

# *The Reverend Robert Jenney*

BY EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON

## I.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND IN PENNSYLVANIA

AS EARLY as 1667, William Penn, the ardent Quaker leader, was interested in a colony in America for the members of his sect, who had suffered persecution in the mother country. The Friends had suffered fines and imprisonment; and toleration for dissenters seemed never to come. On the 24th of June, 1680, he made his application to the Crown for "a tract of land in America, north of Maryland, bounded on the east by the Delaware and on the west limited as Maryland"—that is, by New Jersey—and "northward as far as plantable." This formed a tract three hundred by one-hundred-and-sixty miles, of extreme fertility, mineral wealth, and all sorts of richness. Disputes with James, Duke of York, and with Lord Baltimore (who had rights over Maryland), delayed the matter until the 14th of March, the following year, when the grant received the royal signature; and Penn was made master of the province of Pennsylvania.<sup>1</sup>

The enterprise was conceived on the most liberal terms, and religious freedom was fundamental. It is not surprising, therefore, that at a meeting of the Lords of the Committee of the Privy Council for the affairs of Trade and the Plantations held at Whitehall, January 22nd, 1681, Henry Comp-

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 17, p. 475.

ton, Bishop of London, should present a paper desiring "that Mr. Penn be obliged, by his patent, to admit a chaplain, of his Lordship's appointment, upon the request of any number of planters." As a result of this application, the Lords (February 24th) resolved that "the Lord Bishop of London is desired to prepare a draught of a law to be passed in this country, for the settling of the Protestant religion."<sup>2</sup> Thus the Church of England secured definite recognition in the new province.

Penn was evidently on friendly footing with Bishop Compton. In a letter (August 14th, 1683), he said, "I have followed the Bishop of London's counsel, by buying, and not taking away the natives' land; with whom I have settled a very kind correspondence."<sup>3</sup> This would indicate that Bishop Compton was "the source of that admirable policy towards the natives which contributed so largely to the safety and success of the settlement."<sup>4</sup>

Section 22, of the original charter of Pennsylvania provides for the introduction of the English Church into the new province:

And our further pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and Successors, charge and require that if any of the Inhabitants of the said Province (to the number of twenty), shall at any time hereafter be desirous, and shall by any writing, or by any person deputed for them, signify such their desire to the Bishop of London . . . that any preacher or preachers to be approved of by the said Bishop may be sent unto them for their instruction, that then such Preacher or Preachers shall and may be, and reside within the said Province without any denial or molestation whatsoever, and if perchance hereafter it shall happen any doubts or questions should arise concerning the true sense and meaning of any word, clause or sentence, contained in this our present Charter, we will ordain and command that at all times and in all things, such interpretation be made thereof and allowed in any of our Courts what-

<sup>2</sup> William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1871), vol 2 (Pennsylvania), p. 498.

<sup>3</sup> Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania*, vol 1, p. 274.

<sup>4</sup> William S. Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1885), vol. 1, p. 224 n.

soever, as shall be adjudged most advantageous and favorable unto the said William Penn, his heirs and assigns.<sup>5</sup>

By the charter, Penn was made proprietary of the province; he was supreme governor, and had the power of making laws with the advice, assent, and approbation of the freemen, of appointing officers, and of granting pardons. The laws were to contain nothing contrary to English law; and Parliament was to be supreme in questions of trade and commerce. Penn left his family behind him; and sailed with a hundred companions on the 1st of September, 1682. After landing and receiving formal possession, he ascended the Delaware to the Swedish settlement of Upland, to which he gave the name of Chester. The Assembly was convened; and on December 7th, the "Great Law of Pennsylvania" was passed. Philadelphia was founded; and within two years contained three hundred houses and a population of twenty-five hundred. In 1684, he returned to England.<sup>6</sup>

In the next few years, matters went badly in the new province. The legislative bodies quarrelled; and the obstacles which Quaker principles put in the way of arming the colony militated against Penn's power. On the 3rd of October, 1692, he was deprived of the governorship; and Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, of New York, was appointed. Penn managed to get reinstated as proprietor; but he did not visit the province again until 1699.

The first Anglican church erected in Pennsylvania was built in 1695, on the spot where the present Christ Church of Philadelphia stands. The building was described as "a very poor church"; yet it must have been a goodly structure for a city then in its infancy.<sup>7</sup> The members were few; and the edifice, whatever its external qualities, reflected on their

<sup>5</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th ed., vol. 17, pp. 475-6.

<sup>7</sup> Benjamin Dorr, *Historical Account of Christ Church, Philadelphia* (New York, 1859), p. 7.

sincerity and zeal. There are no contemporary vestry minutes; but Benjamin Dorr thinks that the structure was of brick, rather than frame.

There was no minister to officiate in the new church; nevertheless the Quakers looked with disfavor on the beginning which had been made. An Anglican reaction may be seen in the letter of Robert Suder, of November 20th, 1698, in which he claimed to give "a true Account of the Country of Pennsylvania." He stated that he had arrived in the province from Jamaica, in 1694/5; and that he hoped to find "the same wholesome laws here as in other of his Majesty's Plantations; and a quiet moderate people." Instead, he found quite the contrary; the people were "in brawles among themselves and imprisoning one another for religion."

I was in hopes by that they would in time make such a discovery of their hypocrisy and be ashamed so as to return home to their mother the Church of England. I finding none settled here, nor so much as any law for one, here being a considerable number of the Church of England and finding the prejudice the Quakers had against it, we agreed to petition our sacred Majesty that we might have the free excess [exercise] of our religion and arms for our defence, we having an account of an attempt designed on this place by the French. . . . The Quaker Magistrate no sooner heard of it but sent for me and the person that mentioned it, by a Constable to their Sessions. They told me they heard I with some others was Petitioning. I told them we were Petitioning his Majesty that we might have a Minister of the Church of England for the exercise of our Religion and to make use of our arms as a Militia to defend our estates from enemies. Edward Shippen, one of the Quaker Justices, turning to the other of his fellows say'd, "Now they have discovered themselves. They are a bringing the priest and the sword amongst us but God forbid: we will prevent them," and ordered the King's Attorney, a Quaker, to read a law that they had made against any person that shall write or speak against their Government. I told them I hoped they would not hinder us of the right of Petitioning. . . . They then took one Griffith Jones, an Attorney at Law, on suspicion for writing it, into custody, and bound him over from Sessions to Sessions, and threatened all that dared it, by a law they had made against the right of a subject. To relate their partiality in their Courts as often as they sit, were too tedious; so violent they are against all that are not Quakers even to death. . . . Their Judges, Juries, nor evidence being

never sworn; one was heard to say he would sooner take a Negroe that is a heathen's, word before a Church of England man's oath; their malice is such towards us.<sup>8</sup>

In spite of repression, the Anglicans continued their efforts to secure the ministrations of their Church. On the 18th of March, 1696, Governor Francis Nicholson, of Maryland, wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury of the need of a minister and schoolmaster at Philadelphia. He spoke of the great growth of dissenters and Quakers; and expressed a wish that he could maintain an itinerant minister. Should one be appointed, he would assist him.<sup>9</sup> Governor Nicholson had made a generous contribution to the erection of the church at Philadelphia; and he had been asked to mediate with the Bishop of London for an able minister—"no part of his Diocess standing more in need, considering the people."<sup>10</sup>

A letter dated January 18th, 1696/7, and signed by Colonel Robert Quarry and some thirty-five others from the province, expressed gratitude to Colonel Nicholson for his "bounty and liberality in assisting us to build our Church," and for applying to the King and Council, without their knowledge, for settling and maintaining "a good Ministry amongst us," as well as a school. Nicholson was requested to use his influence with the Archbishop of Canterbury, to provide "a good ministry," as many attend Quaker meetings because there is no other means of worship; and also "the late distractions and divisions amongst the Quakers, and the many notorious wicked and damnable principles and doctrines discovered to be amongst the greatest part of them; this makes the rest very uneasy and inquisitive about truth and the sound doctrines of the Church of England."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 9-12.

<sup>9</sup> Fulham Mss., Maryland, no. 152 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>10</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 246 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>11</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 5-6.

On the 23rd of February, Governor Nicholson addressed a letter to the Archbishop, from Annapolis, informing him that "a pretty Church" was now finished at Philadelphia; that the same needed furniture and plate, which he hoped might be secured from the King, as well as a library, which might be provided by the Reverend Thomas Bray. There was much division among the Quakers, he said; and he thought that the young ones would become Anglicans.<sup>12</sup>

In the meantime, it was very hard to retain one's loyalty to the Church of England. Some Welsh Anglicans in Montgomery, twenty miles from Philadelphia, joined the Quakers for lack of ministrations. Two non-conformist ministers were on their way from Boston, one to minister at New Castle and the other at Philadelphia; and it was feared by Governor Nicholson and others that they would seduce the poor, un-shepherded flock.<sup>13</sup> Arrowsmith, a schoolmaster at Philadelphia, wrote Nicholson (March 26th, 1698), that the affairs locally "at present look with a very dull aspect, there being very little encouragement to those of our Church, but on the contrary all permission of Quakerism imaginable. They have endowed a school that is to be kept free, with Eighty pounds per annum, which is in effect to blast my endeavors. I have lived hitherto upon the benevolence of the people which will not afford me things necessary upon a dependence of the King's allowance for this place, which I expected by Esquire Randolph, but he informed me of no such order. . . . "We have a full Congregation and some very desirous to receive the sacrament if it could be administered at Easter."<sup>14</sup>

In 1698, we find the Reverend Thomas Clayton in Philadelphia, the first Church of England minister to reside in

<sup>12</sup> Fulham Mss., Maryland, no. 138 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>13</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 8.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.

that town. He was reviled by the Quakers, according to Robert Suder, as "the Minister of the doctrine of Devils"; but some of this antagonism may have been due to his aggressiveness. He sought to bring the Friends to his way of thinking, and addressed them at their yearly meeting and tried to engage them in open debate. His labours were not without success, however: George Keith, who visited the province some four years later, spoke of "the considerable number of converts to the Church from Quakerism," which the Reverend Mr. Clayton had baptized.<sup>15</sup>

There is a letter from one of the Quakers, addressed to his "Esteemed Friend Thos Clayton" (September 16th, 1698), evidently in response to an invitation that the Friends unite with the Church of England.

We received thy loving and affectionate lines directed to our last yearly meeting and do account it a favor that thou art so well persuaded concerning us as not to account us enemies to the Church of England as indeed we are not; but do pray to God (according to our weak ability), for the prosperity and peace of all that fear God, in all Societies of Christians, more especially in her; by whose clemency (under God), we enjoy our present peace and liberty both in things spiritual and temporal. But as to our joining with her (at present), in strict fellowship we see not our way clear for many of us have so little knowledge of the Church of England at present that we do not fully know her principles as in respect to practice. But as touching the fundamental doctrines of the Christian Faith, we generally believe she is sound—yet we have seen several things acted by her which we think proceed from some persuasions of hers relating to practice, that we cannot suppose becomes the Church of Christ such as severe fines and imprisonments for nonconformity in matters of conscience, and also sundry modes and customs in her forms of worship, that as yet we do not find warranted by scripture; likewise several other things that we shall not at present insist on; not intending to speak or act any thing that may lessen that love and esteem that we have for each other; desiring to continue that friendly correspondence that we have begun; that treating one another as Brethren we may be helpful one to another (as the children of one father), in all christian conversation; that if possible these things that obstruct the desired unity of the professors of Christianity may be removed.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>15</sup> *Protestant Episcopal Historical Society Collections, 1851, p. 49.*

<sup>16</sup> *Perry, Historical Collections, Pennsylvania, pp. 12-13.*

The clergy addressed a letter from Annapolis to Clayton, October 28th, 1698, evidently expostulating with him for his intemperate zeal. He replied, November 29th, vindicating himself.

Had any of you been near me, Brethren, and I alone had undertaken this I could not so justly have excused myself for what I have done, but since it was not so either I must suffer the insultings of an ignorant adversary or defend myself. I hope I have as yet done no damage to our cause, if not shall take care how I do any. . . . Not at all to resist, when I was hit so hard in the teeth, I was afraid would be a prejudicial argument to prove me very stoical if not senseless; and give a great advantage to my enemies. . . . All I have further to say, Brethern, is that I wish we were all so placed that we might be assistant to one another, upon any occasion but distance will not suffer it so that under such inconveniences we must struggle and quit ourselves as well as we can.<sup>17</sup>

The same day, Clayton informed the Governor that he had attended a meeting of the Keithian Quakers in Philadelphia, and had debated with them three or four hours, to their great satisfaction, "so that one of them told me they must employ me to baptize their children and others and I hoped the next day's consultation would make almost a general union. But it happened that the next day some of the preachers that were not with us the night before seeing things go on so fast that they were like to lose the darling of their ambition their preachership; they urged 1st Cor: 14, 29, 30, 31, and commented in favor of themselves but were opposed by some considerable; that those prophets there spoken of, were persons lawfully called to the Ministry by imposition of hands yet this prevailing upon some of them has put a stop for a while." In the same letter, Clayton spoke of controversy with other religious bodies.<sup>18</sup>

This earnest, zealous, man died in 1699, of yellow fever, at Sassafras, Maryland.<sup>19</sup> The Reverend Edward Portlock, of Perth Amboy, East Jersey, was called to succeed him. Not

<sup>17</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 13, 14.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

<sup>19</sup> William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857-69), vol. 5, p. 22.



much is known regarding Portlock. Dr. Keith thinks that he must have been the chaplain of whom Penn complained in a letter to Sir Robert Harley, when he spoke of "the heat of a few churchmen headed by a Flanders camp parson under the protection of the Bishop of London, who, having got a few together," made it their business to inveigh against the Pennsylvania government, Quaker principles, and the like.<sup>20</sup> Colonel Robert Quarry, however, in a letter dated November 29th, 1699, rejoiced that "God Almighty who never fails or forsakes those that trust in him, hath by his providence supplied our wants: for we have engaged Mr. Portlock the gentleman that was in East Jersey. He found no encouragement to continue longer amongst you, and therefore is pleased to settle amongst us. He is a great scholar, a very eminent preacher and a man of good life."<sup>21</sup> On the 12th of July, 1700, Portlock wrote the Archbishop of Canterbury of the great progress which the Church of England had made in "these remote parts." In less than four years, from a small number the Church had increased in Pennsylvania alone to more than five hundred, "notwithstanding all the discouragement and opposition."

My Lord, the building of our Church here (which cost more than £600), lay only upon some particular persons; it now (by the blessing of God) wants either to be enlarged or rebuilt. Here is not ability to do it. I hope your Grace being at the helm will be mindful of us at the stern when Providence shall think to bless us with a qualified Government immediately under his Royal Majesty, then Christianity will flourish in this Province, Quakerism will be rooted out, and the Church will be more than conqueror.<sup>22</sup>

From 1702 to 1705—and perhaps longer—Portlock was minister of Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen county, Virginia. There the vestry requested that he be inducted as rector.<sup>23</sup> In the memorable controversy between Commissary

<sup>20</sup> Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania, 1688-1748*, vol. 1, p. 338.

<sup>21</sup> W. Northey Jones, *St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy*, (p. p. 1924) p. 23.

<sup>22</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 16.

<sup>23</sup> Edward L. Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee, 1927), p. 299.

James Blair, the founder of William and Mary College, and Colonel Francis Nicholson, Mr. Portlock took sides with the Governor. We find his name, with the names of several other clergymen, affixed to a letter in 1704, complaining of Dr. Blair; and Portlock was present at a meeting held at Williamsburg, August 29th, 1705, the day before the convention of the Virginia clergy, where he helped draw up a letter sustaining Governor Nicholson and withholding recognition from the commissary.<sup>24</sup>

Friction between Penn and the Church of England adherents was very tense. More has been written in behalf of the great proprietor than in behalf of his opponents; but it is only fair to review the words of a critic, writing about 1700, who stated that when Penn arrived, the churchmen "all waited upon him by way of compliment." Penn expressed thanks, and promise to "reconcile all contending parties . . . administer justice impartially, without favour or affection in relation to opinions." Pursuant to an order from England, he proceeded to degrade certain officials for maladministration. "These Invaders of our Estates, liberties and properties being removed from their high places, we thought ourselves in a fair way of enjoying our own with freedom, peace and safety." When the time to elect the Assembly and Council came, Penn requested the people to elect only those who were favourable to the government lodged in him, and asserted that none who would swear was qualified. "By diminishing the number of the Churchmen, telling the mobb that they could not be above a dozen or two at the most (tho' at the same time there were near three hundred votes for one of our churchwardens), by these and the like insinuations He procured creatures of his own stamp and kidney to be elected." He prevailed on the

<sup>24</sup>Fulham Mss., Virginia, Box 131, no. 27 (Library of Congress transcript); Jones, *St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy*, pp. 24-5.

Assembly to have the charters which he had formerly granted surrendered to him, thereby becoming absolute. When the Assembly broke up, he said it was his will "to let some of the Churchmen have a share with him in the Government, and accordingly with many other entreaties and smooth endearments, he seduced three of our vestry (with much reluctancy) to accept of his offer, and having given his *Dedimus potestatem* unto the Secretary of the province to swear then according to Law, they were pack'd in his commission amongst six strong Foxian Quakers, one Swede, and a sweet Singer of Israell, to serve as Justices for the city and county of Philadelphia." When the quarter sessions began, a witness demanded that an oath be administered to him; but the Quakers refused to sit in court with swearing. The Churchmen, "willing to condescend to anything for peace," proposed the test prescribed by Parliament for Quakers. The Quakers, however, argued that they had full power to make laws sufficient for their local government, and they had a law in the province empowering them to give evidence, by promising to speak the truth without the name of God. The Governor outwardly tried to promote reconciliation, and urged his own people that they might sit upon the bench whilst an oath was given; but the Quakers were obstinate. Penn laid the whole blame on the Churchmen; and charged them "with raising a flame in the province insomuch that he must be constrained to ride up & down the country, and shew his Letters patent to satisfye the people of his authority." He declared that he was a palatinate, and that his authority was greater than that of any royal governor in America, and that the King had given the province to him and his people in order that they might be free from oaths.

In this new Commission the 6 Quakers, the Swede, and the Sweet Singer of Israell, were continued, but the 3 Churchmen cast out. That this was a premeditated design is plain from the commission given beforehand to the principall opposer of oathes and the parliamentary

test; besides it's well known that oaths have been all along administered in the same court and before the same men by other Justices qualified, ever since it has been a Government, and as for the test prescrib'd by act of parliament, it was always made use of til of late by the Quakers themselves. . . .

The Holy principles of our religion teach us not to resent such affronts, but it grieves us at this time that all Church of England Men should be stigmatized with the grim and horrid titles of treacherous and perfidious fellows, dissenters & Schismatics from the Establish't Religion, which is Quakerism, Intruders and Invaders in the Province, and above all that our proprietor and Governour is resolved, and will be, *aut Caesar aut nullus*.<sup>25</sup>

The dissensions between the Quakers and Anglicans date almost from the settlement of the province. Penn wrote concerning the opposition of Colonel Robert Quarry, "helped by the Bishop of London & Governour Nicholson." He said:

Church is their Cry, and to disturb us their Merit. . . . They misrepresent all we doe, & would make us dissenters in our own Countrey; the Bishop of London at the passing my Patten did what he could to gett savings for the Church but was opposed by the Earl of Radnor, the President. Am civil & equal to them all, putt them in all places of profit, save one, in this County, Admiralty Advocates, Attorney General, 3 of the Oyer, 5 Counties all theirs, but this is not enough, they must have all; and what they do not attempt in State they do boldly in the pulpit; depending on my principle for Impunity, the present Minister brought over printed books & broad sheets in great quantities to be pasted up in their Houses, is this Submission to Govment? . . . G. K's [George Keith's] Hypocrisy first open'd the way for this violent spirit.<sup>26</sup>

On July 2nd, 1700, the Swedish Church at Wicacoe (now part of Philadelphia) was dedicated. Five years before the province was started, the Swedes worshipped in a log building, or block-house, on a piece of ground given by the widow of Swan Swanson. On this site, they built a brick church, costing twenty thousand Swedish dollars. They were very poor; and they left their belfry unfinished, "in order to see whether God will bless us so far that we may have a bell, and in what manner we can procure it." They named their

<sup>25</sup> Brief Narrative of Proceedings of William Penn (probably written by Robert Quarry), in Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 1-4.

<sup>26</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 497.

church "Gloria Dei," because it was a house set apart for the glory of God. The most cordial relations existed between the Swedes and the Anglicans, both between the clergy and the laity; and the ancient church is now a parish of the Diocese of Pennsylvania.<sup>27</sup> The first Swedish minister was Andrew Rudman.

On the 25th of March, 1700, the vestry and wardens of Christ Church, Philadelphia, petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to assist the Bishop of London "in procuring an Order pursuant to his Majesties most Gracious and Royal Grant for the Support of a Chaplain and School Master in this City."<sup>28</sup> On the 5th of July, of the same year, the Reverend Evan Evans received the royal bounty, enabling him to make the journey to Pennsylvania, as minister of Christ Church.<sup>29</sup> The Reverend John Thomas received the royal bounty on the same day.<sup>30</sup>

Evans made a favourable impression upon William Penn, who wrote regarding him (November 1st, 1700):

The new Minister sent over for Philadelphia, has been with me, and appears a man, sober and of a mild Disposition, that may [be] prevail'd with to be easy, I must therefore desire thee to use all early methods by thyself, and such others of your Church as are for Peace, and a Friendly understanding to make impressions on his mind for the best, and by all reasonable means, endeavour to dispose him to an easiness of mind and good inclination to the Public, and the People in general he is now to live amongst, assuring him that while he behaves himself with Candour and Ingenuity, he shall want no Good-will from, nor Kindness that I can shew him, and that he may expect as much favour in all reasonable things, as he could from any Governour of his own way. They [Thy] care in this. I hope I may depend on having assurance of thy good inclinations to the peace of the Publick, and that thou art sensible one of the greatest Advantages to be reaped from Religion is a quiet and easy mind, which as it is outwardly enjoyed will show itself, no less in all exterior things.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> John C. Clay, *Annals of Swedes on the Delaware* (Philadelphia, 1858), pp. 72-3.

<sup>28</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 225 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>29</sup> Gerald Fothergill, *A List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811* (London, 1904), p. 26.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 58.

<sup>31</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 501-2.

Evans was an industrious, good man. He preached two evening lectures at Philadelphia, one preparatory to the Holy Communion (on the last Sunday of the month), and the other to a society of young men who met every Sunday after evening prayer to read the Bible, and sing Psalms; this was in addition to his regular morning services. The society of young men attracted the attention of those outside the fold. He went frequently to Chichester, twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, and preached, "being by all means determined, to lose none of those, whom I had gain'd, but rather add to them till the Society otherwise Provided for them." Within two years, more than five hundred Foxian Quakers joined the Church of England. Other places visited by him were Chester, Concord, Evesham in West Jersey, Montgomery, and Radnor; he found the journeys and the holding of services at these points "fatiguing and expensive." The Reverend John Thomas assisted him at Philadelphia, and helped in the work among the young men; he also officiated at rural places, notably Oxford.<sup>32</sup>

In a letter written to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (September 18th, 1707), Evans described his work:

I was sent over, missionarie in the year 1700, By the Right Honourable & Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of London to Philadelphia in the Province of Pensylvania, where I preached the Gospell and Administred the Ordinances of Christ with Equall Comfort to my selfe, as well as Advantage to others: and God was in a little Time pleased to prosper my Labours to that Degree, as that I had in less than three years after my Arrivall a very numerous Congregation Consisting for the most part of persons brought over from the Quakers and other Sectaries to the Church of England; and the true Religion (by the Frequent Resort of Persons from Remote Parts to Philadelphia) did soe spread, and the number of Converts did increase so fast, that I was obliged to divide my selfe among them as often and as Equally as I cou'd, till they were Formed into proper Districts, & had Ministers sent over to them by the Venerable Society.

<sup>32</sup> David Humphrey, *Historical Account, S. P. G.* (New York, 1853), pp. 144, 150-1; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 32ff.

Montgomery and Radnor, next to Philadelphia, had the most considerable share in his efforts; there he preached in Welsh once a fortnight for four years, till the Reverend Mr. Nichols came. When the Reverend Mr. Thomas left as his assistant, "the Service of the Church of Philadelphia intirely devolved upon my selfe in all its Parts; so that I was obliged to an uncommon Application, & Labour in the Supply of my Cure in all its Branches. . . . As for the number of Adult persons and Children, that I Baptized during my Mission, I take 'em by a modest Computation to amount to 750 Or rather 800 in Philadelphia and all the forenamed places."<sup>33</sup>

Penn returned to England in the latter part of 1701, because of the evident intention of the ministry to reduce the proprietary governments in the British colonies to royal ones. He never returned. Andrew Hamilton was appointed by him as deputy governor, and James Logan as secretary of the province and clerk of the council.

In November, 1701, a layman's library was sent to Philadelphia, valued at £8, 7s, 6d. This donation grew out of the generous and far-sighted exertions of the Reverend Thomas Bray, who had been the Commissary of the Bishop of London in Maryland and who had realised that the clergy and the people in the American colonies were in need of the stimulus and enlightenment which sound reading matter would afford. Many of these books are still in existence, and are of priceless value.<sup>34</sup>

Soon after the great missionary organization of the Church of England was founded—the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—a tour of inspection was planned, in order that the spiritual wants of the colonists might be duly appraised and considered. The Reverend

<sup>33</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 32-6.

<sup>34</sup> Dr. Bray's Accounts, part 2, p. 67 (photostat in Library of Congress); Washburn, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 165-72.

George Keith, once a leading Quaker divine, and the Reverend John Talbot, who afterwards settled in Burlington, New Jersey, visited the English settlements from New England to North Carolina; and the journal of Keith's travels and the letters written by himself and Talbot had much to do with shaping the policy of the Venerable Society—the S. P. G., as it is usually called. Keith and Talbot arrived in Pennsylvania early in 1702. About ten years before, a large number of Quakers had separated, because of Keith's influence, and were known as "Keithians." Many of them had joined the Church of England before the visitors arrived, and were eager adherents. "When they saw Mr. Keith, who had been the chief instrument and occasion of their forsaking the Quaker errors, coming among them, and in the character of a minister of the Church of England, they expressed great joy and satisfaction to hear him preach what tended to their farther confirmation in the Christian faith."<sup>35</sup> Evans informed Keith that he had baptised about five hundred men, women, and children, in Pennsylvania and West Jersey, "many, or most of them having been Quakers, and the children of Quakers, and Quakerly affected; and besides these, many who had left Quakerism, and had joined to the Church had been baptised in infancy, not having been born of Quaker parents."<sup>36</sup>

Keith observed that "at Philadelphia, they have Prayers in the Church, not only on the Lord's Days, and other holy Days, but all Wednesdays and Fridays weekly, and the sacrament of the Lord's supper administered Monthly, and the Number of the Communicants considerable. The Church is commonly well filled with People every Lord's Day, and when they are fully assembled, both of the Town and Country that belong to that Congregation, they may

<sup>35</sup> Humphrey, *Historical Account, S. P. G.*, p. 145.

<sup>36</sup> Keith's Journal, quoted in Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 34.



well be reckoned, by modest Computation, to amount to Five Hundred Persons of Hearers. But sometimes there are many more; and generally the Converts from Quakerism, are good examples, both for frequenting the Church prayers, and frequent partaking of the Lord's-Supper, with zeal and devotion, and also of sober and virtuous Living in their daily conversation."<sup>37</sup>

The missionaries, in their survey of Pennsylvania, found that there was in 1702 no church or school established by law. Besides the Philadelphia church with its large congregation ("Mr. Evans, minister; Mr. Thomas, assistant"), there were three congregations in the country—Chester, Radnor, and Oxford—supplied only on week-days by the aforesaid ministers. Evans and Thomas were maintained by the voluntary subscriptions of the congregation and "the constant munificence of . . . Col. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia. . . . The English Congregation is very forward to encourage and promote the Interest of the Church of England; as for the congregations of the County, being lately reduced from Quakerism, they are very averse from a Maintenance and therefore the Ministers of Philadelphia freely serve the cures."

The chief opposition and discouragement with which the Church meets arises from the fact that so many of the officials are opposed to its interests. There is great opposition not only from the Quakers, "but from all other Dissenters, as Presbyterians, Independents and Anabaptists, who daily increase in other Provinces, as well as Pensilvania, for want of an established Ministry of the Church in those Parts."<sup>38</sup>

The Church at Chester was founded in July, 1702. The ground on which it was built was once a burying place, belonging to a colony of Swedes. Governor Francis Nicholson

<sup>37</sup> *Protestant Episcopal Historical Society Collections, 1851*, p. 50.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xv-xix.

was one of the chief benefactors. Of him the Reverend George Ross, the missionary at New Castle, wrote, June 21st, 1714: "We may safely say no man parted more freely with his money to promote the Interest of the Church in these parts nor contributed so universally towards the erection of Christian Synagogues in different & distant plantations of America."<sup>39</sup>

On January 24th, 1703, the new Church at Chester was opened. As it was the day before the Conversion of Saint Paul, it was determined to name it in honour of that great missionary and teacher. The Reverend John Talbot, who preached the first sermon in the new Church, declared that it was one of the best churches in these American parts and a very pleasant place. Keith described it as a "very decent and convenient (church) of Brick, that will hold a thousand people. It is well glazed, but not as yet wainscotted nor plaistered, but it is fit for use."<sup>40</sup>

The Reverend Henry Nichols was sent to Chester; he was the first Pennsylvania missionary appointed by the S.P.G. He received the royal bounty on May 5th, 1703; and started for his destination.<sup>41</sup> After some five years of service, he moved to Maryland, where he labored for some time. In 1735, the Reverend Arthur Holt, from Barbadoes, wrote, that "there are some worthy good clergy in this district. Mr. Nicholls is very regular in his manner of life and strict in the observation of the Rules of the Church."<sup>42</sup> On the 30th of April, 1704, Nichols gave an encouraging report of his work at Chester, where he had good congregations, though

<sup>39</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 79-80.

<sup>40</sup> S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 1, no. 120 (Library of Congress transcript). S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 1, no. 67 (Library of Congress transcript). Talbot wrote R. Gillingham (May 3, 1703) that he preached the first sermon at Chester. George M. Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington* (Trenton, 1876), pp. 36-7.

<sup>41</sup> Fothergill, *Emigrant Ministers*, p. 47.

<sup>42</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 502.

“seated in the very middle of the Quakers.” He ascribed his excellent following to the influence of Keith and Talbot. The Church was at that time nearly finished, but lacked vestments and communion plate. Nichols particularly extolled the Church in Philadelphia, where he “joyed to find the pure Christian Faith.”<sup>43</sup>

Church of England services were held in 1704 at Oxford by the Reverend Andrew Rudman, the Swedish minister who had been directed by George Keith to minister to the people there. Evans had gone to that place frequently and had administered the sacraments; he had also made many converts from the Quakers and Anabaptists. The people were poor, and unable to support a minister; and Evans wrote to the S. P. G. in their behalf. For Rudman, Evans had a high regard; he informed the Society that he was “one of the most learned men that ever came into America.” Rudman continued to reside in Philadelphia, and to minister to the Swedish Church, “Gloria Dei,” which had been started through his guidance. He personally paid an old debt for ceiling the Oxford church, because no one else would assume it; but financial burdens weighed upon him.

I tried at the first to walk to the Church and backward, being eighteen Miles, but I quickly found my strength would not hold out, therefore I hired a Horse in Town, which was very chargeable and forced me to buy me one of my own. . . . It hardly has been Water and Bread for my family to live on by so small a revenue.<sup>44</sup>

Rudman was in bad health, and at length was compelled to give up the charge of Oxford. On the 26th of August, 1708, he wrote the Secretary of the S. P. G. :

I am a sickly man, and now seven weeks together in a consumption; I have buried lately one of my daughters and most that come to see me give me up for a dead man which I do believe also: If I should die this time, what a miserable family should I leave behind me, a helpless widow

<sup>43</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 19.

<sup>44</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Delaware*, p. 13; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 36, 504; S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 1, no. 108 (Library of Congress transcript).

and two poor small children which cannot procure a farthing to pay the protests.<sup>45</sup>

He died three weeks later (September 17th), and is buried at the Old Swedes' Church. The stone contains the following inscription:

This monument covers the remains of the Rev. Andrew Rudman. Being sent hither from Sweden, he first founded and built this church—was a constant and faithful preacher in the English, Swedish, and Dutch churches, eleven years in this country, where he advanced true piety by sound doctrine and good example. He died September 17, A.D. 1708, aged 40 years.<sup>46</sup>

Rudman's work at Oxford fell to the Reverend John Clubb, whom the S. P. G. had appointed schoolmaster in Philadelphia. He had assisted Mr. Evans at Christ Church; and Governor John Evans had written regarding him, August 23rd, 1705:

Mr. Club, the School-master of this place . . . is really one that I think spares no pains in his Employment for the Instruction of those under his charge, which as it is a work of the noblest and first concern, the Forming, Implanting and Regulating the principles on which depends our future Conduct, so it is highly worthy the Care and Patronage of a great and good Society, and therefore we are bound to be thankful for the Encouragement they have been pleased to give Mr. Club therein. He has been Assisting in some Measure to our Minister Mr. Evans, whose Charge is very considerable, and requires a great deal of Service.<sup>47</sup>

On the 2nd of November, 1705, the clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania convened at Burlington, New Jersey; and there formulated an address "To the most reverend Father in God, the Lord Abps., the Right Reverend the Bishops, and others Right Honourable Members of the Society Erected for Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." This was one of that series of appeals for a bishop in America, which continued until the breach between

<sup>45</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Delaware*, pp. 13-14; S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 4, no. 56 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>46</sup> Clay, *Annals of the Swedes on the Delaware*, p. 79.

<sup>47</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 25.

England and the American colonies. From an ecclesiastical standpoint, the reasoning of the churchman seems unanswerable; but political complications, pressure induced by unfriendly sects, and the indifference of even the Anglicans in certain parts of the new dominions conspired to defer the appointment of even a suffragan. In the petition of the convention of 1705, to which the signatures of all the Pennsylvania clergymen are affixed, we read:

The presence and assistance of a Suffragan Bishop is most needful to ordain such persons as are fit to be called to serve in the sacred Ministry of the Church. We have been deprived of the advantages that might have been received of some Presbyterian & Independent Ministers that formerly were, and of others that are still willing to conform & receive the Holy Character, for want of a Bishop to give. The Baptized want to be Confirmed. Their presence is necessary in the Councils of these Provinces to prevent the inconveniences which the Church labors under by the Influences which Seditious Men's Counsels have upon the public administration & the oppositions which they make to the good inclinations of well affected people. He is wanted not only to govern and direct us, but to Cover us from the Malignant Effects of those misrepresentations that have been made by some persons impower'd to admonish and inform against us, who indeed want admonition themselves.<sup>48</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Nichols found the people of Chester quite appreciative. The members of St. Paul's Church addressed the Society, in 1705, thanking their benefactors for their "paternal care over, and munificence towards us, as nothing could be more useful so nothing could be more acceptable to us than a supply of the Liturgys of our holy Mother, the Church of England, in the Ignorance of whose Excellency many of us have the greatest reason to Lament the long happy time we have lost." Next to the sacred oracles of God, "there can be no surer means for us to practise that holiness which is the Doctrine of our holy Church than this admirable Composure of Prayer. Oh! to God that we were so sound in that, as we are in love to this Church!" "The Labours of the Reverend Mr. Nichols whose

<sup>48</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 508-9.

Industry and pious Care to reduce the People here from Quakerism's Errors and heresys to embrace true Christian principles backt with undeniable Arguments and very exemplary life and Conversation justly Challenges our most humble Acknowledgements." But there is much need of a school, since this town is "in the very centre of Quakerism, and the great numbers of young Quakers in this County who are not provided for by People of their own Persuasion and whose Parents are not able to provide for them else where, necessity would oblige them to send them where they might imbibe such Principles as afterwards they could not easily forget."<sup>49</sup>

Nichols himself wrote (July 24th, 1707):

I have no particular news that is worth communicating to you only we trudge and do our best endeavours to fight Christ's Battles against his enemies, I wish we had not some among ourselves that we are not well aware of. . . . The truth is, as long as our adversaries have the whole Interest, power and wealth of the country in their hands, & as long as animosities, ambition & confederacys do prevail among some of our own members, as much as they do, it will be a great matter for us to keep the footing we have got.

I have two things heartily to request of the Honourable Society that in their great wisdom and tenderness to their poor missionaries they would seek out some way to make our Labours easier to us, or else if that be not practicable that they would suspend their belief to all representations that designing and peevish men may make concerning us, otherwise of all people in the world never were men such slaves as the American ministers, none more exposed to ruin after all their fatigue and danger than they are.<sup>50</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Evans gave a sketch of the Church in Pennsylvania, in his letter to the Society, September 18th, 1707. He said that the Church there, "from a very weak and Infant State . . . is now Exceedingly Increased and Strength'ned by those numbers that have been gained over to it; and from hence the marvelous Light of the Gospell has been spread and Diffused not only unto the

<sup>49</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 30-1.

adjacent Churches, But also to some of the neighbouring Provinces. And that Church which first seemed to be but a private Conventicle is now become truly the Catholick Church of those parts." He spoke of the difficulties suffered for want of a resident bishop.

The Spaniards were in the begining of their settlements in these Indies sensible of these Disadvantages; and therefore they wisely remedied any Inconveniencies that might happen on this score, by Erecting Severall Bishopricks in their Dominions in that part of the world; and why we shou'd not Coppy after them, especially in soe usefull & necessary a point, I doe not understand.

The discipline as well as the doctrine of the Church of England should be established; but such would be impossible without the presence of a bishop. The American clergy need a bishop over them, to "oblige them to doe their Duty, and to live in Peace and Unity, One with Another." The laymen are at a disdvantage, for the following reasons:

The Ministers subsistance, and Livelyhood, being in all places, in America, more or less depending upon the Bounty of the People, by Contributions, & Acts of Assembly: It is a difficult matter for them without the Countenance and Authority of a Bishop, to put a stop to the Prophaness and Immorality of their severall Parishioners, for to touch the more Topping, and Considerable men of them, either in Publique or Private is to draw the fury of the whole Congregation upon the Missionary, and to deprive himself of that Salary, or maintenance which he has from them.

It were to be wish'd that the Clergy's Sallarys, & maintenance in America were settled and adjusted by Act of Parliament in Great Brittain, and then they would be more bold and Resolute in Doeing their Duty, But as bad as things are in this Respect, yet a Bishop wou'd to a great Degree Remedy all Inconveniencies of this kind; for if the Missionarie either could not, or Durst not doe his Duty, then the Bishop wou'd, and the Layty would be in a little time brought, to pay a greater Regard to their spirituall Guides, and then they would by Degrees, submit to Church Discipline, and Censures, without which, tho' a Church may be planted, and gathered, yet it can never be of any long Growth or Continuance.

But now Nothing of that kind is heard of or attempted there and men Committ Adultery, and Polygamy, Incest, and A Thousand other Crimes of which the Minister can hardly admonish them in Private, without manifest hazard and Disadvantage to himselfe, because there is no Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction established in these parts, and tho' there

were, there are no Laws, in being, which makes the Inhabitants of those Countreys lyable, and Obnoxious to it.

There is also need of a bishop to confirm, said Evans, since the clergymen "are bound by the Rubrick not to administer the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper but to such as are Confirmed; which Prohibition . . . they are forced to break through."<sup>51</sup>

Colonel Robert Quarry felt that there should be a resident bishop for the control and guidance of the clergy. He wrote a letter to the Society, February 12th, 1708, in which he complained that certain ministers in the northern colonies had joined themselves with a faction inimical to the interests of the Governor of New York and New Jersey (Lord Cornbury) and to the prerogative of the Queen. "There ought to be very great caution given to the Clergy sent to these parts, that they do not ingage or concern themselves in the dispute, differences or factions which often happens in the severall Governments. This is the rock that many of our Clergy have split on." Colonel Quarry had particular reference to the case of the Reverend Messrs. Thoroughgood Moor and John Brook, two New Jersey clergymen of exemplary character and high ideals who unfortunately clashed with Lord Cornbury. While the Pennsylvania authorities were not directly concerned in this controversy, there must have been a feeling that government was being subjected to scrutiny and criticism; hence Colonel Quarry found himself a partisan. The recent convention of the clergy of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania aroused his suspicions. "They voted the laying aside all Vestrys as useless, they being able to govern & manage the Churches themselves, without any help; but I believe they forgot how they should be subsisted hereafter without the help of those useless things, the Vestry, who are the chief men of every government, men of

<sup>51</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 32-9.



the best Estate, best sense, true sons of the Church, most zealous and hearty in promoting the interest and good of it, men of the best interest to defend it in procuring Laws for its support & subsistence, & yet these men must be all laid aside & blown off at once, that these young gentlemen of the Clergy may be absolute & govern as they please, without the least controul. I am sure that this rash act of theirs hath given as fatal a blow to the Church in these parts as was in their power to have done. Some of these Gentlemen have already found the ill effects of it, & have heartily repented their folly. Some others have persisted in their imaginary grandeur till their full Churches are grown empty almost, and nothing but confusion amongst those that are left." Quarry suggested that the remedy of such evils would be "the sending a Bishop to govern the Church in America. Nothing else will do, for every young Clergyman thinks he knows more than the Right Reverend the Bishops, & do assume more power to themselves."<sup>62</sup>

Notwithstanding this verdict, the Church of England continued to gain ground in Pennsylvania, as well as in the other colonies. In 1711, Christ Church, Philadelphia, was enlarged; it was too small to accommodate the increasing congregations. Evans had made a trip to England; and some handsome communion silver had been presented to the parish. Both Colonel Robert Quarry and Governor Charles Gookin contributed to the enlargement of the building.<sup>63</sup>

The Reverend John Humphreys received the royal bounty for his passage to America, on the 3rd of November, 1710. Mr. Humphreys was the son of a practitioner of physic in the city of Limerick, in Munster, Ireland; and a Bachelor of Arts. Colonel Morris, of New Jersey, commended him as one who "has lived soberly and frequented the Communion

<sup>62</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 40-2.

<sup>63</sup> Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, p. 231.

during his stay," before he was ordained. He followed Mr. Clubb at Oxford, and had a diligent and useful ministry. After spending a number of years in Pennsylvania, he removed to Virginia, in 1724, receiving a gratuity from the S. P. G. on quitting their service, for the hardships he had experienced in his mission, and the diligence with which he discharged his duties. He died July 8th, 1739, at the age of fifty-three.<sup>54</sup>

Nichols was followed at Chester by the Reverend George Ross, of New Castle, who served for four years (1708 to 1713). Mr. Ross reported to the Society (January 22nd, 1712) that "the number of those who profess themselves members of our Church in the County of Chester is but small in comparison of the mischievous brood of Quakers here."

The seeds of Apostacy have taken deep root and that fatal Weed of Quakerism is cultivated with the utmost skill and tenderness, so that it is not like to fade all on a sudden. The novelty is so fashionable & prevailing in this place that some of those who own themselves Church people are strangely bewitched & lull'd into an indifferency about the baptism of their Infants, and notwithstanding what I could offer, both in public & in private, to cure this infection, yet I cannot say that I have succeeded so well as might be reasonably expected. But Paul may plant and Apollos water, but God giveth the increase.<sup>55</sup>

Ross had passed through a very trying experience, having been seized *en route* and taken prisoner to France. A subsequent letter (December 30th, 1712) reveals a more restrained but equally pessimistic attitude.

The flock committed to my charge is indeed small, but God be thanked, generally sound, which is as much as can be well expected, considering the Genius of the bulk of the people among whom we live. I need not tell you that Quakerism is generally professed in Pensilvania, and in no County of that province does the haughty Tribe of that persuasion appear more rampant than where I reside, there being by a modest computation 20 Quakers . . . for one true Church man.

<sup>54</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 510-11.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 67-8.

Thus Quakerism has numbers and interest on its side; and the true religion is crush'd as unfashionable and impoverishing, whilst its proselytes gain but a few friends by their change and draw upon themselves the certain displeasure of many implacable enemies. This is the reason why many who are thought well wishers of the Church are either neuters in Religion, or for the present lean to the strongest and most gainful side. . . . I will not presume to compare my labours with the endeavours of the meanest of their Missionaries: but this I can safely say, that since the time I began to enjoy my health in this Country as I do now, blessed be God, I have not knowingly missed an opportunity to carry on the design of my mission and to contend for the faith which was once delivered to the Saints.<sup>66</sup>

Ross was returned to New Castle the following year, on the petition of Governor Gookin and the wardens and vestrymen of that parish. The Reverend Mr. Humphreys, who had worked hard during his short stay at Oxford, was put in charge of the work at Chester. He was obliged to divide his time among several congregations; nevertheless, the Church flourished under his care. For twelve years he served the congregations of Chester and the outlying places; then he removed to Maryland, much overworked and in bad health. The Reverend Mr. Clubb followed Humphreys at Oxford, where he had previously served and where he was highly regarded. On April 10th, 1713, the clergy of Pennsylvania and Delaware united in a testimonial to the archbishops, bishops, and reverend clergy of Great Britain that the Reverend John Clubb exercised his ministry to the Approbation of those among whom he laboured, and possessed "the Chartacter of a Sincere honest Man, a Sound Preacher and a Successful Missionary."<sup>67</sup>

In 1713, the minister, churchwardens, and vestrymen of Oxford petitioned the S. P. G. to send a schoolmaster to their parish. They declared that in every township there was a school settled by Quakers, and therefore they were obliged to send their children to Quaker schools or bring them up in

<sup>66</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 69ff.

<sup>67</sup> S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 8, p. 501 (Library of Congress transcript).

blind ignorance; "& there they imbibe such principles as very often occasion them when they are grown to fall away into Heresie; the greatest danger is to our Adult Youth, who being willing to perfect themselves in writing and Arithmetick, & being Obliged to goe to the Quakers for that end seldom come of their hands untainted without having received such impressions from the crafty Arguments of their Masters, as make them forsake the Church, at least make them very indifferent towards it all their lives." But all this would be remedied by a teacher of the Church of England in their midst.<sup>58</sup>

It was late in 1714 that the Reverend Mr. Clubb returned to Oxford, "where the people were well satisfied and ready to receive" him. He also had charge of the missionary work in the Welsh settlement of Radnor; in fact, he was the first S. P. G. missionary ever appointed to Radnor, although services had been held there before. The Radnor people were very thankful that the Society had sent them "the Minister they desired for the welfare of their souls." They had subscribed for the building of a handsome stone church; and were "a large Congregation of well affected people to the principles of the Church," and, as Clubb expressed it, "deserved [the Society's] charitable consideration long before." He found the people of Oxford still indebted for the finishing of their house of worship, but very grateful to the Society for "committing the care of them to [him]."<sup>59</sup> Trinity Church, Oxford, was opened for worship, November 5th, 1713; and the cornerstone of the old St. David's Church, Radnor (which Longfellow celebrated in a poem), was laid, May 9th, 1715.<sup>60</sup> Mr. Clubb died in December, 1715. The wardens and vestry petitioned the Society for a successor

<sup>58</sup> S. P. G. A-Series, vol. 8, pp. 493-5 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>59</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 74-5.

<sup>60</sup> Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, p. 344.

to their "loveing & beloved Pastor"; and wrote that he "was the first that undertook the care of Radnor and Oxon and he paid dear for it, for the great fategue of rideing between the two Churches, in such dismall wayes and weather as we generally have for four months in winter, soon put a period to his life."<sup>61</sup>

In 1715, the Reverend Mr. Evans visited England again. During his absence, his place was filled by the Reverend Francis Philipps for awhile; this proved an unfortunate episode, as Philipps was a very unworthy priest. He must have been a man of unusual charm and pleasing personality, for he attracted the most prominent and influential men of Philadelphia to his side; and Governor Gookin was persistent in his behalf. The charges against Philipps were of a serious nature, and involved his moral conduct; the parish was divided, and there were those who threatened to leave the Church if he did not officiate. The Bishop of London, however, decided against Philipps; and the trouble gradually subsided.<sup>62</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Humphreys notified the Society, October 3rd, 1715, that his Church at Chester was in a flourishing condition; still the three missionaries—Ross, Clubb (who was then alive), and himself—were not sufficient to take care of the large and growing province, where they were obliged to divide themselves amongst eleven or twelve congregations. He had a fine congregation at Chichester, also, where the people had built a convenient chapel since the summer; and he preached once a month at Concord, at which place the people expected to build in the summer. He and the Reverend Mr. Ross had a congregation at a township called Marlborough, thirty miles away; and had

<sup>61</sup> Charles F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.* (London, 1901), p. 35.

<sup>62</sup> There is much material regarding the Philipps affair: e.g., Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, p. 232; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 81-98, 511-13; Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, nos. 1, 6, 13, 35 (Library of Congress transcript).

preached at St. John's, eight miles distant, to a fine congregation which Mr. Ross had lately rescued out of the hands of the Presbyterians.<sup>63</sup> The Reverend Mr. Evans, on his return to Philadelphia, offered to officiate every week at Radnor and Oxford—that is, on Tuesdays and Thursdays; the people there were accustomed to attend services on the weekdays.<sup>64</sup> This appointment evidently did not interfere with his Christ Church ministry; in the vestry minutes he is still referred to as rector.

The Church suffered greatly from the want of missionaries, as we have seen; and the death of Mr. Clubb was a sad blow. On the 4th of August, 1716, Mr Humphreys wrote the Society from Chester, that there were only two missionaries in the province, although the Reverend John Talbot of New Jersey was in charge of Christ Church. (Talbot had taken Philipps' place, prior to Mr. Evans' return). Because of this shortage, said Humphreys,

. . . It must be believed we have employment enough, and did we not painfully exert ourselves beyond our proper mission, we should soon see this Church in the wilderness over run with heresie and Schism. . . .

Sir, Our enemies here are mighty in number, subtle and diligent to propagate their Heterodoxys, and you may be sure take advantage of the present deplorable circumstances of the Church and how easily are poor simple people destitute of teachers imposed upon and seduced by crafty smooth tongued deceivers. Great are the murmurings of these naked Congregations against the Venerable Society for their neglecting to send them Missionaries, and all our arguments wont prevent their complaints which proceed from the bitterness of their Souls; and this is it which renders many of them flexible to hear any Dissenter that offers himself unto them, which is frequently done when we are at too great a distance to prevent it. So that great is the danger of loosing multitudes of those poor people.<sup>65</sup>

The words of the Reverend George Ross, of New Castle—the other missionary at work in the province—corroborate

<sup>63</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 98–100.

<sup>64</sup> Henry Pleasants, *History of old St. David's Church, Radnor* (Philadelphia, n.d.), p. 20.

<sup>65</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 103–4.

the statements of Mr. Humphreys. Mr. Ross stated in his letter to the Society, August 28th, 1716:

There are so many places in the province of Pennsylvania, and territories, that want your ministry of the word, and so few Missionaries to supply them (and now fewer than ever) that except the honourable Society will please to send us help, we who endure so long the heat of the day must needs give out, while we are spent so much in journeying often, & traveling far from our several places of residence and habitation.

'Tis really wonderful to consider how the church prevails, even where it is most opposed. There is a congregation of Christians lately sprung up in one of the darkest corners of Pennsylvania where Quakerism seemed to be out of all danger from the Priests. Friends are now convinced of their mistake for Priest Humphreys & Priest Bosse [Ross] entered their borders and wounded the beast by preaching Christ and the resurrection.

But though we and the Quakers do thus widely differ, yet tis observable that when any of them do leave their own way, and become Christians they generally make their application to your missionaries for Baptism, instead of going to dissenting teachers, who tho' ten to one of us do not convert one Quaker to ten that come over to the church.<sup>68</sup>

The Reverend John Talbot sent a distressing account of conditions (December 5th, 1716). He had at different times served all the churches in the province; now Oxford and Radnor were destitute of ministers. Stipends were insufficient; he had received only twelve pounds in twelve months from some good people of Philadelphia, but the vestry which Mr. Philipps left behind would do nothing. Were it not for some few perquisites, nobody could live. Where there had been Christian governors, as in Virginia and Maryland, the Church was well established; this was due to Colonel Francis Nicholson, "Who has done more for the Propagating the Gospel of Christ and his Church in this vast howling Wilderness, then all the Governours that Ever [came] to these Dominions." The missionaries suffered from poverty; their families were left neglected. These things would be relieved by a good overseer—a bishop.

Let not the Ungodly Quakers triumph and say agen that the Society instead of Propagating, they did but Scandalize the Gospel. . . . In-

<sup>68</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 101-2.

iquity does abound and the Love of many waxes Cold and Charity dys at home how can She go abroad. . . . People will be forced to turn Papists here in a little time to be of some Religion, the Presbyterians are very busye in sowing Fears and Preaching their damnable Doctrine of Predestination and Reprobation that they cause some to despair and Others to turn Quakers. They Ordain their Pretended Elders in all places and if their Orders be good why may not we do the same.<sup>67</sup>

The missionaries were not the only ones who blamed the Quakers for their difficulties. We find Colonel Gookin writing to the Secretary of the S. P. G. (January 7th, 1717), as follows:

The Quakers seeing the Church party increase notwithstanding the late unhappy divisions in it, which they very artfully and industriously improved and finding I would not fall in with their measures have laboured for three or four years to get me out. They have made several false and frivolous complaints against me to Mr. Penn but hitherto in vain. They stopt all my letters both on this and that side the water for above a year and a half and then gave Mr. Penn such assurance that I was dead, that several of the eminent Quakers in London had appointed a meeting in order to recommend another which had been done had not my brother in law Mr. Richard Birmingham arrived with my Letters to Mr. Penn.

Indeed, one of his enemies had sworn "that if he could not otherwise remove [him], he would starve [him] out, which he has almost affected for the Assembly promised (him) six hundred pounds a year but have not given a penny this two years."<sup>68</sup>

In a letter a few weeks later (March 16th, 1717), Colonel Gookin spoke of the hardships of the Church in the province; Chester alone was provided for. No allowance was made by the assemblies for the missionaries, because of the preponderance of the Quakers. Nine of the twelve members of his Council were Quakers; the magistrates were divided in the same proportion; and in the Assembly, there were twenty-three Quakers to only three churchmen. He hoped that the

<sup>67</sup> S. P. G. Series A., vol. 30, pp. 177-80 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>68</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 106.



vestries of the vacant churches would address the Bishop of London and the Society, since all his endeavours had been in vain.<sup>69</sup>

Soon afterwards, Gookin was recalled. The first years of his administration had been smooth; but he had become involved in controversy. He had complained of his salary, and insisted on the illegality of affirmation to the grave displeasure of the Quakers. Sir William Keith was appointed governor in his place; he was the last governor commissioned by William Penn. Governor Keith made a favourable impression on the clergy from the outset. Shortly after he arrived, they joined in an "humble address" to him, expressing their gratitude for his good will to the Church.

The special Notice you have been pleased to take of us upon all occasions, the Respect and tenderness wherewith we have been at all times treated by you, the restoring us to that privilege whereof we were lately deprived, the having Marriage Licenses directed to us Exclusive of all Others, In Short your firm and steady adherence to the Church of England in every respect and your readiness to Assist and Support her Ministry, are such strong Endearments to us of your Person and Government . . .

that he earned their wishes of health and prosperity.<sup>70</sup>

Governor Keith was in turn pleased with the clergy; and he wrote a letter to the Society, commending them, September 24th, 1717. He found them industrious and men of excellent character. But they were unable to attend to the vast field.

The Duty here daily increases at such a rate, and the Laborers are so few that without your pious and immediate Care to relieve and supply this languishing but valuable little Branch of the church, all our endeavours will be to no purpose in a place so much over run with Sectaries of all kinds, that it certainly requires a much greater proportion both of men and parts than any other place in America to support the Communion we have, and to make the best use of the opportunities given for enlarging the same.<sup>71</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 108-9.

<sup>70</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 12, pp. 216-8 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>71</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 109-10.

On the 15th of February, 1718, Evans resigned from Christ Church, Philadelphia, to take a living in Maryland. He said that his "age and other infirmities rendered him very incapable of discharging his cure in such manner as the same ought to be discharged. He died shortly after his removal.<sup>72</sup> He had worked conscientiously and well; and Christ Church made strides under his direction. Christ Church had no regularly appointed rector for nearly nineteen months, though there were supply services during the vacancy. On the 4th of September, 1719, the Reverend John Vicary presented his license from the Lord Bishop of London to the vestry; and for about three years he was rector of the Philadelphia parish. Sir William Keith said that he was "a very ingenious preacher, & gave a general satisfaction to the people in the Exercise of every part of his sacred office. But the duty being large and his natural constitution of Body being very weak and Consumptive, a certain peevishness of temper mixed with a good deal of vanity so increased upon him, that in a short time after his arrival he was pleased to value himself accordingly upon the influence he had amongst the people to turn me out of the Vestry, and altho' . . . he appeared anxious of all opportunity to affront me as he thought both in and out of the pulpit, yet I took no manner of notice there—but punctually went to church every Sunday and also continued my equal contribution every 6 months toward the minister's support, and it is an undeniable truth, that Mr. Vicary's Income while he remained here never amounted to less than £300 per annum & often considerably more."<sup>73</sup> Vicary died in 1723. Governor Keith wrote the Bishop of London, April 12th of that year, that for eleven months past he had done his best to serve him. "I can

<sup>72</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 42-3; Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, p. 233.

<sup>73</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 147.

truely say Mr. Vicary has all along shew'd a hearty zeal for promoting the Honour and Interest of the Church here . . . ."<sup>74</sup>

On June 2nd, 1718, another petition was sent to the archbishops and bishops of the English Church, pleading for a resident bishop. This request came from churchmen of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, and was entitled "The representation and humble petition of many of the faithful in the communion of the Church of England in North America." It declared,

That whereas the British colonies and settlements in America have now for many years been blessed with the pure and primitive doctrine and worship of our mother the Church of England, of which you are happily at this day great ornaments and prime rulers; and whereas for the want of Episcopacy being settled among us, and that there has never been any bishop sent to visit us, our churches remain unconsecrated, our children grown up and cannot be confirmed, their sureties under solemn engagements and cannot be absolved, and our clergy sometimes under doubts and cannot be resolved. But whereas more especially for the want of that sacred power which is inherent to your apostolic order, the vacancies which daily happen in our ministry cannot be supplied for a long time from England, whereby many congregations are not only become desolate and the light of the gospel therein extinguished, but great encouragement is thereby given the sectaries of all sorts, which abound and increase among us, and some of them proceeding to what they call the power of ordination, the country is filled with fanatical teachers, debauching the good inclinations of many poor souls, who are left destitute of any instruction or ministry. May it therefore please your lordships in great piety and regard for the government of the church by bishops, to think of some means whereby these our sorrowful complaints and grievous misfortunes may be heard and redressed. And that Almighty God may of his infinite mercy inspire your thoughts and assist your pious endeavours to accomplish this evidently necessary and religious work, is the most earnest and daily prayer. . . .<sup>75</sup>

Oxford was left without ministrations by the resignation of the Reverend Mr. Evans; and on the 25th of June, 1718, the congregation of that mission addressed the S. P. G., desiring "a faithfull Shepheard a Paul or Appollos in this our great Necessity, to plant, and to Water & to feed us with the

<sup>74</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 6, no. 265 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>75</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 45-6.

Sincere milk of the pure word." By the lack of Sunday services, "our Enemies the Dissenters mock at us and whett their tongues like swords and bend their bows to shoot their Arrows even bitter Words." While a minister visited them once in a fortnight, the members were so scattered that some of them lived from eight to ten miles away.<sup>76</sup> The Reverend Mr. Humphreys, who still ministered at Chester and surrounding places, supplied Radnor and Oxford after Mr. Evans' departure, although the former was twenty miles away from his home and the other twenty-eight miles distant; this work he did without pay.<sup>77</sup> He wrote the Society, November 30th, 1719, that he had declined an excellent offer—£250 a year—from the Governor of Maryland, because he could not prevail upon himself to leave "this miserable People to the mercy of the spirit which actuates the Quakers, one sure suggestion whereof is, among others pernicious to Religion, That the priests shall have no Revenue. However I submit to the Good Providence of God; which orders things so much to my Temporal Disadvantage, my hope in Christ, being in another life. . . . The worst circumstances that can befall me shall be no occasion of the Neglect of my duty." He had neither received nor asked compensation for attending the Welsh congregation at Radnor; "indeed all the congregation to whom I have at any time administered holy things have resolved that I have the Glory of doing all for them Gratis." But he begged that the Society would not withdraw their allowance to the schoolmaster. "If they do I am certain our Youth will loose all Christian Knowledge and Instruction, and will be extremely prejudicial to the Church."<sup>78</sup>

The Reverend Robert Weyman took charge of Oxford and

<sup>76</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 13, pp. 271-2 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>77</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 117.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 119.

Radnor in December, 1719. On week-days he visited various settlements destitute of a regular ministry. He went to Conestego (forty miles away from Radnor), and White Marsh, where the people had erected "a goodly stone building." His was an industrious and sincere ministry; and there was a continual accession of members. Nine years later, Weyman was transferred to Burlington, New Jersey.<sup>79</sup>

The Pennsylvania clergymen found help in mutual association. George Ross, John Vicary, John Humphreys, and Robert Weyman joined in a letter to the S. P. G., in 1719, in which they said:

We at stated times meet together, to advise and direct one another, which is always done with discreet freedom & gravity & our conversation is managed with the greatest intimacy and affection. To make our meetings useful to the people, one of our number preaches a sermon suitable to the occasion, by which method of proceeding our churches are edified, & we are examples of brotherly love & unity.

In the same communication, they reminded the Society "of the deplorable state of several Churches, within this government, which were once filled with considerable numbers of Communicants whose early zeal led them, tho' poor to erect decent structures for the publick worship of God & some of them to build commodious houses for the reception of their ministers but their long vacancy by the death of some missionaries & the removal of others has we fear given too great opportunities to the adversaries of our church, to pervert & mislead many of them. The abovementioned are the Churches in Bucks, Kent and Sussex Counties. We have done the utmost we could in our circumstances to keep those congregations together by dividing the care of them among ourselves & visiting them sometimes, on week days for the baptizing their children, & instructing their youth, but their great distance from us renders their service very difficult." They urged the sending of pastors. The Swedish missionaries,

<sup>79</sup> Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of the S. P. G.*, p. 852.

Andreas Hesselius and Abraham Leidenius, were especially praised for their assistance.<sup>80</sup>

The Society responded by notifying Mr. Hesselius (May 8th, 1721) that a representation of his good services in "reading prayers and preaching in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania" had been received; and that £10 a year would be allowed him, "in case you perform Divine service and preach in the English language in the several vacant churches in Pennsylvania, at least twenty times in one year, and transmit over hither, proper certificates thereof."<sup>81</sup>

In August, 1720, the vestry of Christ Church, Philadelphia, resolved to enlarge the church. A tower was to be built, and a set of bells purchased. "This was the first step towards erecting the present edifice."<sup>82</sup> The school in that city was being taught by Mr. William Skinner, who found it difficult to maintain himself on the scanty receipts; the church people were poor and unable to contribute much, while the Quakers, who were in better circumstances, had their own teachers.<sup>83</sup> It was in May, 1722, that the Reverend William Harrison, who was in temporary charge of Christ Church during the illness of Mr. Vicary, reported that "a very regular congregation," numbering nearly a hundred and fifty communicants, attended Christ Church; and that he was well treated there. "I . . . do firmly believe it has been by mismanagement that Gentlemen have been no better treated formerly."<sup>84</sup>

After the death of the Reverend Mr. Vicary (1723), Christ Church was filled by the Reverend John Urmstone, who proved to be a man of disreputable character. His conduct

<sup>80</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 122-4.

<sup>81</sup> *Records of Holy Trinity (Old Swedes) Church (Papers Hist. Soc. Del., vol 9)*, p. 264.

<sup>82</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 13.

<sup>83</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 14, pp. 103-4 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>84</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 127-8.

was described by Peter Evans, one of the vestrymen, as "not proper to be mentioned or allowed in any sober society."<sup>85</sup> Urmstone had no license to officiate from the proper ecclesiastical authority; and the bad reputation which he had earned in North Carolina, the scene of his previous labors, followed him. Nevertheless, he built up a certain following; and it was difficult to get rid of him. Though the vestry refused to support him, it was necessary to bribe him before he consented to leave. He removed from Pennsylvania to Maryland, where his drunkenness caused him to be deprived by the Commissary of the Bishop of London; but he persisted in making trouble.

The neighbouring clergymen tendered their services to the Philadelphia vestry, after Mr. Urmstone's dismissal; and the Reverend John Talbot, of Burlington, New Jersey, consented to remain in charge of Christ Church until another minister arrived. Talbot was a man of spotless life and high standing; he had accompanied the Reverend George Keith on his journey of inspection more than twenty years before, and his influence was felt throughout the middle colonies. He had been the leading spirit in the effort to obtain resident bishops for America, and it was largely at his instance that addresses had been sent to the ecclesiastical heads in the mother country urging such appointment. His sturdy championship of the rights of the clergy and the privileges of the Church had brought him into clash with the colonial governors at various times; and he had been subjected to the charge of disloyalty and accused of sympathizing with the dispossessed Stuart line and opposing the present government. Talbot emphatically disclaimed all Jacobite allegiance, but the colonial governors reiterated their charges. There can be no doubt, however, that Talbot was an energetic,

<sup>85</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 141; see also John Fulton's monograph, in Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, p. 551.

persevering and sincere priest of the Church and an honest, conscientious man.

Talbot had not sought the supply work at Philadelphia; he had gone to the city for medical treatment, and was recuperating when he was asked to fill the vacancy. Urmstone resented the way in which he had been treated, notwithstanding Talbot's integrity; and he proceeded to undermine his successor's position. He accused Talbot of causing him to be turned out, so as to make a place for himself; and he charged him with having refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King, and omitting or garbling the prayers for the royal family. He wrote Dr. Thomas Bray, who was then in England, and declared that he (Urmstone) was being persecuted by a malicious and unscrupulous Jacobite. In June, 1724, he asserted that Talbot was in bishop's orders.<sup>86</sup>

I was not sorry for my removal from so precarious & slavish a place, where they require 2 sermons every Lord's day, Prayers all the week, & Homilies on Festivals, besides abundance of Funerals, Christenings at home, & sick to be visited; no settled salary, the church wardens go from house to house every 6 months, every one gives what he pleases.<sup>87</sup>

An anonymous letter was written to Dr. Bray from Cecil county, Maryland, on the 29th of July, 1724, complaining of Talbot's disaffection to the present government.<sup>88</sup> It was in all probability written by Urmstone. In August, the Reverend Jacob Henderson, of Maryland, evidently acting on information given him by Urmstone, wrote that "Mr. Talbot, minister of Burlington, returned from England about 2 years ago in Episcopal orders, though his orders till now of late have been kept up as a great secret."<sup>89</sup> The same month, Governor Burnet reported that Talbot "had the folly to

<sup>86</sup> John Fulton's monograph, in Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. 1, pp. 551-2.

<sup>87</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Maryland*, pp. 236-7.

<sup>88</sup> S. P. G. Journal, vol. 5, p. 19.

<sup>89</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Maryland*, p. 243.



confess to some who have published it, that he is a Bishop."<sup>90</sup> "Henderson and Burnet were evidently repeating Urmston's slander, so that Urmston alone is absolutely the only contemporary witness to prove that Talbot ever pretended to be, or ever admitted that he was, a bishop by non-juror consecration," said the Reverend John Fulton, who made a careful study of the alleged consecration of John Talbot and Robert Welton. Recently evidence has come to light which establishes the fact that these two men did receive episcopal ordination at the hands of the Non-Jurors in a reasonably satisfactory manner; but there is no certainty that either individual exercised his episcopal functions in America.<sup>91</sup>

Talbot returned to his New Jersey field after a short stay in Philadelphia; then the vestry called Dr. Welton, who was in the city, to take charge of Christ Church and prevent the dwindling of the congregation. No minister had been licensed or sent from England; and the parish must have suffered for want of regular ministrations. Robert Welton was a man of well-known Jacobite sympathies. He had held preferment in the English Church as rector of the important and populous parish of St. Mary's, White-chapel; but, having become unpopular because of his political activities, he had been deprived of his living. He thereupon became the minister of a congregation of Non-Jurors, and thus united with their sect. Disruptions occurred among the Non-Jurors; and each of the contending factions proceeded to continue its succession of bishops. Ralph Taylor, D.D., who had been consecrated by three bishops representing one of the aforesaid factions, took it upon himself to consecrate, alone and contrary to the advice of his colleagues, the

<sup>90</sup> Hills, *History of the Church in Burlington*, p. 188.

<sup>91</sup> Henry Broxap, *The Later Non-Jurors* (Cambridge University Press, 1924). This book is based on the Brett Mss., and gives contemporaneous evidence of the consecration of Welton and Talbot.

Reverend Dr. Welton; and he and Welton consecrated Talbot, who was in Great Britain at that time.<sup>92</sup>

Talbot returned to New Jersey, and supplied the Philadelphia parish after Urmstone's dismissal. Dr. Welton arrived in the city in June, or July, 1724. On the 29th of September, of the same year, Urmstone addressed the Bishop of London:

Mr. Talbot did me no diskindness in causing me to be turned out of Philadelphia to make room for himself. He convened all the Clergy to meet, put on his robes & demanded Episcopal obedience from them. One wiser than the rest refused, acquainted the Governour with the ill consequences thereof, the danger he would run of losing his Government, whereupon the Governour ordered the Church to be shut up. . . . He is succeeded by Dr. Welton who makes a great noise amongst them by reason of his sufferings. He has bought with him to the value of £300 Sterling in Guns & fishing tackle, with divers printed copies of his famous Altar-piece at White chapel; he has added a scroll with words proceeding out of the mouth of the Bishop of Peterborough, to the effect as I am told, "I am not he that betrayed Christ tho' as ready to do it as ever Judas was." I met him since on the streets, but had no further conversation with him.<sup>93</sup>

On the 24th of July, Sir William Keith, who had evidently been informed of Welton's past record, wrote the Bishop of London that "some of these nonjuring Clergymen pretend to the authority and office of Bishops in the Church which however they do not own and I believe will not dare to practice for I have publicly declared my resolution to prosecute with effect all those who either in doctrine or conversation shall attempt to debauch any of the people with schismatical disloyal principles of that nature."<sup>94</sup> But Peter Evans replied to Governor Keith; and, as a member of the vestry, recited the circumstances of the calling of Dr. Welton to serve Christ Church. In his letter to the Bishop of London he said that Welton arrived in Philadelphia, "a stranger and his coming altogether unknown to every one of them."

<sup>92</sup> Broxap, p. 88.

<sup>93</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 142-3.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The circumstances of the church there being not a little melancholly at that time for that being destitute of a minister, no Divine service had been performed there for some months before & a numerous congregation which if kept together were not only able but willing to raise a handsome support for a missionary which was daily expected from your Lordship.

But the Church Doors being shut it was evident the congregation would soon dwindle & be captivated among the many Dissenting Teachers in that growing city & render them unable to perform their promises to your Lordship. To prevent which inconvenience several members of the Vestry met & being well assured by some persons of the Doctor's acquaintance that he was an Orthodox minister & it appearing by several English printed News Papers that the Doctor had then lately taken the oaths & conformed to the Government, but had been deprived of his Living, several members of the Vestry asked the Doctor to officiate until such time as they were favoured with a missionary from your Lordship which he readily granted and the church Doors were opened & for that reason & from the character of the Doctor's preaching the congregation resorted to hear him.

Your memorialist hopes your Lordship will be induced to believe their zeal for the Church (and not for any mistaken principles of the Doctor's) was the true cause of their frequenting the church. Your memorialist from his knowledge & acquaintance with the people there for 22 years past does believe it a piece of injustice to insinuate them as disaffected to His Majesty.

As to Governor Keith's accusation of disloyalty, Evans said: "Sir Wm Keith has not been so happy in his conduct or sincere in his relations, as to acquire undoubted credit"; and he quoted excerpts from the proceedings of the House of Lords, in 1703, imputing to Keith "prevarication and behaviour unworthy of her Majesty's mercy." He stated that Keith had for some years been elected a member of the vestry; "but taking upon him to overrule them & entirely depriving them of the freedom justly due he was left out of the Vestry in the time of Mr. Vicary . . . & from that time seemed displeased with the Vestry & withdrew his subscription from Mr. Vicary." As to Urmstone's accusations, Evans said: "It is true Mr. Urmston did serve the church at Philadelphia but was not sent from your Lordship or your Predecessors. But the misfortune that drove him from Carolina & other places still attended him."<sup>95</sup>

<sup>95</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 139-42.

Dr. Welton's political background and his undeniable identification with a religious group at odds with the present government made him *persona non grata* with both Church and State. He could not continue to serve the principal Church of one of the most important cities of America. The order for his recall arrived in January, 1726; and it was served by Governor Keith. He left before spring, and appears to have died the same year in Portugal. The following extract from the *Reliquiae Hernianae*, vol. 2, p. 257, is significant:

Lisborn, Aug. 31, 1726, N. S.

One Wilton, a non-juring clergyman, who some time ago arrived here from Philadelphia, died of a dropsy, refusing to commune with the English clergyman.

After his death among his things were found an episcopal seal which he had made use of in Pensilvania, whereas, he assumed & exercised privily & by stealth the character & functions of a Bishop. This coming to the knowledge of the Privy Council he was ordered home but came to Portugal.

N.B. [by Hearne] This is the famous Dr. Welton minister at White Chappel, who suffered much for his honesty [Jacobitism] & was, it seems, a Bishop, & is now removed from the malice of all his enemies.

Thus ended an interesting episode. The facts in outline may be stated, to bring out of the confusion of the correspondence and controversy a clear picture. After the death of Mr. Vicary, the Reverend Mr. Urmstone supplied the vacant parish, until his unseemly reputation forced his dismissal. For a short time, the Reverend Mr. Talbot held services there. It was represented from time to time to the Bishop of London that the Church was in need of a regular minister, but none was sent. Dr. Welton arrived in Philadelphia, and the vestry employed him to fill the vacancy. But both he and Talbot were suspected of disloyalty to the established government, and their consecration by an outlawed religious body gave their opponents just the handle that they desired. Talbot was dismissed from the service of the S. P. G., and Welton was officially recalled from the

province. Both were men of ability and character; but they lived in a day when the Church was regarded as auxiliary to the State, and independent political ideas might provoke displeasure and punishment.

While affairs in Philadelphia were in such unrest, the Church in other Parts of the province was not without its problems. In 1724, the clergymen of Pennsylvania reported that "the Church has no Revenue in this Colony; the Clergy subsisting entirely on the Bounty of the Honourable Society. . . . Meat and drink bear much the same price here as in London, but as for apparel for ourselves & Families which by reason of our mean circumstances we are obliged to purchase in this Country at a very extravagant rate because transported from England, it consumes the greatest part of our Salaries." There was need of larger stipends; "Our Incomes here being less, and all European Goods much dearer, than in any other Colony in the Plantations."<sup>98</sup>

The books of the Society show that in July, 1724, there was a considerable handicap. The Pennsylvania Assembly made no provision for the Church. Christ Church, Philadelphia, was said to possess a handsome parsonage; but the minister was maintained by voluntary contributions. There was an allowance from the Crown of fifty pounds a year, which, "if it can be recovered . . . will make it a comfortable living." Thirty pounds' allowance for a schoolmaster would be "a handsome subsistence." Chester county contained three churches—Chichester, Chester, and Concord; but all were in charge of a single minister. Mr. Humphreys. Oxford had no glebe or parsonage. The people had promised to purchase the same, and eighty pounds had been left for that purpose. The Reverend Mr. Weyman supplied the Welsh congregation at Radnor, in addition to his work at Oxford. "The Churches at Bristol, Perquihomen, and another new

<sup>98</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 136-7.

Church lately built in this Province, being but small congregations, are supplied by the neighbouring clergy, and the ministers of the Swedish congregations there, for which they receive some small allowance from the Society."<sup>97</sup>

After Doctor Welton's departure, the Reverend Mr. Weyman supplied Christ Church. It was not until September, 1726, that the new rector arrived. For three years, there had been no minister duly appointed by the ecclesiastical head and licensed to serve that important post. The vestry had resorted to certain expedients in order to hold the congregation together, but with unfortunate consequences. The Reverend Archibald Cummings, who at length appeared with the proper credentials, proved a worthy and capable minister; and served the parish fifteen years.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Cummings informed the Bishop of London that he had been kindly received, and hoped to cancel the bad impression which Dr. Welton had left. He had been importuned by the people of Burlington to say a good word in behalf of the Reverend Mr. Talbot, who was in disfavour with the Society.

They made me promise to mention him, otherwise I would not presume to do it. He is universally beloved, even by the Dissenters here, and has done a great deal of good. Welton and he differed and broke off correspondence, by reason of the rash chimerical projects of the former long before the Government took notice of them. If he were connived at and could be assisted by the Society (for I am told the old man's circumstances are very mean), he promises by his friends to be peaceable and easy, and to do all the good he can for the future.<sup>98</sup>

On the 15th of December, 1726, Cummings complained to the Bishop of London of the insufficient subsistence which he received—small and precarious. There were no fees for christenings. Marriage licenses were issued by the governor to the Swedish missionary, the Presbyterians, and the

<sup>97</sup> *Protestant Episcopal Historical Society Collections*, 1851, pp. 121ff.

<sup>98</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 148-9.

Dissenters. He contended that the governor had no legal right to grant such licenses.<sup>99</sup>

The vestry of Christ Church decided, April 15th, 1727, that the building was too small, and that an addition of thirty-three feet should be made to the west end, and a foundation laid for a tower and steeple. On the 27th of April, the present Christ Church was begun, under the Reverend Mr. Cummings. The building was made possible by two lotteries: the Philadelphia Steeple Lottery, drawn in 1753, paid for the steeple, which cost £2100. The edifice was designed by Dr. John Kearsley, an eminent physician who directed its building; Robert Smith was the carpenter. The cornerstone was laid amid impressive ceremonies, the leading men of the province and the city taking part (April 27th, 1727). The addition, which the vestry resolved to erect in 1727 was not completed till 1731; the eastern end was probably begun in 1735. The present church was finished in 1744; the steeple was finished about 1755, or 1756.<sup>100</sup>

In May, 1728, the Reverend Mr. Weyman undertook a voyage to Great Britain, to get the assistance of the Bishop of London and the S. P. G. in the procurement of proper missionaries. He carried with him the endorsement of the rector, wardens, and vestrymen of Christ Church, who declared that for eight years past Mr. Weyman had "with pious Zeal and Diligence Exercused his Pastoral Care not only over [the Oxford] Church but with indefatigable Labour and, through the various intemperate Seasons of the Year here, Supply'd to the utmost of his abilities the many Churches widely dispers'd, but destitute of Ministers in this province with Success and Approbation."<sup>101</sup>

Weyman reported to the Society (August 3rd, 1728), soon

<sup>99</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 66 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>100</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 14-9.

<sup>101</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 57 (Library of Congress transcript).

after his arrival in London, that on his first appearance in the new world, in the mission to Oxford and Radnor, he found "a general disposition in the People of that Country to receive the Christian Faith, and to hear the glad tidings of Salvation notwithstanding the prejudices that they had been brought up in against the Church of England, and the Preachers of her Doctrine by their several Teachers amongst the Dissenters of all sects & sizes that swarm in that province, and use a great deal of Industry to gain Votaries to their several Persuasions."

Of all the sectaries the Quakers are the most numerous & do chiefly prevail by making a considerable figure in, and having in their hands a great ascendancy over the helm of Government; which was Originally calculated and contriv'd by the Proprietor Wm Penn, not so much, as I take it, for the ease of consciences that were or are truly scrupulous, and the general benefit of mankind with respect to the undisturbed freedom and enjoyment of their Civil privileges and Religious liberties, as for the laying a foundation for the furtherance and advancement of a Particular Interest and Faction, of which . . . their corrupt tenets are like the Leprosie of a spreading nature, and do too much infect the Poor People far & near throughout that Colony; which must be ascribed Partly to those false colors they disingeniously paint those who differ with them, in, and the worldly advantages that a convert of theirs is especially entitled to; and partly to the great want of Orthodox Ministers to Instruct them in the principles of the Christian Religion and to warn them against the errors of those deceivers.

Weyman drew a contrast between the small number of Anglican ministers in Pennsylvania and "the crowd of speakers in their meetings & conventicles in every part and corner of the Country that is Inhabited; who make it their business to run from House to House with lies to delude silly people and to take them Captive at their wills." The fewness of ministers had compelled him to extend his work beyond his line; he had travelled from place to place, "to keep the People stedfast in the faith, and to dispense the word & Sacraments to them. . . . And they are very Inclined and fond to embrace the Doctrine, Liturgy & Discipline of the Church of England which gains ground every



where, and in every place, where the Minister of our Church reside and officiate particularly at Oxon and Radnor." Concerning the negro slaves, Weyman said that due care was not taken for their instruction. He had often pressed the necessity and duty of it upon their masters and offered his services in teaching them and preparing them for baptism, without results.<sup>102</sup>

On the 12th of March, 1729, the Reverend Richard Backhouse, who had just gone to Chester as missionary, wrote the S. P. G. that many former Church of England men had gone to the Quakers for lack of a missionary among them, and some had lost all sense of religion. The congregations were thin. Mr. Backhouse preached two Sundays a month at Chester, one at Marcus Hook, and one at Concord. "The Youth about Chester is mightily benighted—in Ignorance. They are quite Strangers to the fundamentals of Religion, many of which can't repeat the Lord's Prayer, nor the Creed, which makes the burthen Incumbent upon me, a great deal heavier than otherwise it would be. 'Tis True the negligence of their Parents is to be blamed. But tho their Parents are careless in instructing their children themselves, Yet they would be glad if they had a Catechist or School Master to send them to." Mr. Backhouse had been back in the country seventy miles, "at one part of Conastogoe, near the Place where Mr. Weyman used to go to; I stayed four days with them and preach'd twice. About Thirty-six miles back from Chester in the Road to Conastogoe the Inhabitants are Building a Church at which (at their request), I design, God willing, to preach once a month. . . . I've baptized most of Thirty Children since I arrived at Chester, and by God's Assistance have gained to the Church a great deal of Dissenters from some of which the Presbyterian Minister has hitherto receiv'd a great deal of his maintainance."<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 162-5.

<sup>103</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 161, 162.

On the 14th of May, 1730, Mr. Backhouse wrote an encouraging letter regarding the churches under his care. He was baptising many adults as well as infants; and the numbers of communicants were increasing. His health, however, was not of the best; he felt that his sickness was "brought upon me chiefly through the multiplicity of business, my congregations lying so wide, some part or other of which I'm almost always under a necessity to visit, which is the greatest fatigue in life besides being ever compelled by the frequent and earnest solicitations of a people towards Conostogoe. I Preach forty miles back one Tuesday in every 4 weeks where I've really a large congregation & above 40 communicants." Many immigrants arrived from Ireland during the last summer, and thousands settled back in and about Conostogoe; this made his congregation there quite numerous.

I can't tell you but with grief and anxiety of mind that (notwithstanding the Quakers' liberal indulgencies) we live in a Government which is a step mother to our Church, who can't rest contented only with taking away our properties and perquisites and giving them to others, But now has struck even at constitution itself by making an Act which not only prohibits us to publish but to marry lawfully according to the constitution of the Church of England without the license of Parents, Guardians, Tutors, Masters, &c., first had and obtained in writing under hand upon the penalty of £50.<sup>104</sup>

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel supported several schoolmasters in Pennsylvania during the colonial period. One of them, Rowland Jones, was in Chester at this time, having formerly served at Radnor. He had moved from the former place because of the lack of support from his patrons; later he taught on Long Island. In a letter written to the Society, June 17th, 1730, he described his system of teaching.

I endeavour (for beginners), to get Primmers well furnished with sylables, vizt, from one to 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 or 8. I take them several times over them till they are perfect by way of repeating according as I find

<sup>104</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 167.

occasion and then to some place forward according to their capacity and commonly every two or three leaves, I make them repeat perhaps 2 or 3 times over, and when they get the Primer pretty well I serve them so in the Psalter and we have some Psalters with the proverbs in at the latter end. I give them that to learn the which I take to be very agreeable and still follow repetitions till I find they are masters of such places. Then I move them, into such places as I judge they are fit for either in the new or old Testament and as I find they advance I move them not regarding the beginning nor ending of the Bible but moving them where I think they may have benefit by. So making of them perfect in their vowels, consonants and diphthongs, and when they go on their reading clean without any noising, singing or stumbling, with deliberate way, then I set them to begin the Bible in order to go throughout. And when I begin writers I follow them in the letters till they come to cut pretty clean letters and then to one syllable and so to 2, 3, 4 and to the longest words and when they join handsomely I give them some sweet pleasing verses, some perhaps on their business, some in behaviour, some on their duty to Parents, &c.; of such I seldom want them at command and when they come to manage double copies readily I give them some delightful sentences or Proverbs or some place in the Psalms or any part of the Bible as they are of forwardness and also to their fancies that may be for their benefit. And when I set them to cyphering I keep them to my old fancy of repeating and shall go over every Rule till they are in a case to move forward and so on. And I find no way that goes beyond that way of repeating both in spelling, reading, writing and cyphering. . . . I also give them tasks (when able) to learn out of Books according to their ability. . . . I put them to spell twice per week and likewise to catechism and likewise I catechise every Saturday and often on Thursdays. Some times I set them to sing Psalms also other exercises I put them to.

Some of the Quakers allowed Mr. Jones to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments; and some of the dissenting children learned the Catechism by heart. One girl memorised the entire gospel of Saint John. Because of his influence, numbers of people were attracted to the English Church.<sup>105</sup>

The Reverend Alexander Howie was stationed at White-marsh from 1731 to 1741; and for awhile he held services at Perquihoma and Oxford. On the 20th of July, 1732, he reported to the Society that the congregation of Perquihoma had increased greatly.

<sup>105</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 168-70.

At the entrance upon my ministry in this place the numbers of my hearers were very small but for some time past they have enlarged very considerably & continue so to do by a daily coming over of Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, & Quakers, which last I have taken strict care to instruct in principles of religion before I baptised them or admitted them to the Lord's supper.

The people at Whitemarsh in no respect answered the pious ends of the Society, he said, "In general they are careless livers & quite indifferent about religion, however my utmost endeavours both from the pulpit and in private conversation shall not be wanting to bring them to a better way of thinking." He had prevailed with a country schoolmaster to instruct their children in the catechism and was hopeful of reform. At Perquihoma, he had catechised fifteen boys and girls publicly. "which is a great many in this wild unpolished part of the country where the professors of Christianity are so miserably divided & mangled among themselves. Nay, the parents are moved with a generous pride in striving to make their children outdo one another."

Mr. Howie undertook to read prayers and preach to a Swedish congregation about thirty miles back in the country. "The Sweedes are a people that should be encouraged for upon all occasions they have discovered their good will & friendship to the church of England in these parts."<sup>106</sup>

In 1732, the Reverend Griffiths Hughes arrived as S. P. G. missionary to Radnor and Perquihoma. He was kindly received, especially by the Welsh; but found his parishioners neglected and ignorant of the fundamentals of religion. He made trips far back into the woods, where he preached several times under a large tree; the houses were too small to accommodate the numbers. In one letter (December 3rd, 1734), he complained that the greatest inconvenience under which he laboured was the scarcity of Welsh books—"myself being the only person that officiates in that language

<sup>106</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 178.

my best endeavors can bear no proportion to the general want of so many thousands of that nation who are scattered in this province & daily importune me to supply them with Welch books & most of them are both able & willing to purchase them." Hughes resigned in 1736.<sup>107</sup> There were complaints that he neglected his duties.

The Reverend Mr. Backhouse sent in rather encouraging reports. His hearers at Chester and Concord were "such Proficients in Christianity that . . . their lives adorn their profession & when ever the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper is communicated abundance of devout communicants receive it." He also held services at Marcus Hook and Pequo; the latter place involved a journey of forty miles, and it was hard for him. Still the congregation proved so earnest "that I cannot evade visiting them."

Thank God I live as quiet among both these kinds of Dissenters [Quakers and Presbyterians] as any clergyman of our communion can expect to do as my endeavors to work in them a good opinion of the Church of England by fair means & in as easy & persuasive a way as possibly I could without moving their choler have had on some of them a very good effect.<sup>108</sup>

The Reverend Richard Peters, a native of Liverpool, became assistant to Mr. Cummings at Christ Church in 1735. He was a very remarkable man, having been bred to the law and having a good deal of practical insight. He enjoyed the confidence of such men as Benjamin Franklin, and had a recognised position in the life of the city apart from his ecclesiastical connections. Mr. Cummings asked him to help him, because of the pressure of parish duties; later he was compelled to assume the entire responsibility, when the rector's health barred him from active work.<sup>109</sup>

A misunderstanding arose between Mr. Peters and the rector, which led to the latter's resignation. Serious charges

<sup>107</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 188-9, 191.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 179-80, 181-2, 190.

<sup>109</sup> Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit*, vol. 5, p. 88.

were brought against Mr. Peters; it was alleged that he had two living wives, having deserted the first wife and left her behind him in London. Mr. Peters stood his ground, and refused to admit that there was any basis for the insinuations; it would appear from the statements made during the controversy that his friends attributed the trouble to the rector's jealousy. Peters had made many friends; or, as Mr. Cummings expressed it, "by his intriguing Talent, getting into all Companies, making One at all diversions & by an affected action & gesture in the pulpit, [has] gained upon Some men of Sense & on many of the undiscerning Croud, at the same time Some among the Sectaries upbraid us for having entertained one as our Teacher who (as they Say) was forced to fly from Justice." The unpleasantness even found its way into the pulpit of Christ Church; and when Mr. Peters resigned, the wardens and vestry sent an address to the Bishop of London (July 28th, 1737), voicing their confidence in him.

Though your appointment of Mr. Peters has not pleased some few among us, yet it is true that during the time he has exercised his ministerial function in this city, he has given great satisfaction in general to our congregation, and has been of real service to the Church of England; to which, by his conduct, both in the pulpit and out of it, he has drawn great numbers of the more outstanding Dissenters of all persuasions.

The controversy threatened to divide the parish. Peters wisely made no effort to retain his ministerial position, but found employment as secretary in the Land Office; there he continued for the next quarter of a century, as the real estate agent of the Proprietaries. In 1762, he became rector of Christ Church; and filled that office with ability and to the general satisfaction of the people until after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.<sup>110</sup>

<sup>110</sup> The correspondence in the Peters matter is considerable; much of it is printed in Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 521-32. Important letters are: Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, nos. 47, 126, 144, 148, 151, 153, 154, 158, 170 (Library of Congress transcript). See Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 67-9.

Bishop Gibson of London wrote the members of Christ Church, September 28th, 1737, that he had received letters of complaint from former ministers, based on the unkind treatment which they had received. He was grieved to find that an unhappy breach had been growing among them of late. His design in writing was, not to enter into the dispute between Messrs. Cummings and Peters, but to exhort all of them in the most earnest manner to peace and unity among themselves.<sup>111</sup> To this letter, the wardens and vestry replied, that they regretted that they had been misrepresented; that, although the greatest part of their number were not constant in sacramental attendance, yet there was no reason for any distinction so that their address would be disregarded. The breach of peace and unity ought not to be charged against the congregation. "What is past we heartily desire may be forgot, on all sides." They hoped to prevent all difference in the future.

Their letter was a very significant document, as it expressed their contention that they should have the right of choosing their rector, and not feel compelled to accept the selection of the Bishop. They declared their veneration for Bishop Gibson;

[We] shall always take a pleasure in giving your Lordship Testimonies of our Obedience, nor have our ministers ever had, and we hope never will, have any just Cause to complain of us, either in point of an honourable support, or of a proper deference and affection for the ministerial function: But we beg leave to say, That, as we have built our Church our Selves, and as we maintain our own Minister without any assistance from the Society, or any other persons by our own voluntary Contributions, we believe both the Laws of our Mother Country and the Constitution of the Church, give us the right of Patronage, that is, the right of presenting any Minister or Ministers, against whom, there lies no legal objection, to your Lordship for your Lycense; we apprehend our Minister to be exactly on the same foot, in this respect, as a lecturer in the City of London, where the right of electing, and presenting, to the Bishop for his Lycense, is in the Congregation, And we humbly hope, that

<sup>111</sup> Hawks Papers, in New York Historical Society, box 5, no. 52.

no distinction, shall be made, between our Title, and that of others in the same Circumstances, as well because of the many Inconveniences, our distance from Your Lordships Residance, would make us liable to, were there others, as because we are in great Hopes from the flourishing situation of our Trade, and the large encrease of Inhabitants of our persuasion, in the Province, we shall have it in our power, to give a proper and suitable Education, to our Children, to enable them to serve as Ministers, in which Case, it would be very Natural, to give the Preference, to relatives and persons born and bred among us before others, if they are in all other respects equally qualified. . . .

We have at a great Expence carried on and built a large and beautiful Church the finishing whereof, will by Your Lordships favour and Countenance be happily and easily affected, and will effectually prevent the rise of any differences hereafter between the Minister and Congregation.<sup>112</sup>

In reply to this letter, the Bishop of London wrote, October 19th, 1738, reminding the vestry that in the course of disputes some things are usually said on both sides through heat and passion which one would wish had not been uttered. "A continuance of the disputes among your selves, on which side soever the fault had lain, must in a little time have been the ruin of that Church." He was glad to see the disposition towards peace.

I do not remember, that I have ever given occasion, either by word or writing, to Suspect that I pretend to any more Rights than that of Licensing the person who is to be your Minister, and who cannot regularly be received, either in your Government or any other of the Plantations, without such License. But I am so far from discouraging the education of your own Children for the Ministry, that I have heartily labour'd, tho' without success, to procure a Settlement of two Bishops in the Plantations, one for the Continent and the other for the Islands; chiefly with a view to make it more easy and less expensive to persons who have had their Education there, to be admitted to Holy Orders.<sup>113</sup>

There had been services at Bristol from time to time. In 1723, it was reported as one of the vacant churches. A church had been built prior to that time.<sup>114</sup> The Reverend William Harrison had visited the congregation; so had other

<sup>112</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 172 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>113</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 199 (Library of Congress transcript); Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 70-1.

<sup>114</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 136.



ministers. From 1735 to 1745, the Reverend William Lindsay, itinerant S. P. G. missionary, was in charge. On the 21st of November, 1738, he wrote the Society from Bristol, of the great expense entailed in his long missionary journeys and the fatigues which had impaired his constitution. "I have three or Four Rivers to Cross which are Sometimes very Dangerous, the Expences of horses are dear to me my cloaths wears & much abused." He asked the Society for help.<sup>115</sup> The following year (September 29th, 1739), he said:

We are so surrounded by Quakers & Dissenters in the parts where my services are employed, that in short I dare not almost insist upon any contributions, so many reflections are so ready to be thrown to hinder others to join in with us & in fear of losing any of their party's. There is not I believe one missionary, who Labours under my disadvantages. The places where I officiate at, are all now fully stocked with professions Enough, and tho' often differing with one another yet unanimously agreeing to oppose the Church and its interests, amusing the ignorant, that next comes down,—Bishops courts and tythes, and not a little industrious to wrest and abuse the very offices and Services of our Church, for fear of losing any ground.<sup>116</sup>

The Society recognised the strenuous demands upon Mr. Lindsay, and voted him a gratuity of ten pounds.<sup>117</sup>

The Reverend Mr. Backhouse reported, December 9th, 1738, that at Chester and Concord there were fifty or more constant communicants. Every four weeks he visited Pequoa, where he found at least fifty whenever he celebrated the Lord's Supper.

As to the Number of Inhabitants & of those who profess themselves of the Church of England, 'tis Impossible for me to Give any Just Account, Because my Congregation is Scatter'd here & There for near Twenty miles Back in the Country, & Also being within Four Miles of New Castle County, many more Families, than I Can Easily Reckon up, live there, who Are & Always have been Reputed Members of Chester Church. The Dissenters down by the River Side are Chiefly Quakers & very much Exceed the Church People in Number, But the Dissenters back at

<sup>115</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 7, part 2, pp. 199-200 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>116</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Delaware*, p. 77.

<sup>117</sup> S. P. G. Abstract, 1740, pp. 59-60.

Pequea are Generally Presbyterians, I know but Four or Five Families of Papists in all my Circuit, tho' there are many Reputed ones in the Quakers Garb & Frequent their meetings.

One James Houston had for two years taught and catechised the poor children of Chester *gratis*. Houston's circumstances were very narrow; and it was suggested that the Society assist him. (The Society granted Houston a salary of ten pounds).<sup>118</sup>

The Reverend William Currie, formerly a dissenting minister, was stationed at Radnor by the Society in 1736. He supplied other churches, travelling as far as Conastogoe; the Perquihoma congregation increased under his care.<sup>119</sup> The Reverend Mr. Howie found many discouragements in his field. On the 2nd day of July, 1739, he wrote the Society that those who professed the Church of England in Oxford did not exceed thirty; there were few subscribers, and many dissenters, as well as some who attended no religious service whatever. He had given up visiting Whitemarsh. "The people here in a general way, live in as great plenty as the farmers in England, yet so close and covetous are they, that many of them have the assurance to say, that the Society's missionaries, are obliged to serve them, tho' they should not give a farthing."<sup>120</sup>

In the fall of 1739, the Reverend George Whitefield arrived in Pennsylvania. He had been sent to Georgia as missionary; and there he had founded an orphan's home, a few miles from Savannah. His main object in visiting the northern provinces was the raising of funds for his philanthropic project; and wherever he appeared, he was able to gain an enthusiastic following. For Whitefield was perhaps the most eloquent and persuasive preacher of his day; he

<sup>118</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 7, part 2, pp. 191, 193 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 195 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>120</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 200-1.

was a man of great earnestness and strong convictions. In his theology, he was uncompromising; and his severe strictures on all who differed from him resulted in opposition and antagonism. Although a priest of the Church of England, he was extremely critical of the establishment and some of the leading churchmen of the day; and his most ardent supporters were from the dissenting ranks.

Arriving in Philadelphia, he was received with civility by the rector of Christ Church; and on Sunday, November 4th, 1739, he assisted the Reverend Mr. Cummings in the celebration of the Holy Communion. He lingered a few days; after a short stay in New York, he returned to Philadelphia, and preached to large crowds, explaining his benevolent enterprise. Benjamin Franklin has left us an interesting account of the spellbinder and the effects of his eloquence.

Whitefield conceived the idea of a school for the negroes, to be planted in Pennsylvania and to be known as "Nazareth." Combined with the school, there was to be a settlement, or haven, for those persons converted in England through his influence, and on that account subjected to annoyance. An agreement was made for a site for the institution on the 22nd of April, 1740; one William Allen was to purchase for Whitefield a tract of five thousand acres at the Forks of the Delaware, for the price of £2200. Two days later, Whitefield preached at the German settlement on Skippack Creek to about five thousand people; and the same evening, after riding twelve miles, he preached to some three thousand. Probably impelled by his audience, he offered to hire as builders the Moravians who had arrived from Savannah on the sloop with him. Anxious to proceed with his plan, he sent William Seward, his friend and companion, to England, to convert his securities into cash and solicit further contributions; but Seward was hit on the head in Wales, and died (October 22nd, 1740). The Pennsylvania project failed,

largely because of Seward's death; Whitefield subsequently assigned it to the Moravians.<sup>121</sup>

By the spring of 1740, Whitefield had alienated the Anglican clergymen of Pennsylvania, who had originally been disposed to welcome him. His unfortunate censures directed against the hierarchy, his manner of preaching which resulted in hysteria and convulsions on the part of his listeners, and his very evident preference for the dissenters, all, had their effect in changing the attitude of the ministers. Howie complained of his libels against the clergy; and said that Whitefield "has done a great deal of harm, and undoubtedly will ruin the Missions in this Quaker Government, if special authority from home does not interpose." There he had advised his hearers to attend the dissenters' meetings, and had exclaimed against the Church of England clergy as "Sorcerers, Simon Magus's."<sup>122</sup> Currie from Radnor spoke of Whitefield's "Brazen Forehead, Impertinent asseverations, uncharitable assertions, & impious imprecations." There had been a great rent in his congregation. "This deceiver pretends to be the only true minister of the church of England now in all America & yet he has a criminal regard for all those who have ever been the avowed enemies of the church of England." But Currie's congregation "not only run after, but adore him as an oracle from heaven."<sup>123</sup> The Reverend Mr. Cummings declared that Whitefield was doing much harm. "Judas like betrays [the Church] under pretence of friendship, for which reason the Dissenters are exceeding fond of him . . . in return he warmly exhorts his proselytes from the church to follow them as the only preachers of true sound doctrine."<sup>124</sup>

<sup>121</sup> Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, pp. 356-63.

<sup>122</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 207.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 208-9.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 203.

In the meantime, Whitefield's friends busied themselves in designing and building a meeting-house in which the great preacher could hold forth, without let or hindrance. The house was to include a school for the poor children; and the structure was started as early as July, 1740. It was 106 feet long, and 74 feet wide. Whitefield, who had been absent during the summer, arrived in Philadelphia, November 8th; and preached in the new building, which was as yet unfinished. Trustees were appointed for the proposed school; but the same was never started, as Whitefield found himself so heavily involved in debt on account of the Georgia project that he was obliged to confine himself to raising money for that undertaking. In 1749, the building was sold to James Logan and others; and afterwards, it came into the possession of the College and Academy of Philadelphia.<sup>125</sup>

On the 19th of April, 1741, the Reverend Archibald Cummings died. He was interred in Christ Church. During the fourteen years and five months of his ministry, he had baptised 1728 persons, had married 851 couples, and held 1601 burials. His was an active and industrious ministry; and, although difficulties had arisen at various times, he won the esteem of all, as the vestry said, "for his Learning, Piety, Moderation, and every other good Quality that might adorn his sacred Function."<sup>126</sup> The Reverend Aeneas Ross said that Cummings was "so remarkable for his virtue, piety, & all other Qualifications that adorn & beautify the Soul, That the loss to this Church seems almost irreparable."<sup>127</sup>

A movement to install the Reverend Mr. Peters in the position made vacant by Mr. Cummings' death was made without delay; and to prevent regrettable consequences, the

<sup>125</sup> Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania*, vol. 1, pp. 361-2.

<sup>126</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 73; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 223-4.

<sup>127</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 9, no. 94 (Library of Congress transcript).

clergy of Pennsylvania met the day after the funeral, and drew up an address to the Bishop of London, requesting that the Bishop would speedily chose a minister for Christ Church. They based their appeal on the ground that they had offered to supply the parish until a rector was appointed, and therefore the several fields in which they ministered would suffer by their absence; but a clause was added to the letter, signifying that, under the circumstances, it would be inconsistent with peace and unity to appoint Mr. Peters. The wardens and vestrymen were, as a majority, in favour of calling Mr. Peters; and they tried to get that gentleman's consent to a motion to elect him. Peters refused to be a party to a step which might mar the relations between the parish and the ecclesiastical authorities, and declared that such action would not be respectful to the congregation or to the Bishop of London, whose advice and approbation he would always try to procure. The wardens and vestry then proceeded to sound the members; and while they met with some opposition, they learned that the opponents did not number two-thirds of the substantial membership, while the majority had a real esteem for Mr. Peters. With this assurance, Mr. Peters allowed them to recommend him to the Bishop.<sup>128</sup>

In a letter to the Bishop of London, May 11th, 1741, Mr. Peters showed that he desired vindication. Since 1737, he had continued in his office as secretary; then, on the death of Mr. Cummings, a great part of the congregation desired his appointment as successor.

I assure You I had at first no other concern in this Application than a bare consent, but when I came to understand that before my name was so much as mentioned on this occasion, and the very day after Mr. Cummins was buried, the whole Body of the Clergy had signed a Representation against me to Your Lordship, I entertain'd different thoughts

<sup>128</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 9, nos. 89, 90, 91 (Library of Congress transcript); Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, nos. 176, 203 (Library of Congress transcript).

of this affair, and imagin'd that this blow was struck at my ministerial Character and with an Intention to prejudice me forever in Your Lordship's Judgment. I have always lived on good Terms with all, and in Friendship with some of the Missionaries, and was at a loss to conceive on what Grounds they cou'd found such a Representation.

The Reverend Mr. Ross had admitted to him, that the clergy had "from surprise and without any manner of consideration," signified that it would be inconsistent with the peace and the unity of the Church to appoint him; and, at the instance of Dr. Kearsley (the physician and architect) and Mr. Peter Evans, they had added the clause derogatory to Peters, "without making any Enquiry into the Truth of what was advanced, taking it for granted on the Testimony of the Doctor and Peter Evans."

After this Discovery I was at a loss how to proceed. I was astonished at the Baseness of these Two Gentlemen and at the Weakness of my Brethren. I knew such unfair Dealings would inflame the Congregation and effect the Character of the Missionaries, neither of which were agreeable to me. To prevent these Inconveniences I communicated the affair to Ten Members of the Vestry & desir'd them to proceed in it so as might best prevent a breach of Peace and at the same time consult the Good of the Clergy and shew due regard & Tenderness for them.<sup>129</sup>

Considerable correspondence ensued. A second address was forwarded to the Bishop of London from the clergy, signed by Currie of Radnor, Howie of Oxford, and Colin Campbell of Burlington; and endorsed by Usher of Kent county and Lindsay of Bristol. These men of the cloth saw no reason why they should retract their statements regarding Mr. Peters.

Your Lordship well knows what Uneasiness he gave to the Deceased Worthy Brother, and what further Uneasiness he may Yet give If Your Lordship Should be prevailed upon to License him for the Ministry of this Place. . . . We hope as We Said in Our former Address, That, however Warmly he may be Represented to Your Lordship, or What ever Influence Great Men May Use in his behalf, Your Lordship will not be Induc'd to hazard the Peace and Unity of the Most Zealous Members and best Benefactors of the Church.

<sup>129</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 228-9. (It was not Aeneas Ross, but the Reverend George Ross, his father, whom Mr. Peters quoted in this letter. Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 192—Library of Congress transcript).

They felt that a stranger appointed by the Bishop would be more suitable.<sup>130</sup>

Several members of Christ Church addressed the Bishop of London the same day (May 18th, 1741), suggesting that, for the sake of peace, a pastor be sent over "Disengag'd from any Differences that may have been amongst Us, for We are well Assur'd If the Gentleman insisted on by some Persons Here be Admitted, it will Effectually disperse and drive out the Greater Number of the Devout and Religious Part of the Congregation, a Thing which would be as Unnatural as Unchristian, since These have at all Times chiefly contributed to the Support of this Church both with Regard to carrying on the Building and maintaining of its Minister."<sup>131</sup>

Pending the appointment, the Reverend Aeneas Ross, the son of the most prominent clergyman of Delaware, was placed in charge of Christ Church, as a sort of *locum tenens*. Young Ross had been engaged in the itinerant work centering around Bristol, and was a man of fine parts. In about six months, he baptised nearly a hundred persons, including twelve negroes. His father was afraid that he would sink under the strain; he was said to labour under "a Mortal disease," which had raged there for some time.<sup>132</sup> He was anxious that his son be relieved of the heavy duties; and, in a letter to the Secretary of the Society, March 4th, 1742, George Ross said:

Your young Missionary Eneas Ross has engaged himself in a different task at Philadelphia. If he had not undertaken the cure of the Church there, it must have remain'd desolate, the consequence of which can easily be guess'd at by those who know the fickle temper of many of the Church professors in that place. The weight of the charge there is so heavy that the young missionary is likely to sink under it, by running

<sup>130</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 191 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>131</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 204 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 119 (Library of Congress transcript).



the risk of deep consumption. I hope my Lord of London will speedily relieve him.<sup>133</sup>

On the 27th of May, 1742, the wardens and vestrymen of Christ Church indited an humble address to the Bishop of London, calling attention to their request for a minister more than thirteen months before (April 23rd, 1741). They stated that since their petition had been sent, the Reverend Aeneas Ross had supplied the parish to such great satisfaction that they unanimously requested his appointment. Incidentally, they commended "his prudent conduct and indefatigable pains." Before an answer could be received, The Reverend Robert Jenney was sent with the license of the Bishop. On the 8th of July, the vestry wrote him of their compliance.<sup>134</sup>

With the appearance of this able and worthy man, the affairs of the parish assume a promising outlook. The story of the Pennsylvania Church is the story of struggle; outnumbered and accorded no political recognition or advantages, it was confronted by great difficulties. That its clergy were not conspicuous figures in the early history of the province was due, no doubt, to the strong partisan and religious prejudices so characteristic of the time; nevertheless, they were in most cases men of unimpeachable morality and integrity, industrious and conscientious. While the progress of the Church was slow, it was for the most part steady; and stable gains were made. Along with this growth, there was a corresponding lessening of traditional ill feeling; and the spirit of tolerance became more pronounced in the "city of brotherly love" and the outlying districts.

<sup>133</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 230, 231.

<sup>134</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 74-5; Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 11 (Library of Congress transcript).

## II.

## ROBERT JENNEY AND HIS MINISTRY

Robert Jenney, the son of Archdeacon Henry Jenney of Wanney Town, in north Ireland, was born in 1687. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree from Trinity College, Dublin, March 7th, 1709; it was certified that Robert Jenney, Bachelor of Arts and son to Dr. Jenney, Archdeacon of Dromore, resided in the College of Dublin for the space of six years, "during which time he behav'd himself soberly piously and studiously and all along distinguished himself by his singular Modesty and Industry."<sup>1</sup> On the 8th of June, 1710, the Bishop of Cloyne recommended him to the Bishop of London, for work in the plantations, he "being disappointed of a fellowship." He said in his letter: "I find he has a very good character, he is the son of a very worthy Clergyman that has a numerous family and is willing to dedicate this Son to that service."<sup>2</sup>

On the 27th of June, 1714, the young clergyman received the royal bounty, to defray the expenses of his passage to America.<sup>3</sup> He was appointed to serve in Pennsylvania, and thither he journeyed.

Arriving in Philadelphia, he found Christ Church in a "bleeding condition." The Reverend Francis Philipps, a clergyman of attractive personality but unworthy morals, had intruded himself into the parish without authority, but had built up a considerable following. When his removal became necessary for the good name and welfare of the Church, there was much bitterness of feeling. Philipps was made to appear a persecuted man. Jenney said: "Mr.

<sup>1</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 9, pp. 42-3 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>3</sup> Gerald Fothergill, *List of Emigrant Ministers to America, 1690-1811* (London, 1904), p. 37.

Philips at my arrival had such a good character here & was so well beloved by the People that it was impossible to dispossess him, & therefore he has continued to do the duty by turns with me." This letter was written January 4th, 1715.<sup>4</sup>

Shortly afterwards, Jenney left Pennsylvania. On the 5th of March, 1715, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts signified their consent that he remove to New York and become assistant to the Reverend William Vesey of Trinity Church.<sup>5</sup> The change was agreeable. June 29th of the same year, Jenney notified the Society that he had moved from Philadelphia in compliance with the Society's orders; he said that he had left Philadelphia in very great confusion because of the differences there, but had found the Church in New York "very well settled."<sup>6</sup> He also served as chaplain of the Fort of New York; and held services on specified Sundays, and on Wednesdays and Fridays.<sup>7</sup>

Mr. Jenney found himself drawn into teaching. He reported to the Secretary of the S. P. G., November 4th, 1717, that he had started teaching in New York, first, "Latin Greek &c. for the service of a particular Friend only," but "his design has now become more universal"; he had "in great measure removed that aversion to Literature beyond writing and Arithmetic, which did generally possess the Minds of the people." Though he had few pupils, the ones he had were "the chief of the English Dutch & French."<sup>8</sup>

On the 23rd of May, 1719, the Reverend Christopher Bridge, rector of the parish of Rye, passed away. At that time Mamaroneck, Bedford, and Scarsdale were all included

<sup>4</sup> William S. Perry, *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church* (Hartford, 1871), vol 2, (Pennsylvania), p. 81.

<sup>5</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 10, p. 268 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-3 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>7</sup> *Archives of General Convention* (New York, 1912), vol 4, pp. 34-5.

<sup>8</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 12, p. 350 (Library of Congress transcript).

in the parochial limits of Rye; and while the missionary enterprise had had the enthusiastic support of Colonel Caleb Heathcote, one of the most ardent churchmen of colonial America, it was a difficult field. The dissenters resisted the progress of the English Church; and after Bridge's death, they tried to get hold of the church building itself. Indeed, they held their assemblies in it for the next three years, during which time Rye was supplied by the neighbouring clergy.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Vesey informed the Society, May 23rd, 1722, that the people of Rye were much concerned over not having a minister. Some of them had joined with the dissenters in supporting a preacher whom they had lately invited to serve them. He added that Mr. Jenney was willing to go to Rye, provided the Society allowed him the usual salary of a missionary. As the people of Rye felt a great regard for Mr. Jenney, it was felt that he would reconcile their differences.<sup>10</sup> On the 17th of June, Jenney wrote that the vestry of Rye had chosen him their rector, under authority of the act of assembly. He desired, therefore, that the Society confirm this appointment.<sup>11</sup>

Jenney entered upon his mission with zeal, visiting the various townships. In about three years, he had held a number of baptisms and had added to the roster of communicants. The vestry were confident that his residence would effectually reconcile all differences in the parish, and heal the breaches occasioned by their long term without a minister. A parsonage and a glebe were provided for the rector's comfort and convenience.

In May, 1725, Mr. Jenney complained of bad health. "Ever since I came to this place the Ague & fever have duly

<sup>9</sup> David Humphrey, *Historical Account, S. P. G.* (New York, 1853), p. 212.

<sup>10</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 15, pp. 194-6 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 16, p. 187 (Library of Congress transcript).

attended me and my family . . . as the summer has come And although at present (I thank God) I am very well yet as sure as Harvest shall come so assuredly I expect the return of that troublesome Distemper." He asked that he be moved to Hempstead, should the Reverend John Thomas die. (Thomas was very sick; and died one week after the writing of this letter.)<sup>12</sup>

Mr. Jenney succeeded to the vacant parish of Hempstead, at the direction of the S. P. G. There he served for seventeen years, with splendid success. He received a salary of forty pounds from Hempstead, and twenty pounds from Oyster Bay. He lived in what he described as an "old, ruinous house, much out of repair, with three Acres of poor, worn-out land, the pasture of which will not support one horse."

Slavery was a recognised institution at that time; and Mr. Jenney owned a Negro man and woman with one child. He did not regard them as mere chattels, however; and he was very solicitous for their spiritual and moral welfare. In a letter written before he left Rye (November 19th, 1725), he described his attitude towards the Negroes.

It has always been my practice to use all proper Motives I can think of, to bring my own Negroe Slaves to a regular practice of the Moral Dutys, in which most of their Colour are very loose, but without which I cannot conceive that they have any title to Church Membership, nor consequently to Baptism. . . . [My slaves] I oblige constantly to be present at our family devotion: And the two Adults to attend the publick service of the Church by turns, & to take the Child along with them. . . . This I doe to try whether good influence our own & the practice of others will have upon them, to bring them not only to the knowledge, but also the practice of Religious Dutys: But all this together with my private Instruction in the family, have not had so good success as to influence me to give them the Benefit of Baptism as yet. But as to the children, altho born of unbelieving parents, I have always been of opinion that they ought to be baptised, provided their Masters & Mistresses will engage for them: which is my practice in my family.

Although there were not many slaves in his parish, he found the owners indifferent to their religious nurture. They did

<sup>12</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 1, no. 102 (Library of Congress transcript).

not concern themselves over having the slaves baptised; and grave difficulties arose in connection with the marriage relation.

As to my parish, There are very few Slaves in it, & the people generally so poor that they are not able to purchase any. And amongst the few that we have, I know of no more than two (both men) that are baptised. . . . In those that have Negroes I find littel or no Disposition to have them baptised; But on the contrary an Aversion to it in some, & in most an Indifference: Some are so profane as to say that they do not think that Baptism will be of any service to them, And there are many that think it does them hurt by giving them better Notions of themselves than is consistent with their state of Slavery & their duty to their Masters. . . . These therefore with whom I am generally to treat upon this Subject having (if any) a very superficial sence of their obligation to Relligious Dutys, are not easily influenced by Arguments drawn from Relligious Topicks. . . .

I find my selfe entangled in two considerable Difficultys. The first relating to their suretys: There are scarce any Masters or Mistresses, if they are willing that their Slaves be baptised, that will be prevailed with to engage for them as their suretys, Much less will Christian freemen engage for the slaves of another person: And whether or no it would be proper to accept of those who are not Masters of themselves as suretys for others I leave to the determination of my superiours, for my part I cannot help thinking it improper, tho' I confess it is practiced in these parts. So that we the Ministers are entangled in this inevitable Dilemma; Either we must refuse Baptism to slaves that deserve it And this is uncharitable; Or baptise them without suretys, And this is a Disobedience to the Rubrick & Canons of our Church; Or Accept of the suretyship of Slaves for Slaves, which most of us think improper.

The other Difficulty relates to their Marriage, arising from their Irregularitys therein, & some Circumstances which make it almost impossible that they can be join'd together till death parts them. Then irregularitys arise from an Opinion, almost natural to them, that they may change their wives upon every Disgust; And if any of them are weaned from that wicked Custome, yet is not their Marrying free from Difficultys & Inconveniencies, whether they are both in the same or in different familys. If Christian persons live together as Man & Wife without marriage, they live in fornication; And if they are marryed they must not be parted, for whom God hath join'd together let no man put asunder: Hence it will follow that if both partyes are in the same famely the Master lys under an Obligation either to keep both or sell both, let his Necessitys be never so pressing, which often obliges men to Sell one when the other cannot be spared. And if they are in different familys (as is most usual) then the removal of one of the familys to a different part of the Country at some considerable distance is a parting of Man & Wife.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 1, no. 78 (Library of Congress transcript).

This letter reveals a sympathetic understanding of the Negro's rights as a human being and a child of God, which characterised Mr. Jenney's whole ministry.

On the 1st of July, 1726, Mr. Jenney wrote to the Society that he had moved to Hempstead, after resigning the parish of Rye to the Reverend James Wetmore.

My Reception by the Members of our Church here & some of a contrary profession has been so kind & hearty as to give me great hopes of a comfortable & peaceable Living amongst them & . . . of success in the performance of my Duty I observe with pleasure a full Church & have great hopes that the Congregation, will rather encrease than diminish. The Church indeed is but a mean & shamefull Building But the Congregation is generally large & the Behaviour & Attention of a good number thereof is such as gives Encouragement to the Labour & Pains which I foresee I must take in so large a parish.

The widow of his predecessor (Mr. Thomas) had made it difficult. She had carried off some of the flooring of the house, and had left the farm in bad condition; besides, she refused to give up the parish library which had been donated by the Society, and had taken the folio prayer book from the Church. She was slow in giving up the house; and it would have been lost but for the prudent management of one Daniel Denton, schoolmaster at Hempstead, who had been put in possession by the wardens. Jenney recommended Denton as a fit person for appointment by the Society as schoolmaster.<sup>14</sup> (Daniel Denton was appointed by the S. P. G. as schoolmaster at Oyster Bay, doubtless because of Mr. Jenney's words in his behalf).

In August, 1725, Jenney visited Huntington, Suffolk county; and performed a marriage. This was the earliest visit paid by an Anglican priest. A meeting house had been built there in 1665; and William Leveredge, one of the early settlers, was a Cambridge University man and had been ordained in the English Church. But he had adhered to the

<sup>14</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 1, no. 74 (Library of Congress transcript).

cause of Parliament and had become Independent in religion. The people of Huntington worshipped together in their meeting house until 1740. The preaching of Whitefield had a good deal to do with causing some of them to seek the Church of England.<sup>15</sup>

In his report to the Society, September 8th, 1729, Jenney stated that he preached every third Sunday at Oyster Bay, and the other two at Hempstead; and had encouraging congregations at both places, especially at Hempstead.

At both places especially at Oysterbay the Quakers notions prevail very much & there are a few presbyterians at Hempsted who have an unordained preacher as probationer to officiate for them whom they could not support were it not for the assistance which they receive from their Brethren in the neighbouring parish of Jamaica notwithstanding which they do not gain upon me.<sup>16</sup>

By the 10th of July, 1731, Mr. Jenney was able to report that he had received into Church by baptism thirty children, of whom five were slaves, and ten adults (including four slaves); that his congregations varied according to the weather; and that he catechised every Sunday afternoon during the summer, and lectured on the Catechism.<sup>17</sup> There were problems that arose in regard to the schools at both Hempstead and Oyster Bay; and it was necessary for him to take a stand in the matter. Thomas Gildersleeve at the former place was beginning to fail and had reached the place where assistance was needed; while Denton had provoked antagonism in the Oyster Bay community.

In the meantime, Jenney was accomplishing such good results at Hempstead that the congregation outgrew its building, and decided to erect a new one. This larger and better structure was opened for worship on the 23rd of April, 1735, in the presence of Governor Cosby of the

<sup>15</sup> *Archives of General Convention*, vol. 4, p. 428.

<sup>16</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 2, no. 55 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>17</sup> S. P. G. Series A, vol. 23, p. 334 (Library of Congress transcript).



province. *The New York Gazette* of April 28 gives the following account:

On Tuesday the 22d of this instant His Excellency Our Governor with his Lady and Family . . . proceeded to Hempstead. . . . The next Day being St. George's Day the Regiment of Militia and Troop being drawn up on either side from Mr. Jenney's house to the Church, His Excellency, attended by the most considerable Gentlemen of the Country, walked to the Church, where a very excellent Sermon was preach'd . . . by the Rev'd Mr. Jenney on the following words [from Psalm 84: 1, 2,] "How amiable are thy tabernacles."

The charter was presented to the Church; and there was a generous offering on that occasion. The Governor gave the King's arms, painted and gilded; and there were other gifts. Mr. Vesey and the members of Trinity contributed about fifty pounds.<sup>18</sup>

Jenney's ministry in New York was earnest and conscientious; he was not in the field of unusual progress, and the results were not spectacular. Nevertheless his work attracted attention; and with the vacancy in Christ Church, Philadelphia, he was taken into consideration as the man to pilot that growing parish through its difficulties and into prosperity. None other than Thomas Penn brought the matter to Jenney's attention. In a letter written to him from London, December 23rd, 1741, this man, whose family interests had been identical with the prosperity of Philadelphia since its founding, wrote Mr. Jenney that he felt that he would be more acceptable in that city than anyone else, if the Reverend Richard Peters was not appointed; but he warned him to be sure of a welcome reception before accepting the call. The Bishop of London insists on his right of presentation, while the people firmly believe that the Bishop has no right at all, said Mr. Penn; hence Mr. Jenney's appointment would be resisted as a matter of principle if it appeared an imposition from the outside.

<sup>18</sup> S. P. G. Abstract, 1735, p. 58.

"They will never receive you on this footing & will dispute it to the last with his Lordship."<sup>19</sup>

Mr. Jenney, who was then abroad, wrote Mr. Penn in reply, from Harrymont, near Lurgan, in the north of Ireland (January 14th, 1742), that by the King's letter the Bishop of London has authority over the churches in America, and therefore every congregation in America is bound to have its ministers licensed by him and to choose none but those to whom he can in conscience and prudence grant a license. "This I hope will be observed by the Congregation of the Church of England in Philadelphia, otherwise I cannot help thinking that they throw of the Jurisdiction of your Bishop & consequently cease to be a part of the Church of England to whose Constitution the Government by Bishops is essential." He remarked that the Bishop of London had made no offer of the parish to him.<sup>20</sup>

Mr. Jenney's loyalty to the Church was also declared in his letter to the Secretary of the Society, written the same day. In it he voices his fear that he cannot be serviceable to the Church in Philadelphia.

I hope Mr. Penn will not take amiss what I write to him: But I think it is the truth, & that he, being of another Relligion or rather none at all, ought not to interfere in this matter, but leave the Congregation to choose their Minister according to the Rules of the Church of which they profess themselves members.

Although in his fifty-fourth year, with the journey from Hempstead to Oyster Bay very hard on him, he stood ready to return to his Long Island field if he could not be settled in peace at Philadelphia. It was his intention to return to America in the spring.<sup>21</sup>

Thomas Penn had mistaken both Jenney and the church-people of Philadelphia, if he thought that the one would

<sup>19</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 201 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 241 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 120 (Library of Congress transcript).

act counter to the policies of the ecclesiastical authority or that the others would obstinately oppose a clergyman sent by the Bishop of London. The fact is, the members of Christ Church were eager for a minister; and when their efforts to secure one failed, they were ready to turn to any man of good credentials and unblemished reputation. On the 12th of October, 1742, Jenney wrote the wardens and vestrymen of Christ Church from New York that he had arrived in America, and had received their letter of compliance with the Bishop's license; but he wished to have their assurance of his standing among them.

Whereas I am credibly informed that there are divisions amongst you, and that some oppose my settlement there; and considering that I am easy in my parish of Hempstead, and am indulged by my superiors the liberty of choosing in which place to settle, I must beg the favour to be informed how that affair stands, and withal whether I may depend upon being instated in the same rights and privileges which the late reverend Mr. Cummings enjoyed, without which I cannot think of removing from Hempstead.<sup>22</sup>

The vestry replied, inviting Jenney to enter upon his duties there, with the same advantages and privileges accorded Mr. Cummings. On the 8th of November, Jenney produced his license from the Bishop of London, and accepted the Reverend Aeneas Ross as his assistant at Christ Church.<sup>23</sup> Two weeks later, Ross informed the Society that Jenney had been affectionately received and inducted by the vestry, and was removing his family from New York.<sup>24</sup>

Soon after his installation as rector, Mr. Jenney was constituted Commissary by the Bishop of London; thus he was empowered to supervise Church affairs throughout the province. The commission bore the date of January 4th, 1743. In acknowledging this honour and responsibility, Mr. Jenney said (June 24th, 1743):

<sup>22</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 77.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 78-80.

<sup>24</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 10, no. 119 (Library of Congress transcript).

Your Lordship may depend upon my best Endeavors to answer Your Expectations in executing the Trust You have reposed in me. . . .

I thank God my Congregation appears at present perfectly easy and at peace among themselves; which they prove to be sincere and from their Hearts by a liberal Contribution towards the finishing of the Church, which hath been at a Stand, nothing but an outside shell, for many Years, and they are now Proceeding upon it with great alacrity and Generosity.

He had received some tracts that had been sent; and he took occasion to report the results of the Reverend George Whitefield's visits.

The party set up by Whitefield here hath affected the Presbyterians much more than the Church, not above two or three of Character having left us, but the Presbyterians are almost broken to pieces; one of their Preachers told me that he hath scarce a Dozen Hearers, when any of these Vagrant Preachers (as he calls them), holds forth at Whitefield's Building.

There is also a great Schism in Whitefield's Congregation, occasioned by the German Count who hath drawn off a great party from him.

They hold distinct meetings, and are as warm against one another as against other sects of Religion. . . . If he [Whitefield] should come, God only knows what influence his presence may have upon a fickle, inconstant People, as the generality of the Common sort here are. In the mean time I shall continue to do my Duty to the utmost of my Power, leaving the Issue to the Providence of God.<sup>25</sup>

Soon after Jenney's arrival, the Reverend Aeneas Ross began to devote more of his time to the missionary work at Oxford and Whitemarsh. He found that he could no longer do justice to the demands in Philadelphia, because of his health; and he resigned his position as assistant. He was a good man, and lived on excellent terms with the dissenters.

As Commissary of the Bishop of London, Jenney convened the clergy at Philadelphia in September, 1743. Reports were submitted from the different mission stations and churches; and it was possible to appraise the needs of the province more intelligently. On the basis of the information thus received, Jenney was able to make recommendations to the Society.

<sup>25</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 234-5.

On the 26th of January, 1744, he wrote that the Church in Philadelphia "is in perfect peace & the Congregation very numerous. Our only difficulty being to find room in the Church for those who want seats & are willing to Pay if they could have them." The work was very hard, as there were so many needing attention. He attributed the lack of results among the negroes to there being no catechist for them; and he urged that the Society send one, as the negroes offered a great opportunity. "And the numerousness of our Congregation makes the Duty exceeding Severe upon me, too much for one especially of my age to go thro' with & indeed I expect to be soon worn out by the fatigue of it."<sup>26</sup>

The minutes of Christ Church for the 27th of August, 1744, state that the building was at last complete.

The church wardens report that the church is now happily finished, and that workmen were agreed with, and materials purchased to proceed on rebuilding and regulating the seats; and that they had proposed for the better accommodating the congregation with seats, to make the width thereof two feet eight inches, according to the size of seats of the kind in some other places; but it being observed that the seats in St. Martin's church in London were two feet nine inches wide, resolved that the width of the long seats in the body of the church be two feet and nine inches, and no more.<sup>27</sup>

(It was not until 1755 that the steeple was finished and the "ring of eight bells" hung in their present place.<sup>28</sup>) Dr. John Kearsley was commended by the committee appointed to settle and audit the accounts, it appearing that he "has been at great pains and trouble, beside an almost constant attendance, both in the providing and agreeing with proper workmen, for the several sorts of employments, and the payment to them in almost numberless small articles. And we are of opinion that the uniformity and beauty of the structure, so

<sup>26</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 235-6.

<sup>27</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>28</sup> William S. Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church* (Boston, 1885), vol. 1, p. 239.

far as it appears now finished, is greatly owing to the assiduity, care, pains, and labour of him the said Doctor John Kearsley, and that he stands fully entitled to the thanks and particular acknowledgments of the vestry, and also of the congregation, and that he should be entreated to continue his farther care and circumspection henceforth for the completion thereof."<sup>29</sup>

During the year 1745 there was a bit of unpleasantness between Jenney and his former assistant, Aeneas Ross, caused by the fact that Ross seemed to be encroaching on the bounds of the Philadelphia parish and holding marriages without the rector's consent. Ross argued that there were no definite parochial bounds within the province and that he had acted in accordance with his rights; but he prudently relinquished his claims and left Jenney in charge of the field.<sup>30</sup>

On the 14th of November, 1745, Jenney wrote that Philadelphia is infested with Popery and schisms. "There is scarce a Missionary but complains of one or other & many of both & I know no more likely remedy for this Misfortune than a Catechist in this City. There is not in New York the least face of Popery & they have made a noble stand there against the Vagrant Preachers of Faction & Schism which I can attribute to nothing so much as the Industry of Mr. Charleton in the duty of a Catechist." Since there were so many Negro slaves, some provision should be made for their instruction. The Negroes were inclined to be religious. "I have Baptized many & never administered the Lord's Supper without several of them." Furthermore, the work of the parish was too great for a single person to handle; an assistant was needed.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 86-8.

<sup>30</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 240-2.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7.

On April 8th, 1746, the Society informed the vestry of Christ Church, that they were offering a salary of thirty pounds for "settling a catechetical lecturer in the church in Philadelphia, for the instruction of Negroes and others." They requested that, if a suitable person could be found, he be sent over to England to receive ordination. The suitable young man was found in William Sturgeon, a graduate of Yale, highly recommended by the Reverend Samuel Johnson of Stratford, Connecticut; and it was arranged to send Mr. Sturgeon to England to receive holy orders and to secure the appointment of a catechist for Philadelphia and assistant to Dr. Jenney. Sturgeon, on his return, was duly accepted by the vestry of Christ Church, on presentation of the certificate of the S. P. G.<sup>32</sup> Sturgeon continued his services in Philadelphia till 1766, when he resigned from ill health. He died November 5th, 1772. "His career was one of uninterrupted usefulness. His labors among the Negroes and others met with great success, and his faithfulness won not only the reward of souls, but secured for this devoted catechist the appreciation and material aid of the parish at large."<sup>33</sup>

Sturgeon's work in Philadelphia was in accord with the vision which had been Mr. Jenney's for years—the uplift of the Negro race. Though his duties to Mr. Jenney as assistant at Christ Church were considerable, he threw himself heartily into the teaching of that benighted race. On the 29th of April, 1749, he advised the Society: "I keep my Eye Steadily on the great Work of catechizing and instructing the Negroes, and spare no pains to gain over these poor ignorant Souls to the Knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ." He catechised the white children every Friday after prayers, while on Sunday nights he taught the Catechism to a

<sup>32</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 89-91, 93-4.

<sup>33</sup> Perry, *American Episcopal Church*, vol. I, p. 240.

number of Negroes of all ages, afterwards reading them "a plain Lecture on the Several Parts of our admirable Catechism which I endeavour to adapt to their Capacities and to the gradual Improvement which I observe they make." He had fifty Negroes in attendance by then; and sometimes "a tolerable Audience of the lower Sort of the Congregation."<sup>34</sup> The wardens and vestry regarded his work with approval, and informed the Society that he had rendered himself agreeable to the congregation, "& considering the Youth, & the stinted Education given in the American Colledges, he discharges extremely well the offices of his Functions."<sup>35</sup>

A notable event of the middle of the century was the establishment of the college at Philadelphia. Benjamin Franklin was very industrious in promoting the project; and Dr. Samuel Johnson, the Church of England clergyman at Stratford, Connecticut, was urged to assume the presidency. Even after Johnson declined the offer, he was consulted by Franklin. It was Franklin's desire that no religious body or sect should dominate the enterprise, and he was disappointed when Anglican influences seemed to get the upper hand. The building erected as a tabernacle for the Reverend Mr. Whitefield was used for the academy; and it was an Anglican clergyman, the Reverend William Smith, who became the first provost. Franklin's relations with Smith were not pleasant; but the latter proved an efficient and capable head, and a successful factor in putting the infant college on a stable foundation.

In the meantime, Dr. Jenney was having his troubles in winning the people to the Church's viewpoint. On the 26th of October, 1749, he wrote:

The Members of our Church are not the richest in the place, the Richest generally centering in the Quakers & high Dutch, who are very

<sup>34</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 17, no. 147 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, no. 145 (Library of Congress transcript).



numerous & carry all before them. And our Church labours under a very great Discouragement as we have no legal Establishment (as they have at New York) not so much as a Charter of Incorporation to enable us to manage our Business to the best Advantage. And it is a very great misfortune to us, that many of our people having been born in the place & conversed always with Quakers, are so much tainted with their way of thinking as to have very slight notions of an outward Visible Church & Sacraments which gives the Minister very great Trouble in many Respects.<sup>36</sup>

Dr. Jenney also began to feel that he was not being treated fairly by the vestry. In a letter, written October 13th, 1740, he said:

We have some Men in this Congregation who, having a great Oppinion of their own extraordinary parts & Qualities, think they shew them best by creating Trouble & Vexation to their Minister. This I am told hath long been the practice here, & they are now treating me in the same Manner. Through the Carelessness of the Generality of the Congregation as to the Election of Vestry-Men they get themselves & those whom they can influence chosen into the Vestry, & are thereby enabled to catch at all Opportunities (which they never fail in) to make their Minister uneasy.

He complained that the vestrymen had worked him out of the rents of the pews, which had been stipulated for his maintenance upon a promise of certain salary, "which they are so slack in paying that I am apprehensive they design to starve me out." He was so discouraged that he begged that the Society would give him leave to move to a vacant mission. He had been in the service of the Society since 1714, and deserved consideration on account of his age.<sup>37</sup>

The Secretary of the S. P. G. answered Dr. Jenney's letter, by giving him permission to remove to a vacant parish in case of his being starved out in Philadelphia, but restricting him to a vacancy in the province of Pennsylvania. Jenney wrote, June 20th, 1751, that he was sorry for the restriction, because he would not choose to remain in the same province if he were obliged to leave the city. He blamed the Reverend

<sup>36</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 17, nos. 159-60 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, vol. 18, no. 151 (Library of Congress transcript).

Mr. Peters for starting the trouble; and said that it was not his choice to move to Christ Church at all, having been informed of the annoyance which Peters had formerly given Mr. Cummings, "and the rather because he continueth to have the interest of the great men here, which made me apprehensive of Danger from that Quarter." He had accepted largely on the assurance of Mr. Thomas Penn, the proprietor, who had promised to write Mr. Peters to lay aside all thought of the ministry at Christ Church and to become the new rector's friend. Mr. Peters had promised him his support on his arrival in the city, and he had felt that all obstacles were removed. Then difficulties arose through the jealousy of the Ross family—the Reverend George Ross of New Castle, who wished to be the Bishop's Commissary, and his son Aeneas, who expected to be rector of Christ Church, and trespassed on his prerogatives. Another son, John Ross, had stirred up trouble. Jenney had been kept out of the pew rents, in violation of his early agreement with the vestry. There was even a movement to start another church in opposition to Dr. Jenney; and the Academy, sponsored on latitudinarian principles, was crippling the Church's school.<sup>38</sup>

Dr. Jenney was painfully aware that his position as Commissary of the Bishop of London was not respected in the province. In a letter to Bishop Sherlock, May 23rd, 1751, he said:

The patent of the late Bishop did not seem to justify his Commissary in any Judicial Proceedings: The Laity laughed at it, & the Clergy seemed to dispise it, nor did there appear at Home a Disposition to shew any Regard to it: The Commissary was no otherwise regarded there than to be made the Instrument of conveying Letters, Books &c to the Missionaries, as he lives conveniently for that purpose in the Chief place of Commerce where the Ships from & for London are for the most part only to be found. One Instance of the Laity's Contempt of my Commission I have found in two gentlemen (one a Lawyer) who insulted me most rudely for not condemning a Clergyman unheard, & refusing to send to the honourable Society their charge against him without giving

<sup>38</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 19, no. 103 (Library of Congress transcript).

him an Opportunity . . . of justifying himself against it. Your Lordship observes that the Bishop of Londons Jurisdiction was by the Patent extended only to the Clergy: But even the Clergy seemed not to take much Notice of it. One has given me under his Hand that my Commission from the Bishop was far from being unexceptionable: Another spoke of it with such a sneer as plainly Discovered a Contempt. . . . Besides the Clergy Settled here we have some Ministers whom we may call Vagabonds having come without License or appointed Settlement. There are also some who come hither for their Health (chiefly from the hotter Climates) Some of these are exceeding faulty in their Behaviour, & some deistical both in their preaching & Conversation . . . Yet if the Commissary does not take notice of them he is laughed at by the profane, & blamed by those who are religious: But he is obliged to bear the Reflections of both through an Apprehension that his Commission will not bear him out if he should proceed against them.

In the province of Pennsylvania it is asserted, said Dr. Jenney, "that our Church is only tolerated by Mr. Penn the Proprietor; & he thinks himself justified in saying so by the Words of that clause in the Proprietours Charter which was put in for the Security of our Church and he proceeded so far as to assert that neither the Cannons nor Rubrick have any Force in this province."<sup>39</sup>

So apprehensive was Dr. Jenney that his efforts would be frustrated by the more powerful elements in the province who had no sympathy with the Church, that he expressed a fear lest the books intended for his parish might be diverted to the public library—the one of which Benjamin Franklin was a patron. In a letter to the Society, October 30th, 1751, after expressing his regret that he had ever left Hempstead, where he had "lived in Peace & Quietness," he alluded to a legacy of books which the Society had advised him would be sent him—the legacy of a worthy clergyman.

You will be pleased to be very express in your Letter with them particularly mentioning the Church-Library, to which they will make a good Addition for our Use. The Foundation of our present Library is a present made by Queen Anne, to which several Additions have been made by persons well disposed to our Church. The Reason for my desiring you to be so cautious is, Because we have a publick Library in the State-

<sup>39</sup> Fulham Mss., Pennsylvania, no. 184 (Library of Congress transcript).

House; and some persons are incorporated by the Proprietaries Charter by the name of the Library Company, very few of which are Friends to our or any Religion; and if the manner of expressing the gift of those Books can be strained to Favour that Library, or is in general Terms for Philadelphia, they being a Corporation will claim them & take them from us. Some of the Vestry men have talked of building a Room adjoining to the parsonage House for the Church Library, & I make no doubt of its being done when the Books arrive.<sup>40</sup>

While Dr. Jenney was able to say to the Secretary of the Society, November 18th, 1752, that things in the Church were going smoothly, "waiting (I suppose) the direction of the proprietaries, especially the elder of the two, Mr. Thomas Penn," he added that the Church in these parts was never likely to be better than "a tool to the Politics of great men, who are not always her friends, and scarcely ever longer than they can make her instrumental in promoting their designs;" and needed to be "cleared of that dependance by some kind of Church government upon the spot."<sup>41</sup>

About this time a lottery was being arranged for raising funds for finishing the steeple of Christ Church. The vestry appointed twelve managers, one of whom was Benjamin Franklin. The sum secured proving insufficient, it was agreed in the vestry in 1753 that "a sum equal to that already raised, to be applied for finishing the steeple, purchasing a ring of bells, and a good clock" be attained by a supplement to the lottery. The last lottery was drawn in June, 1753. Franklin was a pew-holder in Christ Church, but never a vestryman; from his *Autobiography*, it is evident that his interest in the Church (or any religious body) would be more civic than religious. He speaks of a number of clergymen with esteem, and always of religion with respect, but there is always a distrust of what he would have regarded as the sectarian or ecclesiastical spirit.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>40</sup> S. P. G. Series B, vol. 16, no. 105 (Library of Congress transcript).

<sup>41</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 183-4.

<sup>42</sup> See Franklin's *Autobiography* (many editions); Thomas H. Montgomery, *History of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1900), p. 378.

Dr. Jenney acquainted his vestry on March 19th, 1753, with the fact that some gentlemen of the southern end of the city intended to build a new church and desired his encouragement and opinion. This was a step towards the erection of St. Peter's Church; although nothing further was done in the matter for five years.<sup>43</sup> On August 1st, 1754, eighty-six gentlemen memorialised the Proprietaries of the province, praying for a grant of 114 feet on the west side of Third Avenue, for a churchyard and lot. The grant was made of the lot at Third and Pine, from the Free Society of Traders, who originally owned the land. This lot was subsequently enlarged by purchases, extending the churchyard to Fourth Street. It was not until September 21st, 1758, that the cornerstone of St. Peter's was laid.<sup>44</sup>

On the 14th of May, 1755, the College and Academy of Philadelphia was made a corporation of twenty-four trustees, with a faculty to consist of a provost, a vice-provost, and as many professors as the trustees should see fit to appoint. Originally eighteen of the twenty-four trustees were Church of England men. Although the trustees did not provide that the head of the college should always be in the communion of the Church of England, as was the case in King's College, New York, they had from the beginning, when they acted without a charter, always had a churchman as the head, and "had resolved that it would be always best to continue Things on this Footing, as well because every Society was willing to prefer one of this Persuasion to all others except their own, as also on Account of the Number of West-India Youths always sent to them for Education. . . . They therefore got themselves incorporated with general and unlimited Powers to 'constitute and appoint, in such manner as they should think best and convenient, a Provost, Vice-provost,

<sup>43</sup> *St. Peter's Parish, Philadelphia*, sesquicentennial number, 1911, p. xxiv.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. xxiv-xxv; Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 536-7.

and other Professors, &c.,' knowing that they would always think it best to have a Churchman at the Head of the Seminary. . . . But tho' the Trustees of the College of Philadelphia proceeded with this Caution in respect to any exclusive Clause, yet does the Charter in the very Body of it constitute a Clergyman of the Church as the first Provost of the College, leading the way by a sort of Prescription to all future appointments of a chief Master."<sup>46</sup> Dr. William Smith was not only a leader in educational matters but an active priest of the Church of England, desirous of strengthening the influence of the Church throughout the province. In fact, he encountered much opposition and criticism because of his decided zeal.

In the midst of these activities, Dr. Jenney was gradually failing. He is not mentioned prominently in connection with them, but he was a keen observer and doubtless had a larger part in the promotion of the same than appears from the letters extant. In 1757, he was afflicted by palsy; and it was apparent to his parishioners that his active ministry would soon be over. (He was then seventy years of age.) The vestry requested that he give his advice, pending the emergency which might confront them; and in response, he penned a long letter, in which he discussed the status of the Church and the particular needs of the parish.

He reviewed the foundation upon which the Church stood, as defined in the Royal Charter given by King Charles the Second to William Penn—"the Benefit of one Clause wherein our Church enjoys at this Day."

In that Clause we observe that the Proprietor hath no more to do with our Church than another Man, excepting that he is obliged to defend her from all such Insults which she may be liable to from a Sett of Men professing a Religion widely different from ours. In the same Clause we find

<sup>46</sup> Statement made in 1762 to the Archbishop of Canterbury upon the principles of which a collection was made in England (reprinted in Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 570-1).

that the Choice of Nomination of the Minister is not left to the Members of the Congregation, but they are only to desire the Bishop of London under their Hands to send them one, at least that the one sent be approved by him.

In considering a minister of Christ Church—his successor—“as I make no Doubt of [the Bishops’] approving the one whom ye will recommend, provided he be one whom he can with a safe Conscience allow of, ” the vestry are urged to consider how solemn their duty is, in whose presence they are, in whose cause they are immediately engaged, and of how great consequence the selection may be.

As the Person whom Ye choose is to stand in the Place of God to your Congregation, & dispense to every one of You those lively Oracles upon which your future Happiness, even eternal Salvation, doth greatly depend; So I hope ye will employ your best Judgment in pitching upon one whom ye think the most qualify’d for Piety, moral Behavior, & prudent Conduct, & that he be thoroughly attached to the Church & her Doctrine, Rules, & Way of Worship. This to be sure is the first thing to be considered in the Minister ye shall recommend; But there are other things also carefully to be observed in him. In the first place he must not be under any prepossession or Attachment which may lead him into such an Obligation to any great Man as may lay him under a Necessity of abetting his political Designs, which may run counter to the Interest of your Church. . . . In the next Place, Gentlemen, ye are carefully to be caution’d against recommending a Minister who hath any Slur upon his Reputation in regard to his Morals, lest Advantage may be taken from thence by those who are ill disposed in his Congregation to Justify their own misbehaviours; And also an evil Report be put into the mouths of those who are Enemies to our Church to her great Damage & Disreputation. Ye cannot but be sensible that we are encompassed about with Enemies as malicious as they are unreasonable; and that they will not let pass such a Reflection as the immoral Behavior of the minister of the Church, which they malign, doth afford against her. If they can charge him with any Crime odious in the Sight of modest & honest men; whether relating to Chastity, as Poligamy, Adultery, or Fornication, &c.; or to Justice, as unfair or double Dealings, &c., or to Prudence in his Behavior to others, such as Pride, Arrogance, Self-sufficiency, or such a Conceit of himself as overbears others; They will industriously propagate it, never forgetting it as long as he lives, even though the Crime may be of never so long a Duration. . . . So it may be certainly said of the Minister of a Parish that he will never expunge a bad Character that hath once been Justly fix’d upon him; Yea, though he is only suspected.

Dr. Jenney commended the Reverend Mr. Sturgeon to the vestry, as one who was "affectionate to the Church, sound in his Principles, moral in his Behaviour, and prudent in his Conduct. . . . I am sure he hath been a faithful & painful minister to you, especially ever since my unfortunate paralytical Disorder hath put it out of my Power to perform that Part of the Divine Offices along with him."<sup>46</sup>

It was impossible for Dr. Jenney to continue exercising his active ministry and the duties of Christ Church devolved upon the faithful assistant and catechist, Mr. Sturgeon. What was described as a palsy was in reality a stroke of paralysis; and the elderly clergyman had become an invalid. The formal opening of the school for Negroes, in November, 1758, through the benevolence of the Associates of Dr. Bray, must have been gratifying to a man who had long emphasized the importance of ministering to that group of people.

On the 7th of February, 1759, the wardens and vestry of Christ Church appealed to the Bishop of London for help. They stated that Dr. Jenney had been for two years "afflicted with a paralytick and asthmatic disorder, which renders him incapable of performing any ministerial duty; and it seems likely to continue, so that we have scarce any hopes of his ever being able to officiate again, as he is now seventy years old." The Reverend Mr. Sturgeon "supplies our church himself in all the parts of the ministerial office, the duties of which are now very great. This has become a large and populous city, and in great need of more churches; for want of which we lose our people among the many societies of dissenters, with which this city abounds; and some who are not inclined to join them stay at home for want of room at church." For this reason, the vestry resolved to build another church. "It is to be a neat and handsome

<sup>46</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 246-50.



building . . . founded on a lot of ground given for that purpose by our honourable proprietaries."<sup>47</sup>

In the spring of that year, the Reverend William MacClenaghan appeared in Philadelphia and preached in Christ Church. He made a favourable impression on the people by his eloquence and charm; and a movement was begun to secure him as an assistant in conjunction with Mr. Sturgeon. The vestry persuaded him to remain in the city, and even engaged him to act as assistant extraordinary, offering to support him by private subscription. MacClenaghan, however, was under obligation to a parish in Virginia, where he had accepted a call; in fact, he was on his way to New England to bring his family down to Virginia when he stopped in Philadelphia. The Bishop of London did not feel that he could license him in view of his broken pledge; and this refusal caused much resentment. It would seem that the return of young Jacob Duché, a native of Philadelphia, a graduate of the new college, and the son of a vestryman of Christ Church and a prominent citizen, would reconcile the people to their supposed loss; for Duché returned about that time with the license of the Lord Bishop as assistant in Christ Church. But MacClenaghan had friends, who persisted in their desire to see him appointed assistant; and Dr. Jenney, who had allowed him the use of the pulpit of Christ Church before he knew the circumstances, was compelled to withdraw this permission, and insist that Mr. Duché was the proper appointee. The congregation retorted that, "in Mr. MacClenaghan's present state and settlement among us, we shall ever consider him invested with all the powers necessary for the discharge of any duties pertaining to his Office, as fully as if he had his Lordship's license"; and that "his Lordship's license means nothing here, as we humbly apprehend, without a previous presentation from

<sup>47</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 116-7.

the people." This attitude was extreme; while Christ Church had sometimes shown itself restive, it had always complied with the Bishop's desires. The vestry had grown accustomed to selecting the rector, and asking for the approval and license of the diocesan. MacClenaghan himself aided and abetted this spirit of resistance; when he could no longer hold services in Christ Church, he obtained the use of part of the State House, and proceeded to set up a separate congregation. Despairing of the license of the Bishop of London, his friends joined with him in an application to the Archbishop of Canterbury; but the Archbishop replied, rebuking MacClenaghan for applying to him in a matter which concerned only the Bishop of London. Undaunted, MacClenaghan remained in Philadelphia, gathering a nucleus of followers around him although the better judgment of the wardens and vestrymen of Christ Church caused them to remain loyal to Dr. Jenney and the Bishop. He wrote letters back to England, criticising the conduct of the missionaries and the way in which the funds of the S. P. G. were distributed, and alleging that it was from base and unworthy motives that he was not allowed to officiate. More than a year after his arrival, Dr. Jenney notified him that he had allowed him the use of his Church on the solicitation of sundry persons in his congregation; but his non-conformity and his failure to obtain the proper license had compelled him to refuse the same. "May God forgive you the disturbance you have made in my congregation, and the uneasiness you have added to those which the Hand of Heaven and Infirmities of Age had already laid upon me." MacClenaghan continued a disturbing factor for about two years after his appearance; slowly his following weakened, and he left the city.<sup>48</sup> His stay was an unfortunate episode in the

<sup>48</sup> The MacClenaghan correspondence is considerable, some of it being in various archives and manuscript collections. See Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, pp. 295ff; Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, pp. 118-20.

colonial Church; his vehement denunciations of the Anglican clergy and the methods employed by them fanned the flames of adverse criticism and gave the opponents of the Church the very handle which they desired. The Church was made to loom as intolerant, bigoted, and unreasonable; and the dissenters freely used the arguments with which Mac-Clenaghan supplied them and, in the subsequent controversies, represented him as the victim of narrowness and injustice.

When the convention of the clergy was held in Philadelphia, beginning April 30th, Dr. Jenney was unable to attend; the Reverend Dr. William Smith presided. Jenney submitted an explanation of his attitude toward Mac-Clenaghan, which met with the approval of the group. An address was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which it was stated:

It is with concern, my Lord, we are compelled to observe, that the more flourishing and populous our Colonies become, the more alarming is our situation. Seminaries of Learning are now erected in many of the most noted Provinces, particularly in the City of Philadelphia under the conduct of Professors of approved worth, whose Abilities are every way equal to such a Task.

The Inhabitants of this Country of European Extraction are quite deprived of the benefits arising from the Episcopal Office & particularly of the Apostolical Rite of Confirmation. Very few have either inclination or capacity to attend to these essential differences by which the Constitution of our Church is distinguish'd.

The inconvenience of Passing & repassing the dangerous Atlantic, being added to these difficulties will we apprehend induce many to Educate their Children to the Dissenting Ministry rather than ours, so that our Church will not have such full advantages from these Seminaries of Learning as she otherwise might have.<sup>49</sup>

Great as were the problems and handicaps of which the clergy complained, the rector of Christ Church had earned his rest. On the 5th of January, 1762, he died at the age of seventy-five. His funeral was held in the parish Church,

<sup>49</sup> Perry, *Historical Collections, Pennsylvania*, p. 318.

where he had served for nearly two decades. Dr. William Smith preached the funeral sermon, on St. Luke XVI., 2: "Give an account of thy stewardship." The provost spoke of the deceased as "a man venerable in years, and a striking pattern of Christian resignation under a long and severe illness. Those who knew him best in that situation know that his chief concern was not for himself but for the distressed and perplexed state of his congregation."<sup>50</sup> Sturgeon and Duché were chosen as assistants of the united parishes of Christ Church and St. Peter's; and in December, the Reverend Richard Peters was elected rector.

Robert Jenney's later years were spent in a city where the English Church was at a distinct disadvantage; in the first place, it enjoyed none of the privileges which were accorded it in those provinces in which it was legally established; in the second place, its members were outnumbered. While he was a resident of Philadelphia, the city made steady strides in wealth and population; and with the civic growth, there was a corresponding lessening of the feeling of kinship which formerly existed between the new land and the mother country. The spirit of independence was ever gaining strength, and along with it there was an opposition to outside control or interference. In the midst of this radical trend, Dr. Jenney remained a conservative Anglican priest, loyal to his Church and its institutions, uncompromising in his support of the Bishop of London; he would not drift with the popular current. He may have appeared a reactionary to some of the progressive minds of his day; but to all he must have seemed an honest, zealous, and courageous champion of the principles which motivated his life and conduct.

<sup>50</sup> Dorr, *Christ Church, Philadelphia*, p. 130.

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