# PROCEEDINGS

#### OF THE

# Church Historical Society

### PART II

### 1812

#### OR THE

# Church and State in America One Hundred Years Ago

BY THE

REV. ARTHUR LOWNDES, D.D. Editor of the Archives of the General Convention

## The Founding of the Church in New England Outside of Connecticut

BY THE REV. DANIEL GOODWIN, PLD., D.D. at East Groonwich, R. I.

### PHILADELPHIA

The annual election resulted as follows:

President-HENRY BUDD, ESQ.

Vice-President-MAJ. MOSES VEALE.

Secretary-WM. IVES RUTTER, JR.

Treasurer-Rev. HORACE F. FULLER.

Executive Board (to serve until 1915)-Rev. Henry Riley Gummey, D.D., John Thomson, M.A., Rev. Arthur Lowndes, D.D.

Hon. Asa Bird Gardiner, LL.D., L.H.D., of the Diocese of Long Island, delivered an address upon "The Holy Catholic Apostolic Church of England in America: Its Establishment and Right of Precedence."

#### April 30, 1912.

The seventh regular meeting of the Church Historical Society was held in the Neighborhood House of Christ Church, Philadelphia, Tuesday evening, April 30, 1912, the president in the chair.

By resolution, the Executive Board was instructed to have the Society incorporated under the laws of the State of Pennsylvania.

The Rev. Arthur Lowndes, D.D., of New York, editor of the Archives of the General Convention, delivered the following address, entitled "1812, or the Church and State in America One Hundred Years Ago."

#### 1812,

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### THE CHURCH AND STATE IN AMERICA ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

#### BY ARTHUR LOWNDES, DOCTOR IN DIVINITY.

A hundred years ago tonight,\* the debates in Congress were going on as to whether this country should declare war against Great Britain, or not. As we read the accounts of those debates we are struck by the lack of wisdom and foresight shown by the majority of the speakers. It is true that the Orders of Council promulgated by Great Britain were annoying and irritating to American commerce, but how to meet the situation was not so easy. The American Commissioners at the Court of St. James had realized far more forcibly than the politicians in the United States the great difficulties. I am not going to weary you tonight with any minute account of the negotiations between Great Britain and the United States.

Briefly speaking, this was the situation: Napoleon had crushed every power in Europe save England. He had realized that he could not successfully invade the tight little Island, and that the only way by which he could strike a mortal blow to her was by destroying, if he could, her maritime commerce. After the battle of Jena and the defeat of Prussia, he issued what is known as the Berlin Decree. After recapitulating what he was pleased to call the wickedness of England, he "declared that till she mended her ways the whole coast of England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, was in a state of blockade." All trade with the British Islands was forbidden. Englishmen and property belonging to them were to be seized wherever found. All goods, wares, and merchandise, the product of England or her colonies, were made lawful prize, and half the profits of such seizures set apart to indemnify merchants despoiled by English cruisers. No vessel which had so much as touched at an English port was to be suffered to enter any port or colony of France.

The decree was directed against all neutral trade. But the only neutral trade worthy of consideration was that carried on in American bottoms. In London, therefore, men of business read it with the deepest interest. At Lloyd's Coffee-House, where the underwriters gathered; on the Stock Ex-

<sup>\*</sup> Read before the Church Historical Society on Tuesday evening, April 30th, 1912. (58)

change; at the Bank; at the Foreign Office in Downing Street. the questions of the hour were. Will the decree be enforced? If it be enforced, will the Americans submit? Will the Americans resist? And if they resist will they fight, and if they fight will they join us in the war? So serious did the matter seem that Monroe and Pinckney were informed that no treaty could be made till it was known what the United States would do. The treaty which is being made, said in substance, the British Commissioners, binds us to observe the neutral rights of the United States. Nay, more, it yields to the United States much of what we believe to be our unquestionable rights of war. To sign such a letter after reading the Berlin Decree would be to hinder ourselves from counteracting the policy of France. To do this would be unwise, unless the United States will agree to uphold her neutral rights against the decrees of Napoleon. Will your Government do this? Will you consent to draw up a treaty and send it to the United States with this understanding: the treaty to become binding when your Government formally agrees to maintain her rights on the seas against the aggressions of France?

As we look back, we see very clearly that the wise course for the United States would have been to have thrown in her lot with Great Britain against the common foe-Napoleon. I say common foe advisedly-because, while the British Orders in Council did hurt American commerce, still they did so chiefly indirectly, while the French advisedly and of set purpose had been molesting our American commerce, and that without any apparent excuse. In connection with this the following extract from a private letter from a Philadelphian, James Robertson, to his brother, Robert, written fourteen vears before, that is, on May 28, 1798, may prove interesting: "It must give you pleasure to hear that Congress are acting with much more decision within this week or two, than formerly. It affords room to expect, a more favourable issue to our present gloomy prospects, than, three weeks ago, there was any reason to hope for. With union in her Councils, and the ample resources of this country, she has nothing to fear.—The Bill authorizing the capture of French Privateers passed, with little opposition, and by a very respectable Majority. This was a little surprizing, as it must be acknowledged, it was a very delicate subject; and the more surprizing as it may be considered as the death blow to that party, who have been so uniform in their opposition, even to measures of defence. The Armed Ship Ganges, of 20 Guns has sailed, completely manned, and commanded by an intrepid and experienced officer, Capt. Dale, who, I doubt not, will soon give a good account of himself. The Frigate is nearly

ready, as is also another ship called the Delaware, lately purchased by Govt. She is expected to sail in a few days. In the course of a short time, there will be a respectable force on the coast, and I trust will soon scour it of those Pirates. which have infested it so long.-A resolution passed the House of Representatives yesterday, for bringing in a Bill to suspend all commercial intercourse with France. These measures, besides the real advantage they will be of in the meantime, to the country, by preserving much valuable property, will strike terror into the tyrants of France, by convincing them that their plans for governing this country by their diplomatic skill, are blown up, and by the dread of famine in the West Indies, which a suspension of intercourse would hardly fail to occasion. The hectoring letters from their Agents there, of the advantages, and the safety of making shipments to them, will justly be treated, as insidious wiles, to draw the property of Americans into their hands. But the bait will not take. I think of all the insolence that I have yet heard of, has been exceeded by a letter from one of the Agents, lately published, where he calls the dispatches of the American Envoys, a libel. It is astonishing to me that any Americans, can read such insulting language with patience; but, patience under injuries is a virtue which the people of this country have too long practiced. It has ceased to be a virtue. I trust, however, the day of retribution will soon overtake, their unprincipled enemies. And, as sure as there is a just God, it will be an awful one.

"I knew the Memorial from the American Commissioners to the Directory, which I lately sent, would please you. It is as clear and satisfactory, and as ably drawn up as any paper of the kind I ever read. But, it was scarcely to be expected, it would have any effect on the Directory. It is not from ignorance they have acted so wickedly towards this country, but from a desire of plunder, and of governing us, and making the people, and the treasures of this country subservient to their ambitious views. For my part, I have no expectation of any accommodation being effected with them, and I therefore sincerely wish, the Com'rs were once out of their country. I am not without apprehensions for their My only hope is, that the vessels which were sent safetv. for them, would reach France before the dispatches; for, should the latter be published in France, before the Envoys get away, it is to be apprehended, their situation would be dangerous. I trust however, they will escape in safety. - I dare say you read with great pleasure, the many excellent, and spirited Addresses to the President, and his still more bold and energetic Answers. It must afford great satisfaction to every friend to his country, that such a firm, and

able Officer is at the head of affairs. I always had a very exalted opinion of Mr. Adams, but his conduct lately has, if possible, raised him in my estimation. No one can have a more favorable opinion of Genl. Washington, than I have. I always thought him eminently endowed with those talents. which fits a man for public life, either in a civil or military capacity; and I believe that had he continued in office, during the present critical times, he would have fulfilled the duties of it, with credit to himself, and done as much, as man could do for the advantage of the country. After all, I do not think he would have done better than Mr. Adams; nor, do I think he would in his Answers to any addresses, expressed himself with so much freedom, of the conduct of the French, or their partizans in this country. I highly approve of it. The people everywhere have expressed their confidence in him, and it is therefore right that they should know what his opinion is, of their enemies. His Answer to the Addresses of the young men of this city was really excellent; but the very best, I have yet seen, was the Address from Harrisburg in this State, with the Answer. The Answer to the Princeton Students Address, is likewise masterly. I have understood, that some young men from New York, came on lately with theirs, but as it has not yet been published, I can say nothing about it. Though the President must be highly gratified, with such flattering marks of attention from all parts of the United States, yet, it really is imposing a great deal of business on him to write so many Answers. Though they are all the same in substance, it is in some degree necessary to write an Answer to each, both as a mark of respect, and likewise to make them correspond to the style of the Addresses. But to a man of his capacity it must be easy and there is nothing to be regretted but the loss of his time. They are all written with correctness, ease, and a great deal of feeling. They do honour both to his head and heart."

Nothing official was done. It is true that American ships harassed the French on sea, but there was no declaration of war—and as the Directory in 1798 desired to wipe out American commerce, so did Napoleon afterwards. It was the settled purpose of all in authority in France to accomplish this end.

In 1811, Napoleon boldly declared "the decrees of Berlin and Milan are the fundamental laws of my Empire. The fate of American Commerce will soon be decided. I will favour it if the United States conform to these decrees. In a contrary case their ships will be driven from my Empire."

France cared nothing for the United States, and had England been defeated and crushed, it is certain that Napoleon

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would have endeavored to annex the United States. The United States was flooded with pamphlets inciting the people to war against Great Britain and exclaiming against the perfidy of even doubting "their old friend and ally." The politicians in Congress spoke much about British gold, but there is a strong suspicion that French gold paid many a writer of these pamphlets. Meanwhile the debates in Congress continued and all sorts of contradictory reasons were given in favour of a war with Great Britain, but when it came to measures for providing the funds there was a curious spectacle of each State trying to tax the other and to free itself.

The orators might want war, but the solid citizens did not want to contribute a cent towards it. The South would not listen to a salt tax, the West would have nothing to do with a land tax, if a whiskey tax were imposed Maryland would benefit, while Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Kentucky would have to bear the burden of it, and finally this strange recommendation was made, that "none of these taxes should be laid unless war actually began, that none should continue longer than one year after peace, and that each State might assume and pay so much of the direct tax as fell to its share."

With the question of war or peace being in the balance there suddenly arrived at Boston two men who called themselves John Henry and Edward de Crillon. They were full of their grievances against England.

Crillon went to Washington, and bargained for the sale of the Henry letters to Monroe; the letters purported to be accounts of the angry feelings of the Federalists and of their threats of rebellion and secession and of the negotiations undertaken by them with the Governor General of Canada. The price asked for these letters was \$125,000—the sum paid was \$50,000. Their actual value had been correctly appraised by Lord Liverpool, to whom they had been previously offered, as not worth a shilling for the lot. By a unanimous vote the House sent the letters to the Committee on Foreign Relations.

As we look back, we see plainly that this exposé precipitated the decision. Pressed on every side, Madison finally declared war on June 19, 1812.

John Henry was an Irishman by birth, but a Philadelphian by residence. It is pathetic to remember that this rascal married Sophia, the daughter of Parson Duché, and a sweetheart of John Henry Hobart. Poor little Sophia was evidently dazzled by the plausible Irishman, and refused to accept the offer of marriage from the staid young deacon who was then in charge of Trinity Church, Oxford.

As one of the conditions of the sale, Henry had wisely insisted on the provision that his precious documents should not be given out till he was safely at sea. As for Crillon, he also announced that he must return to France. Nothing could check his eagerness, and on April first he left Washington, laden with despatches to Barlow and Bassano. But his courtly manners, his charming conversation, his patriotism, his admiration for Napoleon, had not been forgotten by the men who had lionized him at Washington when it began to be whispered that he was an imposter. The whispers were soon confirmed by positive statements, and Madison, the Secretaries, and society learned with deep mortification that no such person as Count Edward was known to the Crillon family; that no such officer was known in the Army of France; that no such estate as that of St. Martial "in Lebeur near the Spanish border" existed; and that the man on whom Crillon drew his drafts in favor of Henry had been dead five years. It remained, however, for posterity to discover that the pretended count was in reality a secret agent of the French police.

So the War of 1812 was begun—precipitated of set purpose by two rascally French spies, and needless since the very cause of complaint, the British Orders in Council, had been decided to be revoked by the British Ministry, and only the sudden assassination of the Prime Minister had delayed the proclamation which, however, was actually issued on June 23, 1812, not knowing that only four days previously war had been declared by the United States. It is a melancholy reflection that if there had then been a cable connection between the two countries, there would have been no war.

The war proved not only disastrous to the American land forces, but nearly brought about the secession of the whole of New England.

The passionate orators who had urged on the declaration of war had all agreed that while the United States could inflict no damage on Great Britain on the seas, yet, on land, uniform victory was predicted, and for this reason the war will be beneficial—Quebec will easily fall, Halifax will be taken, and with the loss of the Canadas British power and intrigue in America will be ended. Let us then have, they cried, a war on land at the public cost, and a war on sea at private cost.

This feeling was voiced by Thomas Jefferson, who, as far back as May 7th, 1786, wrote from Paris, to David Humphreys, on the European outlook, and said that in case of war with Great Britain, "Should such an event become necessary, we have need of only one resolution to place us on sure ground. That is to abandon that element, where they are strong, and we nothing, & to decide the contest on terra firma where we have all to gain & can lose nothing."

Curiously enough, all these predictions were wrong.

Neither Quebec nor Halifax were taken, nor were the Canadas annexed. The American land forces met with a series of defeats and the city of Washington was burned and occupied by the British troops.

It was left to the Navy to redeem the honour of the American flag, and the victories of the ships were as brilliant as they were audacious.

A hundred years ago tonight Wellington was, little by little, driving the French out of Spain. Ciudad Rodrigo had fallen, and three weeks before, on April 6th, Badajos had been stormed and captured. Negotiations were being carried on between Russia and Turkey, which were a month hence to find their culmination in the Peace of Bucharest, whereby the River Pruth was to be the boundary line between the two empires. Napoleon was making his final preparations for his war against Russia, the first act in which was his capture of Wilna two months hence, on June 28, little realizing that in little less than four months he was to begin his retreat from Russia. In England the Perceval Ministry was evidently hastening to its fall, which the assassination of Perceval himself, on May 11th, precipitated.

The exposition of his system of *similia similibus curantur* was being expressed by Hahneman, and the homœopathists, amidst the ridicule of the older practitioners, were beginning to make recruits to their system.

The first steam printing press, invented by König, the German mathematician, was beginning its work.

We complain this year of the backwardness of our spring, but the same complaint was being made a hundred years ago tonight. There had been snow in Philadelphia on April 13th, and the weather was cold and raw on April 30th, presaging another fall of snow on May 4th. In 1812, the steamboat "New Jersey" was plying between Philadelphia and Whitehall, two miles below Bordentown.

A railroad, the second in this country, was running from Thomas Leiper's stone quarries, on Crum Creek, Delaware County, to his landing on Ridley Creek, a distance of about one mile.

This is what Watson says, but as steam for railroads was not introduced till 1828 or 1829, I am inclined to think that this railroad consisted only of rails laid down, perhaps on an inclined plane.

"In the year 1812, Mr. George Shoemaker, then an innkeeper at Pottsville, and Nicholas Allen, discovered coal on a piece of land they had purchased, now called Centreville. Allen soon became disheartened, and gave up the concern to Shoemaker, who, receiving encouragement from some gen-

tlemen in Philadelphia, got out a quantity of coal, and took nine wagon-loads to Philadelphia. Here again, our coal met with a host of opposition. On two wagonloads Mr. S. got the carriage paid; the others he gave away to persons who would attempt to use it. The result was against the coal; those who tried it, pronounced it stone and not coal, good for nothing, and Shoemaker an imposter! At length, after a multitude of disappointments, and when Shoemaker was about to abandon the coal and return home. Messrs. Melon and Bishop, of Delaware County, made an experiment with some of the coal in their rolling mill, and found it to succeed beyond expectation, and to be a highly valuable and useful fuel. The result of their experiments was published at the time in the Philadelphia papers. Some experiments with the coal were made in the works at the falls of Schuylkill, but without success. Mr. Wernwag, the manager at the Phœnix works, at French Creek, also made trial of the coal, and found it eminently useful. From that time forward, the use of the coal spread rapidly."

One hundred years ago, this very day, Louisiana was admitted into the Union.

A century ago the population of Philadelphia was approaching one hundred thousand; it was the largest in the country-but New York was rapidly gaining upon it. Having been for a time the seat of government, it had acquired somewhat of a metropolitan character, and during the French Revolution and ascendency of Bonaparte many aristocratic exiles made it their home and contributed to its culture. Some made a livelihood by teaching languages and arts, especially music; others brought scientific knowledge and the principles of the Encyclopædia. A diversified and parti-colored life had replaced the simplicity and monotony of the provincial period: the age of contrasts had begun. Roman Catholicism and deistic infidelity, the social refinements and license of Versailles, were all in evidence. Beside the French emigrants there were many German and Irish Catholics; Michael Egan, a member of the Franciscan order, had just been consecrated their bishop.

In the winter of 1811-1812 theatre-goers were in a wild state of excitement over the arrival of George Frederick Cooke, the English tragedian.

"He was engaged for twelve nights, and made his first appearance, on the 25th of March, as *Richard III*. There were no reserved seats in those days, and it was not an unusual thing to see a servant, or some one hired for the purpose, rush into the house as soon as he could gain admittance, drop into some desirable seat, and occupy it until his master or employer came to claim it. On the occasion of Cooke's first appearance, which was on a Monday, such precautionary measures were of little avail. As early as Sunday eveningas related by Charles R. Leslie in his 'Autobiography'-the steps of the theatre were covered with men who had come prepared to spend the night there, that they might have the first chance of taking places in the boxes. Some actually took off their hats and put on nightcaps. When the doors were opened at ten o'clock, Monday morning, the street in front of the theatre was impassable. The rush was tremendous. Men literally fought their way through, coats were torn off the backs of their owners, hats knocked off and mashed; one fellow, swinging himself up by means of the iron bracket of a lamp, ran over the heads of the crowd into the theatre. By evening the crowd that besieged the doors was so dense and tumultuous that it was evident ticket-holders, and especially ladies, could not make their way through it without danger.'

The theatre was the old Market Street Theatre, and it may interest you to know that Cooke lies buried in St. Paul's Church-yard, New York, where there is a monument erected to his memory by his friend, Edmund Kean.

When we come to take a survey of the Church as it was in this country one hundred years ago, on April 30, 1812, we shall find much to sadden us. Apathy and indifference almost everywhere, and yet we are tonight more fortunate than were the few zealous souls who were living a century ago. We know that this apathy and indifference was soon about to be dissipated and that the Church was not only going to arouse herself, but to become actually aggressive within a very few years and that through that aggressiveness, we who are alive tonight have entered upon the labours and benefited by the warfare waged by the soldiers and captains of our Church.

We had then seven Bishops, White, Provoost, Claggett, Jarvis, Moore, Hobart, and Griswold. The report made to the General Convention of 1811 gave a total number of clergy in the United States as 178, but there must have been at least 220 in all, as Virginia and other Southern dioceses made no report. Among the parochial clergy who afterwards became Bishops were Dehon, Channing Moore, Kemp, Croes, Bowen, Chase, Meade, Stone, Kemper, and Gadsden. Among those who held or who afterwards attained honour and preferment are found the names of Beach, Berrian, Eaton, Addison, Andrews, Hubbard, Bowden, Jarvis, Wharton, Abercrombie, Blackwell, Pilmore, Beasley, Smith, Judd, Percy, Bronson, Burhans, Cave Jones, Wilkins, Rudd, Crocker, Gordon, Mc-Vickar and Absalom Jones. To these names must be added those of the two men who never attained any honour or preferment, whose lot was one of poverty, disappointments, difficulties, hardships and neglect, but who were, perhaps, the greatest in the Kingdom of God—Daniel Nash and Davenport Phelps.

Over that territory known as the Eastern Diocese, comprising Massachusetts, which then included Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, and Rhode Island, Alexander Viets Griswold had been placed just eleven months ago as its first Bishop. Griswold was an excellent scholar, perhaps the most scholarly of the seven Bishops of that day, he had a keen judgment of men and a ready appreciation of what had to be done in the way of the extension of the Church. He was untiring and faithful in his oversight of the huge and unpromising territory committed to his charge. His manners were so mild and unassuming that men failed to recognize beneath that gentle exterior the intellectuality of the mind and the firmness of purpose.

In Connecticut, Abraham Jarvis had succeeded Seabury to the Metropolitical See of all America, and had faithfully and conscientiously carried out the work of his predecessor. Afflicted with asthma, and weak of body, he was, in 1812, living in practical retirement in New Haven. He looked forward with pride to the future career of his son, Samuel Farmer, who had been ordained two years previously, and who was beginning to evidence that zeal for learning which afterwards made him the great scholar of the American Church.

In New York, Trinity Church was paramount. This was owing, partly, to her endowments, but largely to the wellmerited influence of the very able men whom the parish had Connected with Trinity parish, there were three selected. Bishops, Provoost, Moore, and Hobart. Provoost was what we should now call a retired Bishop, Moore was the actual Bishop. and Hobart was his assistant. Owing to the contradictory action taken by the House of Bishops in the election of Benjamin Moore, there had been a good deal of controversy in 1811 over the precise rights of Bishop Provoost and Bishop Moore, but into this I need not enter. The parish and the Diocese were fortunate in having men of such marked ability as its early rectors and bishops. Provoost was a man of strong parts, well educated, scholarly in tastes, refined and courtly, and unidentified with the Tory cause during the war, he was able to win to his side the prominent Whig families, and not be a cause of irritation to the common people as the devoted loyalist and gentleman, Charles Inglis, would have been. Provoost's courtly manners at the same time conciliated the few families who were Tories at heart.

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All sorts of absurd stories, manufactured out of whole

cloth, have been stupidly told about Samuel Provoost, but the simple fact remains that he conscientiously performed all the duties of his Bishopric as the office of Bishop was then considered in England. He has been taxed as being a latitudinarian by those who have never read his sermons. Fortunately, hundreds of his MSS. sermons have been recovered, and he who reads them will find them models of brevity and terse reasoning, and if they were preached today would be considered by many as being too High Church in tone.

He was a wise administrator, and to him and to Abraham Beach, must be given the praise of having conserved, not only the patrimony of the parish, but also its spiritual inheritance at a time of confusion and disintegration. A hundred years ago he was living in retirement, owing to failing health.

Benjamin Moore was not so virile a man as either his predecessor or his successor. Gentle and quiet, he went on his way unassumingly, but to him must be given the praise of having been the first Bishop in the American Church to realize the necessity of missionary work in new settlements. He not only visited his large Diocese carefully and punctually, but gave directions to Davenport Phelps as to how he should conduct his missionary work in the northern part of the State, which are still models in instruction for missionary work. He took a warm and personal interest in his clergy, as their letters to him prove. In 1812, he had been for some time disabled by paralysis from doing any active work.

John Henry Hobart stands alone, and defies characteriza-He was restless, impetuous, ardent, untiring, loving, tion. and yet studious, thoughtful, dignified, and negligent of his friends. His one dominant passion was zeal for the House of the Lord, and in that crucible all other qualities are fused. He was the remodeller of the Episcopate, the type of the modern rector and parish priest, the insistent advocate of the grace of the sacraments, the preacher of righteousness, the proclaimer of the divine character of the American Church, the founder of the Catholic Movement in the Anglican Communion, and the standard bearer of what, in 1812, was considered a forlorn hope, the jurisdiction of the American Church over the whole continent of the United States, and the trumpeter calling upon all her sleeping children to rally to her standard. Trinity Church, and not Oxford, is the cradle of the Oxford movement, and Trinity Church is the alma mater of that type of Christianity which has for its motto, Hobart's words, "Apostolic Order, and Evangelical Truth."

On the staff of Trinity Church, besides these three Bishops, were a hundred years ago tonight, Abraham Beach, William Berrian, Thomas Yardley How, and William Edward Wyatt.

In New York City, counting Trinity Church and its Chapels, there were twelve churches in 1812.

To account for Hobart's preponderating influence in the whole Church, and not only in New York, I have gone over the whole list of the 178 clergy returned to the General Convention of 1811, and I find that 93 of them were in regular correspondence with him, that is, more than one-half of the clergy sought his advice and counsel. We must remember that the revival one hundred years ago was not due to Hobart only, but to the number of men who looked up to him as a leader and counsellor.

Churchmen in New Jersey, having no Bishop of their own, looked to New York for Episcopal advice and ministrations. The leading men in that State were John Croes and John Churchill Rudd.

About William White, it would be idle for me to say anything in this place.

It is fitting to say here that John Henry Hobart was a native of Philadelphia, baptized and confirmed in this historic church and brought up under the ministrations of Dr. White.

At Christ Church, a hundred years ago tonight, beside Bishop White, there were Dr. Blackwell and Dr. Abercrombie, and Jackson Kemper was to come there the following month. Dr. Pilmore was at St. Paul's, and Absalom Jones, the first colored priest of the American Church, was in charge of St. Thomas's.

Pittsburgh was then the outpost of the Church, and there had labored faithfully John Taylor, who had organized Trinity Church in 1805. It was the only live parish in Pennsylvania, west of the mountains. Joseph Doddridge had in vain pleaded and pleaded that if the Church could do nothing for the western part of Pennsylvania that at any rate a separate Diocese could be erected. Doddridge says that after waiting eighteen months for an answer he was at last told nothing could be done.

"I lost all hope of ever witnessing any prosperity in our beloved Church in this part of America. Everything connected with it fell into a state of languor. The vestries were not re-elected, and our young people joined other societies. Could I prevent them when I indulged no hope of a succession in the ministry? . . . I entertained no hope that even my own remains, after death, would be committed to the dust with the funeral services of my own Church."

Chase was consecrated for Ohio in 1819, and it was not till six years afterward, that is, in 1825, that William White paid his first visit to that part of his Diocese.

In Delaware, which was practically under Bishop White, the clergy were: William Pryce, at the Old Swedes, who did an immense amount of good by the republication of standard and useful books on sound Anglican theology; Robert Clay, at Newcastle; James Wiltbank, at Lewes; and Hamilton Bell, at Georgetown.

In Maryland, Bishop Claggett was at the helm. He was the first Bishop consecrated in this country, uniting the Scottish and English lines of succession. Claggett was energetic, but feeble in health, unfortunately. Still he tried hard to raise the tone of Churchmanship both among the clergy and the laity, as evidenced by his pastoral of 1804. He took especial pains to plant the Church in the Southwest, sending Edward Gantt and other men there on missionary tours.

Bend was at St. Paul's, and Kemp and Kewley were on the Eastern Shore, and Jackson at St. Peter's, Talbot County, all men energetic and definite in their teaching of the peculiar claims of the American Church, as was also, in his quiet way, William Murray Stone. It may be of interest to remind you that Bishop Claggett wore a mitre at great functions. In Virginia, Madison had but just died about seven weeks previously and had left the Church in a very feeble condition. James Madison had always considered that his duty lay first to the College of William and Mary. He had right ideas of the duties of the clergy and laity, as is shown by his convention addresses, but unfortunately he never magnified his office of Bishop.

The Church, in Virginia, in April, 1812, was in a deplorable condition, partly through the indolence of the Church people and partly owing to the absorption of the best families in the game of politics, partly owing to the prevalence of a species of infidelity considered as a fashionable importation from France. When the Methodists and Baptists traversed Virginia, it is no wonder that some Virginians, hungry for any religion, flocked to their standards, or that their ardent missionary zeal made sad inroads into the Church. The culminating blow was the confiscation by the State of the Church glebes in 1802. After this, Virginia churchmen seem to have settled down to despair. In 1812, the faint beginnings of a revival were stirring the dry bones. A few of the younger men determined to revive the Church. Among them was William Meade, who, owing to his intimacy with Edward J. Lee and other young men, all friends of John Henry Hobart, and loyal churchmen, deplored the decline of religion, and determined to bring about a better state of things. In this connection may be given a letter written twenty months later, but showing the spirit actuating Meade and his young friends in 1812.

#### "DECEMBER 31ST, 1813.

"DEAR SIR:

"Your communications concerning Doctor More I have received & am well pleased with; I think his conduct very correct. His proposals raise him in my estimation. I think we may venture to assure him of the office of Bishop. Surprized I am indeed that Doctor Hobart should recommend him "Timeo Danaos etiam dona ferentes." I hope the People of Richmond will accept his terms, if they are wise & if God yet smiles on Episcopacy, they will gladly take him. I believe I shall write to Doctor Brockenburg on the subject. Doctor More should be in Richmond before April. I am truly sorry that you will be absent when I come down. God willing-nothing preventing-I shall be there toward the last of next week. I shall certainly be at your house. With prayers for the welfare of your soul & the happiness of your present life I remain your sincere friend,

#### "WILLIAM MEADE.

"Superscription— "Mr. Edmund Lee, "Alexandria, "Columbia."

In North Carolina, the Church was at a low ebb. Notwithstanding the efforts of Charles Pettigrew, who was elected Bishop, Solomon Halling, Parson Meiklejohn and Parson Miller and a few earnest laymen, who, from 1790 to 1795, worked hard to revive the Church, it seemed almost impossible to waken her, although faithful work was done at Wilmington, Edenton and New Bern. The arrival of men like Bethel Judd, Adam Empie, and Gregory Thurston Bedell marked the turn of the tide, and when Richard Channing Moore became Bishop of Virginia he was placed in charge, and did all in his power to hearten those who were working for a revival of the Church.

In South Carolina the situation was equally deplorable. St. Michael's and St. Philip's in Charleston continued their work, and the Church was strong numerically in Charleston, but with no thought of its responsibility outside of the city. The South Carolinians had always been jealous of the powers of a Bishop, and deferred as long as possible to have one. Robert Smith, after a brief Episcopate of six years had died in the autumn of 1801, but it was not until eleven years afterward that Dehon was consecrated the second Bishop of that Diocese. When Dehon did assume charge, it was found that he took his office very seriously; he was a real Bishop, and pressed forward the work of Church extension. In 1812 there was only one man who took to heart the work of furthering the cause of the Church, and that was Andrew Fowler.

The first Confirmation ever held in the Diocese was in the parish of Andrew Fowler in March, 1813. Mr. Fowler found it not only necessary to instruct his candidates, but to issue a tract explanatory of the rite for the benefit of the whole parish. So important and momentous did he consider the event that he wrote a minute account of it, with his address at the presentation of the candidates, to the Bishop.

In Georgia a like condition prevailed. Outside of the parish of Savannah, there was complete apathy, an apathy not broken until the zealous Dehon took charge of the Church on his election to the Bishopric of South Carolina.

Louisiana, which had been ceded by France in 1802, was made a State in 1812.

The Church in New Orleans had been organized June 2, 1805, through the efforts of a few laymen, notably James M. Bradford, James C. Williamson and Edward Livingston. In consequence of a communication sent by these men to John Henry Hobart, on August 10, 1805, asking him to recommend a suitable person for their minister, Philander Chase was sent there. For six years, from November, 1805, to March, 1811, he displayed his restless energy in building up the parish. In 1812, the parish was vacant, but services were maintained by laymen, until James Hull went there in 1814.

In West Virginia and in Ohio towns on the Ohio River, Joseph Doddridge, a physician and priest, ministered faithfully, notwithstanding disappointments and discouragements of all kinds.

One hundred years ago was formed that noble Society for the Advancement of Christianity in Pennsylvania. Jackson Kemper was the prime mover in its formation. Its object was to increase the supply of clergy; to provide for the distribution of prayer books; to revive the decaying parishes; to strengthen the feeble ones, and to plant new ones where needed. Jackson Kemper was chosen as the first missionary of the new society, and in the autumn of 1812 set out on that remarkable tour of exploration which marked an era in the Church in Pennsylvania and adjoining States. In his report he states that Doddridge had told him that in his opinion half of the original settlers of Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee had been Episcopalians, and that it was then not too late to recover some of them. As you and I know, nothing was done, and the Church lost those States.

Examine the last census returns, and see how weak the Church is in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Tennessee, how infinitesimal our numbers are in those four States in comparison with the Roman Catholics, the Methodists, the Presbyterians, or the Baptists, and as you sigh over the showing, do not blame the men of today—they are doing all they can, poor souls, to recover the lost headway; but blame, and blame severely the men of one hundred years ago and more, for the wilful and woeful neglect of church-people, let alone their apathy in extending the domains of the Church.

In his report, Kemper stated as his conclusions that the apathy of the congregation is principally entirely owing to the pastor who presides over it, and that the custom throughout Pennsylvania, of being anti-rubrical, has been attended with much fatal consequences to our Zion.

In 1812 we had at least 100,000 communicants, and about 220 clergy.

In 1812 as far as I can make out, the Roman Catholics had an Archbishop, four Bishops, and seventy priests, with eighty churches in the United States, and numbering at least 200,000 adherents.

The Methodists, in 1812, reported a total of 156,852 whites, and 38,505 colored adherents, with 688 preachers, and two Bishops or superintendents.

Today they number 5,749,838.

The population of the United States was seven and a quarter millions. Today it is ninety-two millions, or fifteen times greater. Taking this ratio of increase the last census ought to have given us 1,500,000 communicants; to the Methodists, 2,350,000; and to the Romanists, 3,000,000. From this estimated increase we have fallen short by 700,000. The Methodists have 5,750,000, or have doubled the estimated increase, and the Roman Catholics have 12,000,000, or have quadrupled the estimated increase.

In 1812 there was a small body of Christians in an obscure corner of Pennsylvania numbering but a handful. These people, known as the Disciples of Christ, have in the one hundred years of their existence, outstripped the Church. Starting from a few families, they now number 1,142,359 communicants, having a quarter of a million more communicants than we have today.

I think the Methodist figures returned to the census are fairly reliable, as they are painstaking in their reports. The Roman Catholic figures are undoubtedly exaggerated, and they include all adherents, not their communicants only, as we report. Even making every allowance for the immigration of Roman Catholics to this country, and the partial immigration of Methodists, the fact remains that we have not only not made the increase we ought to have done, but have actually fallen off. It is far better to face facts than to ignore them, and a false security is always the most disastrous.

Let me press home to you that the work was being done

one hundred years ago just as I believe it is being done this very night by those who are battling every possible combination arrayed against the Church, being done by the humble men of heart in quiet and obscure places.

Let me read to you two letters, written just one hundred years ago. Here is one from Amos Glover Baldwin to Bishop Moore, giving an account of his pioneer work:

"On the 7th of this month I officiated in Fairfield, Herkimer County, ten miles North East of Herkimer, and seven North of the Little Falls on the Mohawk. It was the first time that divine service according to our mode has been performed perhaps within twenty miles of that place. A respectable congregation assembled; and I was extremely happy to learn that none were disgusted or displeased, but many solemply impressed at hearing our excellent service performed. It was Saturday at sundown before I arrived in the place, and, therefore, all who are attached to the Church did not receive information of my being there. And indeed no one knew all that are attached to us. Everything exceeded my most sanguine hopes. I found within the circle of a few miles during my stay of two days and a half, fifteen or twenty respectable families, and some of them influential characters. Some of these have attended the Church but very little since the revolution but still love her with all their hearts. You would have smiled, I believe, to see them bring in books in which the name of GEORGE was not the least conspicuous. I hope that I have been the means of rekindling a flame of piety and love to the Church which will never go out in that place. They will meet soon for the purpose of organizing I intend to give them every attention in my themselves. power. If any prayer books or tracts are in the gift of the Church they would do great good there."

And in a letter to Hobart of the same date, he adds these further particulars:

"When I go again, a respectable farmer with his family of nine children intend to be baptized with several others. This must be to me a great solemnity-himself being as old as my father."

Just imagine where the Church would be today had there been a hundred men doing what this man was doing-boldly establishing outposts right in the enemies camp, and extending the borders of the Church of God by audacious attacks. Just imagine what the Church would be one hundred years hence if one hundred men were doing just that kind of work tonight. God bless all those, be they few or be they many, who tonight are boldly seizing new territory and annexing it to the Church we say we love so much.

The other letter is from that holy and humble man of

heart, David Nash—a letter chosen out of many such because just at this minute one hundred years ago, on the evening of Thursday, April 30, 1812, it had reached the hands of John Henry Hobart who was reading it.

"I have as yet collected no Money for the Magazines. They came very irregular-one or else two Numbers are missing in every place—who is in fault for this. I know not—I imagine the Post Masters.-When I come to New York I will pay for them, on Condition any Money is granted me by the Society.-I would send it now had I any, but I am not the possessor of a single Dollar, only as I have borrowed some.-If you have any Prayer Books let me be remembered for good.—A year ago last Autumn I received four from the Bishop-for a number of years previous to that I had not received any.-The Bibles and Testaments did much good.-I am sensible I have no demand—but on condition you have any to give away I shall esteem it a great favour not to be forgotten.-I have vet to struggle with many difficulties,-but they are light in comparison to your's-I hope you may be enabled to possess your soul in patience.-We ought to do good to all -even our expressions of disapprobation should be tempered with mildness.

Imagine if you can this faithful soldier of Christ in his lonely outpost, and rejoicing that he received four prayer books for distribution, in the course of fifteen months! And who, without a dollar in the world, is willing that the cost of the Churchman's Magazine shall be deducted from the next payment of his meagre stipend.

When I picture to myself this brave and courageous soldier, my heart goes out to him in all loving tenderness, and also with self-reproach. He has joined the company of those spirits of just men made perfect, and God has blessed this whole Church of ours for his life of self-sacrifice and devotion, and strangers as you all are to me, I am confident that could I trace your spiritual genealogy, there are some here present tonight who owe their spiritual descent to some souls won and saved by Daniel Nash. God bless every man whoever he is who is tonight trying to serve his Master in the same spirit. God bless him, and give him courage to pursue, though the Church leave him unsupported, on the perilous outpost. God bless him.

I have finished my survey. I have tried to sketch for you just how Church and State stood in this country, one hundred years ago tonight. My lines may be too sharp in some places, and blurred, perhaps, in others—yet it is an attempt to set before you honestly and fairly the situation on April 30, 1812, as I understand it. The lesson to us tonight is twofold.

Dark as was the outlook for the State a century ago, yet, notwithstanding the politicians, the country has gone forward with a majestic trend. The stars in the flag which then numbered eighteen, now number forty-eight, but never in the whole history of the United States have the Stars and Stripes flown more proudly on this land, and on all seas of the ocean, than does that brave flag tonight. It speaks of battles won and of victories achieved over the powers of baseness, and of success in almost every realm of human thought and enterprise.

Dark as was the outlook for the Church one hundred years ago tonight, yet, notwithstanding faint hearts and weak knees, notwithstanding loud-mouthed speakers and those who whispered secretly against her, the Church has risen to a nobler conception of her duty to all within this land of ours than she ever had before. Never in her history have her devoted priests and laity been more oppressed with the responsibility of their inheritance than tonight. Never have there been in her history a more pathetic yearning to win the approval of her dear Lord and Master by obeying his twofold command of worship to God and love to man.

The problems that confront Church and State tonight are far mightier than those which confronted them both a century ago. The nation has solved the problem of union which lay smouldering a hundred years ago. The Church has that problem yet to solve. But in all the problems that lie before us, both, let us both remember that victories can only be won in spite of the politicians in Church and State. That those who were faint hearted and despaired of the future were not those who fought and sacrificed themselves or their lives, not those who gave to further the welfare of Nation or Church, but those who in selfish ease and indolent apathy foretold the ruin of both.

So tonight the issues of land and church are, believe me, humanly speaking, in the hands of those who are positive, determined and aggressive, and of those who dare to act as well as think, who dare to believe that the Stars and Stripes shall never he hauled down, no matter how dark the hour may be.

In the hands of those who dare to believe that this Church of ours is intended by their Master to be the abiding resting place of all Americans, who dare to believe that though we have been doubtful, disbelieving, and unfaithful in the past that God will give us and our children the courage and the wisdom to make this in name and in deed, the American Church.

Faint heart never won anything to be desired. Faint heart never won a battle or added a star to our flag. Faint

heart never pushed forward boldly into the enemy's land. Faint heart never planted the banner of the cross nor fought and bled to keep it where planted. The Church must take her lesson from the State and learn to be imperialistic. Never apologize for the Church. No man worth his salt ever apologizes for his country. And God grant that whoever shall speak in my place a hundred years hence in this venerable parish may be able to record the fruits of a holy alliance between Church and State, of work braved and accomplished, of moral, social, and economic problems solved by both, hand in hand. They never can be solved by either one independently. Of capital and labour, recognizing that they are but members of one body, that legislation must not be for the benefit of politicians, but for the benefit of the weak and tender in the nation, the woman, and the child. That Ephraim in the State must not envy Judah in the Church, nor shall Judah vex Ephraim.

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And as red, white and blue have ever been the sacred colors of the Church of God, so shall red, white and blue ever wave over a united Church in a united land.

So remembering that the Lord ruleth over all, be the people never so impatient, let us enter the coming century with a holy boldness and a loyal ardour to fight for land and church no matter what comes, and with cheers for the red, white and blue, say,

God save the Church! God save the State!