1774 were not in themselves cause for such an outburst of opposition as appeared, sought for other and more fundamental reasons for resistance and found them in the character of the early settlers in New England and in their religious beliefs. Still others, who like Adams, looked back after a lapse of time over the period of conflict, realized that the way for the break with England had been prepared long before hostilities began and that differences in religious life were as important as any others in bringing about the separation.

8. Cf. "Letter to a Gentleman in London", New York, May 31, 1774. "You will have discovered that I am no friend to Presbyterians, and that I fix all the blame of those extraordinary American proceedings upon them,..." Force, American Archives, 4:301 n.
Despite the increased notice given to religious factors in the Revolution, largely as a result of the work of Cross and Chamberlain, little further investigation of this subject through the use of sources has been carried on. When, therefore, a recent article by Van Tyne, based upon the use of much fresh material, raised the problem again, it had a stimulating effect. In concluding this very suggestive article he says:

"After twelve years' study of the period, I am not convinced that the economic causes of which so much has been made are adequate alone to explain the bitterness of the controversy.... Among the causes, I rate religious bigotry, sectarian antipathy, and the influence of the Calvinistic clergy,... as among the most important." 12

Influenced by Van Tyne's work, the writer of this thesis has attempted a study of the religious factors in the Revolutionary movement as it took place in New York. Becker's study of political parties in this colony during the years 1760 to 1776 provides a careful description of the background and of the general situation in which religious forces operated, forces which he himself does not discuss. That New York furnishes a good field of study is indicated by the numerous printed sources available and especially by the existence of two contemporary histories written, the one by a Presbyterian, the other by an ardent Episcopalian.

12. Ibid., 64.
It must be clear to the reader that the Revolution cannot be explained by any one formula. It was not wholly an economic and political struggle nor was it a "religious war". To what degree religious factors were active, at least in New York, is to be shown in this thesis. The conclusions are based upon investigation along two lines: first, an attempt to discover whether there was any distinct religious issue and if so, what was its importance as a cause of the revolution; and second, a study of the political struggle with the aim of discovering the part taken on political issues by the various denominations, noting their attitude and influence as religious bodies, and noting the attitude and influence of individual members, lay and clerical, of the various religious denominations, and the attitude and influence of these denominations as organized groups.
Chapter I

SURVEY OF THE POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF NEW YORK TO 1750

"Not a clause in the Declaration of Independence sets forth the real and underlying causes of the American Revolution." With this startling sentence the writer of the volume of the American Nation series which treats this period begins his book. One may be surprised, and yet it remains true, as historians more and more are pointing out, that the break with England must inevitably have come as a result of the character of those who settled this continent and of the conditions of frontier life which developed and magnified differences between the colonists and the Mother Country. If, then, we would fully understand the revolutionary movement, whether in its larger aspects or as limited to a single colony, our special study here being New York, we must know what manner of people they were who came to America during the first hundred years.

The economic motive was primarily the one which led to the discovery, exploration, and first attempts at settlement of the New World, whether we follow the Spaniard in search for gold, the Frenchman in pursuit of the fur trade, or the English and Dutch adventurers seeking commercial advantages for themselves and their nation. Great companies were organized in Holland and in England after the order of the earlier trading companies to undertake the exploitation of America, the Dutch West India Company being formed in 1621.

Although the economic motive was the directing force in the colonization of the new lands, it was not sufficient to secure
settlers in large numbers. Only by appealing to those who were dis-
satisfied with conditions at home could the companies obtain colo-
nists to brave the terrors of the Atlantic and the hardships of life
in a new country. In the seventeenth century the causes for dis-
content and unrest were very largely religious. The unsatisfactory
treatment of dissenters from the Established Church of England, es-
pecially in Laud's time, the persecution of Quakers and Anabaptists
everywhere, the Huguenot wars in France and the Revocation of the
Edict of Nantes, all resulted in the formation of large groups will-
ing to leave home and face unknown dangers if by so doing they might
secure freedom to obey the dictates of conscience. To classes such
as these the great entrepreneurs appealed by offering a large meas-
ure of toleration.

While the religious motive predominated in the New England
colonies and in Pennsylvania where the directors of the movement
were themselves actuated by the desire to carry on "holy experi-
ments", in other colonies the economic motive was strongest. New
York finds itself among these latter. The Dutch West India Company
had no religious aim, but it assumed responsibility for the re-
ligious life of the colonists. While giving the Dutch Reformed
Church the favored position, it was as tolerant of dissent as pos-
sible, partly as a result of the liberal spirit of the Dutch people,
but largely to secure a successful settlement of New Netherland, as
the colony was called. Some of the responsibility for the re-

1. See "Articles for the Colonization and Trade of New Nethen
1638, in Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York:
1:110-112; also ibid; 1:123..
igious life of the colonists was shifted later to the patroons or large landholders. No dissenting bodies suffered under this policy of the company until the rule of the hot-tempered Stuyvesant at the end of the period of Dutch possession, when Lutherans, Jews, Baptists, and Quakers were persecuted. Stuyvesant was not, however, supported by the company, which reproved him for his action, although it was unwilling to admit any of these groups to the privileges of the Dutch Reformed Church. The attitude of the company appears very clearly in a letter of the directors to Stuyvesant the year before the English conquest.

"Your last letter informed us that you had banished from the Province and sent hither by ship a certain Quaker, John Bowne by name; although we heartily desire, that these and other sectarians remained away from there, yet as they do not, we doubt very much, whether we can proceed against them rigorously without diminishing the population and stopping immigration, which must be favored at a so tender stage of the country's existence. You may therefore shut your eyes, at least not force people's consciences, but allow every one to have his own belief, as long as he behaves quietly and legally, gives no offence to his neighbors and does not oppose the government. As the government of this city has always practised this maxim of moderation and consequently has often had a considerable influx of people, we do not doubt, that your Province too would be benefitted by it." 2

The number of races and sects attracted to New York as a result of this policy is seen in a report of Governor Dongan in 1687 to the Board of Trade.

"New York has first a Chaplain belonging to the Fort of the Church of England; Secondly, a Dutch Calvinist, thirdly a French Calvinist, fourthly a Dutch Luteran—Here bee not many of the Church of England; few Roman Catholicks; abundance of Quakers preachers men and Women especially; Singing Quakers, Kanting Quakers; Sabbatarians; Antisabbatarians; Some Anabaptists some Independents; some Jews; in short of all sorts of opinions there are some, and the most part of none at all...the most prevailing opinion is that of the Dutch Calvinists". 3

2. Documents rel. to the Colonial History of New York, 14:526; see also ibid., 14:351.
A statement in 1695 by the Reverend John Miller, chaplain of the Fort, to the Bishop of London, bears this out. He estimates the strength of religious bodies then in the province as follows:

- Dutch: 1,754 families
- Dissenters (English): 1,355
- French: 261
- Lutherans: 45
- Episcopalians: 90
- Jews: 20

When the colony passed from the control of the Dutch into the hands of the English, the policy of toleration was continued by the "Duke's Laws" of 1664, the instructions to Andros in 1674, and by the Charter of Liberties of 1683, drawn up by the assembly and approved by the Duke. When James became King of England, however, this approval was withdrawn, and instructions were issued to Dongan which gave the Anglican church privileges above all the rest, while granting toleration of worship to others. Until 1692 there was little ecclesiastical interference on the part of the governors, except for the persecution of Catholics by Leisler, which action was later made permanent by the action of the assembly in 1700-1701, with the result that Catholics were the only sect deprived of political rights in New York down to 1776, if we except the Quakers, whose refusal to take an oath excluded them from certain privileges.

In 1693 Governor Fletcher succeeded, after repeated efforts, in securing the passage of a bill by the assembly which cre-

4. American Church History, 8:109-110; see also the table on these pages.
ated, not the establishment of the Church of England, but state support of six Protestant ministers in four counties, New York, Richmond, Westchester, and Queens. As it stood, the law did not alter the policy of toleration but it did provide, through its ambiguity, a means which could be and was used by the English governors to secure more and more privileges for the Anglican church. Its immediate effect was the successful application of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York City for a charter, in 1696, granted because of one of the articles of agreement between the Dutch and the English both in 1664 and in 1674. This action was followed by the securing of charter for Trinity Episcopal Church in 1697. The assumption that the Anglican Church was established in New York was consistently held by the English governors, supported by their instructions from home, the act of 1693, as they interpreted it, and later by the belief that English law extended to the colonies and therefore that the church establishment of South Britain applied to New York. That the colonists held other views, the interpretation given to the act of 1693 by the assembly in 1695, and the various attempts made by the assembly to repeal the act give evidence, although the assembly was not powerful enough to act very successfully until after 1769.

The first attempt to apply the act in a way which aroused the enmity of the non-Anglicans was during Cornbury's term of office. Then his treatment of Makemie, a Presbyterian preacher, his attempt to exercise the inducing power in the case of Freeman versus Antonides, and his forced displacement of the Presbyterian pastor at Jamaica, a town not included in the Ministry Act, in favor of an Anglican clergyman, all resulted in ill-feeling and rancour between the Anglicans and the dissenters which, although it did not influence party politics, yet existed, especially in the country districts, down to 1750 when it was utilized by a group of politicians as a basis for the organization of a party of opposition. It may be noted here that, so far as numbers went, the Anglicans were the dissenters, but since official privilege and power created an establishment, in fact, if not in law, it is customary to speak of non-Anglicans as dissenters.

The division into "Presbyterian" and "Anglican" parties, as they were commonly known, had an influence upon the course of the Revolutionary movement in New York, which is not generally realized. The struggle within the colony for the independence of the dissenting groups from the domineering position of the Anglican party, reached its height just before the struggle with England began, and one reacted upon the other. There was a similar movement in Pennsylvania which has been studied by C. H. Lincoln, and a conflict of like character in Virginia between the dissenters in the Piedmont

17. Ibid., 3:205-311.
and the Episcopal party in control at Williamsburg. No adequate study has been made of the Virginia or New York situation, to bring out the influence of religion upon politics. Becker's study of the revolutionary movement in New York confines itself to a study of political parties, and he does not seem to realize the importance of religious factors in the formation and history of those parties. Doubtless the religious element may have been introduced into parties by the politicians very largely for political reasons.

Moreover, in the international crisis there was an endeavor, as will be seen, to suppress sectarian differences for the sake of unity in the larger struggle. Nevertheless the writer of this thesis hopes to prove that the revolutionary movement in New York cannot be understood without taking into account the religious factors.

Very briefly, some of the events in New York colonial history to 1750 will be noted here before discussing the definite entrance of the religious element into politics, in order to understand how the "Presbyterian" and "Anglican" parties came to be organized and how feeling between these two groups came to be general enough among the people to be drawn upon successfully by the new parties.

 Mention has already been made of the causes of ill-feeling during Cornbury's term. Cases arising out of his action continued to disturb the public peace down to 1731, while others of like na-

19. The case of Freeman vs. Antonides was not settled until 1714; the struggle between Presbyterians and Anglicans at Jamaica lasted to 1731; see the case of Poyer, Documentary History of New York, 3:218-311.
ture arose, especially in the four counties to which the act of 1693 applied. The application of the newly organized Presbyterian Church in New York City for a charter, failed twice in 1720, due to the opposition of the trustees of Trinity Church. During this early period the struggle between the assembly and the Governor for control of the purse was becoming more and more prominent.

In the time of Cosby, parties began definitely to form on the issue of the governor's prerogative versus the assembly. Religion played a part in politics occasionally, however. In 1732 in the suit against Van Dam the Dutch were lined up against the English, Dissenters against Episcopalians. The Zenger trial in the next few years aroused interest all over the country, involving as it did the principle of the freedom of the press. In this trial Alexander, Smith, and Morris supported the popular party against DeLancey, an Anglican. Of the first three, Morris was an Episcopalian, and the others were Presbyterians. Soon after Clinton became governor the leaders changed sides; DeLancey entered the opposition while Smith, Alexander and Morris took the part of the

20. Westchester county, Independents complain against paying rates to the Anglicans in 1727, see Webster, History of the Presbyterian Church, 378-379; cf. Documentary History of N.Y., 3:939; Suffolk County, Anglicans complain against dissenters, Documentary History of New York, 3:386-389.
governor. Finally, in 1753, DeLancey, by the action of the English government in 1747 became acting head of the colony, and was in control until 1759. In this position he was forced to play a double role. Toward the home government he had to keep up an appearance of attempting to control the assembly; yet he had stood against that very thing for some time, and so let it be understood by the legislature that his opposition was only formal. It is quite apparent that up to 1750 there was little real principle in the make-up of parties, the personal element being the deciding factor in nearly all cases. Yet certain principles were forming and some leaders were becoming identified either with the conservative or with the more radical group.

Although sectarian rivalry did not enter into politics to any great extent in this period, it remained latent, while the two groups of Anglicans and dissenters grew stronger through increase in size and organization. The activity of the S.P.G. from 1701 on aroused opposition at first, but later was successful in building up churches, especially in counties where it had the support of the Government.

The Great Awakening in the period of the thirties resulted in a temporary revival of interest in religion and an increase in the membership of churches, but it also, unfortunately, caused a split in Presbyterian ranks and the formation of the synod of New

29. See, for example, Documentary History of New York, 3:312-332.
York in 1745, distinct from the synod of Philadelphia. This state of affairs continued until 1750 when the two united into the synod of New York and Philadelphia. This synod included Presbyterians in nearly all the colonies south of New England. The dissension within the Presbyterian church and a further ill consequence for it prevented the success of a plan suggested by the church authorities in Holland for the union of Dutch, German, and English Calvinists in America, a plan which, if successful might have altered the course of both religious and political history in this country. The Dutch Reformed group formed a separate "Coetus" in 1747 and in 1772 obtained substantial independence from Holland. Although this denomination was nearly akin to the Presbyterians, and though many Presbyterians were recruited from its ranks, because of its persistent use of the Dutch language, nevertheless, in New York City, the Dutch Reformed Church, made up as it was of the conservative group who clung to the older language and the traditions of a "state" religion, and whose members were largely of the old Dutch aristocracy, was more friendly to the Anglicans than to the Presbyterians. The dissensions in the New York City churches about 1750, as interpreted by Livingston, illustrate this. The German Calvinists were a less important group. They secured independence from Holland in 1793.

31. Philadelphia Presbytery, organized 1705, American Church History, 6:19; Synod of Philadelphia, organized 1717, ibid., 6:25; Synod of New York, organized 1745, ibid., 6:34.
32. American Church History, 6:43.
34. American Church History, 8:139.
35. American Church History, 8:174.
37. American Church History, 8:323.
Other sects were numerous in New York but none were as important as those already mentioned. The Quaker element in 1734 endeavored to free itself from certain civil restrictions and succeeded in part. The persecution of the Moravians, however, in the next decade, is a blot on New York's religious history.

In the period of the fifties, when we shall see, religion entered definitely into politics, New York was a thriving colony with a population in 1756 of 96,765 as compared with 1,370,000 in the colonies as a whole. There were four clearly marked classes, the large landholders, the merchants, the lawyers, and the small farmers, artisans, and traders. The struggle of the assembly with the governors had resulted in a large measure of success for the former through its policy of making money grants for the period of one year only. So far as division into separate sects goes, we have the estimate of a New England clergyman in 1759. The figures relate to the number of ministers.

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<td>43. Mass.Hist.Soc. Collections, series II, volume 1:156-157; cf. Documents relative to the Colonial History of N.Y.,7:397-398.</td>
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The Church of England, though very much in the minority, possessed
many of the privileges of an Established Church, a position of superiority over the dissenting groups which they as they grew stronger, resented more and more bitterly. When there should come a definite issue they were ready to put up a good fight for equal treatment with the Anglicans before the law. The Anglicans, on the other hand, realized that they were greatly outnumbered, and could be counted on to cling tenaciously to those privileges upon which they felt their very existence depended.
Chapter II

THE KINGS COLLEGE EPISODE - ENTRANCE OF A RELIGIOUS ISSUE INTO NEW YORK POLITICS

A survey of the history of New York to 1750 makes it quite apparent that during these years the ill-feeling between Anglicans and dissenters had been accentuated by one event after another until there lacked but some clear cut issue to call forth the bitterest sectarian controversy. In 1751 the attempt to establish Kings College (now Columbia) on an episcopal foundation was the occasion for such a struggle, the violence of which can only be fully understood by a knowledge of the activities and plans of the Church authorities in England in the years just preceding. The New York controversy, in itself rather petty and trivial, is, in the light of these plans, connected with the struggle over the question of the American Episcopate which was intercolonial in its scope.

In 1740, Thomas Secker, Bishop of Oxford, preached a sermon before the Society for Propagating the Gospel at its annual meeting, in which sermon he strongly urged an American Episcopate, renewing a subject which had not been discussed for nearly thirty years. This sermon aroused immediate opposition, especially in New England, where it was answered by a Congregational minister, the Reverend Andrew Eliot. The political significance of the establishment of an American bishopric was clearly seen by Eliot, a significance which the colonists could not forget, despite the claim of the Anglicans that no infringement of political liberty, and no inter-

ference in the affairs of other sects was intended. Eliot reasoned thus:

"If a prelate is introduced some way must be found out for his support. Every art will be used to prevail with our assemblies to lay a tax.... If the provincial assemblies should refuse to tax the inhabitants for the support of a bishop, the whole strength of the Church of England will be united to procure an act of Parliament." 2

Secker was not alone in his efforts; he found an American ally in Doctor Johnson of Connecticut, who since 1723 had been endeavoring to move the English government to action on this question; and a strong supporter in Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London from 1748 to 1761. The latter, in 1748, sent an agent to America to discover the attitude of the colonists upon the subject of the proposed episcopate, and this agent talked with several merchants and other prominent men in New York as well as in other colonies.

This increased activity of the Anglican leaders had its influence upon the policy of the Anglican interest in New York when arrangements for the establishment of a college in that colony were being made in 1751. Funds collected for this purpose by a lottery, authority for which had been granted by the assembly in 1746, were placed in the hands of trustees in 1751. Of these trustees, seven were Anglicans, two, members of the Dutch Church, and one, William Livingston, a Presbyterian. The Anglican members of the board encouraged the offer on the part of the wardens and vestry of Trinity

4. Ibid., 112-138.
5. Ibid., 116.
Church, of a certain lot of ground for the erection of the college. Shortly after this, Doctor Johnson of Connecticut, who had been so active in his efforts to secure an American episcopate, was asked to become President of the new institution.

In 1754 the trustees were ready to apply to DeLancey, the acting governor, for a charter under the great seal which favored the Episcopalians to the extent that it provided that the President must be a member of the Church of England and that the religious exercises of the college should make use of the Book of Common Prayer. This did not prevent students of other persuasions from attending their respective churches when they chose, a privilege which the New England colleges, Yale and Harvard, denied to Anglican students. Nevertheless, the proposed charter was decidedly in favor of the Established Church, as Sherlock, for example, acknowledges in a letter to Johnson, when he writes:

"...but if the College can be settled upon the terms you mentioned, it will go a great way in showing that the zeal for establishing the Church of England is not so inconsiderable in New-England as it has sometimes been industriously represented."

The Anglicans secured the sealing of their charter by the governor, who was himself a warm "friend to Religion and the Church", but it was a victory that was followed by a long contest for the approval of the assembly, a contest preceded and attended by a violent newspaper controversy which raised sectarian antipathy to a very high pitch, and resulted in the organization of a political party strong

enough to defeat the DeLancey party which had been in control for a period of ten years.

This political revolution could not have been accomplished if it had not been for the organizing ability of a group of young Presbyterian lawyers, under the leadership of William Livingston. Up to this time, the lawyers had been classed in one group by the governors of New York, as the 'Faction' which had always acted as a party of opposition to the prerogative power of the governor. Alexander, Smith, Lewis Morris and DeLancey, all leaders in New York politics up to this time, were lawyers and although two were Presbyterians and two, Anglicans, they usually worked together to secure greater power and independence for themselves and their profession. The attempt to give the Anglicans the favored position in the new college touched the dissenters in a very tender spot. As late as 1772 the feeling was still strong "that the establishment of the college in the city of New York in the year 1754, on its present narrow Episcopal plan, after the legislature had granted a sum of money for the erection and support of a college on a broad bottom is justly considered as an infringement of the religious liberty of the province." It is no wonder that the 'Faction' became divided and that the Presbyterian lawyers could no longer unite with DeLancey, but set themselves to defeat him and his party and to secure justice for their own group.

Fortunately there was an instrument at hand which could be utilized to advantage. This was the "Independent Reflector", in its origin, probably the first non-political paper printed in New York.

and perhaps in the colonies. The first number was issued November 30, 1752, with William Livingston as the chief editor and his fellow lawyers, John M. Morin Scott and William Smith, the younger, as contributors. The nature of the paper may be seen from a list of some of the subjects treated.

"No. VII. A proposal of some further Regulation for the speedier and more effectual Extinguishment of Fires.

No. IX. The selling of Offices which require skill and confidence, a dismal omen of the declension of a state.

No. XIII. Of party Divisions.

No. XXVIII. On the Delays of Chancery.

No. XXIX. Of Extravagant Funerals."

When the evidences of sectarian influence upon the college charter became clear, Livingston began a series of articles in support of a non-sectarian college, and soon found himself involved in an attack upon Episcopacy in general, and its claim to 'Establishment' in New York.

The strength of the opposition to the college charter led many to believe that there must have been an organization earlier, for the purpose of opposing the Church interest. Since the three young lawyers leading the opposition were all Yale graduates, and all members of the same Presbyterian church in New York City, whose pastor, Alexander Cummins, was an energetic and zealous co-worker with the 'triumvirate', as they were commonly called; and since a "Whig Club" had been formed in 1752 by these same young men, at the meetings of which, so it was reported, the "usual and customary toasts" were to "the immortal memory" "of Oliver Cromwell," "of John Hamden," and other Puritan leaders in the Commonwealth days:

17. Ibid., 5:3427-3432.
it is no wonder that some drew the inference that in this club there were "plans laid, schemes devised, and resolutions formed for carrying the grand project into execution, of pulling down the Church, ruining the Constitution, or heaving the whole province into confusion."

There was some basis for the charge of 'republicanism' which Jones, the Tory historian of New York, so often applies to the Triumvirate. Such phrases as "for great is the Authority, exalted the dignity, and powerful the Majesty of the People," occur more than once in the "Independent Reflector", but they need to be interpreted in the light of the very limited form of democracy of the school of Burke which was in vogue among the aristocratic Whigs of England at this time.

Opposition to the proposed charter was not limited to agitation through the press. When the Council took action in 1754 on the petition for a charter, sanctioned by the legislature as well as by the Great Seal affixed by the governor, the petition was approved, but the Presbyterian lawyers, Alexander and Smith, the elder, entered a protest. In the report of the trustees to the assembly, William Livingston was permitted to present a minority report, containing "Twenty Unanswerable Reasons."

While the assembly debated the question of accepting this charter or another one, framed by John Morin Scott and presented by

the member from Livingston manor, providing for a non-sectarian college. Livingston, whose paper, the "Independent Reflector" had been discontinued at the end of 1753, and republished as a whole with a preface in January 1754, now began, in November of that year, a new paper, the "Watch Tower" which ran for a year and was very similar to the earlier paper. He had incurred the wrath of the Anglican clergy already, but they now organized their opposition and took an active part in answering the articles in the "Watch Tower" with a "view to prevent the ill effects . . . on the minds of the people" which these articles, "tending" as the Anglican clergy thought, "to corrupt the principles of the people with regard to government, and to weaken their attachment to the Constitution of this Country."

As the assembly was slow in acting, the efforts of those outside became more and more radical. An article predicting tithes and prelacy, and persecution of dissenters within twenty years, if the Anglicans had their way, appeared in the "Watch Tower", a far-fetched notion, but one which readily inflamed the minds of the people, and which had some foundation in the reports of the activity of Secker and Sherlock. The next year an account of the trial of McKeemie (sic) was reprinted with a preface by Livingston,

25. Sedgwick, William Livingston, 89.
26. Ibid., 76n, Livingston's acknowledgment in one issue of his paper,"thanking" the reverend gentleman who "made him the subject of his sermon" and proved him "to be the Gog and Magog of the Apocalypse, who have hitherto puzzled all the divines in the world."
27. Seabury's narrative, some twenty years later. He was a participant in the controversies at this time. See Magazine of American History, 8:119.
29. For an account of the trial see chapter one of this thesis, note 16.
indicating the connection in his mind between the persecution of dissenters then, and the danger now. Jones, whose bitter anti-presbyterian prejudice must be taken into account always, accuses the triumvirate of stooping to the use of forged petitions to the assembly, petitions from Quakers, Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Anabaptists, Moravians, Seceders, Independents and sect paratists. He describes the tumult caused by these proceedings most vividly. "The whole province", so he writes, "was put into a ferment, meetings in all the towns and districts were called, inflammatory speeches in such meetings made; the Counties were canvassed, the presbyterian pulpits thundered sedition."

The controversy finally resulted in a partial victory for both parties, so far as the settlement of the college question was concerned. In November, 1756, the Dissenting forces, having given up the attempt to secure a new charter, succeeded in diverting one half of the funds raised for the college to the erection of a jail and a pest house.

The incident, narrated in this chapter, may seem petty and trivial in its details, but it was among the most important of those "minor and local incidents" which "gave color to the larger strife to come, determined the taking of sides, aided to enflame hearts, and thus are lifted into some significance by the dignity of the nobler sequel." The immediate result was that "the mutual animosity

31. Ibid., 1:183.
32. Sedgwick, William Livingston, 111; Documents rel. to the Colonial History of New York, 7:217.
33. Wilson, Memorial History of New York, 2:303.
of the two English churches, Episcopalian and Presbyterian, was the most potent political force in the colony." During the latter half of the struggle over the college, the "suit of Presbyterianism versus Episcopacy was merged in the cause of the common people versus DeLancey aristocracy;" and the suggestion that "the Seeker proposition, the plan for a new college, and the aristocratic and Tory sympathies of the DeLancey party were all but parts of one great whole" was readily accepted by the people. A new political party was soon formed, which in the septennial elections of 1758 returned a majority of its number for the assembly and thus defeated the DeLancey party. During the next decade the party in power was known by various names, the 'Livingston' party, the 'presbyterian' party, the 'republican' faction, and sometimes, the 'Whig interest' or even just the 'lawyers', as Colden usually refers to them.

It is well to stop to consider here what the word 'republican' meant in those days. It seems to have the connotation that Bolshevism has today, when we read such comments on the triumvirate as that of Judge Jones, when he attributes the opposition of Livingston, Scott, and Smith to "the Church, the English Constitution, and the College" to their education at Yale, that "nursery of sedition, of faction and republicanism;" or when we see Colden's statement that

34. Levermore in American Historical Review, 1:239.
35. Ibid., 1:243.
36. Ibid., 1:240.
38. Jones, History of New York, 1:18n; cf. Flick, Loyalism in New York, 18; see Smith, op. cit., 2:331, "The elections demonstrated that all threats used to influence the multitude were insufficient to extinguish the flames of jealousy excited by the partial preeminence given to one denomination in the modelling of the college."
40. Ibid., 1:18n, "These in conjunction with the old anti-republican members, formed a large majority against the Presbyterian faction, which was now dubbed by the name of the Whig Interest."
41. Ibid., 1:15.
42. Ibid., 1:3.
"for some years past, three popular Lawyers, educated in Connecticut, who have strongly imbibed the Independent principles of the country, have zealously endeavored to propagate their principles both in Religious and Civil matters & for that end made use of every artifice they can invent to calumniate the administration in every Exercise of the Prerogative....they got the applause of the Mob by their licentious harangues & by propagating the Doctrine that all authority is derived from the People." 43

The real nature of the 'republicanism' of these men was not nearly as radical as appears from the charges of opponents. It was only the political philosophy of "aristocratic Whigs, equally anxious to clip the pinions of ambitious royalty and to curb the insolence of the unlettered mob." The reaction of Livingston and Smith at the time of the Stamp Act mob violence, the moderate attitude taken by both these men down to the period of the Declaration of Independence and the Loyalist position of Smith after that event, indicate that the 'republicanism' of these men must have been of a moderate sort. We must remember the bitterness of the times when Thomas Jones wrote his book, his personal reasons for antipathy toward the triumvirate, and the Presbyterians in general, if we would understand what it was that the leaders of the pre-revolutionary "Whig" party stood for.

A religious issue was the occasion, as we have seen, for the formation of new parties in the decade between 1750 and 1760. How long party lines were drawn on the basis of sectarian antipathies, and how important this division was in relation to others will be traced in the following chapters.

44. Levermore in American Historical Review, 1:245.
Chapter III

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN NEW YORK POLITICS, 1760-1767.

In the years between 1760 and 1767 the event of greatest significance is, of course, the passage and repeal of the Stamp Act. Politics in New York were, during this period, in the control of the 'Livingston party' which had a majority in the assembly after the election of 1759 and again in 1761 in the new assembly chosen after the new king, George III, came to the throne. After the excitement of the preceding decade, and the split in the ranks of the lawyer class, there was a period of comparative quiet, and a willingness to unite again on questions which involved the interests of the profession, regardless of sectarian differences.

During the first two years Colden, always a strong supporter of the prerogative, acted as governor. In the recess after the first meeting of the new assembly, one of the judges of the supreme court having died, Colden proceeded to appoint a new member of the bench to hold office during the King's pleasure. This attack upon the independence of the judiciary was met by a prolonged struggle in the assembly on the question of granting the commission to judges on such tenure. Mr. Pratt, a Boston lawyer, accepted the position, but he was never able to secure his salary from the assembly and finally withdrew in 1762. Both parties were united on this issue and sent a series of addresses to the King concerning it.

which one author characterizes as "the most elaborate and courageous state papers that had up to that time emanated from any legislative body on this continent."

The next few years there was comparatively little in local politics to excite interest. The colony was busy with its part in the French and Indian War until the peace in 1763. Meantime, however, the dissenting interests seized the opportunity to secure a greater measure of freedom for themselves. In 1759 the Lutheran and Presbyterian churches in New York City applied to the King for charters, and in 1763 a Dutch Reformed church, a Huguenot church and a Lutheran church followed their example. These all met with a refusal, on the advice of Colden that,

"As the Dissenters in this and the neighboring Colonies are more numerous than those of the Church of England, Your Lord will judge how far it is consistent with good policy and the English Constitution to put the Dissenters, in respect to the point in question, upon an equality with the Established Church..." 5

The very same year, it must be noted, the petition of Kings College for a grant of land, in the colony, released from quit rents, was reported on favorably by the Board of Trade. The attempt of Phillips to extend the application of the Act of 1693 to his manor during this year failed, through the efforts of the Dissenters.

In spite of these facts, which gave the unprivileged Dissenters further cause for complaint, the leading lawyers of both parties united once more on the question of the right of appeal from a jury decision to a court set up by the prerogative of the Crown.

5. Documents rel. to the Colonial History of New York, 7:586; see ibid., 7:642.
This question was raised by Golden's action in granting a writ of error allowing an appeal from the courts of common law to the Governor and Council of the Province in 1764. The opinion of the lawyers was delivered in writing, by request of the council, and answered in the negative. Mr. Justice Jones, an Anglican member of the Supreme court, refused to give any reply.

This year there was a larger cause than that of the lawyers against the King's prerogative as exercised by the governor. The report of plans to secure the passage of a Stamp Act by Parliament drew forth from the assembly an address to the Governor which sounded the key note of the coming contest. "We hope", so the address ran, "your Honour will join us in an endeavor to secure that great badge of English liberty of being taxed only with our own consent to which we conceive all his Majesty's subjects at home and abroad equally entitled." This doctrine was repeated a month later in a petition to king and Parliament. Committees of correspondence were soon created in the various colonies for united opposition to the measure.

When the act was passed, in 1765, it met with violent opposition in New York, as elsewhere, led by an organization which came to be called the Sons of Liberty. One writer, Dawson, who has studied the subject with care, believes that the Sons of Liberty

15. Ibid., 2:342-343.
were of the same body of men as the association of lawyers that since 1744 had been attempting to free the judiciary from the exercise of the king's prerogative, and which in 1752 had met as the 'Whig' Club, the leading members being, as we know, Livingston, Smith, and Scott. From the character of the first two, and their attitude toward later events, it is quite certain that Dawson's statement is not true. These men had doubtless used the "mob" in the years when the "presbyterian" party was forming, but they disliked mob rule as much as the rule of the few. While the true Sons of Liberty were the first to demand independence in New York, these men were slow to accept the idea. Livingston was accused by his opponents of desiring and prophesying separation from England as early as 1769, yet in 1768 he allowed the following to appear in his paper, the American Whig:

"I could not look on the late tumults and commotions occasioned by the unhappy Stamp Act, without the most tender concern, knowing the consequences ever to be dreaded, of a rupture between the mother country and these plantations." 18

The leadership of the Sons of Liberty was in the hands of such men as McDougal and Sears, seafaring men of bold and daring character and with little property to be endangered by the mob. It is true that John Morin Scott did join them, and that the Livingston party, led at this time by Judge Robert Livingston, did not discourage them. It is further true that all but the last mentioned

20. Ibid., 2:351; under the name 'Freeman', Scott wrote thus in the summer of 1765. "It is not the tax; it is the unconstitutional manner of imposing it....If then the interest of the Mother Country and her Colonies can not be made to coincide,...then the connection
were dissenters. Strange as it might seem, Livingston was a member of the Church of England, and, in Governor Moore's opinion, "very well affected to his Majesty's person and Government."

While the Sons of Liberty were pressing for radical action, the more moderate leaders of all parties agreed to the suggestion for a continental congress in New York in October, 1765. This body drew up resolutions, and adjourned to wait for a reply from the home government. The arrival of the stamps, however, stirred up the mob to action. The unity of all parties up to this time was not perfect, as an incident during the stamp riot indicates. Captain Montressor, of the English then quartered in New York, records in his journal that "the mob got the permission to toll the Bells of the several churches, meetings and other Houses of worship except the Churches of England which they broke into & tolled the bells...

Colden, deserted in his support of the King's measure by the majority of both parties, was yet supported by "a few' disinterested friends," like General Gage, Major James, Sir William Johnson and the Church of England ministers."

At a mass meeting, a few days after this riot, the will and spirit of the people was so plainly manifested that the stamps were finally lodged in the city hall and there was a period of com-


21. For Hicks cf. American Historical Review, 6:500; for Sears, see Documents rel. to the Col. Hist. of New York, 8:219n.
parative quiet. The problem then arose as to whether to continue business without stamps, which would be illegal, or to quietly wait, without a resumption of trade, until the act was repealed. The latter method bore hardest on the common people and finally resorted to a mass meeting at which they drew up instructions to their members in the assembly. The meeting was, however, controlled by the attendance of some of the conservative leaders and the committee to present the instructions included Livingston, Smith, Scott, and Hicks, all dissenters, and Alsop and DeLancey, of the Anglicans, besides others of the prerogative party. It is no wonder that Colden hated and feared the lawyers, since these men were all of that profession.

In March, 1766, came the repeal of the Stamp Act, and the dissolution of the Sons of Liberty. The colony, ignoring the Declaratory Act, was almost as loyal to the King as it had ever been. Unified as the people were on this question, the events of these two years resulted in a break in the ranks of the presbyterian party. The more conservative leaders, such as Livingston and Smith, were displeased with the action of the radicals, who, on their part, had grown to be less dependent on their old leaders, and were finding others within their own number.

That the religious differences were not hidden by the larger issue of the day, the comment of contemporaries is evidence. One writer, in 1766, comments that "since my first settling in this City" (referring to New York) "which is now upwards of seventeen

27. Documents relative to the Colonial History of N.Y., 7:796.
years, they" (that is, the Presbyterians) "have...exerted all their
cunning and interest to prevent the increase and prosperity of the
Established Church;" and another writes at the same time that "the
Province is unhappily ruled by a set of lawyers of that persuasion
who take every opportunity of doing the Church all the mischief in
their power."

Down to 1772 and later the notion persisted that the
Presbyterians and Congregationalists were the chief instigators of
the Stamp Act opposition in the colonies, for Gordon, a Congrega-
tional minister from England who took a charge near Boston in 1772,
comments upon the idea in his history of the Revolution, written
within a few years after the close of the war, and calls attention
to the fact that the Virginians were Episcopalians, and that "at
New York the most violent actors were episcopalian," referring
probably to the leadership of Robert Livingston. He admits that
some Presbyterians were active in New York, also. Gordon is exag-
gerating here, but his opinion is worth noticing.

From this survey of the events in these four or five years,
it appears that on the issue of the Stamp Act, all denominations
were agreed in their opposition, if we except the Anglican
clergy. The evidence of religious differences existing through the
period is also clear; but these differences were exaggerated in the
minds of many in the years which followed, especially in the minds
of Anglicans, who like Thomas Jones had taken the loyalist position
and had suffered bitterly for their religious, as well as for their
political creed.

Chapter IV

THE STRUGGLE OVER THE ANGLICAN EPISCOPATE AND THE ELECTIONS OF 1768 AND 1769

In 1766, after the repeal of the Stamp Act, a period of 
"peace and quietness" appeared to be returning when the refusal of the King to allow the incorporation of the Presbyterian Church of New York City in 1767 sounded "an alarm", as Doctor Chauncey of Boston wrote, "to all the churches on the continent, giving them solemn notice what they might expect, should Episcopalians ever come to have supremacy in their influence." The bitterness was even greater when it became known that the charter had been "defeated by the warm opposition of the bishop of London and other ecclesiastical dignitaries; being roused and animated, as we have the greatest reason to apprehend, by the Episcopalians on this side of the Atlantic."

It was most unfortunate that just at this time the Bishop of Llandaff preached a sermon before the S.P.G. in which he encouraged an American episcopate, and characterized the majority of the people of this country as "living without remembrance or knowledge of God, without any divine worship, in dissolute wickedness, and the most brutal profligacy of manners." This sermon aroused a torrent

2. Cobb, rise of religious Liberty, 475; for the petition, see N.Y. Ecclesiastical records, 6:4046-4048; for the refusal, see voc. rel. to the Colonial History of New York, 7:846-847, 943-944.
null
of opposition, especially in New England, where an answer was
written by Doctor Chauncey of Boston. This, moreover, was supple-
mented by a pamphlet by William Livingston in New York, and was
answered by Charles Inglis, an Anglican rector in the city.

The subject of an American episcopate was not a new one
in the colonies, for it had been raised to a prominent position by
the Mayhew controversy with Archbishop Secker and others, in 1763-
1764. There had been no clear cut conclusion of the discussion in
these years, political questions forcing the question into the back-
ground. After the agitation over the Stamp Act had quieted down,
the Anglicans, at the suggestion of Doctor Johnson, so Chandler, in
his biography of his friend tells us, decided to authorize Chandler
to explain to the public just what was desired in the establishment
of an Episcopate. His tract, "An Appeal to the Public in behalf of
the Church of England in America", appeared in 1767, the same year
that the sermon of the Bishop of Llandaff aroused such opposition.
A pamphlet warfare between the author of the "Appeal" and Doctor
Chauncey of Boston followed, and the two carried on a spirited argu-
ment, lasting into 1771; the one endeavoring to show that no in-
fringement of the rights of the colonists was intended; the other
challenging his opponent to prove that there was any guarantee that

6. Ibid., 145-160.
7. Ibid., 164; this authorization was given through a convention
of the clergy of New York and New Jersey organized in 1766 at the
home of Doctor Auchmuy, for the purpose of defending the Church
against the opposition of the other denominations; Perry, American
Episcopal Church, 1:415; this organization was doubtless influenced
also by the call for a General Synod made by the Presbyterian clergy
and laity of Philadelphia in 1764; Hodge, History of the Presbyterian
Church, 398.
these intentions would be carried out. On the whole, Chandler failed to prove the latter, and always gave evidence that the 'per-
quisites' of a state establishment were a part of the plan. That there was something of a tendency to urge with the English Govern-
ment the political advantage of an Episcopate is apparent in a let-
ter of Chandler to the Bishop of London, when he sent him a copy of his book.

The controversy was not, however, confined to the clergy, or it would have had little significance in New York politics. The discussion on the subject of introducing American bishops became general in the newspapers during 1768 and 1769, New York and Phila-
delphia being the centers of opposition. In the former city, the appearance of Chandler's "Appeal to the Public," and the news of the failure of the New York Presbyterians to obtain a charter, stim-
ulated William Livingston and his friends to activity again, in the cause for which they had used their pens so vigorously ten years before. Their motives appear in a letter of Livingston to Doctor Cooper of Boston, where he says that he believes that the pamphlet warfare between Chandler and Chauncey which was going on at this time will not "have the same salutary effect towards defeating the scheme at home as a course of weekly papers inserted in the public prints..." He then mentions the name of the series which he is about to start, under the name of the "American Whig", which he and

9. Ibid., 165: "There are some Facts and Reasons, which could not be prudently mentioned in a Work of this Nature, as the least Inti-
mation of them would be of ill Consequence in this irritable Age and Country: but were they known, they would have a far greater Tendency to engage such of our Superiors, if there be any such as are good by Political motives to espouse the Cause of the Church of England in America, than any contained in the Pamphlet."
his friends "purpose to carry on till it has ....an universal alarm." His chief fear is of the political implications of the introduction of a bishop, a measure which he calls "an ecclesiastic-al stamp-act, which if submitted to, will at length grind us to 10 powder."

The articles appeared in Holt's New York Gazette, the first number being that of March 14, 1768. The paper attracted answers, especially a series signed "Timothy Tickle," under titles such as, "The Whip for the American Whig," to which the Livingston group replied by "A Kick for the Whipper". The authorship of the numbers on neither side was confined to one individual. Livingston was supported by Rodgers, his own pastor, and by Laidley, pastor of the Dutch Church, who probably wrote some of the articles in Dutch to be circulated among those who could not read English. McDougal, Scott, and Smith, all Presbyterians, also contributed their share. The writers on the other side were mainly from the Anglican clergy. Seabury tells us that "he and his associates", that is, Chandler and Inglis, the three being prominent Anglican rectors in or near New York City, "bore the whole weight of the controversy with the 'American Whig'..." The arguments used were political as well as religious, and on this basis, some who opposed an Episcopate on

10. Sedgwick, William Livingston, 136-137; also in N. Y. Ecclesiastical Records, 6:4113-4114.
11. Cross, Anglican Episcopate, 196; for a discussion of the whole controversy see ibid., 196-203, 213-244.
principle, objected to the introduction of the newspaper controversy at such a time "when the united Efforts of all the Colonies are so necessary for the preservation of their Constitutional Rights and Liberties" and accused Livingston and his 'Party' of a willingness to rejoice "in a Disunion between Great Britain and her Colonies," suspecting that they "would be among the first to change a monarchical for a Republican Government." The newspaper controversy added few new arguments in the case, but it does have a great significance, in indicating the prevalence of the fear of an Episcopate among the people at large. Whether that fear was justified or not, is another matter. The controversy is further characterized by its emphasis upon the political aspect of the controversy, interpreted in the light of the oppressive measures then menacing the colonies.

The opposition, which the proposal to introduce Anglican bishops into America aroused, can be understood only when we realize the close connection in the minds of the colonists between the creation of an Episcopate and increased parliamentary control, involving, as it did, possible taxation by parliamentary act for the support of the bishop and the setting up of ecclesiastical courts. In New York there were special reasons which made the religious antipathies of the people fertile soil for such a dispute. The

17. New Jersey Archives, Newspaper Extracts, 1768, series I, volume 7:114-115; cf. "American Whig" for 1769: "This country will shortly become a great and flourishing empire, independent of Great Britain; enjoying its civil and religious liberty, uncontaminated, and deserted of all control from Bishops, the curse of curses, and from the subjection of all earthly Kings." Jones, History of New York, 1:24.

18. See description of a poster appearing on this subject in 1769: Gillett, History of the Presbyterian Church, 1:178.
dissenters in New York City, newly rebuffed in the attempt to secure even so much as a charter to hold land, were particularly
stirred to fear for such liberties as they then held. The rivalry between this group and the Anglicans, hitherto more keen in the city
than in the outlying counties, was much increased in these districts in the period from 1760 to 1766, as a result of the greater ac-
tivity of both sects. Furthermore, the comparative good feeling be-
tween the two groups on Long Island was disturbed by the results of Whitefield's last visit to this country in 1764, the 'Strolling Preachers' who went from town to town, denouncing the Church of Eng-
land as Popish.

To understand with fairness both sides of the controversy, we should have a knowledge of the very real disadvantage under
which the American Episcopal Church worked. There was a lack of discipline and organization which hampered its activities so long as the directing head resided in England, separated from his charge by a long and dangerous journey. The best summary of the whole mat-
ter is that given by Bishop White in 1820.

19. The Anglicans were greatly outnumbered in Albany and Ulster counties by the dissenters.
21. Notice that Dutchess Presbytery was organized in 1763. See Gillett, op. cit., 145-146.

"As the Episcopal clergy disclaimed the designs and the expect-
tations of which they were accused and as the same was done by their advocates on the other side of the water,...they ought to be sup-
poused to have had in view an episcopacy purely religious. On the other hand, as their opponents laid aside their resistance of the religious part of it, as soon as American independence had done away all political danger, if it before existed, it ought to be believed..."
Before closing this survey of the struggle over an American Episcopate, as it played a part in New York, we must notice the organized opposition of the Presbyterian churches, in association with the Congregationalists of Connecticut, an opposition in which New York had a share; and we must trace out, also, the influence which this organization, and the rival association of Anglican clergy, exercised. The latter body met annually, after 1766, either in New York or in Elizabeth Town, its main work being the urging of the establishment of an American episcopate, by means of petitions to those in authority across the water, and through the creation of literature, to place before the American public the true nature of their cause. The last meeting, in 1774, had an effect upon the attitude of the public toward Anglicans, which will be noticed later.

The organization of the Presbyterians originated in a movement among the laity and clergy about Philadelphia, for united action in defence of their principles, a movement which Galloway gives the honor of being the main spring of the opposition to the Government. In 1766, at the invitation of the Presbyterian Synod of New York and Philadelphia, delegates from this body met with those from the Congregational Association of Connecticut, at Elizabeth, New Jersey, just one week after the first meeting of the Anglican Convention. Independents and Presbyterians of the other New England colonies, and the Dutch Reformed of the Middle colonies, were also invited, but took no action, although some indicated their that in their former professed apprehensions they were sincere."

sympathy with the movement. The chief purpose of these meetings was to oppose the introduction of an American episcopate, and to "remove the Aspersions cast upon us all by the Episcopalians, as Traitors, disloyal, Enemies to Monarchy, &c". The minutes of the conventions, which were held annually to 1775, have been preserved, and the gist of the work done at each meeting has been summarized by Perry in his volume on the history of the American Episcopal Church. This work included the collection of statistics on the state of religious liberty in the various colonies, and the correspondence with committees of dissenters in London on the subject of the Episcopate. After 1770 the records, says Perry, are "noticeable simply for the absence of the professions of loyalty to the crown, and the expressions of anxiety lest the introduction of bishops should tend to weaken the union between Great Britain and the colonies."

In summarizing the importance of the religious issue we have been discussing in this chapter, we will only note that the dispute in the New York papers was repeated in the Philadelphia papers, and echoed in the Boston papers; it roused the Massachusetts House of Representatives to write to its agent in England of its concern in this matter, and it excited as much discussion in Virginia and Maryland as the subject of the Stamp Act. A convoca-

30. Perry, American Episcopal Church, 1:425-426.
33. Perry, op. cit., 1:418.
tion of Anglican clergy in the former colony sent an address to the King, objecting to the introduction of a bishop at this time, as it might "endanger the very existence of the British empire in America."

It is no wonder that John Adams said in 1815 that

"the apprehension of Episcopacy contributed fifty years ago as much as any other cause, to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, to urge them to close thinking on the constitutional authority of parliament over the colonies. This was a fact as certain as any in the history of North America." 36

Cross, after studying the movement carefully, concludes:

"But, though there was no basis in fact for the suspicion that the English state authorities as such were... concerned in the episcopal project, it is equally certain that their complicity was suspected by a large proportion of the American public; and it is a historical fact that however unfounded this mistrust may have been, it had no small influence in alienating the colonists from the mother country at this critical juncture." 37

We turn now, from the description of the contest over the episcopate, to an account of the influence which it had upon New York politics, an influence among many others which existed at this time of crisis. After the repeal of the Stamp Act there was an interval of quiet, but soon a new difficulty arose in connection with the Townshend Acts and the Mutiny Act. Nevertheless, New York remained comparatively undisturbed by these larger issues, while it was stirred to a high degree of excitement over the septennial elections of 1768, when the DeLancey faction made the issue of the election "No Lawyers in the Assembly". They resolved to seize their opportunity of returning to power, at a time when the leaders of the Livingston party were in disfavor among the artisans and mechanics.

37. Cross, Anglican Episcopate, 199.
38. Golden in Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, 8:60-61.
for their conservative position during the Stamp Act troubles, and in disfavor among the aristocrats because of too close connection with these same riots. They hoped thus to turn the attention of the people from their religious differences to other points on which they could unite against the Livingston party. The DeLancey faction drew more largely from the merchants than from the lawyers, and with the strength of three classes behind them, they felt sure of an election in their favor. The result was a partial defeat for the Presbyterian party, which was indeed, the victim of the schemes of the opposition.

The Presbyterian party "now dubbed by the name of the Whig Interest" made a valiant attempt during the next year to restore its popularity, sounding the alarm, as we have seen, on the dangers of an Episcopate and the dominance of the Anglican party in the government. A traveller in New York during these months, comments that "among the many disputes in this and the more northern parts of America the religious are not the least....The alarm was taken at an election lately; since which the parties have raged with tolerable violence." He concludes: "The Presbyterians should not be allowed to grow too great. They are all of republican principles. The Bostonians are Presbyterians." But the "Livingston effort to cement their broken wings with anti-Episcopal glue," as Levermore phrases it, failed. The Assembly of 1768 pleased all but the most radical by its refusal to pass a provision bill for the soldiery quartered in New York, and when the Governor dissolved it,

40. Wilson, Memorial History of New York, 2:466.
41. Levermore in American Historical Review, 1:249.
hoping for a more docile body through a new election, the old members, after a desperate contest, were returned, with some added Anglicans to displace Presbyterians. One of the younger members of the victorious party writes jubilantly:

"Our election is ended and the Church triumphant. Messrs. Cruger, DeLancey, Walton, and Jauncey are the members, in spite of all the efforts of the Presbyterian interest combined with some other dissenting sects. This is what the Churchmen call a complete victory; 'tis a lasting monument of the power of the mercantile interest." 43

The failure of the Livingston group had its influence on the part which New York took in the ensuing contest with England. All the DeLancey men elected at this time were Episcopalians, and all but one became Loyalists. The failure of this conservative body to hold the leadership in the crisis years which follow, threw the direction of affairs into the hands of the radicals and deprived New York for a time of the abilities of men like Jay and Morris.

The Presbyterians, having failed in the election to hold a majority in the assembly, resolved on more radical and far-reaching plans, which would secure "united action on the part of Dissenters generally throughout the colonies against British and Anglican claims." A 'Society of Dissenters' was organized in New York, the very month after the elections which had given victory

43. Livingston, The Livingstons of Livingston Manor, 182.
45. Flick, Loyalism in New York, 20.
47. Documents relating to this society were found in the vaults of the Court House of N.Y. County and are printed in the American Historical Review for June, 1901 (6:498-507).
to the Anglican party. The society, made up of laymen from the Presbyterian and Baptist churches of the city, including Peter V. B. Livingston, McDougall, Scott, Peter R. Livingston and William Livingston, met weekly, its aim being to form a union of "the different Christian Denominations in the Country, not belonging to the Church," "for the preservation of their common and respective civil and religious rights and Privileges, against all Oppressions and Encroachments by those of any Denomination whatsoever;..."

The real reasons which led to the organization of the Society appear in a letter prepared by the Committee of Correspondence of the Society, to be sent to the various colonies. It opens with a statement "that it is...an Argument of the Wisdom, as well as productive of the Happiness of a People, to preserve a just Balance in the different branches of Government, both civil and religious," and then enlarges upon the dangers of the scheme to introduce bishops into America. The gist of the letter deals with the privileged position of the Episcopal Church in New York City: its wealth, and the preference shown to it by the Government, a proof of which existed in "the Liberality of the Government to them, in the Grant of large Tracts of Land in every new township, for a parsonage glebe, and for the Society for propagating the Gospel; while the churches of every other denomination are refused even the comparatively trifling favor of a Charter, to enable them to enjoy the benefit of private Donations,..." "Not content with this," they

46. Documents relating to this society were found in the vaults of the Court House of N.Y. County and are printed in the American Historical Review for June, 1901 (6:498-507). J. L. & S. 502.
50. Ibid., 6:500.
51. Ibid., 6:499.
Nevertheless strenuously Endeavoring to Obtain a Majority in those Elective Offices, in which our only security consists."

"These Considerations," continues the letter, "ought to teach those whom they term Dissenters, to make it a maxim of their Conduct, to be jealous of the bestowing these Offices on Episcopalians;...."

The purpose of the Society is then openly stated; near the close of the letter:

"We can with Great Truth and Sincerity declare, that we would not, if it were in our power, deprive that Church of any Enjoysment save only that of Applying our property to her Support, which she does in four Counties in this province, and has in one of them Attempted to Enlarge her establishment;....We only desire ourselves to enjoy and to transmit to our posterity the right of private Judgment; and of Worshipping God according to the dictates of our own Consciences. For this important purpose, and to Strengthen our interest, we purpose to Write to all our brethren on the continent, to exhort them to form themselves into such Societies to Correspond with each other on these Interesting concerns; and thereby endeavor the preservation of our Common Liberty." 53

The last record of a meeting is on March 21, 1769, a month after the organization began, for the attempt to carry out their purpose of repealing the act of 1693 which had created a semi-establishment in four counties, consumed all their energies. During the month of April two bills were introduced to effect this repeal, but the attempt failed. In the three months of the winter session, November to January, several more attempts were made, and one bill passed the assembly, only to be defeated in the Council, but one member of which, William Smith, was not an Anglican.

Religious issues, during the years 1767 to 1770, very plainly played a most important part, both in the colonies as a

52. American Historical Review, 6:504-505.
53. Ibid., 6:506.
whole, and in the local politics of New York. The next few years were to see the climax of the Revolutionary movement. The influence of the religious forces in the lives of the colonists during those years, will be discussed in the two concluding chapters of this thesis.
Chapter V

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN THE PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FROM 1770 TO 1775

The year 1770 brought the repeal of the Townshend duties, except for the tax on tea, and until 1774 few incidents of great moment occurred. Some minor events can be mentioned, however, to show which way the wind was blowing. The most important incident in the year 1770 was the trial of Alexander McDougal. He had issued an anonymous pamphlet, "To the Betrayed Citizens of New York," in December, 1769, when the assembly, elected though it was on the basis of its refusal to pass the provision bill, had finally consented to the measure. After some time, his identity as the author of the pamphlet was discovered, and he was imprisoned for nearly a year. Jones represents the Presbyterians as stirring up a good deal of excitement in their efforts in his behalf, through the agency of the press, and through personal influence in the courts, which was not sufficient, nevertheless, to decide the case in his favor.

The religious lines which had divided parties were already beginning to break down before political issues. Colden, in 1770, in his enumeration of the friends of government, includes, along with the Anglicans, Lutherans and Old Dutch Congregation, "several Presbyterians." At this time, the division between Anglicans and dissenters did not extend to their attitude toward the king.

and his representative, the governor, a fact which is seen in the common action of the Anglican, Presbyterian, Dutch Reformed, and Lutheran churches of New York City in sending official welcomes to the Earl of Dunmore, on his arrival as Governor, in the fall of 1770.

A union of the lawyer group, which disregarded differences of sect, had been accomplished during this same year, in the organization of the "Moot", with William Livingston as first President. Nevertheless, when a case came up shortly after the organization of the society, a case involving Colden's right to his "perquisites" while acting as governor, Duane, an Anglican, was found arguing against Smith, a Presbyterian. The only other incident worth mentioning, which occurred before 1774, is the attempt of Robert R. Livingston to secure his seat in the Assembly, from which, despite his election, he was debarred by an act passed in 1769 that no judges might be allowed membership in the body. He tried repeatedly to have action taken on his case, from 1769 until 1773, when the matter dropped, to come up again the next year. The importance of this is, that it indicates the persistence of the Livingston party through the period to 1774.

In the fall of 1773 the report that the East India Company was consigning shipments of tea to the colonies, aroused the people to prepare for opposition to the landing of the tea, unless

5. Sedgwick, William Livingston, 151.
7. Wilson, op. cit., 2:412-414; the act was vetoed by the King, see Documents rel. to the Col.-Hist. of N.Y., 8:215.
the duty were repealed. The radical Sons of Liberty held mass meetings to encourage non-importation, and secured a partial support from the merchants. When the tea arrived in April the people assembled at the wharves and, growing impatient at the delay of the conservative authorities of the city to take action, a group of "Mohawks" boarded the ship and dumped the tea into the harbor. In celebration next morning, the bells of the churches were rung, and quite a lengthy controversy appeared in the newspapers for several days afterwards, as to whether all the churches joined in the rejoicing by authorizing such action, or whether some of them were broken into. This incident shows a tendency to doubt the support of all churches in measures such as were resorted to in this case. On the whole, there was apparent unity of action between all denominations.

The news of the Boston Port Bill now reached the colony and steps toward a return to a radical policy of absolute non-importation were taken, in the indignation which the act aroused. A new committee to represent the people in this crisis was elected in May, consisting of fifty-one members, the majority of whom were conservatives, although radicals such as Sears and McDougal were included. The two latter, however, withdrew in July, taking with them nine others. Of these eleven, at least four were active Presbyterians, and Sears was a New England dissenter. Religious feeling

12. See American Historical Review, 6:500. They include McDougal, Livingston, Broome and Hallett.
crops out again in connection with this election, as we know from a letter written from New York to London not long after the committee had been chosen. It speaks of "the Presbyterian junto, or self-constituted Committee of the Sons of Liberty for the city of New York," and then proceeds:

"In spite of all that could be done by the old Committee, which consisted of eight or ten flaming patriots without property...a new Committee was chosen, consisting of fifty members, most of them men of sense, coolness, and property;...You will have discovered that I am no friend to Presbyterians, and that I fix all the blame of those extraordinary American proceedings upon them." 13

The first move of the Committee was to suggest a general congress to act on the question of non-importation, a measure which would be successful only by the united action of all the colonies. After some discussion, the ticket offered by the radicals for delegates to such a congress, was altered by the efforts of the Committee, and in place of three dissenters and two Anglicans, it included four Anglicans and one of the least radical of the Presbyterians. The names of these five men were submitted to the people, and they were declared elected, after a vigorous but unsuccessful effort on the part of the radicals to force the nominees to pledge themselves to a non-importation agreement. A parody upon the election appeared in a "broadside" soon after, which presents a picture of the state of religious feeling in regard to these matters.

14. Low and Duane, Anglicans, and P. Livingston, Scott and McDougal, dissenters.
15. Jones, History of New York, 1:35. "Livingston was a 'Laidlean', and though a republican, not one of the most inflammatory kind. Low belonged to the Church of England...Duane and Jay...were both strong Episcopalians, and almost adored the British Constitution, in church as well as state. Alsop...was a steady Churchman, and loved Bishops as well as Kings." Livingston dreaded "New England, the levelling spirit, &c", John Adams, Works, 2:351.
"At a meeting of the True Sons of Liberty, in the City of New York, July 27, 1774, properly convened;

Present
John Calvin, John Knox, Roger Rumpus &c&c&c.

1. Resolved, That in this general Time of resolving, we have as good a right to resolve as the most resolute.

* * * * *

4. The People of Massachusetts Bay -- --

5. Resolved, Therefore, that WE will concur with them in every Measure for effectuating the (said) salutary Purpose; being convinced, as were their and our Forefathers, that this is the only (way) whereby an effectual Stop may be put to the alarming Growth of PRELACY, QUAKERISM, and LIBERTY of CONSCIENCE...." 16

In August of 1774, delegates from New England passed through New York on their way to the Congress in Philadelphia.

Through the help of John Adams' diary we get an outsider's view of the state of New York politics. "The two great families in this Province, upon whose motion all their politics turn, are the De-

Lanceys and Livingstons." The old names of the election of 1758 were still differentiating parties.

Adams further tells us of a rumor which he heard through Mr. P. V. B. Livingston, now an old man, but "very sensible." The latter says, according to Adams' account:

"Doctor Chandler and Doctor Cooper, and other Episcopal clergymen, were met together about the time of the news of the Boston Port Bill, and were employed night and day in writing letters and sending despatches to the other Colonies and to England. This he (Livingston) thinks was to form an union of the Episcopal party through the continent, in support of ministerial measures." 18

He probably was referring to the annual meeting of the convention of Anglican clergy which met in 1774 in New York, and sent a letter to the Bishop of London on the subject of an episcopate. The English authorities did not act, and in this connection Dean Tucker's sug-

18. Ibid., 2:348.
gestion, appearing in his fourth tract, is worth noting. It was written in 1774.

"The Church of England....alone doth not enjoy a Toleration....The Reason is plain. The Americans have taken it into their heads to believe that the Episcopate would operate as some further tie upon them, not to break loose from those Obligations which they owe to the Mother-Country....Let therefore the Mother-Country herself resign up all Claim of Authority over them, as well Ecclesiastical as Civil....and then all their Fears will vanish away." 20

It may also be mentioned here that the Presbyterian Church of New York City were again refused a charter by the King in 1775.

The most important work of the Continental Congress now assembled at Philadelphia was the formation of non-intercourse measures and an Association to enforce them. Of other measures we need only refer to Galloway’s Plan, to which Duane and Jay lent their support, and mention the inclusion of the Quebec Act among the list of grievances in the address to the people of Great Britain. Although the colonists made a good deal of the "sanguinary and impious tenets" of the Papists, and talked of the impending destruction of the Protestant religion, the real source of opposition lay

20. Trevelyan, American Revolution, 326.
21. Documents rel. to the Col. Hist. of N.Y., 7:572-574; cf. the advice of Philip Skene, an officer in the King’s army in America, to Dartmouth, March, 1775. "Soliciting his attention to the case of the Presbyterian Churches of New York. Endorse the opinion of their fellow citizens of New York in their desire for the charters solicited by them, as they only ask these for toleration in religious matters...It would be policy to grant this request as it would tend to allay the jealousies the they entertain of the Church of England and lead them to cooperate more zealously in support of Government." Dartmouth Papers, Historical Manuscript Commission Report 14, Appendix, Part X, 264.
22. Becker, N.Y. Political Parties, 149.
in the fear that if the Parliament could establish Popery in Canada, 

it could establish the Anglican Church in the colonies. The ob-

jection offered in one of the articles in the New York plan of ac-

commodation, sent to their delegates in Congress in 1775, "that no 

earthly legislature or tribunal ought or can of right interfere or 

interpose, in any wise howsoever in the religious and ecclesiastical 

corns of the Colonies," is not only Popery, but to the exercise of 

Parliamentary control over religious matters. The answer of the 

delegates to the New York Congress gives us an explanation why the 

religious factors in the Revolution do not appear more often in pub-

clic documents, and is worth quoting in full.

"We have unanimously agreed to be silent on that article in the Plan of Accommodation which asserts....As the inhabitants of the Continent are happily united in a political creed, we are of opinion that it would be highly imprudent to run the risk of divid-
ing them by the introduction of disputes foreign to the present con-
troversy, especially as the discussion of them can be attended with 

no one single advantage. They are points about which mankind will 

forever differ, and therefore should always, and at least at times 

like these, be kept out of sight. We are the more confirmed in 

these sentiments by this circumstance, that both this and the former 

Congress have cautiously avoided the least hint on subjects of this 

kind all the members concurring in a desire of burying all dis-

putes on ecclesiastical points, which have for ages had no other 

tendency than that of banishing peace and charity from the world."27

The most important work of the first Continental Congress, 

was, as we have said, the non-importation agreement, and the Associa-
tion to enforce it. Its immediate effect in New York was the call 

by the Committee of Fifty-one for a new election, to get the atti-
tude of the people on the work of Congress. A Committee of Sixty 

was selected, containing a larger number of those who were really

25. John Adams, Works, 10:188.
radicals, and a smaller number of those who became Loyalists.

But the work of the Congress had a more important result, for it was on the question of the obedience owed to the measures of that body that the Loyalist party was formed. The position of these Loyalists is best set forth in the writings of the Anglican clergy, such as Seabury, Inglis, Chandler and Cooper. Seabury, in accord with the agreement he had made with Inglis and Chandler some time before, and attentive to "the obligations of duty which he owed to his King & Country," published a series of pamphlets, under the name of "A Westchester Farmer", beginning in November 16, 1774 with one entitled, "Free Thoughts on the Proceedings of the Continental Congress, held at Philadelphia, September 5, 1774: Wherein their Errors are exhibited, their Reasonings confuted, and the Fatal Tendency of their Non-Importation, Non-Exportation, and Non-Consumption Measures, are laid open to the plainest Understandings, and the Only Means pointed out for preserving and securing our present happy Constitution." Tyler, who has studied the literature of the Revolution very thoroughly, and is therefore a good judge, states that "no other pamphlets on the Loyalist side, and perhaps the pamphlets of but one writer on the side of the Revolution, (Paine), were a match for these writings of the "Westchester Farmer" for immediate effect upon the mass of readers in a time of violent stir

28. Becker, N. Y. Political Parties, 167; cf., ibid., 164n, Smith to Schuyler, November 22, 1774, where he represents the union of "part of the trade, part of the Church, all of the non-Episcopals, and all of the liberty boys" as supporting Congress, at this time.
30. Ibid.
32. Ibid., 1:334-335.
33. Tyler, Literary History of the Revolution, 1:348-349; note
the influence of the pamphlets in Maryland, Force, American Archives,
series IV, volume 1:1194 and in Virginia, Force, op. cit., series IV,
volume 2:234.
34. Flick, Loyalism in New York, 33n.
35. Ibid., 36.
36. Flick, Loyalism in New York, 9; discussion covers pages
9-11; cf. for illustrations, Documentary History of New York,
4:124, 443; Documents rel. to the Col. Hist. of N.Y., 7:443; New
Jersey Archives, series 1, volume 10:311-312; Hodge, History of the
Presbyterian Church, 3 95, quoting Chandler's "Appeal", page 115.
He that prefers monarchy in the state, is more likely to approve of
Anglicanism, but the evidence comes out more clearly in the two following years, which are to be treated in the next chapter.

episcopacy in the church than a rigid republican. On the other hand, he that is for parity and a popular government in the church, will more easily be led to approve of a similar form of government in the state, how little soever he may suspect it himself."

37. See Colden's plea for a charter for Kings College in 1774, "not only on account of Religion but of good Policy to prevent the growth of Republican Principles which already too much prevail in the Colonies. "Documents rel. to the Col. Hist. of N.Y., 8:486; note also the comment of a writer in the New York papers on the Peter's affair in Connecticut. (See Force, American Archives, series IV, volume 1:711, 715, 716) "Many of the most firm and strenuous assertors of the natural and constitutional rights and liberty of the subject, in matters both civil and religious, have alway been and now are to be found, among the Episcopalians who cordially unite with their brethren of other denominations in maintaining those rights that are common to all." Force, op. cit., series IV, volume 1:715; cf. ibid., series IV, volume 1:602.
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Chapter VI

RELIGIOUS FACTORS IN THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT
1775-1776

In this chapter we shall first give an account of the progress of the Revolutionary movement in New York down to the period of the Declaration of Independence, noting such religious influences as directly affected the political activity in the colony. A brief description of the attitude of the various denominations in this conflict, and the effect of the religious alignment on the character of the war, will follow.

At the end of the last chapter, we left the leadership of the colony in this time of crisis in the hands of the newly elected Committee of Sixty. In January, 1775, the old assembly of 1769 met again, for the first time since the beginning of 1774. In it were centered all the hopes of the conservative Whigs, and the still more conservative Loyalists. The ever active "Westchester Farmer" addressed a pamphlet to the Assembly to persuade that body "that if they acceded to them" - the measures of Congress - "as other assemblies had done, they would betray the rights and liberties of their constitution, set up a new sovereign power in the province, and plunge it into all the horrors of rebellion and civil war." Seabury also, as he tells us "had personal interviews of at least one-third of the members of that house, with whom he was well ac-

quainted, just before their meeting." What influence he may have had we do not know, but at least it is certain that the conservatives in the assembly, led by Philips and Wilkins, both intimate friends of Seabury's, defeated the more radical members, Schuyler, Clinton and Philip Livingston, in every attempt to approve of the Congress or to elect delegates to the second Congress. After drawing up a memorial to the King, and appointing a committee of Correspondence from both parties, the Assembly adjourned. The grievances against the King were the same as those of the Continental Congress; so far all parties were united: but the conservatives would take no illegal or extralegal means to secure redress.

Samuel Adams gives a comment upon the state of affairs in New York which is illuminating, as it indicates how widespread the knowledge was of the influence of the clergy upon New York politics.

"There is a Combination in that Colony of high Church Clergymen & great Landholders — of the former, a certain Mr. C is the head; who knows an American Episcopate cannot be established and consequently he will not have the pleasure of strutting through the Colonies in Lawn Sleeves, until the Authority of parliament to make Laws for us binding in all Cases whatever is settled." 6

The accusation against Mr. C, who is Myles Cooper, President of Kings College, was based upon his supposed authorship of many pamphlets, including "A Friendly Address", in opposition to Congress and upholding the doctrine of 'passive obedience'. The influence of this

7. See Stiles, Diary, 2:339.
man's activity, and that of his friend, Doctor Chandler, was felt throughout the colonies, leading the Anglican clergy elsewhere to follow their example. The reason which is always assigned for his advocacy of the English side, is that given by Adams, the desire for a Bishopric.

Since the Assembly had refused to have any part in the extralegal proceedings which were going on, the more liberal conservatives on the Committee of Sixty decided to call for an election of delegates to the Congress, in order to offset the bad influence which the defection of the New York assembly would have upon England, by encouraging the Government to hope that the opposition of the colonies was breaking down. Delegates were chosen in this case, by a provincial convention, which returned a representation including all of the delegates at the first congress except one, and added five others, the result being a slight gain for the radical party.

Although the election went off quietly enough in the city, there was much opposition in some of the counties to the idea of taking any part in the second Congress. This opposition was especially noticeable in Westchester county in April, where, led by the rector Säbury, a large company of people assembled at a "summons to give their sentiments upon a question, whether or not they would choose Deputies to represent them at a Provincial Convention." They then "declared themselves already very ably and effectually

represented in the General Assembly of this Province by I. Wilkins Esq.; peremptorily disowned all Congresses, Conventions and Committees, most loyally repeating the old chorus, God save the King, which was seconded by three cheers." After drawing up this protest, signed by some three hundred names, the meeting quietly dispersed.

The attitude of many of the counties at this time and later, was influenced by the clergy. The Anglican pastor in Queens county boasts that the "principal members of my congregation conscientiously refused to join in their (the rebels) measures." At Jamaica, the Reverend Ketteltas, the Presbyterian minister, acted as chairman for a committee favoring the Association in 1775, but he failed to carry his district to the point of electing deputies to the provincial convention. He was himself, later, a delegate to the provincial congress of 1776.

The delegates had hardly been chosen for the Continental Congress, when news of the battle of Lexington reached the colony, and the radicals took matters into their hands. The Committee of Fifty, realizing its inability to cope with the situation, recommended the election of a representative committee of one hundred members, and the calling of a provincial congress. The new committee was a decided victory for the radicals, and after its election in May, it took charge of affairs until the meeting of the first

15. Stiles, Diary, 2:263n.
17. Ibid., series IV, volume 2:251.
provincial congress in June. A second congress was called in November, and a third in April, 1776.

At the meetings of the first congress, the clergy of all the churches in the city officiated in turn at the opening of the daily sessions, even the Anglicans, Auchmuty and Inglis, being faithful in attendance. The president of the congress was Woodhull, "a rigid Presbyterian." Even through the third congress, the membership was still made up of the more conservative Whigs, men like the Livingstons being now included in that category, since the radicals were now men like Scott and McDougal. William Livingston, of the old triumvirate, was now in New Jersey, where he became the first state governor, and William Smith was already in sympathy with the Loyalist position.

By June, 1776, the movement for independence had progressed rapidly, and it was necessary to call a new congress to form a state government. One of the Connecticut generals in camp in the city, writes concerning the election of the delegates for this new congress,

"The mechanicks of the city have voted independence; it is expected the new Congress will follow suit. There will be, I am told, a majority of Presbyterians, which will probably give the representation a different guise from what it has heretofore had."

The prophecy was correct, at least as regards the attitude toward Independence, for the colony voted to join the rest of the continent

21. Note that McDougal won high praise from Washington, as a general, see Washington, Writings, 6:102-103.
22. See Becker, N.Y. Political Parties, 243.
by authorizing its delegates to sign the Declaration on July 9.

That the party which was now in power was regarded by some as representing the Dissenting interest, is evident in a letter from Vardill, a former rector in New York, who was now in England, writing to the commissioners for peace sent to New York in 1778.

"It may deserve your attention, that for many years, two Parties have contended for power in the Province of New York - the one, which was the Church-Interest, headed by the Delancies & the Dissenting led by the Livingstons Smith. The latter, who joined the Rebels are now the prevailing Party in the Province - You will therefore see a reason for not countenancing openly the Delancey-Party, nor meddling with it, as it will operate strongly in preventing their opponents & governing themselves having been one motive to join in the Rebellion." 24

One of the acts of the Congress only a few days after it had declared for Independence, goes to show that there were few of the more zealous type of Anglican left in its membership. Jay, for example, although an Anglican, attended a Presbyterian church during his later life. The suggestion made by this New York Congress, to which we refer, was to the effect that the Continental Congress should take "some measures for expunging from the Book of Common Prayer such parts, and discontinuing in the congregations of all the denominations all such prayers as interfere with the interest of the American cause." The rest of the message throws light on the religious situation in New York.

"It is a subject we are afraid to meddle with, the enemies of America having taken great pains to insinuate into the minds of the Episcopalians that the Church was in danger. We could wish the Congress would pass some resolve to quiet their fears, and we are confident it would do essential service in the cause of America, at least in this State." 26

24. Wilson, Memorial History of New York, 2:570.
25. Jay, Correspondence, 4:505.
From the last part of the message we gather a warning to take the accusations of the Anglican clergy against the Presbyterians, with the realization of their Loyalist position in mind.

We have now traced the Revolutionary movement in a somewhat summary fashion, down to 1776, and Independence. The religious affiliations of the members of these later congresses has been hard to determine from the sources available; by men's actions we may discover who are radical and who conservative, who become Loyalists and who do not: religious differences are, on the whole, forgotten, in the task of winning rights common to all denominations, and it is mainly from the enemies of the Revolutionary movement, especially from among the Anglican clergy, that we find charges identifying Presbyterianism and Republicanism. Men of the revolutionary party, such as Sears and McDougal, could be found in both categories, but after the fighting began there were many among the liberal Anglicans, such as Jay, who preferred to side with the colonists rather than remain loyal to an England from whom there seemed to be little hope of obtaining justice. Moreover, in the period before 1774 even the conservative Anglican clergy, S. Abury and others, were united in recognizing grievances against England, and had been very hopeful of the results of a general congress. "They then thought it," says a writer in contemporary newspaper, "no treason, no mortal sin, no Republican or Presbyterian contrivance, to form a Continental Congress, to petition and remonstrate with spirit."

Although, therefore, it is probably true that the more extreme charges of the Anglicans, that the Church was in danger, were untrue, yet their repeated failure to gain an Episcopate, through the opposition of the dissenters, doubtless gave them reason to believe that they had basis for their charges. We have already referred to the convention of Anglicans in 1774, and its unsuccessful appeal for an American episcopate. They were also alarmed at the action of the Presbyterian Synod in supporting Congress.

However, just the Anglicans were in their suspicions, they were all in opposition to the revolutionary movement. In the very nature of their religion they found difficulty in joining a movement against the King. How to reconcile the "Omission of Prayers for the King in the Liturgy with their Oath of Canonical Obedience & the Oath of Allegiance", was a serious problem, in spite of the fact that "above Two Millions of people," were "sure & positive that the Case (had) happened - that the King (had) broke his Oath and they thereby discharged from their Allegiance."

The results of this attitude of the Anglicans toward the Revolution were disastrous to the Church and to the clergy. Their uncompromising spirit did more harm to the Church than good. In New York City, after war had begun, and the American troops were in occupation, the Established churches were shut up, as symbols of

30. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, 349-350; note also that the Anglicans suspected that the fire in New York in September, 1776, "was directed against the interest of the Church." Force, American Archives, series V, volume 2:494.
34. In fact, everywhere in the province, the Anglican churches were closed, and the clergy obliged to flee. Many of these became chaplains in the British armies. On the whole, the congregations followed the lead of the clergy and became Loyalists, as we saw in noting the influence of the clergy in the counties. The Revolutionary leaders did not approve of the persecution of the Anglicans. This appears in a note to the Governor of Connecticut concerning the detention of Seabury there, and asking for his release, "the more especially as, considering his ecclesiastick character, (which perhaps, is venerated by many friends to liberty) the severity that has been used towards him may be subject to misconstructions prejudicial to the common cause."

If the Anglicans were loyal, nearly to a man, the Presbyterians were as an organization, strongly patriotic. A fast was decreed in 1775 and a pastoral letter sent out to all Presbyterian congregations, by the Synod, urging the people to support the Congress. "Let them", - the letter says, referring to the Congress, "not only be treated with respect, and encouraged in their difficult service - not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings - but adhere firmly to their reso-

32. Stiles, Diary, 2:46.
33. Ibid.
37. Documentary History of New York, 4:510; Beardsley, Life of Seabury, 49; pages 37 of this thesis.
lutions." The activity of the Presbyterian clergy was in accord with these directions of the Synod. They preached sermons in answer to those of the Anglican clergy; some became chaplains in the continental armies; some were instrumental in guiding the part taken by the counties. On the frontier, the activity of the Dissenting missionaries was suspended by order of Johnson, an Anglican and a Tory, to offset their political influence. Very naturally, the Dissenting churches suffered at the hands of the British army.

The position of the other denominations in the colony does not appear to have been so consistently for or against the Revolutionary movement as that of the two sects we have just considered. John H. Livingston of the Dutch Reformed Church of New York City had the reputation of belonging to colonial side, along with other members of his family. The pastor of the French Church, Reverend Mr. Tetard, acted as chaplain and interpreter with the American army that invaded Canada. Gano, of the Baptist Church was a chaplain in the colonial army. The German Reformed Church of New York was Tory in sympathy, as was the Moravian Church; and the Quakers and

40. Briggs, American Presbyterianism, 350.
41. Force, American Archives, series V, volume 2:564; Dartmouth Papers, Historical Manuscripts Commission report 14, appendix 10:427
43. Ibid., series IV, volume 2:543; N.Jersey Archives, series 1, volume 24:633n.
44. Force, op.cit., series IV, volume 2:1309; note the position of some of these missionaries in 1768, Documentary History of New York, 4:390-393, and later activity, ibid., 4:490.
45. Long Island Memoirs, 3:118,120.
46. American Church History 8:174.
49. American Church History, 2:282.
50. Ibid., 8:314,316.
52. Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York, 8:696.
Lutherans seem to have taken a similar position favoring the English side. All these are isolated facts, but they indicate, at least, that the dissenters were divided in their sympathies.

The material that has been offered in the last part of this chapter has not been full enough to draw any very general conclusions. The sources for the history of this period which have been available, have not been of a nature to indicate the religious affiliations of the actors in events, and it is with great difficulty that they can be discovered. That which does seem to be most evident from the examination of the part taken by the various sects, is that, while Anglicans were, on the whole, Loyalist, the other denominations seem not to have acted as units, and to have been influenced by other than religious reasons in making choice of sides in the Revolutionary War.

53. American Church History, 4:300.
CONCLUSION

We have traced the Revolutionary movement in New York from 1750 to 1776, noticing the part played by religious factors through the period. It has been a difficult task, and the results have not been of a sort to establish any new conclusions as to the nature of that movement. There was no direct religious issue among the more important causes of the Revolution. Nevertheless, this thesis has endeavored to make it clearer than it has been made before, that religious forces had an important part in differentiating parties and in embittering the struggle.

Three general conclusions can be drawn from the study made in this thesis:

1. The Whig (Livingston) and Tory (DeLancey) parties of colonial New York had their origins in a sectarian controversy, and continued to be divided on religious questions down to 1776, although by that time political considerations had become more important. When the break with England took place, the more liberal element in the Delancey party joined with the Whig party, making a new American party in which there was no distinction drawn on account of religious faith. Those of the DeLancey party who remained, became the nucleus for the Loyalist party, and, being almost wholly Anglican, maintained their sectarian feeling against the other party.

2. The opposition to an American Episcopate was one of the most powerful forces in colonial life which operated to bring
about the separation of the colonies from the Mother-country. In New York, during the revolutionary movement after 1770, it was a less prominent factor, but was one among many others which influenced the formation of parties and increased the bitterness of the struggle.

3. The attitude of the various religious denominations in New York toward the Revolutionary movement has been carefully interpreted by Flick. The results of this thesis have been in accord with his conclusions, that the Loyalist party was very largely Anglican, but that it contained members from all the other denominations. The influence of the clergy in New York has not been adequately treated before, and the writer of this thesis believes that it is a subject deserving further study. The support given to the Revolutionary movement by the Presbyterian Church, as witnessed in the action of its General Synod, is worthy of especial note, along with the influence of the Anglican clergy, Seabury and his associates, in opposing that movement.
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