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EDITED BY THE REV. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, D.D., AUBURN, N. Y.

PART IV. (CONCLUSION)*

VIRGIL, N. Y., Thursday, June 8, 1809.

On the subject of ministers visiting and preaching occasionally in vacant churches and congregations, resolved, that each minister belonging to this body look for, and improve every opportunity of preaching lectures, and attending other religious exercises in vacant congregations; and that destitute churches be advised to apply to neighboring ministers for preaching and other pastoral assistance, as their state and circumstances may require; and that report be made on this subject at the next annual meeting.

The case of the church in West Lock was then attended to. In view of the state of this church, the Association appointed Rev. Messrs. Chadwick and Phelps and Dea. Stone to attend to the state of that church, to assist them in exercising discipline, and to dissolve their church state, and recommend them to other churches, if they shall judge such a measure expedient.

* For Parts I and II, see this JOURNAL, Vol. X, pp. 217*ff.*, 258*ff.*, and for Part III, *ibid.*, Vol. XI, pp. 20*ff.*

PRESBYTERIANISM IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND.*

BY PROF. FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER, D.D., LL.D.

PART I.

I deeply appreciate the honor you have done me in inviting me to take part in this celebration of the Tercentenary of the Landing of the Pilgrims. As a student and teacher of history I esteem it a privilege to speak to such an audience in commemoration of an event that embodies so many elements of universal human interest and worth.

Macaulay has declared that the English Puritans were "the most remarkable body of men which the world has produced;" and certainly we are justified in saying that their descendants on this side of the sea have been the most influential and beneficent single force alike in the colonial and in the national period of our history, moulding our whole life by their intellectual vigor, their religious and moral principles, and their political institutions. To them we owe in the main the blessings of our representative governments; our free press; our common school system of education; the separation of church and state; our highest standards of individual and social ethics; our quiet Sunday, with pulpit untrammelled and worship unmolested—that sweet day of rest and gladness that has ministered inspiration, strength, and comfort to countless pilgrims on their heavenward way; and, we may say in a word, our truest and most satisfactory interpretation of the Gospel of Christ. It is a debt that we can never fully pay, or even adequately estimate; an obligation that binds every generation anew to a grateful recognition of the goodness of Almighty God to our fathers, and summons the heirs and beneficiaries of their spiritual patrimony to honor their memory by recounting their story and reflecting on the elements of their true greatness as a people.

I have been asked to speak on "Presbyterianism in Colonial

* An address delivered, in substance, before the Synod of New England on October 27, 1920, in the Fourth Presbyterian Church of Boston.

New England." This theme, I am well aware, gives but scant opportunity to strike that festive and jubilant note that one fain would hear in every discourse celebrating the coming of the Pilgrims to our shores. Indeed the history of Presbyterianism in the colonies now composing the states embraced in this Synod presents many an incident fitted to humble and admonish rather than to encourage and delight the lovers of our historic doctrines and polity. New England Puritanism—let us clearly recognize this basal fact at the very outset—became almost completely Congregationalized, and the glory of this and similar celebrations must needs redound to the special honor of that sister evangelical communion which has made the term "Pilgrim" and the very names of some of the original settlements synonyms of its faith and life. But while we gladly recognize the larger interest that the Congregationalist may justly claim in the beneficent issues of New England Puritanism taken as a whole, we cannot fail to remember that much of our best Presbyterian heritage comes to us from that same realm. We therefore rejoice together as reapers in a common harvest-field.

I propose to give a brief sketch and estimate of early New England Presbyterianism, and to this end I invite you to consider, first, its varied origins, and secondly, its successive forms of organization and its outstanding features.

It is a familiar observation of our ecclesiastical historians, that the sources from which the original materials of our organized Presbyterianism were drawn were many and varied. In this respect our Church resembles the nation itself. In the one case as in the other, England, France, Scotland, Ireland, Wales, the Netherlands, and Germany, all contributed, though in different proportions, to the common stock, the distinctive national traits becoming ere long merged and blended into one fairly homogeneous body. But the fact is not as well known or as much emphasized, as it deserves to be, that the original elements of New England Presbyterianism were almost as diverse and complex as those of our denomination throughout the colonies.

Reviewing in their chronological order the sources that

contributed to the early Presbyterianism of these regions, we would call attention, first of all, to the large Presbyterian element inherent in Puritanism itself. We cannot take time, nor is it necessary, to trace the growth of the Puritan movement on its native English soil. Suffice it to say that, though Congregationalism became the dominant ecclesiastical polity in Puritan New England, yet in Puritan Old England the Congregationalists or Independents were a small body, a mere handful, compared with the Presbyterians. The term "Puritan," indeed, was used in the days of Archbishop Laud of Canterbury in a sense that was broad enough to include, on the one hand, many Episcopalians who objected to the lax principles of morals favored by the court party, and, on the other, all the Independents, who insisted on the right of every local congregation to be supreme in the management of its own affairs; but the controlling element in the party were Presbyterians. Even Oxford, we are told, bore in the days of James I "a greater resemblance, in many respects, to a colony of Geneva, than to a Seminary of Anglo-Catholic Divinity." As early as 1572 the Presbyterians formed at Wandsworth, near London, a congregational presbytery, and similar organizations of Puritans who were loth to leave the Establishment but were determined to reform it from within, were set up in different parts of the kingdom. Two years later was published the Latin treatise of Travers, *The Discipline of the Church as described in the Word of God*, a thoroughly Presbyterian manifesto, later subscribed by over five hundred clergymen in Anglican orders. And shortly after Puritanism had won its battle in the political field, Parliament in 1645 made the Church of England Presbyterian in government and worship. Surprising as it may therefore seem, in view of these facts, and in view of the wide acceptance of the theory of the Genevan polity in Scotland and Ireland, that it took British Presbyterians relatively so long a time to strike deep root in the American colonies and form an independent church—the First Presbytery was not organized till 1706—there can nevertheless be no doubt that Presbyterians constituted a substantial part of that vast Puritan exodus that came to the new world during

the last years of James I and throughout the reign of his son and successor, Charles I. It is estimated that about 21,200 emigrants arrived in New England before 1640, and according to Cotton Mather about 4,000 of them were Presbyterians, though he does not make it clear whether the latter were from England or Scotland.¹ In 1643 some Presbyterians from England even felt themselves warranted in the attempt to establish their "government under the authority of the Assembly of Westminster," but they were defeated by the General Court.

It is difficult to form an accurate estimate of the strength of the early Presbyterianism of these regions, not only because of the obscurity in which many of the data are enveloped, but also because of the mixed character of the Puritan church order. We must bear in mind that the pronounced distinctions between the Presbyterians and Congregationalists with which we are familiar to-day did not exist in the seventeenth century. Mather is authority for the statement that the union effected in the "Heads of Agreement" adopted in London in 1691 by the "United Ministers formerly known as Presbyterian and Congregational," had its counterpart in New England for "many lustres, yea, many decads of years;" that is, almost from the first settlement of the country.² Theologically, the Puritans were all convinced Calvinists. They adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith at the Synod of Cambridge in 1648, and again, with slight modifications, at the Synod of 1680 in that same town. For over a century and a half these doctrinal standards were accepted in New England as expressing the common belief of the churches; and the "Shorter Catechism" was used as a manual of religious instruction in the home and even in the common schools. And even as regards the polity of the Puritan churches, we need only cite the familiar words of one of the leading Congregational authorities. Dr. Henry M. Dexter felicitously describes "the New England way" as "a Congregationalized Presbyte-

¹ *Magnalia Christi Americana* (Hartford, 1815), I, p. 80.

² *Ibid.*, II, p. 272.

rianism, or a Presbyterianized Congregationalism— which had its roots in the one system, and its branches in the other; which was essentially Genevan within the local congregation, and essentially other outside of it.”³ “It was,” he affirms, “a purely Presbyterian polity, only that it was applied to, and stopped short with, the local assembly.”⁴ This came to be the case alike for the churches that originally more closely resembled the Plymouth model, and for the much larger number that patterned after the more theocratic conception that prevailed in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. For ere long the two types were

“Like kindred drops commingling into one.”

In general, then, these churches were distinctly Presbyterian in their internal structure, being governed by the board of elders, with the sanction of the brotherhood; while the civil power practically exercised the functions of a supreme ecclesiastical judicatory after the manner in which the English Parliament controlled the affairs of the Establishment. As one of the Hartford ministers strikingly described this system of Congregational government, “It was a speaking *Aristocracy* in the face of a silent *Democracy*.”⁵ The Cambridge Platform itself (1648), while it clearly sets forth most of the abiding principles of Congregationalism, at the same time indicates its indebtedness to the Presbyterian influences by recognizing the office of the ruling elder as distinct from that of the pastor and teacher, and also the authority of the properly constituted synod, so far as “its directions and determinations” are “consonant to the word of God,” while the later Synod of Cambridge (1680) went even further in its vindication of these two cardinal features of our Presbyterian polity.⁶

In practice, of course, the various churches mingled the elements of the two systems of ecclesiastical government in quite different proportions, though more and more fully the brotherhood asserted its rights as against the elders. From

³ *The Congregationalism of the Last Three Hundred Years*, etc., p. 463.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 699.

⁵ Mather, as cited, I, p. 437.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, pp. 218, 233f., 241, 248.

the very beginning, however, some of the founders and leaders championed Presbyterian tendencies, or at least gave them countenance. Robinson himself, the revered pastor of the Pilgrims at Leyden, was inclined to Presbyterian views, and claimed that his church was conformed to the rule of the Huguenots of France. The Church of Plymouth was really a Presbyterian Church, with Brewster as its ruling elder.⁷ The cousins Thomas Parker and James Noyes, arriving in 1634, became respectively pastor and teacher of the church in Newbury. Both favored the Presbyterian polity, and Noyes in his work *The Temple Measured* urged the use of synods and councils as well as congregational presbyteries.⁸ The views of John Eliot, the celebrated missionary to the Indians, are contained in his work of 1665, entitled: *Communion of Churches: or the Divine Management of Gospel Churches by the Ordinance of Councils, Constituted in Order according to the Scriptures. . . . Humbly proposed, as a way which hath so much light from the Scriptures of Truth, as that it may lawfully be submitted to all; and may, by the blessing of the Lord, be a means of Uniting those two Holy and Eminent Parties, the Presbyterian and Congregational.*⁹ "There were especially two things which he was loth to see, and yet feared he saw, falling in the churches of New England. One was a thorough establishment of ruling elders" and the other was "a frequent repetition of needful synods." He and Mr. Cotton ordained elders among the Indians at Martha's Vineyard.¹⁰ In reality he sponsored the Presbyterian organization of the Church from the congregational eldership clear up to the ecumenical council, only denying that the higher courts had "juridical" power over the lower. Thomas Hooker, in his *Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline* (1648) confesses

⁷ Prince, *Chronology*, pp. 114, 120, as quoted in Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church* (rev. ed.), I, p. 25. Cf. Dexter, as cited, p. 413f.

⁸ On Parker and Noyes, see Dexter, *op. cit.*, pp. 433ff.; Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, Appendix III; and Mather, as cited, I, pp. 480f., 483f.

⁹ Briggs, as cited. Cf. Mather, *Magnalia*, I, pp. 554f.

¹⁰ Mather, as cited, I, p. 557.

himself in agreement on matters of polity with Samuel Rutherford.¹¹ Peter Hobart, minister at Hingham, Massachusetts, under whose pastorate was born Jedidiah Andrews, later first pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, had always been a Presbyterian.¹² Among the early leaders, John Young and Richard Denton were likewise inclined to Presbyterian views of church government. The former was the first pastor of the church at Southold, Long Island (1640); and the latter, settling in Massachusetts in 1630, became one of the first pastors in Connecticut, and then served at Hempstead, Long Island, from 1644 till his return to England in 1659, while his sons, Nathaniel and Daniel, were instrumental in establishing the independent Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, Long Island, perhaps the oldest continuously existing Presbyterian church in America.¹³ Francis Doughty emigrated from Gloucestershire to Massachusetts in 1637. At Taunton he suffered for his advocacy of the Presbyterian tenet, that infants of baptized persons who are not communicant members may themselves receive the sacrament of baptism. Later he became the first Presbyterian minister in Manhattan, being recognized as such by the local Dutch pastors both during his sojourn among them and after his removal to Flushing, Long Island. Later still, he fled to Maryland and for many years preached to the Puritans of that colony. And the Mathers themselves made much of the ruling elder as an assistant to the pastor, and teacher, and it may be affirmed that if they could have fashioned their polity *de novo*, they would have insisted on the advantages of having elders and synods.¹⁴

But it was in Connecticut that the Presbyterian elements inherent from the first in Puritanism came to their fullest expression. The chief supporters of this colony in England

¹¹ Briggs, *loc. cit.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 125. Cf. Walker, *A History of the Congregational Church* (6th ed.), pp. 116, 155.

¹³ Cf. J. M. Macdonald, *Two Centuries in the History of the Presbyterian Church, Jamaica, L. I.* (New York, 1862). Cf. Gillett, as cited, I, p. 4, n. 2.

¹⁴ Cf. Mather, *Magnalia*, II, pp. 241ff., and Gillett, as cited, I, p. 24.

were Presbyterians. In the Assembly that drew up the Saybrook Platform in 1708, there was a strong Presbyterian party, that left the impress of its views on the entire document. In each county there were to be one or more Associations of ministers, and in the district of each Association there was to be a standing council or "Consociation" of churches, to which each church was to send a pastor and delegate as representatives, and which should have judicial cognizance of cases submitted to it. It was under this semi-Presbyterian form of government that the Connecticut churches entered into their historically so important relations with the Presbyterians of the Middle Colonies, and later with the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church. The Platform, like all compromise measures, was, of course, variously interpreted: in Fairfield County, the high-church Presbyterian view prevailed; but in New Haven, the rights and liberties of the local churches were expressly safeguarded in the act of ratification. Yet even so late as 1799 the Hartford North Association of Ministers declared:

"This Association give information to all whom it may concern, that the constitution of the churches in the State of Connecticut, founded on the common usages, and the Confession of Faith, Heads of Agreement, and articles of Church Discipline, adopted at the earliest period of the settlement of the State, is not Congregational, but contains the essentials of the government of the church of Scotland, or [the] Presbyterian Church in America; particularly as it gives a decisive power to ecclesiastical councils. . . . The Churches, therefore, in Connecticut at large, and in our district in particular, are not now, and never were, from the earliest period of our settlement, Congregational churches, according to the ideas and forms of church order contained in the Book of Discipline called the Cambridge Platform."¹⁵

As Professor Walker admits: "Congregational consolidation, the development of fellowship, had been the main characteristic of the seventeenth century. That development had gone to semi-Presbyterian lengths in Connecticut; it had nearly reached the same goal in Massachusetts."¹⁶

¹⁵ Gillett, as cited, I, pp. 438f.

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

The strength of the Presbyterian elements in the Puritanism of New England may also be inferred from the well known fact that a large number of the pastors of originally independent Presbyterian churches in the Middle Colonies came from New England, many of whom in the course of time joined the First Presbytery and the General Synod. Among the earliest of the Presbyterian churches thus founded in New Jersey were those at Elizabeth (1665), Newark (1666), Woodbridge (1680), and Fairfield (1680). We cannot pursue in detail this missionary work of the New England Presbyterian Puritans. Nor can we consider the once much discussed question of the relative importance of the New England as against the Scotch and Irish elements in the formation of the first Presbtery in 1706.¹⁷ Confining ourselves to the theme before us, we conclude our survey of English Puritan Presbyterianism in New England with the statement that before the seventeenth century closed, the congregational presbytery had quite generally passed out of use. The ruling elder had disappeared. His duties were so delicate and difficult that few fit persons could be found willing to undertake them. Furthermore, the functions of teacher and pastor were so similar, that small congregations felt themselves justified in seeking to avoid the cost of maintaining two ministers. And above all, the growing spirit of democracy, both in church and in state, favored the distribution of authority among the brotherhood as against the concentration of power in an elective eldership. Thus by the year 1700, few churches had as many as three elders, some had but two, and most only one, he hav-

¹⁷ Dr. Charles Hodge (*Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, 1839), is occasionally inaccurate and sometimes assumes what he cannot substantiate; but he convincingly proves the essential Scoticism of the First Presbytery, as against Dr. William Hill (*A History of the Rise, Progress, Genius, and Character of American Presbyterianism*, Washington, 1839; a work written to refute the preceding treatise.) Cf. Briggs, as cited, pp. 119, 131, 254, and especially Chapter IV, on "The Presbytery of Philadelphia, 1706-1716." Concerning the ease with which New England ministers on moving west and south conformed to the Presbyterian polity, and the reasons therefor, see Bacon, *History of American Christianity*, p. 136f.

ing the functions of all three classes of officers. As a matter of fact, Congregationalism so completely won the field, that with a few exceptions only those Puritan Presbyterians who drifted into the Middle and Southern Colonies became definitely connected with the main body of our Church. The Congregationalists had had the double advantage, that they were the first settlers and that most of the forceful leaders among the early Puritans were of their party. Moreover, just as the Presbyterians of England had been willing for the sake of peace and good feeling to accept a modified form of episcopacy, so their brethren in New England, never having had an independent ecclesiastical organization—if we except the little band of Pilgrims at Plymouth—found it as natural as it was mutually agreeable to make common cause with their fellow Calvinistic Congregationalists.

The consideration of the second source of early New England Presbyterianism need not long detain us. I refer to the few Scotch and Irish Presbyterians who came over to these regions in the seventeenth century; that is, before the great Scotch-Irish migrations of the next century. The persecuted Presbyterians of the North of Ireland had been invited by the Governor and Council of New England to settle on the Merrimac River, and as early as 1635 work was begun, on Belfast lough, on a ship of 115 tons' burden to transport the colony. The vessel was called the "Eagle Wing," in allusion to the text, Exodus xix, 4: "I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself." The next year 140 passengers set sail for New England, under the charge of the two celebrated ministers, Robert Blair and John Livingstone. But by reason of severe storms—rather, perhaps, because of signs and omens—the company, after having accomplished more than half of the voyage, decided to return to Ireland. These pastors, and others of their type, were to do an important preliminary work in the old world in training a people who, one hundred years later, under more favorable circumstances, were to give Presbyterianism a local habitation and a name of honor in many of the colonies.

The first Presbyterians to come into New England from

both Scotland and Ireland in the seventeenth century were bondmen. They were prisoners of war under Cromwell, and several ship-loads of them were deported to the new world. Their servitude was ordinarily limited to a few years, to pay the expenses of their transportation. Among the ministers who cared for these unfortunate exiles were James Brown and James Keith, two of the Scotch pastors ejected in 1662. They were installed in Congregational churches, their different views as to polity being no hindrance to their pastoral services. Brown settled in Swansea, Mass., but after the accession of William and Mary to the British throne, he returned to Scotland and became a pastor at Glasgow. Till his death in 1714, he was deeply interested in the Presbytery of Philadelphia and the fortunes of the newly organized Church in America. Keith came from Aberdeen to Boston, settled at Bridgewater, Mass., in 1664, where he died in 1719. John Frazer, a minister exiled with some three hundred other Scotchmen in 1685, to form a colony in New Jersey, found his way, like most of the survivors of the group, to New England. He supplied the church at Woodbury, Conn., from 1686 to 1688, when he returned to Scotland and settled at Alness. No organization of New England Presbyterians, however, can be traced to the labors of these Scotch and Irish exiles.¹⁸

¹⁸ Cf. Briggs, as cited, pp. 122, 130f., and Alexander Blaikie, *A History of Presbyterianism in New England*, Boston, 1881, pp. 21-28. This is an invaluable work of reference in this field, but it is marred by too partisan a spirit and by an unsatisfactory arrangement of much of the material.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

that then it shall and may be Lawfull for Us our Heirs and Successors our and their Receiver or Receivers into and upon the hereby granted Land and Premises to ReEnter and the same to hold and possess untill the said Quit Rent and all Arrears thereof together with the Charges accruing by means of such Non Payment and ReEntry be fully paid and discharged IN WITNESS whereof the said Thomas Penn by virtue of the Powers and Authorities to him granted by the said John and Richard Penn and of his own Right hath caused the Great Seal of the said Province to be hereunto affixed at Philadelphia this Fourth day of June in the Year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Forty The Thirteenth Year of the Reign of King George the Second over Great Britain etc. and the Twenty Second Year of our Government.

(Signed) Tho. Penn.

On the back of the deed are these two entries:

1. "Entred in the Office for Recording of Deeds for the City and County of Philadelphia in Pat. Book A. vol. 9 pages 193 etc the 24th Day of June Anno Dom 1740 Witness my Hand & Seal of my Office aforesaid.

(Signed) C. Brockden."

2. Patent to James Anderson, John Allison, James Mitchel and David Hayes for the Use of the Presbyterian Congregation at Donegal for 200 Acres in Lancaster County.

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PRESBYTERIANISM IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND.

BY PROF. FREDERICK W. LOETSCHER, D.D., LL.D.

PART II. (CONCLUSION.)*

The third ¹ source of New England Presbyterianism was the Reformed Church of France. In 1685 the Edict of Nantes was revoked, and hundreds of thousands of the Huguenots—the best people of France—were compelled to leave their native land. Even before that date some of these staunch supporters of the Presbyterian faith and polity had found their way to the new world, and soon thereafter they made important contributions to settlements in New York and South Carolina, as well as in New England. In 1686 some Huguenots settled at Rochester (now Kingston), and built a church.² For a time they prospered, but being molested by their neighbors, most of the original forty-five families left for New York or Boston. Of considerable importance was the settlement of the Huguenots in the latter city. Among those

* For Part I, see the last issue of the JOURNAL (June, 1921), pp. 83-93.

¹ The other two sources of New England Presbyterianism discussed in Part I of this article were (1) the Presbyterian elements inherent in Puritanism itself, and (2) the limited number of Scotch and Irish Presbyterians who came to New England in the seventeenth century, before the great Scotch-Irish emigration of the next century.

² Alex. Blaikie, *A History of Presbyterianism in New England* (1881), p. 29ff.

who arrived there in 1687 was Mr. Baudoin, the progenitor of the Bowdoin family. By the favor of the Puritans these Presbyterians were permitted to meet for worship in one of the two schoolhouses of the town, and to organize themselves as a regular Presbyterian church with ruling elders and a settled pastor. Their services were at first conducted in the French language. In due time they drew up a strong Calvinistic confession of forty articles.³ Among their first ministers—if not the very first—was Peter Daillé, the earliest notice concerning him dating from 1696. He served the church till his death in 1715. At about the same time they secured permission to build a church of their own, a brick building thirty by thirty-five feet. In 1719 the pastorate was undertaken by the Rev. Andrew LeMercier, a graduate of Geneva, and one of the early members, if not one of the organizers, of the Presbytery of Londonderry, of which more will be said later on. During his pastorate the French language was gradually given up in favor of the English. He died in 1764 at Dorchester, in the seventy-second year of his age. Like nearly all the other Huguenot churches in the colonies, that at Boston was short-lived. In 1748 the building was sold to the Congregationalists, “for the sole use of a Protestant church forever.” But in 1785 it was transferred by sale to the Roman Catholics. As another has said: “Few of those who established the French church in Boston could have thought that a branch of that power, from which they had fled their native land upon the pain of death, would so soon flourish on a spot which they had chosen for a place of refuge.”⁴

The last, and by far the most important, source from which New England Presbyterianism was recruited were the Scotch-Irish. The Ulster Plantation in the North of Ireland became the one conspicuous achievement of the Scotch as a colonizing force. Large sections of that province had been granted by James I to his favorites in Scotland, who by fair promises induced many of their countrymen to make the easy voyage to

³ *Ibid.*, Appendix C.

⁴ S. G. Drake, Esq., as quoted in Blaikie, *op cit.*, p. 38.

Ireland. After the Restoration the colonists found the prelatic intolerance and persecutions too grievous to be borne, and before a decade had passed, some of the more adventurous leaders sought a refuge in the new world, in the Barbadoes, in Maryland, and in Virginia. The passage of the "Test Act" in 1673 expelled and debarred the Presbyterians, as well as the Catholics, from all public honors, offices, and employments. Nor did the "Toleration Act" of 1689 grant sufficient relief even to the Protestant Dissenters. As early as 1682, William Trail, formerly moderator of the Presbytery of Laggan, went to Maryland, and the next year Francis Makemie, of the same Presbytery, began his abundant and most fruitful labors in behalf of organized American Presbyterianism, fulfilling an apostolate from South Carolina to Massachusetts.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the Scotch-Irish in America.⁵ Their numbers alone would have made them an important factor in the settlement of the country. The vast bulk of them, of course, went to Pennsylvania, the historian Proud estimating that six thousand of them had arrived by 1726, and that thereafter the immigration increased to twelve thousand a year up to 1750. Another stream of them entered the Carolinas and spread into West Virginia, eastern Kentucky and Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama, while, as we shall presently see, the earliest migration on a large scale was that into New England. Mr. Fiske computed that "between 1730 and 1770 more than half the Presbyterian population of

⁵ See Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton University Press, 1915). Professor Ford devotes about one third of his work (pp. 1-164) to the consideration of the Ulster Plantation itself—a particularly valuable presentation of the subject. But in his rather one-sided treatment of the economic causes of the great emigrations, he scarcely does justice to the religious factors involved in these movements, and in the opposition of the New England Congregationalists to the Scotch-Irish as Presbyterians. And he goes quite too far in trying to prove his unqualified thesis (p. 336) that "both in historical connection and in nature of organization the Presbyterian Church in the United States was a Scotch-Irish enterprise." Cf. the discriminating review of Professor Ford's book by Dr. Louis F. Benson in this JOURNAL, Vol. IX, pp. 21-24.

Ulster came to America, where it formed more than one sixth part of our entire population at the time of the Declaration of Independence.⁶ But more important than their numbers was their character. Resolute, persistent, full of volitional energy, conservative in temperament, fitted for political leadership, lovers of learning and of liberty, deeply religious in spirit, and ready to endure hardships for their convictions—they may fairly be said to have formed the backbone of the American nation.

We can only sketch some of the more important settlements of the Scotch-Irish in New England. It was but natural that the Puritans in New England would attract emigrants who had so much in common with them as did the Presbyterians of Ulster. The Rev. William Homes, who came to Martha's Vineyard about 1686 and then returned to Ireland, may be regarded as the pioneer among the many ministers who left the North of Ireland for New England. In 1714 he returned to Boston, accompanied by his brother-in-law, the Rev. Thomas Craighead, who settled in Freetown, Mass., and later had a distinguished career in Delaware and Pennsylvania. A son of Mr. Homes, Captain Homes, a brother-in-law of Benjamin Franklin, sailed for Ireland in 1718, and returned a few months later with many passengers.⁷ Virtually whole communities now began to be transported. In 1718, five shiploads, about 120 families, arrived. Boston was the chief port of entry. The coming of the Ulstermen in such impressive numbers led Cotton Mather to write: "The glorious providence of God our Savior which has been at work in the removal of so many people who are of so desirable a character, as we see come and coming from the North of Ireland into the North of New England, hath doubtless very great intentions in it, and what we do we know not now, but we shall know hereafter."⁸ But the presence of so many Presbyterians was soon felt to imperil the "standing order," while the economic problem of

⁶ In Ford, as cited, p. 523.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 189f.

⁸ *Mather MSS.*, American Antiquarian Society; quoted in Briggs, *American Presbyterianism*, p. 189.

supplying food for the new-comers intensified the opposition against them.⁹ It was not till 1730 that the Presbyterians of Boston, under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Moorehead, could form themselves into a church. The emigrants were commonly encouraged to betake themselves to the frontier "as a barrier against the Indians."

One of the first Scotch-Irish settlements was that at Worcester, Mass., dating from 1718. The Rev. Edward Fitzgerald was the minister. When they took measures to build themselves a church, their Congregational neighbors "gathered tumultuously by night, hewed down and demolished the structure." This deed of violence was due to the unwillingness of the members of the Established Church to contribute to the support of ministers of two denominations, and became typical of the attitude of many towns toward the "parcel of Irish" who came within their jurisdiction. Many of these Presbyterians—as shown by the seating lists of the Worcester Congregational Church for 1733—became members of that communion.¹⁰ But most of the Ulstermen adhered to their own polity. Some remained at Worcester, and later called as their pastor, the Rev. William Johnston, of County Tyrone, Ireland, a graduate of the University of Edinburgh, who, however, failing of proper support, went to Windham, N. H., and later to New York and Florida. Others, about 1738, went to Pelham, about thirty miles west of Worcester; another group, about 1740, to Colerain, still further west and north; a third colony, in 1741, to Western (now Warren) in Worcester County; and a fourth to Blanford, in Hampden County. In all these regions Scotch-Irish names still perpetuate the memory of these Ulster Presbyterians.

In the autumn of 1718 sixteen Scotch-Irish families left Boston and sailed as far north as Casco Bay, near the modern

⁹ It is characteristic of their works that Thompson (*A History of the Presbyterian Churches in the United States*, 3d ed., p. 22) mentions the former reason for the antipathy of the New Englanders, and Ford (*op. cit.*, p. 225) the latter. Both causes were operative; cf. Blaikie, as cited, pp. 49f., 63f., and Ford, p. 342.

¹⁰ Ford, as cited, p. 345.

Portland, Me. Some of these settlers later went to the parts adjacent to the mouths of the Kennebec and Penobscot Rivers, making what was probably the third Scotch-Irish settlement in New England. But enough remained to form a considerable colony at Pooporduc, now a part of Portland. William Cornwell and James Woodside were prominent among the ministers in the vicinity of Casco Bay.¹¹ The Rev. Hugh Campbell, a graduate of Edinburgh University, labored at Scarborough, Me., and was succeeded there by the Rev. Hugh Henry (1722). At Bristol, Nobleboro, and Boothbay, Me., was the Rev. Robert Rutherford. The Rev. Robert Dunlap, a native of County Antrim, and also an alumnus of Edinburgh, emigrated to America in 1736, and labored from 1746 to 1760 at Brunswick.

Another of the more important settlements was that at Dunbar in the eastern part of Maine. This region had suffered much from the cruelty of the Indians, but after the restoration of peace the land was eagerly occupied for its valuable timber and hemp. It was the project of Colonel David Dunbar, who brought in about 150 families, and after whom the settlement was named, to separate the territory from the Massachusetts government and to make it an independent colony. In this enterprise he was defeated, but for a time his communities were influential in making Maine, particularly the portion between the Kennebec and the Penobscot Rivers, the chief center of Presbyterianism in New England.¹²

But historically the most important settlement of the Ulstermen in New England was that at Nutfield, or Londonderry, N. H. It was begun in 1719, and in 1722 was incorporated as a town containing ten square miles. The first house built was that for the minister, the Rev. James McGregor, one of the defenders of Londonderry in the siege of 1689. He had been

¹¹ Cf. Ford, as cited, pp. 230ff., and William Willis, "Scotch-Irish Immigrations to Maine, and Presbyterianism in New England" (in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. VI, 1859, pp. 18ff.). Both authors give important genealogical data concerning these settlers.

¹² Willis, as cited, p. 34.

ordained in Ireland in 1701, and was destined to play an important rôle in the Presbyterianism of New England, till his death in 1729. Londonderry enjoyed unusual civil and ecclesiastical privileges, and town and church were for a time exceedingly prosperous and promising. "In six years they had four schools in town—kept, each of them, for one-half of each year—and within nine years of its first settlement, Londonderry paid one fifteenth of the State tax."¹³ As early as 1734 the church records note that a communion service was attended by 700 members. Londonderry became a mother of colonies—at least ten considerable communities, in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts, traced their origin to her. The historian of the town points with pride to the fact that from this stock came six governors of New Hampshire, nine members of Congress, and five justices of the supreme court of the State.¹⁴

Rhode Island and Connecticut were not strongly occupied by the original Ulstermen, but migrations from the older settlements in Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire occurred from time to time. Voluntown (now Stirling) in Connecticut had an organized Presbyterian Church as early as 1723, under the Rev. Samuel Dorrance, which, however, became Congregational in 1749. Milford, in New Haven County, had a Presbyterian church in 1737 under the Rev. Samuel Whittlesey, which after 1743 was for some time under the care of the distant Presbytery of New Brunswick.¹⁵

We have now passed in review the four chief sources from which early New England Presbyterianism recruited its strength: the Presbyterian elements inherent in Puritanism itself; the Scotch and Irish exiles deported after the Cromwellian wars; the Huguenots of France, who came after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685; and the Scotch-Irish, who in the first three quarters of the eighteenth century

¹³ Blaikie, as cited, p. 52.

¹⁴ E. L. Parker, *History of Londonderry*, as quoted by Ford, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

¹⁵ Hodge, *Constitutional History of the Presbyterian Church*, Part II, p. 257; Blaikie, as cited, p. 90.

emigrated in large numbers to Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. Let us now briefly consider the organization of New England Presbyterianism.

For about a decade after the Scotch-Irish began to immigrate in force into New England, they managed their church affairs without a presbytery. Their ministers had been ordained in Ireland, and matters were often referred to the Irish judicatories for counsel and advice. The first New England presbytery to be formed was that of Londonderry, nicknamed by its opponents the "Irish Presbytery." Neither the time of its organization nor the date of its final dissolution can be determined. All its records are lost. But from collateral sources, such as minutes of church sessions and controversial documents of the period, it may be inferred that the Presbytery was established somewhere between the years 1726 and 1729, and that it continued for about forty years; that is, certainly till 1765, and probably for a few years longer. Indeed, there is a record of a request addressed as late as 1771, to the Presbytery for co-operation in the formation of a synod; but by that time the Presbytery had undoubtedly passed out of existence, its name only surviving. Among the original members were in all likelihood James McGregor, who died in 1729, and Edward Fitzgerald, the only survivors of the first Scotch-Irish immigrants, and LeMercier, pastor of the French Church in Boston. As to the identity of other members of the constitutive meeting, no information is available. The body, if one may judge from the records of churches under its care, conducted its business in strict conformity to the usages of the Irish Presbyteries. For some time, indeed, appeals continued to be made to the Synod of Ireland. In the year 1729 it received Matthew Clarke, then about seventy years of age, who came from Ireland, and installed him at Londonderry as McGregor's successor. The next year it ordained John Moorehead to the pastorate of the Presbyterian Church then being gathered by him in Boston. In 1733 it received and ordained Thomas Thompson, a probationer of the Presbytery of Tyrone, Ireland, to succeed Mr. Clarke, deceased, at Londonderry. In 1739 this parish was divided by act of the court into the West

and the East Parishes; and that same year the former called as its pastor the Rev. David McGregor, the son of James McGregor, while the latter called the Rev. William Davidson, who continued in that charge for over fifty years, till his death in 1791.

Through a considerable part of its brief history the Presbytery had the semblance of a vigorous life. At least its ministerial members were fairly numerous, amounting at various times to ten or twelve. But of these some were scarcely worthy of their high calling; some accepted more attractive fields of service in the Congregational Church; and some were unduly fond of what an old Puritan called "the carnality of religious contention." The French Church had become extinct in 1748 through the transfer of its youth to English-speaking congregations and the removal by death of the old members.¹⁶

Of special importance, too, in this connection, were the results of the Great Awakening. This movement came to its height in New England in the first decade of the existence of the Presbytery. In 1740 Whitefield himself came to Boston and co-operated with the Presbyterians there and in the adjoining regions in furtherance of the revival. He later founded the Old South Presbyterian Church of Newburyport, and at his own request his remains were laid to rest under its pulpit. We cannot discuss the occasion, the characteristics, and the manifold consequences of this epoch-making event, which profoundly affected the religious life of the country from Maine to Georgia, which closed the Puritan and opened the Methodist period in the history of American Christianity. Suffice it to say that here, as in the Middle Colonies and elsewhere, the Scotch-Irish were both zealous advocates and determined opponents of the revival. In New England, as elsewhere, the good results of the movement were counterbalanced, in part, at least, by its unquestioned evils. The treasures of truth and grace were borne in earthen vessels. The Presbyterian churches of New England were quite generally divided, much

¹⁶ On the organization of New England Presbyterianism the work of Blaikie is the best authority.

as the Synod of Philadelphia was in 1741, into two clearly marked groups: the New Side, which favored the Awakening, its methods, its psalmody, its reduced educational requirements for the ministry, its "Methodism"; and the Old Side, which opposed all such changes.

The Londonderry Presbytery was in no condition to endure the storm and stress of the Awakening. It had already suffered a serious division that sadly impaired its strength and hastened its dissolution through sheer inanition. This split was of importance, too, because in due time it led to the formation of the second of the New England Presbyteries, that of Boston. The circumstances leading to the breaking up of the original Presbytery involved the question of its authority as related to the Congregational churches and their discipline. James Hillhouse, native of County Londonderry, ordained by the Derry Presbytery in 1718, came to America in 1720, and two years later became pastor of the second parish at New London, Conn. After some time he became unpopular with his people, who shut the door of his church against him and withheld his salary. An *ex parte* council of neighboring ministers in 1735 ordered him to resign. He refused to do so, and applied for admission to the Londonderry Presbytery. Only five ministers were present, when he was admitted by a majority vote, Joseph Harvey and John Moorehead being the two ministerial members who supported his petition. The Presbytery also at this meeting ordained David McGregor, the son of the first pastor of the Londonderry Church. Three of the ministers entered their protest against both of these proceedings. At the next meeting of the body, a large number being present, the majority refused to recognize both Hillhouse and McGregor, and suspended Harvey and Moorehead, declaring that denominational comity required the approval of the action of the Congregational Council. Their mode of procedure, however, was as arbitrary as their motives may have been admirable. The Presbytery was thus divided.

Accordingly, in 1745, the Rev. Messrs. Moorehead, McGregor, and Abercrombie constituted the Presbytery of Boston. To their numbers were added Jonathan Parsons, of

Newburyport (1748), Alexander McDowell (1753), Samuel McClintock and John Houston (1757). By 1770 it had twelve ministers on its roll.¹⁷ This body was in the main a New Side Presbytery, while that of Londonderry favored the Old Side. Its minutes from 1755 to 1760, if indeed they ever existed, are no longer extant. Its outstanding figure was that of John Moorehead. Born near Belfast in 1703, and educated at the University of Edinburgh, he came to Boston in 1727, and busied himself gathering a congregation which was soon known as the "Church of the Presbyterian Strangers." As we have seen, he was ordained by the Presbytery of Londonderry in 1730 and installed as pastor of the Boston Church. One of his parishioners, John Little, a prosperous gardener, offered his barn to the congregation as a place of worship, and later conveyed the building and some land to the Church for its exclusive and permanent use. In 1744 a larger building was erected, which later became known as the Federal Street Church, of which William Ellery Channing became the pastor in 1803. Moorehead's notable ministry of forty-three years in that one charge—he died in 1773—gave great prestige to the Presbytery of which he was one of the founders.

The Boston Presbytery, largely by reason of the evangelistic zeal of most of its members, soon outgrew its elder rival. Accordingly, in the year 1775, after having considered the matter for several years, the Presbytery of Boston organized itself into a Synod, consisting of three Presbyteries: Newburyport (soon after called Salem Presbytery), with six ministers; Londonderry—the original Presytery of that name having become extinct about ten years earlier—with four clerical members; and Palmer, with six—a total of sixteen ministers with twenty-five congregations.¹⁸ The body took the name of

¹⁷ Blaikie, as cited, p. 151.

¹⁸ Cf. Dr. Dana, of Newburyport, in William Hill's *History of the Rise, Progress, Genius, and Character of American Presbyterianism*, p. 56, and Blaikie, as cited, pp. 163ff. Dr. Dana, however, errs in saying that "the first Presbytery in New England" was constituted at Londonderry in 1745. The Boston Presbytery was the second presbytery, the original Londonderry Presbytery being about fifteen years its senior.

“The Synod of New England.” It adopted the Westminster Confession of Faith and Catechisms, and also the standing rules of the Kirk of Scotland, “so far as our local and other circumstances will allow.” Plans were made for a regular correspondence with the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, and regulations for the several Presbyteries were adopted. An era of prosperity for New England Presbyterianism seemed to be at hand; but as the event showed, the palmiest days had already passed. The brightest period was that of the thirty years following the formation of the Presbytery of Boston in 1745. The political turmoil in which the whole country was involved by the time of the Synod’s organization was unfavorable to religious interests. And the controversy as to “the proper matter of praise” in public worship—whether the Scotch Psalter or Watts was to be used—led some of the more conservative ministers and churches to seek connection with the Associate Presbytery of New York. As a matter of fact, the three Presbyteries often found it difficult to secure a quorum. Accordingly, in 1782, no longer able to endure the trials of its own weakness and the special burdens entailed by the Revolutionary War, the Synod was dissolved, and its members reconstituted as a mere Presbytery—the Presbytery of Salem. This body hovered between life and death for about a decade of years, when it, too, adjourned *sine die*, the last meeting taking place in 1791.

Besides the Presbytery of Londonderry and the Presbytery of Boston, which developed, as we have seen, into the Synod of New England with its three Presbyteries, there were two other independent presbyterial organizations, which deserve a brief mention: the so-called Presbytery of the Eastward and the Grafton Presbytery. Both were formed in the eighth decade of the eighteenth century, when New England Presbyterianism was at its height.

The Presbytery of the Eastward was formed in 1771 at Boothbay, Me., by three ministers and four ruling elders. John Murray was the chief leader of this enterprise. He was one of the most influential Presbyterians of this epoch.¹⁹ He

¹⁹ Cf. Willis, as cited, pp. 34f.; Blaikie, as cited, pp. 141ff.; and A. G.

was born near Ballymena, County Antrim, Ireland, in 1742, and was a graduate of the University of Edinburgh. He preached in Boothbay as early as 1763, and his services were eagerly sought by several churches in the neighborhood. Declining their calls because of a contemplated return to Ireland, he changed his plans, put himself under the care of the Presbytery of New York, and in 1765 accepted ordination and settlement as Gilbert Tennent's successor in the Second Church of Philadelphia. Owing to some irregularity connected with his licensure in England, which he was unjustly accused of having forged—the truth apparently being that he had been duly licensed, but that some of his friends at Edinburgh had counterfeited an official document attesting his licensure, and that to shield the guilty ministers he declined to divulge the facts—he was deposed by the Presbytery of Philadelphia in 1767 and excommunicated. Other things, also, were alleged against him in Philadelphia, but never judicially investigated. But commended by some of his elders and friends in Philadelphia, he went to Boothbay in 1766, and, after making a humble confession of his fault in regard to the certificate of his licensure, he secured the approval of the town meeting, and entered upon his highly successful ministry in that parish. From near and far people flocked to hear him. A revival took place and continued for two years, and in 1767 a strong Presbyterian church was organized. At that time he seems to have been the only settled minister east of Woolwich.

He remained at Boothbay until 1779. As the Presbytery of Boston would not recognize his ministerial standing, he joined with some others who took his side of the controversy, and organized the Presbytery of the Eastward. This body rapidly grew at the expense of the other, and likewise of the newly organized Synod. The Church of Boston, after the death of Mr. Moorehead, and the First Church of Newburyport, under Mr. Parsons, came into the new Presbytery. In 1781, after Boston had in vain tried to secure his services, Mr. Murray was

Vermilye, "Memoir of the Rev. John Murray, First Minister of the Church in Boothbay," in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 155-170.

installed as Parsons' successor at Newburyport. His congregation was enthusiastically devoted to him, and numbered, according to some estimates, two thousand members. But meanwhile the Church at Boothbay declined, and ere long became extinct as a Presbyterian organization. And the Presbytery of the Eastward, which never had more than eight ministers on its roll, survived that of Salem by only nine months. Thus the Synod came to an end in 1782; its successor, the Presbytery of Salem, in 1791; and the independent Presbytery of the Eastward—at least so far as its recorded minutes go—in 1792, the year before the death of its most influential member.

The Presbytery of Grafton, also called the Presbytery of the Connecticut River, had its chief strength in central New Hampshire and eastern Vermont. Like the Presbytery of the Eastward, it never belonged to the Synod of New England or the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. It was constituted by President Eleazer Wheelock, of Dartmouth College, then newly founded, and other ministers of Congregational antecedents. Its history, extending for about a score of years—from about 1776 to about 1796—is involved in obscurity. The body stedfastly resisted efforts to bring it into fellowship with other Presbyteries and the Synod.²⁰ It gradually succumbed to the Congregationalism from which it had derived what strength it had.

Thus by the year 1793, there was but one Presbytery in all New England, that of Grafton. We shall not dwell upon the reorganization of Presbyterianism in these regions after the close of the Revolution. Suffice it to say, that in 1789 negotiations were commenced with a view to uniting New England Presbyterians—they were chiefly members of the decadent Presbytery of the Eastward—with the Associate Reformed Presbytery of New York. This was accomplished in 1793, the united body being called the Presbytery of Londonderry. By the year 1801, this Presbytery, having ceased to report to the Synod or send delegates to it, was disowned by the larger

²⁰ Cf. Blaikie, as cited, pp. 191ff.

body, and became an independent judicatory. In the year 1809 it became connected with the newly-formed Synod of Albany, and thus came under the care of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. By the concurrent action of this Presbytery and this Synod, the Presbytery of Newburyport was formed in 1826, but only to be reunited again with the Presbytery of Londonderry in 1847. The Presbytery of Connecticut was organized in 1850 by the Synod of New York, and consisted originally of several ministers and churches previously belonging to the Presbytery of New York. The Presbyterians throughout the eighteenth century were left largely to themselves, but with the recent re-organization of the churches into the Synod of New England in 1912, a new era of prosperity has set in.

The most flourishing period of Presbyterianism in Colonial New England, therefore, was that of the thirty years preceding the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. In New Hampshire, the five churches of 1760 had grown to twenty by 1778; and Maine had probably as many more. Dr. Briggs estimates that the Synod with its three Presbyteries, and the two independent Presbyteries of the Eastward and Grafton, had in all thirty-two ministers, while the Synod of New York and Philadelphia had 132 ministers, and the total number of Presbyterian ministers, exclusive of the Dutch, German, and French Reformed Churches, was 186.²¹

But as we survey the course of the development of Presbyterianism in New England, in the colonial days, it is not strange that the outcome was not more promising. The churches had the same difficulties to contend against as those of other denominations in all the colonies. Ministers were scarce; the land was sparsely settled; the people were poor. Everywhere there were the hardships and temptations incident to life on the frontiers of civilization. Here, as elsewhere, too, the absorption of the people in temporal and political affairs during the decades of dispute with the mother country; the devastations and material losses entailed by the War; the malign

²¹ As cited, pp. 342f.

influences of the frivolous and scoffing deism that some of the French officers brought with them from the land of Voltaire; the general decadence of religion and the various defections from the historic principles of the Reformed faith—these and kindred forces sapped the vitality of many churches. But the New England Presbyterians had difficulties and disadvantages peculiar to themselves. Not only were they isolated from the main body of the Presbyterian Church, but they were largely dependent upon Congregational pastors, and it was by no means strange that many congregations and ministers found it expedient to cast in their lot with the denomination that had the advantages, if also some of the drawbacks, of an established church.

As we review the history of Presbyterianism in Colonial New England, we find that its outstanding features are much the same as those which it manifested in other colonies.

For one thing, it had a marked missionary spirit. We would not exaggerate the work done in behalf of the Indians, but even that reflects honor upon the Presbyterians as well as other Christians in New England. The apostolic Eliot, who, as we have seen, inclined toward the Presbyterian polity, was followed by others of like fidelity and zeal. We name but a few as typical of a goodly company. David Brainerd (1718-1747) worked among the Indians of Massachusetts and New York before his ordination in 1744, by the Presbytery of New York, and before his more celebrated mission among the red men along the Delaware and the Susquehanna. The Mohegan, Samson Occum (1723-1792), one of the first trophies of the Great Awakening at Norwich, was educated for the school for Indians kept by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock, at Lebanon, Conn., and in 1757 was ordained by the Presbytery of Suffolk, Conn. His work among the Indians on Long Island and in central New York was highly successful, and his trip to England for funds for Moor's Indian Charity School resulted in the addition of some ten thousand pounds to the endowment of the institution. He also shares with President Samuel Davies the honor of being one of the first hymn-writers of the American Presbyterian Church. Elihu Spen-

cer (1748-1784) labored among the Oneidas of New York just after his ordination by a council in Boston in 1748, though most of his life was spent in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church—at Elizabethtown, N. J.; Jamaica, L. I.; St. George's, Del., and Trenton, N. J.

But the great missionary work of the New England Presbyterians was that which was performed by those many Puritans who, migrating to the Middle and Southern Colonies, sooner or later became identified with the original Presbytery or the General Synod; and by the Scotch-Irish who, as we have seen, established their churches in all of the New England Colonies, and in large numbers went to other regions to do the work of the missionary. No estimate of New England Presbyterianism is accurate, or just, that fails to take into the account this important service rendered to American Presbyterianism outside of the bounds of New England by ministers, individual members, and whole congregations, who, leaving their homes in these parts, spread themselves along virtually the whole of the Atlantic seaboard. One of the most celebrated of these colonies was that established in Truro, Nova Scotia, in 1760, by a company from and near Londonderry, N. H., which became the first Presbyterian Church in Canada, and which, with its successors, has exerted so strong and salutary an influence in fostering civil and religious liberty in that country.

Another salient feature of the New England Presbyterianism was its devotion to the cause of education. What is true of most of the early ministers of the General Synod is likewise true of the clerical members of the New England Presbyteries—they were well educated men: the Scotch and the Ulstermen having been trained chiefly at Glasgow and Edinburgh; and the New Englanders, at Harvard and Yale. It has been estimated that even as early as 1638 there were in Massachusetts and Connecticut at least forty men—not all ministers—"who had been educated, though probably not all had graduated, at Cambridge."²² Especially important in this regard was the

²² J. A. Doyle, *The English in America: The Puritan Colonies*, Vol. II, pp. 113f.

work of the Scotch-Irish, who in New England, as elsewhere, notably in the Middle Colonies, became schoolmasters and pastors celebrated for their intellectual attainments and their devotion to the cause of the higher education and the common school system. Attention has often and rightly been called to the elective affinity existing between the Presbyterian Church and education. For "the grounds upon which rested the doctrine of the parity of ministerial orders in the primitive Church were not to be discerned by inward light nor apprehended by emotional fervor. It was a matter calling for historical knowledge, involving familiarity with the languages in which the records of the primitive Church were preserved. Presbyterian ministry thus implied educated ministry from its very nature."²⁸

Of special interest in this connection was the founding of the fourth of the historic colleges of New England, that of Dartmouth, chartered in 1769, Harvard, Yale, and Brown being the first three. Dartmouth grew out of the Indian training school, to which reference was made a moment ago, the institution founded by the Rev. Eleazar Wheelock at Lebanon, Conn., about 1750. The College was removed to Hanover, N. H., chiefly because that province granted it large tracts of land and financial support. We have already seen that Wheelock, the first president of the College, was one of the organizers of the independent Presbytery of Grafton. Many of the early friends and supporters of the institution were likewise Presbyterians.

And in New England, as in other colonies, Presbyterian pastors often gave private instruction in their own homes to suitable candidates for the ministry. Thus the Rev. David McGregor, son of the first pastor of Londonderry, took his courses in the arts and in theology under the Rev. Mr. Clarke, his father's successor in that parish. The Rev. John Murray was specially zealous in this field. He assisted many young men in getting a thorough training for the ministry, both by securing funds for them and by giving private instruction.

²⁸ Ford, as cited, p. 413. Cf. the entire chapter (XVI, pp. 413-446) on "Scotch-Irish Educational Institutions."

Though not a man of large means, and though he had dependent on him a wife and five minor children, he attested his devotion to this cause by providing in his will for a bursary to aid students to enter the ministry—a bequest to which his Presbytery, on the request of his widow, properly relinquished its legal right. If New England Presbyterians often had occasion to lament the scant supply of well furnished ministers, the fact must be charged to the hard circumstances of their lot, rather than to any lack of appreciation of the necessities of the case or any want of self-sacrifice on the part of the faithful pastors and people.

Another outstanding feature of the Presbyterianism of New England was its ardent support of the patriotic cause in the momentous struggle of the colonies for their independence. In this respect they were likewise true to the traditions of the family of churches to which they belonged. In all New England, indeed in all the colonies, there were but two ministers who cast in their lot with the Tories, and of these one was deposed and excommunicated, and the other suspended until he made satisfactory amends.²⁴

As might be expected, the Scotch-Irish were specially prominent in the struggle for freedom. They looked upon their activity in the Revolution as but the continuation of the opposition of their kinsmen in Ulster to the British policy of oppression in Ireland. Throughout the colonies they had borne more than their fair share of the burden of defending the settlers against the attacks of the Indians, and they could point with pride to the fine record of many of their fellow countrymen in the campaigns against Canada. Three captains from Londonderry, John Stark, William Stark, and Robert Rogers, distinguished themselves in the attack on Crown Point. John Stark, receiving a colonel's commission at the outbreak of the Revolution, speedily raised a regiment, which won its first laurels in covering a retreat at Bunker Hill. In the battle of Trenton he commanded the van of the right wing. Later, at the call of his state, he organized an independent corps, made up largely

²⁴ Blaikie, as cited, pp. 171, 184.

of Scotch-Irish, with which he won the battle of Bennington, resulting in Burgoyne's surrender and the promotion of the victor to a brigadier-generalship. One of his staff-officers was Robert McGregor, a grandson of the first pastor of the Londonderry Church. But among the Presbyterian ministers of New England the place of honor for service in connection with the war for independence belongs of right to John Murray. In 1775 he was a delegate from Boothbay to the provincial Congress, and became for a time the acting secretary of that body. In 1779, when a naval force descended on the Maine coast, a price of five hundred pounds—exactly the same as in the cases of John Hancock and Samuel Adams—was put on his head, and he was obliged for a season to leave his church, the Presbytery of the Eastward giving its official consent. For three years he went about aiding the committees of safety and using his varied talents to strengthen the opposition of the people to the British Government. During his pastorate at Newburyport, when the town was called upon to furnish a full company, officers and men, for actual service, and the task seemed hopeless, he went to his church, escorted by an entire regiment, and made so telling a speech in behalf of the cause that in two hours after the assembly was dismissed the company was filled.* By such services he won the enviable distinction of "being a pestilent fellow and a mover of sedition" against the throne of England.

Of a piece with this patriotic service of New England Presbyterians was their opposition, in common with the Congregationalists and the Presbyterians of the Synod, to all attempts toward the further establishment in the colonies of a diocesan episcopacy under the jurisdiction of the British Parliament. New York and Virginia had already established the Episcopal Church, and in Maryland and South Carolina "dissenters" likewise labored under various ecclesiastical disabilities. And there was a real danger that the whole country might be subjected to the evils involved in such a policy, for the support of which all the people would be taxed, and under which all "dis-

* Vermilye, as cited, pp. 163f.

senters" would have intolerable burdens to bear. Accordingly, arrangements were made by the Synod in 1766 for a closer co-operation with the churches of the Connecticut Association to ward off the threatened peril. From 1766 to 1776 the Synod and the Connecticut Association held annual conventions for the consideration of their common interests, and there can be no doubt that these gatherings did much to promote the revolt of the colonies and secure the inalienable rights of conscience and the privileges of religious as well as civil liberty. Thus Puritan and Presbyterian made their joint contribution to the right solution of the problem of the relation of the political to the ecclesiastical power—"a free Church in a free State"—a solution which the issue of the war for independence amply guaranteed.

I close as I began. The coming of the Puritans to these shores was an event of world-historical interest and importance. We do well to commemorate it. The limitations of our topic have confined us to but a single phase of the spacious theme, the development, under peculiarly difficult conditions, of New England Presbyterianism as a typical expression of the Puritan spirit. We have not been unmindful of the fact that so far as external organization and merely denominational interests are concerned, the Puritanism of New England was almost completely Congregationalized. But taking the term "Puritanism" in its wider historical sense, we can rejoice with our fellow Christians who are the immediate heirs of "the New England way," for we as Presbyterians may rightly claim that our beloved Church, alike in the lands of Europe that accepted the Reformed faith, and in our own country, is one of the noblest monuments of the same spiritual and moral forces that have done most to purify, invigorate, and enrich the life of the modern world by securing for so many peoples the blessings of religious freedom and constitutional government. It was Calvinism, the very genius of Puritanism, that saved Europe, and Calvinism has been, throughout the western world, the savor of life to the lovers of true liberty—the liberty that is begotten of the faith that is in Christ Jesus, and that abides in his Word. This is the Puritanism of which Mr.

Gladstone said: it has "developed throughout the British Empire, in the United States, and in heathen lands, into a vast and diversified organization of what may be roughly termed Evangelical Protestantism, which, viewed at large, is inclusive of the Presbyterian churches in Scotland and elsewhere; which has received a large collateral accession from the movement of Wesley, and which exceeds in aggregate numbers, and perhaps in the average of religious energies, the old Lutheran and Reformed communities on the Continent. It may be estimated moderately at one-tenth of the entire numerical strength of Christendom; it depends almost entirely on the voluntary tributes of Christian affection; and it has become a solid inexorable fact of religious history which no rational inquirer into either its present or its future can venture to overlook."²⁶

In the limited survey that we have made of Puritanism thus broadly conceived, we have seen how both the "standing order" of the New England theocracies needed the regenerating influence of the Great Awakening, and how the struggling Presbyteries and Synod of New England entered upon a period of declension toward the close of the eighteenth century. But in its deepest spirit Puritanism never dies. Men thought it had received its death-blow when the Stuarts were restored to the British throne in 1660, but the very literature and life of the English-speaking peoples ever since have reflected the indestructible spiritual and ethical forces that make the very soul of Puritanism. If some of the outer features and details have been sloughed off, it is only because, by the very law of life, the ever-living spirit demands and secures higher and more adequate forms of expression.

²⁶ *Nineteenth Century*, July, 1888, p. 3.