This thesis will concentrate primarily on American Evangelicalism in the third and fourth decades of the 19th Century. More specifically, it will deal with those in the North who were sympathetic to, and actively involved in the work of the 'Second Great Awakening'. Of this group of Evangelicals, this work will be concerned with their aspirations and endeavours to Christianise the American nation. Often overlooked with regard to this subject is the extent to which their interpretation of history provoked and influenced this concept of a 'Christian America'. In dealing with this question it will be argued that a Protestant interpretation of past historical events made an immense and invaluable contribution to this concept.

A chronological survey of the central themes as they are found in different periods of American history will form an important part of this enquiry. This will demonstrate that hopes for a 'Christian America' have been variously expressed, and yet at every stage have been influenced by the perspective provided by a Protestant interpretation of history.

The Evangelicals of the 'Second Great Awakening' held many things in common, yet even within this group significant differences existed. In this thesis attention will be directed to two distinct groups which can be distinguished by the varying extent to which past Protestant history and tradition defined their approach to the concept of a 'Christian America'.

The two groups will be labelled 'Traditionalists' and 'Non-Traditionalists', and will represent different perspectives with regard to the task of Christianising the American nation.

Lyman Beecher and Theodore Dwight Weld will represent the two perspectives which will be discussed, and which provide essential categories within which both men can be better understood.
A CHRISTIAN AMERICA;
LYMAN BEECHER AND THEODORE DWIGHT WELD,
TWO PERSPECTIVES ON THIS EVANGELICAL TRADITION

DOUGLAS ANSDELL

Ph.D.
UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH
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In accordance with regulation 2.4.15 in the handbook of 'Postgraduate Study', I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself, and the work herein is all my own.

Signed.

Douglas Ansdell.
INTRODUCTION

The issues to be discussed in this thesis will centre around the hopes sustained by North-Eastern American Evangelicals in the 1820's and 1830's for the establishment of America as a Christian nation. In American history this period coincides with the latter half of the 'Second Great Awakening', and was characterised by the emergence of numerous voluntary benevolent societies, for purposes of mission, education and reform.

Many Evangelicals in this period possessed a deep sense of mission, and regarded it as their duty to be actively involved in the spread of Christianity. This was demonstrated in their reform societies; collectively known as the 'Benevolent Empire', their revivalism; expressed in the 'Second Great Awakening', and in their sense of mission; attested to by the existence and extension of home and foreign mission societies. The aim of this activity was the christianisation of the American nation; an aim which they believed was consistent with the endeavours of Pilgrims, and many other American Christians in the intervening two centuries. Winthrop S. Hudson recognised that this aim existed behind their activity.

The initial decades of the 19th Century witnessed first the proliferation of the voluntary societies, and then their consolidation and co-ordination in the interest of a unified strategy for the nation as a whole.1

Furthermore it was believed by many Christians that to the extent that America became a Christian nation, so it would be an example to the rest of the world, and the likely location for the initiation of the millenial Kingdom of God. This desire for the United States to be a Christian nation was a frequent theme of pulpit oratory in this period. It was believed that this question played a
key role in arbitrating the destiny of the nation. With regard to this subject of a 'Christian America', this thesis will attempt to establish the central presuppositions underlying such a concept. It will further be suggested that these questions cannot be considered without raising the issue of a Protestant interpretation of history.

By this I mean the selective reading of history, whereby a group of people, in this case Evangelical Christians, look for their predecessors, thereby providing them with a sense of identity. The underlying principle facilitating such an interpretation is the reading of history from a theological perspective. The method whereby this particular interpretation of history was constructed, sustained, and refined was by a dialectical relationship between the past and the present, providing an interpretation of history that accorded with the theology of those concerned.

Although past and present day events worked together to produce a certain understanding of history, it was their theology which was the standard by which events were interpreted. Their theology determined how they evaluated the present, and also their theology determined how they evaluated the past. The past was important as it provided a tradition to stand within, yet also the present was of importance as it sometimes led to a re-evaluation of the past. For example, as American Christians emerged into a Democratic Republic after the Revolution, so they grafted contemporary values such as liberty of conscience onto the memory of their Puritan predecessors. They thereby altered the basis upon which their interpretation of history was established. This interpretation of history therefore proved to be a dynamic process whereby a more accurate delineation of the purpose, destiny, and
responsibilities of the United States emerged. This also contributed to shaping the self-understanding of American Christians.

New England's Orthodox Evangelicals had a keen sense of history, and were very aware of the tradition in which they stood. This tradition contributed to the shaping of their understanding of their place in history, and their present day responsibilities. This awareness of history and the perspective it provided for American Evangelicals made an essential contribution to their understanding of the nature of a 'Christian America'. An investigation into this issue will be a central concern of this thesis, and in particular will be demonstrated in the life and thought of Lyman Beecher.

In American historiography, Lyman Beecher is by no means a straightforward character. In some accounts he is portrayed as a Jeffersonian Democrat, while in others he is an arch-Federalist. Similarly, in some sources he is represented as a defender of the religious liberty guaranteed in the Constitution and Bill of Rights, while in other sources he is seen as a protagonist of nativism and racism. A character of this complexity is therefore often used in support of different arguments concerning American religious history.

Without encroaching on the more controversial aspects of his thought, there is however a generally accepted picture of Lyman Beecher with which most historians would concur. In this introduction this will be briefly summarised before proceeding to outline some of the more contentious arguments concerning Beecher's life and thought.

After leaving Yale College in 1798, Lyman Beecher became Pastor of a Presbyterian Church in East-Hampton, Long Island. He remained there till 1810, and then moved to a Congregational Church in
Litchfield, Connecticut. His next move was in 1826 when he became Pastor of Hanover Street Congregational Church in Boston. In 1832 Beecher moved west to become President of Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio. In Cincinnati he was also Pastor of the Second Presbyterian Church from 1833-43. His stay at the Seminary however continued till 1850.

When Beecher was at Yale, Timothy Dwight had been the most important influence on him, and like Dwight, Beecher also stressed the importance of revivals. In his Autobiography he states that the one idea of his life, "was the promotion of revivals of religion ... as a prominent instrumentality for the conversion of the world, and the speedy introduction of the millenial reign of our Lord Jesus Christ." 4

Along with Nathanael William Taylor, Beecher attempted to restate the Calvinist Orthodoxy of his day in order to emphasise free agency, thus providing man with the ability to accept the call to conversion. This re-stated Calvinism was known as 'Moral Government Theology', or as 'New Haven Theology'. The central concept of their system was that the ruler of the Moral Government, "governs mind by motive and not by force." 5 Taylor and Beecher were thus able to provide a theology which was more appropriate to Revivalism than was traditional New England Calvinist Orthodoxy. For them, revival was the supreme means of bringing an influence to bear on the mind, and it did not destroy free agency.

Another fundamental aspect of Beecher's strategy was the work of the voluntary societies. Beecher looked to them to provide the political power, the finances, and the man power to bring God's will to bear on American society. He was involved in many of the societies, and provided an articulate defence of the role of voluntary
societies in a Republic.

Most historians would agree with the description of Beecher presented above. However, there are some aspects of his life and thought which are utilised by historians in support of positions which do not have the same general acceptance.

In the work of some historians, the Enlightenment is seen as a prominent influence upon this period of American Religious history. Sidney Mead⁶ concluded that any denomination which supported freedom of religion and denominationalism in America was largely influenced by the Enlightenment thought of the 'Founding Fathers'. Mead considered that the defence of sectarian Christianity was by implication an attack on the Republic.

Mead states, however, that there was another strand which was distinctively Christian, and in which the premises of the Republic were legitimised. Within this strand Mead selects Lyman Beecher as his main example. Of Beecher, he claims he was as much, "with it", in his time as was Thomas Jefferson. In support of his claim, Mead points to similarities between Beecher and Jefferson with regard to views on free agency and civil government. These arguments, for Mead, provide sufficient evidence that Beecher was, "definitely of the Jefferson stripe".⁷ The importance of Beecher to Mead is that he is a 'bridge-builder', seeking to reconcile Traditional Evangelical Orthodoxy with modern democracy.

Alternatively, William McLoughlin,⁸ places Beecher at the opposite end of the political spectrum. McLoughlin presents Beecher as a turn-of-the-century Federalist who saw in Jefferson the destruction of the Union, and of Christian civilisation. From McLoughlin's perspective, Beecher never really became reconciled to Jeffersonian, or Jacksonian Democracy, and was extremely apprehensive of
government by, and for the common man. Indeed McLoughlin places Beecher in the same political category as Timothy Dwight, and denies him the opportunity of altering his political perspective.

There is also little doubt that Beecher never lost his Federalist philosophy, which maintained that the political, social, and moral life of any decent society should be controlled by the educated, the well born, and the well-to-do.9

Not only did McLoughlin see Beecher as a Federalist, but in Beecher's desire to christianise the American nation, McLoughlin perceives a basic opposition to the existence of America as a secular state. He therefore understands the concept of a 'Christian America' to mean the state enforcement of Christianity as the religion of the Republic. This would then inevitably mean that Beecher espoused a basic antipathy towards Disestablishment, and Freedom of Religion as both are inconsistent with the state enforcement of Christianity, whereas, quite the reverse was true.

Enlightenment influence is also stressed by Charles I. Foster.10 For Mead, Beecher was a 'bridge builder', encouraging a positive synthesis of two strands, yet for Foster, Beecher belonged to a group of Evangelicals who were unknowingly subject to a more subliminal Enlightenment influence. In his book, 'An Errand of Mercy' Foster states that the united front of voluntary and mission societies, of which Beecher played a prominent role, rested on the Deism of the Enlightenment. Deism espoused a basic natural religion of which all religions were faulty human variants. For Foster this was sufficiently similar to the Denominationalism of the Evangelicals as to warrant derivation from the same source.

Furthermore Foster asserts that for Deists and Evangelicals the most valid expression of true religion was benevolence. The theo-
-logical concept of 'Disinterested Benevolence', which played a major part in influencing the emergence of the voluntary societies is generally attributed to the theology of Samuel Hopkins. In this Foster also believes that the Enlightenment is the main influence behind Hopkins and the concept of 'Disinterested Benevolence'. In Foster's view Beecher was one of the foremost Evangelicals involved in the work of the voluntary societies, and was therefore subject, along with other Evangelical Christians, to the insidious influence of Enlightenment thought.

Adopting a different interpretation on this same period is John R. Bodo who views the 'Benevolent Empire' not as the result of Enlightenment influence, but as the renewal of theocratic tendencies within Evangelical Protestantism. Bodo repeatedly uses the term 'Theocrat' in his book, and is generally referring to North-Eastern Evangelical Protestants whose Christian commitment involved a national vision. This they often expected to be realised through the work of the voluntary societies. Lyman Beecher was a central example of this group described by Bodo as 'Theocrats'.

From Bodo's perspective the 'Theocrats' breathed life into old Puritan themes such as the 'City on a Hill', God's deliverance from the depravity of Europe, and America's redemptive role as an elect nation. Yet although new life was being breathed into old themes, Bodo did not consider the 'Theocrats' to be progressive thinkers. Instead he regards them as socially and politically conservative. They attempted to impose a more static pattern upon American society, and rejected major reforms, and movements for human betterment. Their reform was directed primarily at individuals, and they therefore sought to eradicate such sins as theatre-going and Sabbath-breaking. Bodo claims that the 'Theocrats' were only able to
endorse the extension of political freedom insofar as it was possible simultaneously to educate the people in the moral principles of Christianity.

J.F. MacLear also sees a renewal of past Puritan themes in the Evangelicals of the first half of the 19th Century, especially among those engaged in the work of the voluntary societies. The emergence of themes such as a 'Chosen People', and 'World mission' represent for MacLear a revitalised theocratic tradition. Yet he also introduces a political element to this tradition.

MacLear draws attention to Beecher's sermons stating that certain political changes of a Democratic Republican nature had to be made before the moral renovation of the earth could take place. Therefore for Beecher and many of his fellow clergymen, Republican politics profoundly influenced their Christian expectations.

This is also emphasised in the work of E.A. Smith who observed that in the 1820's and 1830's a new group emerged. Smith paradoxically labelled this group 'Republican Theocrats'. This new breed did not approve of Jefferson, but they did support Democracy, and believed that they knew how to sustain it. 'Republican Theocrats' believed that Protestant Christianity alone could guarantee the high level of public morals indispensable to the tenuous experiment of Democracy.

Neither Smith nor MacLear use the term 'theocratic' in the traditional sense, as both stress the clergy's commitment to the voluntary principle, which would be at odds with any theocratic state.

Lyman Beecher also figures prominently in Nathan O. Hatch's book 'The Sacred Cause of Liberty'. In this Hatch employs the term 'Civil Millenialism' to describe the synthesis of political and
religious beliefs of Evangelicals in the first half of the 19th Century. Hatch demonstrates how Republican liberty was adopted by Christians, and made a fundamental principle of Christian doctrine; a necessary part of mission, and pre-requisite for the Millenium.

For Hatch, characters such as Beecher and Francis Wayland (1796-1865) are central to this thesis. With Evangelicals in this period the path to the Kingdom of God followed definite political, as well as religious principles. Beecher's sense of mission involved not only the spread of Christianity, but a political emancipation.

The concept of an American redemptive mission is also traced by E.L. Tuveson in his book 'Redeemer Nation'. Again Lyman Beecher is central to this argument, supporting the contention that Christians ascribed religious significance to the American nation. Tuveson, however, does not lay as much emphasis on the politicised aspect of American Christianity as Hatch does, yet he clearly sees Beecher along with others as conferring upon the United States a central role in redemptive history.

As this brief survey demonstrates there is clearly a variety of opinion with regard to Lyman Beecher. Was he a Federalist, or a Jeffersonian? Was the Enlightenment and the Revolution a more potent force in his life than Puritanism? Was he reconciled to the Republic, or did he long for a golden age of Puritan Theocracy? In order to adequately cover Beecher's concept of a 'Christian America' these questions must be dealt with. A further question which is of vital importance to Beecher's understanding of a 'Christian America' is did it belong predominantly to any one racial or religious group?

R.A.Billington directs attention to this aspect of a 'Christian America'. He deals with the question of who were considered to be the legitimate heirs to this inheritance of political liberty. Although
Mead would contend that Beecher was in favour of religious tolerance, Billington suggests that a large segment of America's population were disinherited by virtue of being unsuitable to sustain the experiment of Republicanism.

Billington views Beecher as standing within a long tradition of Protestant mistrust of Catholics. These animosities became more prominent in the 1820's with increased Catholic immigration, and the expansion of the Roman Catholic Church in America. Billington demonstrates how Beecher attempted to show that Catholicism and Despotism were allied, and both were opposed to American principles of Democratic Republicanism. Beecher asserted that Catholic dogma involved certain political doctrines which were contrary to Republican principles, such as temporal supremacy of the Pope, persecution of heretics, and the suppression of liberty.

For Billington, Beecher's move to the West was in order to combat Catholicism, which he saw as a threat to the existence of the United States. The survival of the Union depended on checking immigration, and providing adequate education, and Christian mission in the West. Clearly Beecher's 'Christian America' is seen by Billington to be the property of Protestants.

J. Earl Thompson has added a further qualification by saying that in Beecher's opinion a 'Christian America' belonged not just to Protestants, but to white Protestants. Thompson regards Beecher's millenial hopes to be a triumph of white Protestantism. In Thompson's writing, attention is drawn towards Beecher's ambiguous relationship to slavery. On the one hand he saw it as a sin, yet also he could not see free blacks as having a place in the new nation.

Beecher's perception of the Republic depended on an informed,
attempted to reconcile the colonisationist position with abolitionism. Also he spoke of the importance of liberty, free-enquiry, and popular opinion, yet advocated a society that had little room for free blacks.

In Beecher's life and work his great passion was grand schemes. It might be said of him that he was a visionary, and that much of his thinking was occupied with all-encompassing plans. Inevitably in maintaining the plans or schemes, and keeping his eye on his objectives, individual issues would receive unfair treatment as they had to fit into his large constructs of what he believed was the Divine will for the American nation.

He did what he did because of the unity of the Church, or the requirements of world mission, or the importance of hastening the Millenium. The projects with which he involved himself were given added importance by being linked to some grand scheme of mission, reform, or salvation. So it was with America's slavery problem. To an extent the day to day misery of slavery was ignored as Beecher attempted to fit the slavery problem, and the question of America's Negroes into such issues as a 'Christian America', and world mission. In the introduction to his three-volume, Works, he acknowledges this.

Of course from the beginning of my public life, the Church of God, and my country, and the world as given to Christ, have been the field of my observation, interest, motives, prayers, and efforts.  

Different scholars have suggested that the Millenium, or the unity of the Church were foremost in Beecher's thinking as he faced up to the questions raised by the abolitionism-colonisationism debate. These obviously contributed, but his desire for national security, and the maintenance of a 'Christian America', must also be taken into account. National security, and hence the stability of the Union
An obvious tension that existed in Beecher's thought was between his professed commitment to liberty, and individual rights, and his desire for a uniform Protestant nation. Beecher frequently stressed the importance of Protestantism in bringing the United States to its present position, and its importance in sustaining the Republic. This raises the question of the place of Roman Catholics, and blacks in Beecher's perception of a 'Christian America'.

Beecher however was not representative of all Evangelicals in this period; even if this work is limited to those who advocated revival and the work of the voluntary societies, differences clearly existed. Two traditions will therefore be represented in this thesis. Of both traditions it will be asked to what extent past Protestant history was important in defining their present struggle, and their concept of a 'Christian America'. The two groups will be named 'Traditionalists', and 'Non-Traditionalists'; Lyman Beecher will represent the former, and Theodore Dwight Weld the latter.

Theodore D. Weld, (1803-1895) was converted under the ministry of Charles Grandison Finney. Following his conversion, Weld immediately became involved in the work of evangelism, and lectured on behalf of the Temperance Society, and the Manual Labour Society. However it was the anti-slavery cause which Weld felt most strongly about. For this cause he wrote, travelled, lectured, and organised.

Weld's closest involvement with Lyman Beecher was at Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, where he went to complete his theological training. Following a college debate on the abolition of slavery, the Lane trustees proposed a series of measures prohibiting the free discussion of the issue, and curtailing student activities that involved mixing with Cincinnati's black community. As a consequence
of such restrictions Weld and many other students were forced to withdraw from Lane. Following this incident Weld was offered, and accepted a full-time commission from the Anti-Slavery Society.

In many accounts of this period it is hinted that there is a significant division within Evangelicalism. This division has been variously represented as being one of location; east as opposed to west, personalities; Beecher as opposed to Finney, revival style; new measures as opposed to orthodox practice, or politics; democratic as opposed to theocratic, to name a few. It is this alleged division that I intend to explore and clarify.

Robert H. Abzug in his biography of Theodore Weld provides a helpful starting point which will be built on, and expanded in this thesis. Abzug stressed that the goals and strategies of Beecher were different from those of Weld and his fellow students at Lane Seminary. For Beecher the organised visible church and its auxiliaries was the key to God's victory. He therefore sought to maintain the unity of the church within a democratic form of civil organisation. For Weld however, victory in the millenial cause depended upon discovering the truth and acting in accord with its dictates. This might set Weld on a path of conflict with both the church and the state. For Weld the interests of such institutions must always remain secondary.

The topic of a 'Christian America' was important to both Weld and Beecher, but it was defined differently. By looking at both men it will be established what their different understandings were, and what factors led to their varying definitions of the concept of a 'Christian America'. This thesis will therefore outline the two Evangelical perspectives which Weld and Beecher adopted. It will also be demonstrated that a clear understanding of both men is only possible as they are placed within their respective traditions.
With regard to structure this thesis will be divided into three main sections. Part one, containing chapters I-III, will deal with a chronological survey of the concept of a 'Christian America'. An effort will be made to observe the continuity, and change of this concept throughout history. A second emphasis of this section will be to stress the importance of a particular Protestant interpretation of history, and how it led to the development and maintenance of the concept of a 'Christian America'.

Part two, chapters IV-VII, will deal with the presuppositions and implications of this concept of a 'Christian America' as they are displayed in one strand of Evangelicalism in the 1820's and 1830's. Lyman Beecher will be the main representative of this approach.

The last section, part three, chapters VIII-XI will deal with another Evangelical strand within this period. Having previously described the tradition which developed among a certain group of North-Eastern Evangelicals, this section will endeavour to outline a different approach. This other approach will be shown to deviate from the tradition that was built up among orthodox Evangelicals. Theodore Weld will be the central representative of this perspective. This distinction had a marked effect upon his approach towards the concept of a 'Christian America', the implications of which will be outlined in this section.
PART ONE

A 'CHRISTIAN AMERICA' IN EARLY AMERICAN HISTORY
CHAPTER ONE

PURITAN NEW ENGLAND

This chapter, along with the two that follow, will provide a chronological survey of the theme, 'A Christian America'. The periods to be covered by these three chapters will be; the Puritan period, the Great Awakening and late colonial period, and the revolutionary period. By providing a chronological survey of this theme it is hoped that this will lay a foundation for understanding hopes for a 'Christian America' as they were expressed by Evangelical Christians during the Second Great Awakening.

Central to this chapter will be the religious aspirations of Puritans with regard to their re-location in America. It will be important to consider both the intellectual background that led to such hopes in the minds of many migrating Puritans, and to look at their attempts to establish a society which they believed was modelled upon the patterns for church and society as laid down in scripture.

In an article on early New England, J.F. MacLear states that, "historians have not yet given adequate weight to the Puritan scheme of apocalyptic history and its impact on early New England thought and institutions."1 As a move towards redressing this imbalance, the theme of apocalyptic history will also be developed in order to aid our insight into Puritan self-understanding.

Within this eschatological scheme of history, which was common among 17th Century Protestants, it was understood that God would be providentially involved with his chosen people throughout history. As an account is laid down in the Bible of God's dealings with the Hebrews, so he was also expected by the Puritans to be dealing with
the Church in present times. In this perspective of history both secular and religious affairs were placed on either side of a cosmic struggle which ran throughout history, between the forces of Christ and the forces of anti-Christ. In the 17th. Century those two forces, in Protestant minds, were represented by those who favoured the Reformation and sought to advance it throughout Christendom, and those opposed to it, namely the Roman-Catholic Church. It is from this perspective that this chapter will consider New England's Puritans, in an attempt to understand how they saw themselves in this struggle, and also to ask, what, if anything, did they contribute to this scheme of history.

An enquiry of this nature is unavoidably caught up with Puritan millenial beliefs, as the Millenium was considered the climax to this scheme of history which they saw themselves in. Placing them within this context aids our understanding of the Puritans, as their beliefs concerning the Millenium, and of their place in history, played a prominent part in their thinking, influencing their view of world affairs and their involvement in society.

Alongside the Protestant scheme of history, the other important theme that will be developed in this chapter will be Puritan hopes for a 'Christian America'. Although unfamiliar with this term, the Puritans sought to give substance to their aspirations by establishing 'Holy' or 'Bible Commonwealths' which, based on scripture, would demonstrate God's ideal form of government for man, both in Church and in State. So, from this perspective it is fair to say that the 'Holy Commonwealth' was the closest Puritan approximation to the later concept of a 'Christian America'.

Both themes mentioned above are central to this study, and at a later stage, other periods of American history will be evaluated from
this perspective. In these later periods of American history the objective will be to look for continuity, and yet, also to look for change and development within the Protestant understanding of history.

**Puritan Eschatology and History**

For many Protestants the Bible was read as an account of 'Salvation History'; of God’s dealings with the Hebrews, his protection and promises to them, their conflicts with other nations, their wilderness experience and arrival at the promised land. Similarly, many post-Reformation Christians related this perspective to their own experience. They saw their own experience as continuous with, and parallel to the Hebrew experience. Puritans in particular adopted this perspective, and as a result, Puritan New England inherited a tradition which linked the chosen Hebrews, the early Christians, and the New England Puritans in a linear progressive view of history.

In the 17th Century many Christians were convinced that the end to which history was progressing was the Millenium. In this scenario New England's Puritans believed they were fulfilling a vital role. In an article on Edward Johnson, Sacvan Bercovitch arrives at a similar conclusion with regard to the Puritan view of history.

In sum, the migration marks the apex of a fore-ordained movement proceeding through the ancient Hebrews and the early Christian Church towards the Millenium.

The immediate roots of this historical perspective are to be found in 16th Century England as it established itself as a Protestant nation, and more particularly in the work of John Foxe.

**John Foxe**

In 16th Century England there existed a vague legend that the gospel had initially been brought to Britain by Joseph of Arimathea,
and ever since had been engaged in a struggle against evil forces. It had often been suppressed, but, because of figures such as Wycliffe and Tyndale, had never been extinguished. This legend, however, received its definitive form in John Foxe's, *Actes and Monuments of the Christian Church*.

John Foxe began his account of the sufferings of persecuted Christians when he was in exile in Strasbourg in 1554. His exile was a consequence of persecution under Queen Mary. Foxe's initial edition only traced Christian history to 1500, but subsequent editions were modified to include the Marian persecution, and the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. Foxe regarded Elizabeth as a key figure in the struggle to establish reformed Christianity. Perhaps not surprisingly, Elizabeth reciprocated by ordering that Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* should be placed in every parish church in England.

John Foxe understood history as being the stage upon which God's redemptive activity was to be displayed. He thus attempted to demonstrate how temporal events all worked into God's ultimate plan for the world. He also added the lessons of contemporary history to his interpretation of the past. He believed that after a long period of religious decline, in which the true Church had been obscured, God sent messengers who were to be heralds of a new dispensation which would be inaugurated by the Protestant Reformation. Foxe stated that the true faith, "hathe continually from time to time sparkled abroade, although the flames thereof have never so perfectly burst out as they have within these hundred years and more."  

Foxe argued that there had been five distinct periods of history since the time of Christ. Four had passed, and the fifth, which was initiated by the Reformation would eventually lead to the triumph of reformed Christianity, in which England's role was central. Although
England had not initiated the Reformation, many English Protestants saw it as the central nation of the Reformation. This view had been established by Elizabeth's commitment to Protestant religion, and by the various pre-Reformation reformers that had appeared in England.

This perspective was shared by many of the Puritans who crossed the Atlantic to America. William Bradford, who was the Governor of the Plymouth settlement in New England, and who had previously travelled from England to Holland, then on to New England, said of England that it, "was the first nation to which the Lord gave the light of the gospel after the darkness of popery."⁴

Foxe's book, with its portrayal of England as an 'Elect Nation', proved to be very popular. Generations of Englishmen saw history from Foxe's perspective; parts of his book were often memorised and taught to children, thus exerting a strong influence on Englishmen, and Puritans in particular. Consequently its influence crossed the Atlantic with the Puritans who settled in New England.

The Puritans who regarded England as an 'Elect Nation' frequently found their hopes being frustrated in the first few decades of the 17th. Century, and thus the transition of moving Puritan hopes from England to New England was effected with relative ease. New England, for many Puritans, soon became the place where they anticipated the emergence of true reformed religion. While England was frustrating the advance of the Reformation, New England could now consolidate, and advance the gains of the Reformation.

The Advance of the Reformation

John Robinson's farewell sermon to departing Pilgrims is frequently used to demonstrate the Puritan hope of advancing the Reformation.
Let us be certain brethren that the Lord hath more truth and light yet to break forth out of his holy word. It cannot be possible that we have so recently come out of such great anti-Christian darkness and already stand in the full light of divine truth.5

This theme of consolidating and advancing the Reformation surfaces frequently in Puritan thought. In New England there would be an opportunity to make a fresh start, and establish church and state according to the patterns laid down in scripture, as the reformers understood it. It would be an experiment and a model to demonstrate to the rest of Europe what could be achieved when separated from the impurities of Europe.

John Higginson, writing in the preface of a work by Cotton Mather, spoke of this hope. He said, New England, "was indeed planted, not on the account of any worldly interest, but on design of enjoying and advancing the true reformed religion."6 Higginson hoped that the history of New England that Mather had written would show that a, "farther practical reformation than that which began at the first coming out of the darkness of popery was aimed at; and endeavoured by a great number of voluntary exiles that came into a wilderness for that very end."7

Cotton Mather agreed with the many Christians of this period who saw significance in that the discovery of America and the Reformation took place at roughly the same point in history, and saw a special significance in the colonising of New England by Protestants.

This at last is the spot of Earth which the God of heaven spied out for the seat of such evangelical and very remarkable transactions as require to be made in history.8

Belief that the Reformation and the discovery of America were linked, was a conviction that was not only limited to Puritans. As early as 1613, William Strachey, a historian and early English
colonist was insisting that God had kept America hidden for the purpose of English Protestant settlement. Earlier still Richard Hakluyt, who assisted Walter Raleigh by preparing a discourse for Queen Elizabeth on the advantages of establishing English colonies in the new world, stated that, "this westerne discoverie will be greatly for the enlargement of the gospill of Christe".

The religious motives for colonising America have often been undermined by the assertion that economic or political motives were primary in American colonisation. However, the opinion that the colonising of America was born out of desires of national aggrandizement would probably not have made much impression on the Puritan mind, as all of life was under God’s control. As William Perkins, a renowned Puritan theologian said, "for everything is as God wills it." In this respect God’s will was to, "express and pursue the Protestant Reformation." Such concepts as imperialism would not have carried much weight in the Puritan mind.

For many, England was considered to be an 'Elect Nation', but it was the Puritans of New England who adopted the responsibilities that attended election. This was to be the climax of all truth that had been revealed during, and since the Reformation. Perry Miller summed this up:

As the Reformation was a continuous movement away from the Church of Rome towards the pure discipline established by Christ, the pure doctrine taught by scripture, and the society built politically and socially as well as ecclesiastically upon divine enactments, New England was the culmination of the Reformation, the climax of history.

The Puritans in New England took with them a belief in an eschatological scheme of history, and also added the colonising of America as the next significant event. This was the next stage in the
progression of history which was destined to find completion in the Millenium.

Millenialism

To the Puritan mind history was a linear development, and there was to be an end to this process. That end was the expected millenial reign of Christ on Earth for one thousand years. Faith in Christ's coming was not uncommon in the early 17th. Century, and it was this faith which encouraged the growth of 'Fifth Monarchism'. This was a belief that identified the sequential stages through which the world must pass before the last judgement. As they observed contemporary turmoil, 'Fifth Monarchist's' located their own age near the end of world history.

Among the theologians who wrote on apocalyptic themes was Thomas Brightman (1562-1607) who was an influential biblical scholar in this period. He wrote commentaries on Revelation, Daniel, and Canticles between 1609 and 1616, and from his studies Brightman anticipated an imminent new age. His work was important for the development of 'Fifth Monarchism' in England and also for encouraging millenial anticipation in New England. Also of note was Joseph Mede (1586-1638), another theologian who encouraged millenial speculation. In so doing he also identified the various stages which history was passing through, and would have to pass through, on its way towards the millenial age. It has been said of Mede that, "he brought the course of secular history much more closely than before into the whole scheme of God's redemption." He achieved this by listing historical events, some passed, some still to come, that corresponded to the pouring out of the seven vials of Revelation.

The Puritans who went to New England had similar views, yet for them the establishment of New England was an event of special
significance; as Edward Johnson pointed out:

This is the place where the Lord will create a new heaven and a new earth in new churches, and a new commonwealth together.15

This theme was common among New England clergy who employed the eschatological theology that was developing in England, yet accorded New England a special place in this scheme. John Cotton was profoundly influenced by Brightman's works, and his sermons to his Massachusetts congregation were permeated with millenialism. Cotton, however, added to this theme by believing that New England was destined to lead the world into this new age.

Before looking at the hope that Puritans expressed with regard to the mission they believed God had called them to, it is important to briefly consider what circumstances turned their attention to America, causing them to migrate, and thereafter to locate their hopes in New England.

Puritan Grievances in England

The Puritan movement grew in strength during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I. This was occasioned by the return of a considerable number of 'Marian exiles', and the establishment of Protestantism in England under Elizabeth. However, in spite of reforms in the Church of England, and legislation discriminating against Catholics, many Puritans were still dissatisfied with the Church of England, and demanded further reform. In 1600, a Puritan preacher, Francis Johnson (1562-1618), who was popular among Cambridge students, listed ninety-one things that he considered were wrong with the Church of England, in its ceremony, doctrine, and organisation.

Puritans in England felt that the visible church was too far away from the invisible; it indiscriminately embraced the wicked along with
righteous, thereby obscuring an understanding of what the true Church should be like. This absence of proper church discipline was wrong on two counts; in the first place it violated the biblical understanding of who should comprise the true Church, and secondly the lack of discipline prevented the reform of many evils within the Church.

This situation brought about two reactions among Puritans. There were some, who, because of this state of affairs decided that the Church of England was not a true Church, and therefore, true Christians should separate themselves from it. Others decided that the Church of England was a true Church, but in severe need of reform. Both these parties were represented in New England in the Separatists at Plymouth, and the non-separating Puritans of Massachusetts Bay.

Matters were further compounded for the Puritans with the soft line that both James I, and Charles I took with regard to Roman Catholics in Britain and in Europe. This policy posed a grave problem for Puritans who saw England as the foremost nation of the Reformation. Collusion with Catholic Spain did not rest easily with the Puritan scheme of history. Both James and Charles collaborated with the Spanish and the French. James, to the dismay of many Puritans did not help the Dutch state in opposing Spain, nor help the Calvinist Elector of the German Palatinate against the Hapsburgs. Similarly, Charles caused distress among Puritans by his marriage to a Roman Catholic, and the consequence presence of Roman Catholics in the English Court. These issues added to already existing Puritan grievances.

Probably of more immediate concern to English Puritans was the rise of the High Church Party in the Church of England, and William Laud's assumption of power. Laud intended to enforce the use of the English prayer book, and to strengthen the rule of the bishops over the local clergy. His aim was to produce a uniform, ordered Church.
Laud's activity aroused in Puritans the fear that he intended to lead the Church of England back to Rome. In England at this time there was a general relaxation of legal penalties against Catholics, while Puritans faced increasing pressure to conform. As a result many Puritan ministers sought refuge in exile in Europe.

**Migration**

The situation mentioned above, in which many Puritans found themselves, led them to consider a move to New England. This would enable them to establish the 'true Church', as the political and religious climate in England was not presently favourable, and was becoming increasingly hostile. John Norton, a New England minister, saw migration in terms of taking the opportunity that God had set before them; their flight he said:

> Was not like that of Pliny's mice that forsook a house forseeing the ruine of it; or of mercenaries who flee from duty in time of danger; but providence divine shutting up the door of service in England, and on the other hand opening it up in New England.\(^1^6\)

Persecution under Laud provided the final motive for colonising, as in this situation many Puritans felt they had little chance of changing the Church of England. So, in going to America their primary purpose was to establish the form of church polity which they believed was sanctioned by the Bible. John Norton again said:

> Our liberty to walk in the faith of the gospel with all good conscience, according to the order of the gospel, was the cause of our transporting ourselves . . . into this vast wilderness.\(^1^7\)

Doubtless there were many who migrated to New England for a variety of reasons. Some were Puritans from East Anglia, which was a region that in the 1630's was experiencing financial and economic
difficulties due to a crisis in the cloth trade. Others migrated for social reasons; their fellowship or family were going. Some made the journey because a highly esteemed minister was going. Others still migrated for reasons of employment, such as servants and skilled artisans who were necessary for the establishment of a large settlement in New England. However, the main concern of this chapter is with the reasons expressed by migrating Puritans. Those who sought to establish a 'Holy Commonwealth' in the hope that reformed Christianity might be advanced by a closer return to primitive Christianity and a unique relationship between church and state.

An Example to Europe

Many New England Puritans in their writings and sermons conveyed the impression of an awareness that they were on show to the rest of the world. They hoped that England, Europe, and the rest of the world would follow New England in its example of true Christianity, its pattern of church government and its erection of a Christian state. Cotton Mather appealed, "let that which has been the vindication of New England be also the emulation of the world."18

The men and women who went to New England in the 1630's hoped to do more than merely escape from the threat of Laudian persecution. They desired to advance the true faith by the erection of a model Christian community which would act as a guide for other nations to follow. In the title of a 1670 election sermon given by Rev. Samuel Danforth, the settlement of New England came to be seen as 'An Errand Into the Wilderness'. Perry Miller explains the use of this term by stating that:

The errand was being run for the sake of reformed Christianity; and while the first aim was indeed to realise in America the due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical, the aim behind this was to vindicate the
high ideals of the Reformation. 19

This clearly implies that New England, by their example, had the responsibility of passing on their gains to the rest of the world. The image that is often employed with regard to Puritan New England is a 'City on a Hill'. It was John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts, who first used this term of New England.

For we must consider that we shall be as a city upon a hill, the eyes of all people are upon us.20

Although this concept is often exclusively attributed to Winthrop, there were other New England Puritans who also conveyed this concept by using similar expressions. Edward Johnson said the purpose of colonising New England was to be, "set as lights upon a hill, more obvious than the highest mountain in the world."21 Also William Aspinall said, "you are a beacon set on a hill, great things God hath done for you and great things he expects from you."22 Peter Bulkeley expressed similar sentiments in telling New England Puritans, "thou shouldst be a special people, none like thee in all the earth."23 Bulkeley also warned New England of the responsibilities that attend special callings.

Take heed . . . lest being now as a citie upon a hill, which many seek unto, thou be left like a beacon upon the top of a mountain, desolate and forsaken.24

Similarly Winthrop issued a warning against failure in his famous sermon, 'A Model of Christian Charity', given on board the ship Arabella while travelling to America in 1630.

If we deal falsely with our God in this work we have undertaken, and so cause him to withdraw his present help from us, we shall be made a story and a byword through the world; we shall open the mouths of enemies to speak evil of the ways of God.25
So, it is evident that New Englanders understood themselves as having a special calling, and that this view impressed upon them the importance of the New England experiment, and the need for them to succeed in this task. The practical expression of these hopes was found in the establishment of a 'Holy Commonwealth', in which the Bible would be the final authority, regulating the affairs of both church and state.

The 'Holy Commonwealth'

Massachusetts Bay, and the other 'Holy Commonwealths' were self-consciously dedicated to achieving the uniformity which they believed was implicit in Reformation teaching. They sought to demonstrate that principles derived from the Bible could govern every aspect of life. These principles were to be reinforced by godly magistrates, as the entire colony, and all aspects of its life was intended to be, as much as possible, under God's rule. Urian Oakes, who was a minister at Cambridge, and President of Harvard, clearly stated this theory.

According to the design of our founders and the frame of things laid by them, the interest of righteousness in the commonwealth and holiness in the churches are inseparable... to divide what God hath cojoyneyed... is folly in its exaltation. I look upon this as a little model of the glorious kingdom of Christ on earth.26

John Winthrop shared this conviction regarding the need for state and church to co-operate in establishing a civil and ecclesiastical order. As a result the formation of a 'Holy Commonwealth' began immediately upon landing.

For the work we have in hand, it is by mutual consent, through a specific over-ruling providence and a more than ordinary approbation of the churches of Christ to seek out a place of co-habitation and consortship under a due form of government both civil and ecclesiastical.27
Also of significance in the above statement of Winthrop's is the phrase, "by mutual consent". This emphasises that Puritans perceived government to be established on the basis of a contract or covenant. The principles and patterns of society; the aims and responsibilities, are established by God, and in a healthy state the citizens must first agree to abide by these regulations. They must create the state by willing consent and active participation. Thus, government is brought into existence by an act of the people. They, however, must not create government arbitrarily, but must come together to establish that which God has outlined. As the Massachusetts Bay Puritans tried to put this into practice, so also did the Plymouth Pilgrims, thereby giving articulation to the 'Mayflower Compact'.

In ye presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together into a civill body politick for our better ordering and preservation. 28

Theocracy

As a result of the strong religious influence in New England it has often been described as a theocracy. However, if a theocracy is understood as being a state in which the clergy control the total life, it must be acknowledged that Massachusetts Bay was not a theocracy, even although there was a very strong religious influence.

It is essential to remember that the Puritan migration occurred in an age when religion could not be separated from politics, nor doctrinal orthodoxy divorced from loyalty to the state. Citizens of a nation could not be permitted to worship in different churches, and believe different creeds, without endangering the public peace. Bearing this in mind, it is in this light that we must evaluate New England, not from the perspective of the 18th., or even 19th. Century, as this leads to unnecessary criticism. When they left England in the
1620's and 1630's, they did not leave the early 17th. Century, or shed the intellectual heritage that was common to men of their age.

Consequently, it seems unnecessary to criticise the influence of the clergy in Massachusetts Bay when we consider the power exercised by William Laud in England. Similarly, the 1631 extension of the franchise to church members, was not evidence of a restrictive policy with regard to popular involvement in government. It is doubtful if there was any other nation in the western world which would permit such a percentage of society to contribute to the government of a state.

The part played by the clergy in Massachusetts Bay was entirely unofficial, they held no political office, but their opinions did carry weight with those responsible for government. Although, it was not uncommon for them to be rebuked when the magistrates thought that the clergy were interfering, as Winthrop did upon being criticised by the clergy for his treatment of anti-nomians. He informed the particular Boston congregation that, "a church hath not power to call any civil magistrate to give account of his judicial proceedings in any court of justice."29

The governor and his assistants, however, did concern themselves with the internal affairs of congregations; settling disputes of doctrine and polity, legislating on Sabbath breaking, swearing and commandment breaking, looking into the fitness and positioning of new ministers, dealing with heresy charges and calling synods. So, Massachusetts clergy had less to do with the control of the state than the state had with the control of the Church. Far from being theocratic, New England appears to be more Erastian with regard to the question of who exercised most power. E.S. Morgan, while discussing this issue, concluded that:
Of all the governments in the western world at the time, that of early Massachusetts gave the clergy least authority.30

Although the Bible was to be the ultimate authority both for church and state, as John Cotton pointed out, the two realms were not to be confused:

Either by giving the spiritual power, which is proper to the Church into the hands of the civil magistrate . . . or by giving civil power to Church officers who are called to attend only to spiritual matters and the things of God.31

The Elect

The central passionate concern of the Puritan was how the invisible Church, of those truly called out of the world, might be made a closer approximation of the visible Church. In 1635, consistent with this concern, John Cotton and the leaders of the Massachusetts Bay churches required a narration of the experience of regenerating grace as a requirement of adult Church membership. Thus, the Church in New England, as a state Church, was characterised by enforced uniformity in belief and practice, and yet required an internal, experiential test for Church membership, which, at that time was the key to wider civil privileges. These were now made dependent on a personal testimony of salvation. The New England clergy found that the task of discriminating regenerate from unregenerate was not easy, and on a few occasions they made decisions which they later regretted. Other problems arose as New England tried to make the visible Church a closer approximation of the invisible.

Very soon the leaders of the Church found themselves in the situation where the majority of the population were unregenerate, and therefore were excluded from communion, and their children denied baptism. This system was drawing disapproval from England, and
creating a disinherited class in New England. Yet the New England clergy remained constant in their resolve to succeed in the experiment of restricted Church membership. If membership should drop in the colony, Thomas Welde said:

That is the fault of the people, not of the rule, nor of the way, if the saints be thin sown, who can help it.32

In 1648, the 'Cambridge Platform' affirmed the restricted membership that the New England churches were practising, by stating that, "We conceive the receiving of them (the unregenerate) into our churches would rather loose and corrupt our churches than gain and heal them."33

A further serious problem surfaced concerning the offspring of Church members. Initially the Church was made up of 'proved saints'; those who could satisfy the Church that their experience of regeneration was genuine, and their children. The problem arose when the children grew up and professed no religious experience; were they to be admitted to communion? This grew more complex with the rise of the third generation; should they be baptised and considered Church members? If so, the idea of a true Church composed only of a body of 'proved saints' would be impossible to maintain. Should they give up the idea of a regenerate Church, or should they deny Church privileges to all but those considered true Christians? Thereby leaving many outwith the influence and discipline of the Church.

As a solution, a half-way measure was adopted in 1657, and confirmed at a synod in 1662. The synod stated that regenerate adults were allowed to transmit Church membership and baptism to their offspring, but the unregenerate offspring could not partake of communion or vote on Church matters. For their part, they were to
promise to live godly lives and to instruct their children to do likewise.

Toleration

The unified political body that was created by the consent of its citizens had a right to protect itself against the introduction of elements which they considered would subvert the safety and welfare of its people. Thus, religious exclusiveness in Massachusetts Bay was justified in order to maintain the political calm which was considered essential to the practice of reformed religion.

In the 17th Century the concept of toleration was not one that found ready acceptance in the New England mind. It was in fact quite alien to their understanding of how the true Church should conduct itself in relation to non-conformist religious bodies. The Massachusetts Bay settlers had already exhibited their views before leaving England by instructing John Endecott to maintain religious conformity in the initial outpost at Salem, prior to the 'Great Migration'.

Wee pray yow and the rest of the counsell, that if any disputes shall happen among yow, that yow suppress them and bee careful to maintaine peace and unitie.

For the Puritan, the state was an active instrument of leadership, discipline, and, if necessary co-ercion. The task of leaders was not to trim their policies according to the changing desires of the people, but to drive ahead on a set course. Massachusetts and Connecticut were unashamedly authoritarian, and made no pretence of being anything else. Even after their experience in England, Puritans could not conceive of a state permitting several creeds to exist simultaneously. In England they had not been involved in a struggle for toleration, but for the Church of England to be wholly reformed,
thus bringing itself into conformity with their understanding of the true Church as laid down in the Bible. Consequently, they sought to actualise their understanding of what the Church should be like, and denounced anything which they considered to be imperfect or false. When it became obvious that they were not to succeed in England, they migrated to America to continue the experiment.

Their position is clearly set out in the response of Samuel Willard, minister of the Third Church in Boston, to a group of Anabaptists in 1681. The Anabaptists had survived in Charlestown for a few years in which their existence had been precarious, and at times conditions had been quite harsh. The Anabaptists sought a greater degree of toleration, and justified their appeal by citing the example of the first settlers. The Anabaptists considered the migrating Puritans to be non-conformists fleeing from England for conscience sake, as their particular form of Christianity would not be tolerated in England. The Anabaptists saw a parallel between the Puritan situation in England in the 1630's, and their own situation in New England, and thus appealed for a greater degree of toleration. Willard's response, however, provides us with a totally different perspective on the matter.

I perceive they are mistaken in the design of our first planters, whose business was not toleration; but were professed enemies of it, and could leave the world professing they died no libertines. Their business was to settle and (as much as in them lay) secure religion to posterity, according to that way which they believed was of God.35

In accounting for the Puritan state, as mentioned previously, it is important to remember that they were 17th. Century men, and as such their understanding of many matters of state were not peculiar to New England, but were held in common with many other European states.
They worked within this context, seeking to make it as much as possible 'under God'; and thus to demonstrate the possibilities of a godly state to the rest of the reformed nations, and eventually to the rest of the world.

In concluding it is important to clearly state the two main themes of this chapter. The first being the Protestant understanding of history, which aids our understanding of New England Puritans and how they saw themselves in history. The second theme being the consequent attempts to establish a righteous nation; in which both church and state would be under biblical rule.

Puritans saw themselves at a critical point in history, they belonged to the new dispensation which had been inaugurated by the Protestant Reformation, and were now engaged in a cosmic battle involving the forces of Christ against the forces of anti-Christ. As they believed God to be the sovereign God of history; the Reformation, establishing of England as a Protestant nation, and now the discovery and colonising of America by Protestants, were not arbitrary events in a chance world but central events in 'Salvation History', brought about as part of God's will for human history. So, the New England Puritans added the Protestant colonisation of America as the latest significant stage in their understanding of the process of history. This was the next step in advancing the Reformation and in providing a secure ground of opposition to the anti-Christ, which was seen in terms of the Roman Catholic Church.

This linear view of history looked forward to its climax in the Millenium. New England added to this understanding by locating their hopes of a millenial age in America. This again was a new development in which a major change was brought about in the Puritan understanding of history, and proved to be very influential among American Christians.
New England Puritans sought to build a 'Christian America', which in many ways was inevitably locked within a 17th Century understanding of the nature and function of a state. Yet within this they attempted as much as possible to organise the state along biblical guidelines, and that the Church within this state should represent God's ideal Church as laid down in the Bible. The practical outworking of this aspiration was found in the creation of 'Holy Commonwealths' in Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, and Connecticut.

In the following chapters other periods of American history will be considered from the perspective of the two themes mentioned above. The aim will be to observe the continuity, and yet, the development that occurs in different periods, and also to catalogue the main influences that made for change within different periods.
The focus of this chapter will be the views that were expressed among Christians with regard to a 'Christian America' in the late colonial period of American history. Particular attention will be given to the Great Awakening, and to the period of war with France. Both of these major events in colonial America had a deep influence on how many American Christians saw their place in history, and consequently, what hopes they entertained with regard to the christianisation of America.

As in the previous chapter, the enquiry will be limited to New England, and within New England's Protestantism, the 'New Light Party' will provide the main focus. It was from the ranks of the 'New Light Party' that many hopes and beliefs were expressed relating to the subject of a 'Christian America'. The 'New Light Party' were those who supported the revivals of the period, and sought to emphasise regeneration, without which, they believed, doctrinal orthodoxy became dead formalism. Jonathon Edwards was the main spokesman, and leading figure in the 'New Light Party', and therefore his writing and sermons are of great importance to the subject in question.

Although there was a continuity between American Christianity in the 17th. and 18th. Century, it is quite inappropriate to view the Great Awakening as a resurgence of 17th. Century Puritanism. The Awakening faced a new society, and represented a new emphasis. Concepts such as that of a 'Holy Commonwealth' were no more in the forefront of Christian thought in an age which was becoming more tolerant and
diverse. Doctrinal orthodoxy was no longer seen as a mark of loyalty to the state. Many people, therefore, had a greater degree of independence as they were being emancipated from the intellectual dogmas of the past. This change had come about largely by the spread of new ideas developed by scientists and philosophers, by the prevalence of many non-conformist sects demanding recognition, and by greater control from London being exercised, with the consequent insistence on a more tolerant and plural society. H.R. Niebuhr says of this age that, "absolute individuals had replaced absolute kings and absolute churches."¹

**The Great Awakening**

The Great Awakening of the early 1740's had its beginnings in local revivals in the northern and middle colonies. These revivals took place among the Dutch Reformed in northern New Jersey under Theodore J. Frelinghuysen; among the Presbyterians of the same area under the leadership of the Tennents, William snr. and his three sons; and in Northampton, and other surrounding communities in the Connecticut Valley, under Jonathan Edwards.

Theodore Jacob Frelinghuysen arrived in America from the Netherlands in 1720. In his sermons he taught the necessity of a personal conversion, and subsequent holiness of life. The response that his preaching demanded was soon forthcoming in a series of revivals which attended his ministry in the Middle Colonies.

William Tennent snr. initially gave his three sons, Gilbert, William jnr. and John, their theological training at home and later all three became ministers. The Tennents also emphasised the importance of regeneration in their preaching, and sought to promote revival in their churches. In New Brunswick, New Jersey, Gilbert Tennent, who became the most prominent of the three brothers, met,
and was influenced by Frelinghuysen. By 1729 there was new life and enthusiasm exhibited in Gilbert Tennent's congregations, which were scattered from New Brunswick to Staten Island. Within this growing revival party there was support for experiential religion and questions were being raised about the value of strict orthodoxy in the absence of religious experience.

The other main centre of revival was in Northampton, Massachusetts, under the ministry of Jonathan Edwards. Edwards took over at Northampton in 1729, upon the death of his grand-father Solomon Stoddard. Edwards had been Stoddard's assistant for two years previous to Stoddard's death, and his labours among the people of Northampton were rewarded in 1734 when revival broke out under his ministry, and soon spread to other communities in neighbouring regions.

These local revivals of religion were consolidated into a single movement by the itinerant activity of George Whitefield, who arrived in Philadelphia from England in November 1739. He had previously visited the Southern colonies preaching and raising money for an orphanage, but in 1740 Whitefield visited New England, carrying out an extensive tour in which he was generally well received. He preached to large numbers, both inside and outside churches with remarkable consequences. Whitefield also encouraged Gilbert Tennent to preach in Boston, thereby continuing the work which he had started there. These large campaigns of Whitefield and Tennent consolidated more localised revivals into a national movement. This task was soon shared by a large number of lay itinerants and Evangelical pastors. W.S. Hudson writing on this period states that, "people everywhere were caught up in the movement, and its influence was spread by innumerable local pastors, passing itinerants, and lay exhorters."²

Apart from greatly adding to the Church, the Awakening also

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played an important role in forming a national consciousness among people of different colonies, whose main identity was as Europeans rather than as Americans. For many it provided a common cause, and reinforced the conviction that God had a special destiny for America. S.E.Ahlstrom supports this conclusion in saying that, "a new and irrepressible expectancy entered the life of the churches, a national sense of intensified religious and moral resolution was born. Millenial hopes were kindled."³ As a result of the revival many ministers and theologians were convinced that a new day was at hand. Edwards himself was convinced that America was the chosen place for the initiation of the Kingdom of God.

Although Whitefield was the major figure in the Awakening, it is primarily Edwards whose name is associated with the Awakening. As well as being a formidable revival preacher himself, Edwards was also the main apologist of the Awakening, and champion of the 'New Lights' within the American churches. He also wrote as theologian, religious philosopher, and sacred historian, thus ensuring for himself an eminent position in American religious history, as his writing proved to have lasting significance for American Christians. For present purposes Edwards was also important because of his contribution to the growing belief that America was a chosen instrument to lead the world into the millenial age. Edwards, therefore, had very clear hopes for a 'Christian America' which he sought to realise.

Edwards' Millenial Thought

Millenialism was not a subject which was ignored or avoided by Edwards and his contemporaries. Consequently there was no lack of literature dealing with this subject. Speculation on this subject was also not uncommon among theologians in England and New England of the previous century, thus providing adequate sources for the millenial
theologian. As such, Jonathan Edwards was familiar with the commentaries of Daniel Whitby, Moses Lowman, and Charles Daubuz, English theologians who developed a new approach in eschatological thinking. Yet another source was the apocalyptic speculation of men such as Isaac Newton, who, along with his scientific discoveries spent much time engaged in the unravelling of biblical eschatology.

Daniel Whitby, who was an English latitudinarian, held a prominent position in eschatological thinking in the early 18th Century. He was the main exponent of post-millenialism, which expected history to progress into the Millenium, upon which the anti-Christ would be defeated and the Church would then enter a golden age upon this earth. Whitby, in 1703, published a two volume work entitled, 'Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament' to which was appended, 'A Treatise on the Millenium, Showing That it is not a Reign of Persons Raised From the Dead, but of the Church Flourishing Gloriously For a Thousand Years After the Conversion of the Jews ...'. Whitby's work reached its seventh printing the year following Edwards' death. His line of thought was taken up by Lowman and Daubuz, both of whom Edwards read and quoted from, along with Whitby. Edwards agreed with Lowman's speculation that the Reformation represented the pouring out of the fifth vial of Revelation, and that this pouring out had not been completed yet.

In taking this line Edwards was at variance with the Westminster Confession on which the orthodoxy of his day rested. Neither could there be found a basis for this kind of thinking in the theology of John Calvin. Edwards' theology was more in line with the 'Savoy Declaration', which was made by English Congregationalists in 1658. This was the first credal statement by any reformed confessional group to embody definite post-millenial presuppositions.
So according to his promise, we expect that in the latter days, anti-Christ being destroyed, the Jews called and the adversaries of the kingdom of his dear son broken, the churches of Christ being enlarged and edified through a free and plentiful communication of light and grace, shall enjoy in this world a more quiet, peaceful and glorious condition, than they have enjoyed. 

In America, statements of the Congregationalists such as the Cambridge(1648), and Saybrook Platforms(1708) also included this emphasis, which reflected the thinking of many New England Protestants. Edwards, however, was the first American theologian to give full treatment to post-millenialism.

The Awakening as a Prelude to the Millenium

The Awakening of the early 1740’s obviously made a great impact on colonial society; in the minds of many Christians the Awakening made the Kingdom of God an attainable reality. In the height of the Awakening many believed that the out-pouring of the Holy Spirit that was presently being witnessed would not decline, but would culminate in the millenial age.

For the 'New Light' supporters of the Awakening the important signs to look for were not so much in the realms of politics and nations, nor in conflict between Protestant and Roman Catholic forces, although, that was important. 'New Light' confidence in the progressive course of history was based, however, on the spread of Evangelical religion. The ultimate weapon in this advance was the promotion of revivals of religion, for which Edwards encouraged widespread prayer.

This view was shared by Thomas Prince and his son who were responsible for publishing the journal 'Christian History' to propagate the Awakening. This journal reflected the assurance, held by many Evangelicals, that their age was advancing towards the Kingdom of God.
Another minister, Daniel Putnam, writing in the 'Christian History' made the connection between Evangelical religion and the Millenium even more explicit when he encouraged his fellow clergymen to pray for revival in order that, "the kingdoms of this world may become the kingdom of our blessed Lord and saviour Jesus Christ." Similarly, in the summer of 1743, almost seventy New England clergymen signed, 'The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors', in which they supported the revivals and declared that the Awakening confirmed the expectations, "of such as are waiting for the Kingdom of God and the coming of the . . . latter days."^6

In Edwards' writing it is clearly the revivals that are to be a prelude to the Millenium, and not any political means of overthrowing the anti-Christ. Writing in 1742 in, 'Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion', Edwards said:

It is not unlikely that this work of God's spirit that is so extraordinary and wonderful, is the dawning, or at least, a prelude of that glorious work of God so often foretold in scripture. Which in the progress and issue of it shall renew the world of mankind.^7

As the changing circumstances of 18th Century American life undermined the earlier hopes of building a Christian commonwealth in the wilderness, which was to be furnished with soundly established churches and Bible based governments, the Awakening provided many Christians with a renewed vision of the possibility of realising the millenial kingdom upon this earth. The goal was similar; a Christian civilisation which would prepare the way for the Kingdom of God, but would be realised not through formal civil and ecclesiastical establishments, but through the operation of the Holy Spirit in the revivals. The main achievement of these revivals was the conversion of individuals, the proliferation of which would bring the Millenium
Post-Millennialism

During the Awakening many in the revival party began to adopt a post-millennial position with regard to their theology of the end times. From a reading of biblical prophecies, and from the impression that the Awakening had on them, many Christians came to the conclusion that the pre-millennial interpretation might be wrong. They now believed that God would create a millennial order without some cataclysmic holocaust compelling Christ’s return. The new Jerusalem would therefore not be, "accomplished at once as by some miracle", but would be "gradually brought to pass" within history.

Although Edwards was not the only proponent of post-millennialism in his age, his writings certainly influenced his contemporaries, both in Britain and in the colonies. Joseph Bellamy, Aaron Burr, Jonathan Edwards jnr., Samuel Hopkins, and later Timothy Dwight were all to some extent influenced by Edwards' eschatology. Hopkins, who wrote 'A Treatise on the Millenium', also referred to Lowman and Whitby and expected history to progress towards a time of righteousness on the earth.

The prophecies of the New Testament foretold the universal spread of Christianity, until all nations shall become the servants of Christ; and that Christ and his people shall reign on earth a thousand years.

Both Edwards and Hopkins wrote describing how they imagined the millennial age to be. In both cases there was no specific political system expected, but in all areas, and for all people it would be an age of health, peace and prosperity. Hopkins anticipated a time of holiness and benevolence, an increase of knowledge both in arts and sciences; natural calamities would be prevented, war would be abolished and farming would be advanced. He further expected:
There will be such benevolence and fervent charity . . . that all worldly things will be in a great degree, and in the best manner common, so as not to be withheld from any who may want them. 10

Similarly, Edwards expected a time of peace, righteousness and temporal prosperity. He also explained that there would be a separation between saints and sinners, and that these differences would become visible as the millenial era approached.

Before they were mixed together, and it was impossible in many instances to determine their characters; but now all shall become visible, both saints and sinners shall appear in their true characters and forms. 11

Edwards even used this as an argument for separating saints from sinners, in order to pre-figure the kingdom, and thus hasten its coming. However, separating saints from sinners in the Church, as Edwards attempted to institutionalise in Northampton, unfortunately contributed to his dismissal in 1750.

It is slightly unusual to find such utopianism among 18th. Century Calvinists for whom depravity was a central pillar of their belief. Ultimately progress towards, and the introduction of the kingdom of God, was not dependent on human effort but on the will of God. So sure must they have been of God's purposes in initiating the Millenium, that their faith in God's sovereignty at this point had the effect of eclipsing their deep-rooted belief in depravity.

Millenial Location

It was Edwards' belief that, "the beginning of this great work of God must be near. And there are many things that make it probable that this work will begin in America." 12 The Awakening obviously played a major part in Edwards' conviction that America was to be the location for the commencement of the millenial era. There were, however,
other arguments which he drew on in support of this belief.

For some reason, known only to Edwards, he believed that providence delighted in balance, and therefore, as the Church had been born in the east, and moved west, so its re-birth would be in the west, moving east. He said of the eastern world that, "they shall not have the honour of communicating religion in its most glorious state to us, but we to them." Edwards also stated that because the great figures and acts of biblical history were from the old world, the new world would be given a special task.

It is possible that in some measure to balance these things, the most glorious renovation of the world shall originate from a new continent and the Church of God in that respect be from hence.

Following the same line of argument Edwards pointed out that Christ was born in the old continent, and there, "made the purchase of redemption; so as providence observes a kind of equal distribution of things, it is not unlikely that the great spiritual birth of Christ, and the most glorious application of redemption is to begin in this . . ." continent.

A further argument which Edwards employed was the significance of the timing of events. The two most significant events in his mind were the Reformation, and the discovery of America. In 1742 Edwards stated in, 'Some Thoughts Concerning the . . . Revival . . .'

It is worthy to be noted that America was discovered about the time of the Reformation, or but little before; which Reformation was the first thing that God did towards the glorious renovation of the world, after it had sunk into the depths of darkness and ruin under the great anti-Christian apostacy. So as soon as the new world is (as it were) created, and stands forth in view, God presently goes about doing some great thing to make way for the introduction of the Church's latter day glory, that is to have its first seat in, and is to take its rise from the new world.
Edwards' speculation concerning the discovery of the new world led him to view America as the special location that had been divinely ordained for the initiation of the Kingdom of God, from where it would then spread throughout the world. Through the discovery of America, and the bringing the gospel into it, "divine providence is preparing the way for the future glorious times of the Church, when Satan's kingdom shall be overthrown throughout the whole habitable globe on every side, and on all its continents."  

Edwards also turned to scripture using some rather obscure passages from the Old Testament in support of his belief that America was to be the location for the Kingdom of God. At the height of the revival Edwards clearly expected an imminent Millenium. The revivals for him were evidence of a clear movement towards the establishment of the Kingdom of God. It was also his belief that America would be the location for the commencement of this work. Liberal opponents of the revival, however, did not have such an optimistic view of America. As they considered American society, they decided that civilisation was its first need, and barbarism its first danger. America, therefore, was not a likely location for the new Jerusalem.

Edwards and History

In 1739 Jonathan Edwards gave a series of sermons on the subject, 'A History of the Work of Redemption'. After this he continued to read widely in history, gathering data to supplement his original thesis. For this purpose Edwards kept a notebook entitled, 'Notes on the Apocalypse'. However, Edwards died in 1758, not having had time to incorporate his notes, and thereby revise his original set of sermons. In 1774, his son, Jonathan Edwards jnr. sent the manuscripts of the 1739 lectures to a friend in Edinburgh who had them published. The book was entitled, 'A History of the Work of Redemption', and was published in
Edwards' philosophy of history is important for the insight which it provides into his perspective of the direction of history. He expounded this grand design of history so that, "this great affair of redemption may not appear like confusion to you." As well as his attempts to clarify the purposes behind history, Edwards supplied a further motive for setting out the design of history. It was in order that mankind could be, "made capable of actively falling in with that design and promoting it." 18

Edwards endeavoured to show that at every stage of history, scholars have missed the significance of their age, and collected facts without interpretation, whereas he was not so concerned with the accumulation of historical data, but with providing an interpretation of the data. History for Edwards was a grand scheme; it was not a collection of disjointed events, but a chain of events within an overall scheme. As Edwards brought his theology to bear on the task of interpreting history he was making a large contribution to a tradition that already existed in American Christianity.

In 'A History of the Work of Redemption', Edwards explained that the whole design of history was like a river, whose innumerable branches met only at the end of their respective journeys to the sea. Without knowledge of the overall plan, which was provided by scripture, men would not be able to understand the purpose and direction of history. The Bible could provide significance for isolated events which would otherwise appear, "as a mere jumble and confusion because of the limitedness of our sight." 19

Edwards' 'History of the Work of Redemption', although not as popular as John Foxe's 'Actes and Monuments . . .', had a similar appeal; both were attempting to add to the ongoing tradition of
'Salvation History'. Edwards asked, "shall we prize a history which gives us a clear account of some great earthly prince or mighty warrior, as of Alexander the Great, or Julius Ceasar, or the Duke of Marlborough", and not prize the history which God has wrought for the redemption of his chosen?

History, as Edwards saw it, contained progress and regress within its steady movement towards its goal. Within this steady movement were major periods of revival which confirmed the direction of history. The Old Testament prophets were revivalists, as were the early Christians, and the Christians of the Reformation period. So, in 1739 as Edwards surveyed the 18th Century, the signs seemed to point towards the imminent inauguration of the Millenium. The most important sign for Edwards was the Awakening, which was then sweeping the American colonies. Although Edwards did not attach primary significance to the historical developments of his day they certainly did not go unnoticed. Edwards, like Cotton Mather was always looking for significant signs of the times, which to him would indicate the direction of history. Edwards said he was, "eager to read public news-letters, mainly... to see if I could not find some news favourable to the interest of religion in the world." 

In his 'Notes on the Apocalypse' Edwards noted the advances and setbacks of the Protestant interest in Europe as well as in America. Events such as the decline of Spanish trade, and the introduction of certain taxes in France were noted, along with the burning down of a Jesuit house and library. Elsewhere Edwards referred to the, "almost miraculous taking of Cape-Breton in the year 1745", and in the destruction of Lima by earthquake in 1746 in which, "all the ships in harbour were dashed in pieces as it were in a moment by the immediate hand of God."
Similarly in his correspondence, he discussed whether the French defeat at Cape-Breton was indicative of the pouring out of the sixth vial, or of the slaying of the two witnesses. So, although the Awakening was of primary significance to Edwards, he also looked to contemporary events for an indication of the direction of history. Certainly he did with regard to past centuries, as he emphasised the importance of the settlement of America, and the Reformation occurring at approximately the same period of history.

In the absence of revivals we can only speculate that Edwards might have paid more attention to the affairs of politics and nations in Europe and in the new world. Had this been his position he would probably have anticipated the on-going march of history in the defeat and decline of Catholic forces in the face of Protestant expansion. However, in 1740, with the revivals compelling Edwards' attention, they became the most important 'signpost' of history.

From a present day perspective such endeavours as charting the course of God's plan of history might appear somewhat anachronistic as a method of evaluating history. However, it is essential to see Edwards within context, and to realise that he was not occupying his time with some eccentric Evangelical scheme, but was pursuing a task that was not uncommon in his age. In accepting the presidency of the College of New Jersey in 1758, it was on the condition that he be granted time to write:

A great work, which I call a history of the work of redemption, a body of divinity in an entire new method, being thrown into the form of a history; ... each part stands in reference to the great work of redemption by Jesus Christ; which I suppose to be, of all others, the grand design of God ... particularly considering all parts of the grand scheme in their historical order ... This history will be carried on with regard to all three worlds, heaven, earth, and hell; considering the connected, successive events and alterations in each, so far as the scriptures give any light.
This great work would obviously be derived from his 'Notes on the Apocalypse', which he had gathered over the years.

Other men who were considered to be in the forefront of thinking in their day, such as Sir Isaac Newton, also devoted much time to studying the fulfillment of prophecies, and to fixing a date for the pouring out of the seventh vial of Revelation. Newton also linked prophecy with major events in history, deducing that the Millenium was not far off. Some of Newton's speculations undoubtedly influenced Edwards in his studies.

So, Edwards saw history as a unity, with all phases being different parts of the one scheme. He believed that, "the end of God's creating the world was to prepare a kingdom for his son." There were, however, many intermediate stages to go through; these involved redemption, the Protestant expansion, the discovery of America, and the Great Awakening of the 1740's.

The Decline of the Revival

As we consider the impact of the revival in colonial society it is perhaps slightly surprising that decline set into the movement so soon. The revivals began to decline in 1743, and throughout 1744 the clergy's dejection deepened as there were no fresh revivals to be reported for the 'Christian History'. At this point, Edwards commented that, "the work is put to a stop everywhere and it is the day of the enemy's triumph." Consequently, the 'Christian History' folded up in 1745.

By the late 1740's it was clear that history no longer moved with the same velocity towards the anticipated Millenium. Indeed such a vision was beginning to prove slightly untenable, leading to deferred hope among ministers who had expected the Awakening to lead straight into the Millenium. This unexpected development forced many Christians
to alter their views.

Edwards himself adopted a recurring theory of history, wherein there would be periodic renewals, hastening history on its appointed course. In between, the recurring renewals would be periods for the re-gathering of forces, preparing for another major surge in the direction of the Millenium. Still, for Edwards the happy revival of religion remained the most important 'signpost', indicating progress in history.

In 1758 Joseph Bellamy found it necessary to repudiate outright the theory that the historical drama of the ages, and of his age, was represented by the contest between Catholics and Protestants. This perspective was not uncommon among Christians in the mid 18th Century. Bellamy also dismissed all endeavours to fix the precise time when the reign of anti-Christ had begun, or would end. He then maintained his millenial expectations by disassociating the Millenial future from the events of contemporary history. Thus, he spoke optimistically of Christ's eventual return, without regard to the current level of success or failure of revival, or the direction of events in international politics. His sermon *The Millenium*, was delivered in 1758, without mentioning a single contemporary event, political or religious. Yet, it offered Christians the timeless hope of Christ's eventual return.

Aaron Burr, who was Jonathan Edwards' son-in-law, developed an alternative view in his sermon, *The Watchman's Answer*. He was of the opinion that the course of history since the Reformation had not progressed in a millenial direction. The break with Rome had fallen short; consequently, anti-Christian domination had continued, and deepened. Burr anticipated that a worse period for the Church was yet to come; consequently he did not preach hope and progress, but
an exhortation to endurance and a renewal of the jeremiad theme. In Burr's post-millenialism only divine initiative would defeat the evil forces present among mankind. He still related apocalyptic hopes to the events of contemporary history, but in his case this did not stimulate hope, but pessimism.

War With France

However, after 1745 conflict with the French attracted the attention of many New Englanders, and this provided a new and broader basis for millenial hopes among Christians in America. The position that had been occupied by the spread of Evangelical religion in the 1740's was now taken by victory over the French, and their expulsion from the new world.

Basing itself on the success of Evangelical religion, the Awakening had proved incapable of sustaining millenial enthusiasm, as it had quickly diminished after its initial success. Thus, its promise to lead to the Millenium had been badly undermined, and a new basis was required to sustain the optimism of the 'New Light'-Party, who believed that history was progressing towards the Millenium. The Anglo-French conflicts that claimed New England's attention after 1745 provided just that basis which would fill the gap left by the demise of the Awakening. Nathan O. Hatch, in writing about this period of American history concluded that, "in the wars with France the New England clergy found a broader basis for a millenial hope that could encompass all of society", and as the conflict deepened, the situation arose where many clergymen could hang the whole course of history on the outcome of a battle against an enemy who was described as, "the French king, the pope, and the devil."

The practice of relating apocalypse to history was not a recent development which emerged during the French wars. It was a well
established tradition in the Christian approach to history. However, this tradition underwent a resurgence during the French wars, as the Awakening had played down the importance of relating historical events to eschatology.

Many of the sermons of the Calvinist clergy during the French conflict suggested that the struggle between Papal and Protestant forces might result in the downfall of the anti-Christ. The conflict in North America was escalated into a cosmic drama involving the forces of light and darkness. In this conflict, the French, in league with the anti-Christ, were conspiring to subjugate God's elect in New England. The conflict was charged with this intensity from the outset, when the early victory over the French at Louisbourg was seen by many as a sign that the day was not far off when it would be proclaimed that, "Babylon the great is fallen." 31

The final French defeat in Canada did not bring about the end of millenial enthusiasm. Instead expectation increased, as the French defeat was the removal of an obstacle to the coming kingdom. Not since the high point of the Awakening had ministers been so sure that the new age was about to dawn. Only such 'divine acts' as the Reformation, defeat of the Armada, overthrow of the Stuarts, founding of New England, and the accession of the Hanoverians, could be compared with the expulsion of the French from North America. Hatch suggests that this perspective was widely shared among the clergy.

If there were still some clergymen who in 1760 could not discern the progress of providential history in the French defeat and who, still found their spirits uplifted solely by the concert of prayer, they were few and insignificant. 32

Both 'Old Lights' and 'New Lights' were aware of the French menace, and arguments over religious enthusiasm or an unconverted ministry, to
an extent came second. Jonathan Mayhew was elated on hearing of final British victory, and said that God would initiate, "a most signal revolution in the civil and religious state of things in this world; and all the kingdoms thereof are to become the kingdoms of our Lord."33

Liberty and Tyranny

During the French wars a subtle change took place in Protestant thinking with regard to their enemy. As the clergy began to recount the threat to Protestant liberties that was inherent in French victory, anti-Christ became more a symbol of tyranny than of heresy. The Millenium, consequently, was seen as an age of liberty, rather than one of piety alone. This change is extremely important in a survey of the Protestant scheme of history as seen by Christians in America.

In 1756, John Mellen, a preacher from Lancaster, Massachusetts, spoke of French victory as a threat to the religion and liberties of Protestant New England.

Our enemies may yet triumph over us, and the gospel taken from us instead of being by us transmitted to other nations, it is possible our land may be given to the beast, the inhabitants to the sword, the righteous to the fire of martyrdom, our wives to ravishment, and our sons and our daughters to death and torture.34

As the Protestant clergy related many of the incidents of recent history such as the 'Inquisition', the reign of Queen Mary, Stuart schemes, and Protestant suppression in France, so, the Catholic Church was seen as the enemy of all liberty. French victory, in the eyes of American Protestants, would, therefore, result in enslavement, prison, and torture. In a sermon delivered in 1757, James Cogswell, of Canterbury, Connecticut, encouraged soldiers to:

Fight for liberty and against slavery. Endeavour to stand
the guardians of the religion and liberties of America; to oppose anti-Christ, and prevent the barbarous butchering of your fellow-countrymen.35

In the same sermon he urged troops to be, "inspired with an unconquerable aversion to popery and slavery and an ardent love to religion and liberty." Therein were the lines clearly drawn for the colonial population; on one side Catholicism and oppression, and on the other Protestantism and liberty. In this development we can observe the progress of a specific Protestant understanding of history. The conflict in North America fitted neatly into the scheme that had traditionally been established, and a renewed emphasis was placed on the identification of Catholicism with a denial of liberty, both civil and religious.

The inclusion of liberty as one of the major benefits of Protestantism affected their view of Catholicism. It also affected their millenial expectation, and the religious mythology surrounding the 'Pilgrim Fathers'. As the idea of a Millenium, wherein liberty would be one of the main characteristics, captured the clergy's imagination, so, their forefathers came to be seen as stalwarts of liberty. Jonathan Mayhew referred to the Pilgrims as:

Our ancestors ... whose love of liberty, civil and religious brought them from their native land into the American deserts.36

So it became not only piety, but also liberty that inspired migration to the new world. This was emphasised in a thanksgiving sermon for victory over the French, by Samuel Cooper from Boston, when he described the Puritans as:

Smitten with a love of liberty, and possessed with an uncommon reverence to the dictates of conscience.37

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As New England's Christians traced providential history in the constant struggle between liberty and tyranny, they centred their attention on the British constitution. This in their eyes became the foundation of liberty. In a sermon during this period, Aaron Burr spoke of Great Britain as the, "last stronghold" against anti-Christian power. Britain, for many Christians, was clearly identified as the bastion of freedom, and the bulwark against the schemes of the anti-Christ. It was perceived to be the home of civil liberties, with the 'Glorious Revolution' and the accession of the Hanoverians being high points in this development. In a sermon by Thomas Foxcroft of Boston, the myth was summed up:

Now to single out a few memorable times, and not go beyond the memory of many yet alive--never to be forgotten is that glorious year 1688, signallis'd as a year of the right hand of the most high, by that most seasonable interposition of divine providence in the wonderful revolution; delivering us from the perils we were in of popery and slavery, two of the most comprehensive mischiefs, and securing to us our invaluable laws and liberties, the rights of conscience and the religion of the Protestants--again never to be forgotten is that glorious year 1714, signallis'd as a year of the right hand of the most high by the happy and most seasonable accession of the illustrious House of Hanover to the British throne: Preventing that imminent danger was in at that juncture, when deep laid plots of papal enemies and false brethren threatened to subvert it.

The New England clergy had discovered a new sense of identity as they retold the story of their past, and as they expressed a new vision of what their future was to hold. Not only had the course of providential history followed the rise of liberty, but the triumph of liberty would be realised in the millenial age. Where the 'New Lights' of early 1740's hinged history on the success or failure of Evangelical religion, they now emphasised the triumph of liberty as a major determining factor of the direction of history.

Once the Millenium is identified with liberty it is a very small
step to change one's preoccupation from theology and Evangelical religion to politics. This was clearly demonstrated in the next major phase of American history; the revolutionary era.

However, this emphasis on liberty, surfacing in the mid-eighteenth Century, was not totally new in Protestant thinking. Many reformed leaders, prompted by persecution throughout Europe, had explored every possible concept that could be used to justify resistance and rebellion. Rights derived from natural law, and from the origin of government in a compact between ruler and ruled, were expounded, and the role of magistrates was clearly defined as the guardians of the liberties of the people. Tyranny was frequently criticised in reformed and Puritan thought, and liberty exalted. So it should come as no surprise that this emphasis should again surface among reformed Christians in the American colonies, in the 18th. Century.

The first generation of reformers all provided for the possibility of resisting unjust rulers; their position, however, was quite moderate. This tradition was further developed among English(Marian) exiles in Europe, and among French Huguenots, who stated that rulers should be subject to the rule of law, and should maintain their position by the approval of the people. When a position of trust is abused, the magistrates, and/or the people have a right to remove that ruler. Similarly, in the 17th. Century, many Puritans built upon this development, creating a rich heritage for 18th. Century American Protestants to draw from when faced with an apparently oppressive regime.

In concluding this chapter, attention will be focussed on the two themes discussed in the previous chapter; namely, the hopes that were expressed by Christians for the establishment of America as a Christian nation, and, how American Christians saw their place in history.
It is often hard to separate the two themes as at some points they coalesce in the thinking of American Christians. Edwards, for example regarded the colonising of America, and the bringing the gospel into it as an act of providence, and as such the most recent step in 'Salvation History'. This was in preparation for the most glorious age of the Church, in which America would lead the way. Thus, Edwards' expectations for a 'Christian America' have in part been stimulated by his interpretation of history.

As mentioned previously the Christians of the Awakening did not anticipate any specific political system, but hoped for a converted nation and pure churches. This situation, they believed would ameliorate many social evils, and make for progress in society. The 'New Light' Party, in the height of the Awakening, still appealed to a Protestant scheme of history to aid their understanding of their own place in history. Indeed, past developments were for the purpose of bringing them to this place in history in which God could awaken and renew the Church.

Similarly, Christians during the later colonial period also emphasised history. In this period, however, a new element was introduced whereby history was to be evaluated. It appears that the conflict with France was a central factor leading to the Protestant emphasis on liberty. Undoubtedly the reformed heritage, along with other factors such as British Whiggism and Enlightenment Rationalism also contributed to this emphasis on liberty which came to be a guage for Christians to judge the progress of history. So, liberty was now introduced as a means whereby the past could be evaluated. For the American Protestants, for whom this perspective was relevant, all the major pro-liberty developments belonged to them, whereas Catholicism appeared to embody oppression and slavery.
Liberty, unlike regeneration, could be espoused by all Americans, and so provided the possibility of hope and progress. Where the Awakening had declined, liberty could be seen to be making advances in America. Only within this setting could true Christianity develop and lead on to the millennial age, which was now characterised as an age of liberty and of piety.

Christians in this generation added a new dimension to the re-telling of their past, and in so doing provided for the politicising of the scheme of history. As the advance of liberty now stood as a standard by which to judge history, it explains the relative ease with which the transition was made, from viewing Britain as the foundation of liberty, to viewing it as the enemy. This change was occasioned by the denial of liberty, and the introduction of repressive measures which many of the colonists believed the British Parliament had inflicted upon the American colonies in the 1760's and 1770's.
CHAPTER THREE

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD AND THE EARLY YEARS OF THE NEW NATION

The period of history which will be discussed in this chapter is contained in the last quarter of the 18th Century. This period of history is generally broken down into three main sections; 1775-1783, the period of actual conflict with Britain; 1783-1789, the 'Critical Period', in which America was inefficiently governed by the 'Articles of Confederation'. In this period many problems surfaced that needed to be dealt with to ensure both state autonomy and national unity. The third period is from 1789-1800, and is known as the Federalist period.

At the outset of the Federalist period the Constitution was ratified, and in time proved to have permanence as a system of government for the United States. There were two Presidents in this period, George Washington and John Adams, both of whom were assisted by very capable men in the task of establishing the new nation; men such as Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, and Alexander Hamilton.

Although the founding fathers had cautioned against political parties, they began to emerge in the Federalist period. Initially the division was between those who favoured a strong central government, and those who did not. Inevitably the division became more acute, and soon there were two distinct political parties; the Federalists, and the Democratic Republicans, both with their own popular support, and their own policies for governing the United States.

The end of the 18th Century in America was also a period of marked religious upheaval. The debate concerning the separation of
church and state, and the freedom of religion, which had been most pronounced in Virginia with Jefferson and Madison exercising a formative role, was now a national debate. With the ratification of the Federal Constitution, and later the Bill of Rights, these principles were adopted as national policy. New England, however, held on to its Congregational establishments well into the following century.

For the denominations it was also a period of reorganisation. Some denominations were more affected by the Revolution than others, but all, to some degree needed to consider their present organisation and the religious needs of the new nation.

This period of American history will provide the background against which this chapter will conduct an enquiry into how American Christians perceived their place in history, and what, if any, religious significance did they attribute to their new nation. The themes that will be developed in this chapter will continue the emphasis of previous chapters. In this chapter it will be necessary to look again at the Protestant scheme of history, which was a dynamic system whereby Christians could gain an understanding of their place in history, and a means of evaluating contemporary events. From this perspective it will be asked, what interpretation did American Christians make of their present crisis: the Revolution and the establishment of a republican government. The question of whether American Christians still entertained hopes for America as a Christian nation will be dealt with, and if so, what form did these hopes take.

Revolutionary Ideology

In order to understand why so many American Christians were found to be in support of the Revolution, it is essential to look, not only
at the specific grievances that the colonists claimed were being inflicted on them, but to look at the political framework within which American Christians claimed that their rights and liberties were being abused. This understanding had its main roots in 16th Century Calvinism, and in English Puritanism. It was then passed onto the revolutionary generation via English Whigs such as John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and John Tyrrell. As Americans sought to influence the society they lived in, their understanding of how it should be governed proved to be of vital importance.

From the sources mentioned above, American Christians understood government to be a social contract, made by free and independent individuals. It was instituted by the consent of the governed, and was to be reformed or replaced if it failed to fulfil its purpose. The theory of a social contract was a secularisation of the earlier Puritan idea of a social covenant. In this, citizens agreed to abide by the rules and regulations which they believed were established by God, and taught in the Bible. The idea of a social contract was therefore familiar to those acquainted with New England's covenant theology. English Whigs, however, developed a concept of government that replaced scripture, as that which was to be agreed upon, by natural rights.

All men, they believed, had rights to life, liberty, and property, but in an uncontrolled environment the individual could not always protect his rights against others. So, civil government was established to preserve men's natural rights. In the creation of civil government men contracted to establish an authority which would protect their rights and judge disputes between one man and another.

In their writing English Whigs emphasised four important rights. The individual's natural right to life, liberty, and property. The
individual's right to participate in civil government by means of a contract. The right of subjects to give their consent to decisions affecting them, and the right to resist an illegitimate exercise of power by those entrusted with authority.

These inalienable rights that Whigs spoke of were not drawn from the Bible, as were the principles upon which the Puritan social covenant was based. Instead they were derived from reason and natural law. They were, however, believed to be God-given and intrinsic to human nature. Alexander Hamilton, who was George Washington’s first secretary of the treasury, said that:

The sacred rights of mankind are not to be rummaged for among old parchments or musty records. They are written as with a sunbeam, in the whole volume of human nature, by the hand of divinity itself, and can never be erased or obscured by mortal power.¹

Similarly, John Dickinson, another American revolutionary leader wrote of rights, that they:

Are created in us by the decrees of providence, which establish the laws of our nature. They are born with us; exist with us, and cannot be taken from us by any human power without taking our lives. In short they are founded on the immutable maxims of reason and justice.²

The idea of a social contract based upon natural rights provided the theory for Jonathan Mayhew's 'Discourse on Unlimited Submission'. As a result of sermons such as this, Mayhew was regarded as a radical, and one of the main instigators of revolution, but what he said appears to have been fairly common among clergy of the revolutionary period.

Mayhew questioned the principle of absolute submission to a ruler by asking if, "disobedience and resistance may not be justifiable in some cases". In his reply to this question, Mayhew stated that
submission is not required, "to all who bear the title of rulers in common, but only to those who actually perform the duty of rulers by exercising a reasonable and just authority for the good of human society". Should a government fail to serve its proper ends, and abuse the authority entrusted to it, then citizens should withhold from their, "rulers that obedience and subjection which it would otherwise be(their)duty to render to them". Mayhew made clear, that should the situation arise wherein a ruler was abusing his position, it was the responsibility of the people to resist that abuse of power.

For a nation thus abused to arise unanimously and to resist their prince, even to the dethroning him, is not criminal, but a reasonable way of vindicating their liberties and just rights; it is making use of the means, and the only means which God has put into their power, for mutual and self-defence. And it would be highly criminal in them not to make use of this means.  

In some historical accounts of this period Mayhew is considered a revolutionary instigator. In others, his rhetoric is seen as merely being in support of the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. Even if his sermons were intended to justify the radical action of a previous generation, his political outlook would have undoubtedly provided a radical framework for American citizens who were contending with a more immediate danger than the continuation of the Stuart monarchs. The thinking that was developed by English Whigs, and employed by both liberal Christians and revolutionary politicians in America emphasised inalienable rights, which were based on reason and natural law. This was clearly more conducive to liberal thought than it was to Evangelical thought. This distinction will be discussed next by drawing attention to some of the emphases which were at the forefront of Calvinist Evangelical thought during and after the Revolution.
Evangelicals

A social contract theory based on natural rights easily lends itself to the liberal Christian position of the 18th. Century. Although Evangelicals also referred to Locke, and spoke of natural rights, such a system based on truths derived from a reasonable observation of nature does not fit comfortably into the Evangelical mind of the 18th. Century. Evangelicals also did not need English Whigs to instruct them concerning resistance to tyranny. They belonged to a tradition that had long emphasised the role of magistrates as guardians of the liberties of the people, and the people's right to resist the abuse of authority on the part of the ruler. Indeed, it was this tradition that had been of vital importance to the Whigs in the development of their views. So, if a social contract theory based on natural rights is more conducive to liberal thought, it is important to ask what were the particular emphases of Evangelicals as they tried to make sense of history in the latter half of the 18th. Century.

Central to the Evangelical position was their emphasis on liberty, which was viewed as the natural partner of Protestant religion. In their definition of liberty, Evangelicals did not totally rely on the influence of English Whigs, or French philosophers, but drew also from another source. That source being Calvinist theology, and in particular that of Jonathan Edwards. Of special importance was his, 'Careful and Strict Enquiry Into the Modern Prevailing Notions of That Freedom of Will Which is Supposed to be Essential to Moral Agency'. What proved to be of importance was Edwards' definition of liberty as, "the ability to do as one chooses". 4

This, however, raised questions for Evangelicals in the 1770's which Edwards did not have to deal with in the 1740's. What was to
happen in the situation where Christians were hindered for some external political reason from acting in accordance with their choice. Christians of the revolutionary era decided that if men were to be wholly free to do God's will, to do that which was good, just and honest, then external political liberty was absolutely essential. So, American Evangelicals sought to remove all external hindrances to their action. If they could not act in accordance with God's will then clearly they did not possess liberty. Faced with this predicament many Christians decided that it could be resolved only by ending British rule in the colonies.

A further reason why the colonies sought to break ties with Britain was because of British corruption. The British administration was seen by American Christians as oppressive and immoral. Nathaniel Niles in his, 'Two Discourses on Liberty', said, when Americans saw their community plundered:

For the sake of indulging individuals in pride, luxury, idleness, and debauchery—when we see thousands rewarded with pensions, or having either devised or attempted to execute some scheme for plundering a nation and establishing despotism, we cannot be in doubt whether some horrid attack is made on liberty.5

American Christians clearly did not want to support a system that in their eyes contained such corruption. They were, however, not free to reject it. Stephen Johnson of Lyme, Connecticut, also drew attention to British corruption, and in a fast-day sermon, said of the Stamp-Act:

As to the contrivers and authors of such oppressions, a most venal, covetous and arbitrary spirit of lawless ambition is generally the accursed spring and incentive of this great wickedness. And what is the tendency of their slavish measures, carried into execution, but to add fuel to ungodly lusts; to inflame their avarice, pride and arbitrary boundless ambition; to plunge them into all manner of unrighteousness and oppression, debauchery and wickedness.6
As American Christians spoke of the corruption of Europe, and Britain in particular, they began to draw a moral line between the old world and the new. The obvious consequence that followed from this was attempts by Americans to limit the political and cultural influence of Britain in the American colonies. Also, as has been noted previously, American Christians often grafted contemporary values onto their image of the early Puritans. It was believed that they had come to the new world in order to:

Remove their children, their posterity, from the snares, oppressions and corruptions of the old world; which, however, have been permitted to follow them hither like a flood of waters, cast forth out of the dragons mouth.\(^7\)

Throughout the 1770's there was a general agreement among Christians that the British administration was wholly corrupt and self-seeking, and must therefore be resisted. Typical of this mood were some thoughts expressed in a sermon by Samuel Langdon.

We have lived to see the time . . . when British liberty is just ready to expire; when that constitution of government which has so long been the glory and strength of the English nation is deeply undermined and ready to tumble into ruins.\(^8\)

A further Evangelical emphasis which proved to be at variance with rationalist thought was the Evangelical emphasis on the 'common good', instead of individual natural rights. Niles considered Locke's contract theory unhelpful as it was based around the conserving of private interests as opposed to the common good. Many Evangelical sermons that touched on political theory during the revolutionary period emphasised this. Niles stated that government must not be founded on private interest as:

Just so far as his affection is turned on private interest, he will become regardless of the common good, and when he is
detached from the community in heart, his service will be very precarious at best, and those will not be expected at all which imply self-denial. 9

This has obvious links with the earlier Puritan idea of a 'body politic'; of viewing the community as a moral entity, which was evident in the period of Puritan settlement. In emphasising the common good, Niles, who was closely associated with Joseph Bellamy, was bringing another Edwardean emphasis into the revolutionary period. In a sermon by Thomas Allen both concepts of the body politic, and the common good are linked as Allen points out that the health of a body is directly related to the well being of all its members.

The natural body is only in health and vigour when every organ is disposed to act its part. So the body politic can only be in health, and prosper when every member unites regularly, and ardently to preserve the privileges of the whole. 10

Thus, as Britain was clearly acting in a way that was detrimental to the welfare and prosperity of Americans, so it was attacking the common good, and was therefore to be resisted by the combined efforts of all the colonists. Another Evangelical emphasis of locating sovereignty with the people, guaranteed that the common good would be protected; as those whose welfare was being considered were to be the ultimate source of civil authority. Thus they would protect their own collective interests. Jonas Clark, of Lexington, Massachusetts, in a sermon in April 1775, the month in which the Revolution began, emphasised these principles.

It remains with the community, state, or nation, as a public, political body, at any time, at pleasure to change, alter, or even totally dissolve the Constitution, and return to a state of nature, or to form anew, as to them shall seem meet. 11

So, the Evangelical perspective of the revolutionary period saw,
proceeding from a now corrupted Britain, an attack on liberty, a
disregard for the common good, and a denial of the sovereignty of the
people. This led many Evangelicals to adopt a revolutionary stance,
and a determination to sever political ties with Great Britain.

Colonial Grievances

The principles previously discussed provided the framework through
which Christians evaluated the grievances and restrictions which they
shared with other colonists.

In 1763 Britain began to tighten the colonial system. This
resulted in decisions which affected the livelihood of the colonies
being made by Parliament, without adequate colonial representation.
Legislation was passed restricting American trade, which was
thereafter organised in a way that benefitted Britain and impoverished
America. Britain also attempted to extract more money from the
colonies by means of a 'Stamp Act'; which required a tax on newspapers
and other legal documents, and by an increased export tax.

The suggested establishment of an Anglican bishop in the colonies
also aroused fierce hostility. Jonathan Mayhew spoke of, "the
stamping and episcopising (of) our colonies (as) . . . only different
branches of the same plan of power." \(^{12}\) Ezra Stiles indicated that much
of the opposition to the 'Stamp-Act' was based on a recognition that if,
"a parliamentary revenue had been established independent of the
colonial assemblies", the door would have been opened for the
appropriation of funds, "for half a dozen bishops on this continent". \(^{13}\)
Similarly, John Adams later commented that:

The apprehensions of episcopacy contributed . . . as
much as any other cause to arouse the attention not only
of the inquiring mind, but the common people, and urge
them to close thinking on the constitutional authority
of Parliament over the colonies. \(^{14}\)
All of this was bitterly resented by the colonists; decisions were being made concerning the colonies without adequate colonial representation. Britain also maintained a standing army in order to enforce laws enacted by Parliament. This army was in part supported by colonial taxes.

The position that Britain adopted in this developing conflict brought responses of disgust and horror from colonial Christians. They saw their rights denied, liberty abused, and selfishness and greed characterising the British administration. In 1774, Levi Hart asked, what "epithets of lasting infamy" were "black enough to draw the picture of the inhuman parricide, who basks in the glare of riches and grandeur at the expense of the public welfare".15 There were also many other strongly worded statements from the clergy denouncing Britain's role in this conflict. Typical of this was a statement produced by the Connecticut General Association of Ministers.

Increased Politicisation of the Scheme of History

In the decades prior to the Revolution the traditional scheme of history that had contributed to American Christians' understanding of history was substantially redefined. As Christians had observed the
course of Christianity in the past two centuries, they had noted that the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism had continually demonstrated that reformed Christianity had produced civil and religious liberty, whereas Catholicism led to oppression and tyranny. The war with France had generally been responsible for bringing this awareness to the forefront of the minds of the colonial Christians.

So, liberty, as well as piety, was now considered a gauge, if not the most important gauge of the progress and direction of history for Protestants. An emphasis on liberty was grafted onto events of the past, and the prevalence of civil liberty was used to evaluate the present. Also for Christians the anticipated climax of history, the Millenium, was perceived as an age in which liberty would be fully realised.

This concept of history as a dynamic struggle between a spirit of freedom and one of tyranny produced a system for understanding the particular events of history. As the French wars fitted into this scheme, so did the conflict with Britain. This understanding of history encompassed everything from the Reformation to the 'Stamp-Act', and the suggested establishment of an American bishop. As liberty appeared to be departing from Britain, so it was being established in America. America in many minds, therefore, was linked with the advance of history, and consequently with the Kingdom of God.

As mentioned previously, once liberty is the all important element, it is a very small step to look for the advance of history in political solutions. As the decades prior to the Revolution had introduced a political element to the concept of providential history, so the revolutionary era reinforced this process of politicisation.

In suggesting that the Protestant scheme of history was now politicised, it does not mean that Christians were necessarily
demanding a specific form of political organisation in the colonies, but that the issues debated were now political, and a political solution was sought. Conversion and holiness of life was not now considered sufficient to hasten history on its destined path towards the millenial kingdom of God. A political element was also required that would produce civil and religious liberty. This would provide a secure basis for the spread of pure Christianity. Along with other Christians, David Austin believed that two revolutions were necessary to usher in the millenial kingdom.

Two great revolutions are to take place, the first outward and political, the second inward and spiritual—the first is now taking place; its happy effects we in this country already enjoy; and O that the Lord would graciously put it into the hearts of his ministers and churches, nay of all now under the dominion of civil and religious liberty, to begin the second revolution, that which is inward and spiritual, even the revolution of the heart.17

British Tyranny

With liberty as the gauge of historical progress, Britain was now taking on the role of being the oppressor, and the enemy of providence. Abraham Keteltas clearly depicted the different positions that Britain and America had adopted by saying of the American cause that it was:

The cause of truth against error and falsehood; the cause of righteousness against iniquity; the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor; the cause of pure undefiled religion against bigotry superstition and human inventions... in short it is the cause of heaven against hell—of the kind parent of the universe against the prince of darkness and the destroyer of the human race.18

Britain had been a major stronghold of liberty and reformed religion, but in the eyes of American Christians was now losing its credibility as, in their eyes, it became an oppressive and corrupt regime.
Ebenezer Baldwin pointed out that in this there was an opportunity for America. The focus of history was now moving, and before long, America:

Will build an empire upon the ruins of Great Britain, will adopt its constitution purged of its impurities and from an experience of its defects will guard against those evils which have wasted its vigour and brought it to an untimely end. 19

Strong language was being used by American Christians to describe the role that Britain was now taking in history. As liberty was the sacred cause of God, so likewise, tyranny was the tool of the anti-Christ. The Protestant scheme of history only permitted two sides; both fiercely opposed to one another. England's position was now that of the opponent of liberty and of God.

In 1776, two ministers, Samuel West, a liberal, and Samuel Sherwood, an Evangelical, both reached the conclusion that the horrible wild beast of Revelation, chapter thirteen applied to British tyranny rather than the Church of Rome. West pointed out that the tyrant of 1776 is described, "by the apostle John in the Revelation, thirteenth chapter, from the first to the tenth verse, where the apostle gives a description of a horrible wild beast". West insisted that Americans were fighting for a, "victory over the beast and over his image—over every species of tyranny", 20 in which the ultimate enemy was Satan himself.

Similarly, Sherwood came to the conclusion that the prophecies referring to the beast in Revelation could not be narrowly confined to papal Rome, but could be applied to another persecuting power. That being, "the corrupt system of tyranny and oppression that has been fabricated and adopted by the ministry and Parliament of Great Britain". 21
The Millenium

As America was now for many Christians the central focus of God's plan for history, a plan that would climax in the Millenium, this now reinforced the view that America would be instrumental in initiating the Kingdom of God upon earth. Many Christian preachers in referring to the Millenium emphasised the importance of the Revolution as a major step in the progress of history towards a millenial age. David Tappan spoke of the Revolution as a principal link in a, "grand chain of providence", which was necessary for the arrival at a, "millenial state". This emphasis was also brought out by John Rodgers who in 1784 said:

What great things has the God of providence done for our race' by the Revolution we this day celebrate. He has provided an asylum for the oppressed . . . and in due time the universal establishment of the Messiah's kingdom.

A different angle was provided by David Austin, who in, 'The Millenial Door Thrown Open', gives a political interpretation of Daniel's prophecy as he viewed the Revolution as a major event leading to the downfall of the anti-Christ. This was another important step in the journey towards the Millenium. Austin says that the stone in Daniel chapter two was symbolic of the American Revolution.

The political stone which is now giving the deadly shock to the last section of the babylonish image . . . was it not the weighty stone which we all helped to lift, during the introduction and progress of that political revolution through which we have just now passed.

For Austin this new nation would end the rule of anti-Christ, and for Ebenezer Baldwin this new nation founded on civil and religious liberty, "shall be the principal seat of that glorious kingdom which Christ shall erect upon earth in the latter days."
Timothy Dwight employed the medium of poetry to communicate his belief in the centrality of America in initiating the Millenium. The Millenium he perceived was to be one of prosperity, peace and human advancement, beginning in America, and thereafter spreading throughout the world.

**Threats to a Christian America**

Christianity in America towards the end of the 18th Century found itself under considerable threat, as it was believed that there were many forces set on attacking and undermining Christianity. In this section, some of the threats that American Christians feared might disrupt the well being and survival of Christianity, will be described. Following this, their response to the situation which they found themselves in will be discussed, and the steps which they took to ensure the survival and spread of Christianity in the United States.

After independence, churchmen became aware of the poor state of Christianity in the new nation. Church life had been severely disrupted by the war, pastors had joined the army as chaplains or as soldiers, congregations were scattered, and church buildings had been commandeered as barracks. Denominational life had also been disrupted, and most of the denominations faced a period of reorganisation in the post-war period.

Religion was also at a low ebb in the colleges and universities. At Princeton in 1789, only a few students, "made any pretensions to piety, and that none attended the prayer meetings except tutors and three or four students". Other colleges testified to the same problem.

Further concern was occasioned by the flow of people into the fertile valleys beyond the mountains. Thus, the importance of the West was realised, bringing a sense of alarm, as within a short time
the balance of political power in the new nation would be in the West; in the hands of those migrating to newer settlements. If America was to be a Christian nation, those shortly to hold the balance of political power must be brought under the influence of the Church.

The threat of Deism also caused concern among the clergy towards the end of the 18th Century. In their eyes the spread of this philosophy would certainly lead to the end of Christianity, and the destruction of the new nation.

Deism

Deism was a development that emerged from late 17th. and early 18th. Century rationalism. For these rationalists the discovery of nature's laws banished mystery from the universe, which was now perceived as a vast mechanism, intelligible and harmonious, the product of a reasonable God. Another contributory source of Deism can be found in Church of England latitudinarians. They were seeking to broaden the Church, and thereby to overcome Christian divisions. In order to achieve this they attempted to find general points of agreement which all reasonable men could give assent to as essential articles of faith.

Deism in America

Before and during the war of independence, most American deists did not favour an attack upon the Christian system of faith and morals, as this might lead to undesirable social consequences. Deism generally involved subscription to three basic premises. A first cause, acceptance of a future state, and an emphasis on virtuous living. Most Americans who adhered to a Deist philosophy were wealthy, educated, and well-born. They initially made no attempt to spread their beliefs among the masses, or popularise them in any way. Neither did they critically examine the Bible. In fact Deists before
the 1780's remained an aristocratic cult.

As a consequence of the revolutionary era Christianity was seen by many as merely another facet of the decadent old regimes of Europe, along with monarchy, aristocracy, and militarism. Christianity, therefore came under attack from many Deists who were convinced that with republicanism a new era had begun. This was probably one of the main factors which occasioned the militancy of American Deists, who then considered the remaining religious establishments of New England to be a natural target. So, by the mid 1790's a situation of extreme hostility had developed between the clergy of the New England Standing Order and many of the American Deists.

Of particular prominence in the rise of militant Deism were Tom Paine and Elihu Palmer. Paine, in response to seeing the higher French clergy in the Roman Catholic Church allied with the monarchy, began an attack on biblical revelation which he saw as the very basis of Christianity. Paine, therefore, produced, 'The Age of Reason', which was published in America in 1794.

Elihu Palmer was a Baptist minister who had to resign because of incompatible views. In 1793 Palmer proclaimed the dawn of, "the age of reason and philosophy". He thought that the time had arrived for the advent of a, "pure unadulterated morality", stripped of all, "mysteries and external trappings". In his, 'Principle of Nature', Palmer attacked the Christian dogmas and claim to divine revelation in an attempt to divorce morality from theology.

The Deism of Paine and Palmer was designed to reach the masses in order to destroy traditional Christianity, with its dogmas, priests, and supernatural revelation. They aimed to replace Christianity with a natural religion, which included belief in God and immortality, and the practice of virtue. Deists began to organise societies, establish
newspapers, and to popularise their new faith, a faith which they believed was the religious component of equality and liberty, and demonstrated man's intellectual progress from mystery and superstition towards a reasonable religion.

Deism and Politics

The Enlightenment was important in shaping the thought of many of the leaders of the American Revolution, some of whom were unashamedly Deists with regard to their religious opinions. Consequently, Thomas Jefferson, because of his Deist views, was considered to be a threat by many New England Christians. In his election campaign he became the target of conservatives who saw in his campaign for the Presidency, a plot to eradicate Christianity.

Many things are ignored in this generalisation that the New England clergy produced of Democratic Republicans as infidels, and Federalists as supporters of true religion. In New England, both the Baptist and Methodist denominations supported the Democratic Republicans, as these denominations and the Jeffersonians found common ground in opposition to the Standing Order of New England. The generalisation also falls down with regard to Scotch/Irish Presbyterians of the Middle Colonies, who also had Jeffersonian sympathies.

Inaccurate though it may be, this generalisation seemed to permeate most of the pulpit propaganda which spread from New England's churches, resulting in Congregationalists taking refuge in the Federalist Party. As the clergy looked around for someone to blame for the spread of infidelity, and the perceived threat from the Jeffersonians, they saw in France the source of these problems. This link provided for them an enemy responsible for the current state of affairs, and confirmed the clergy's alliance with the 'Francophobic' Federalists.
The French Revolution

Although by the late 1790's many Christians saw France as the source of all America's current problems, it had not always been that way. Before the New England clergy saw themselves under attack they were quite certain that the French Revolution was a continuation of what had taken place in America.

At the outbreak of the French Revolution, Dwight said, "the minds of the Americans anticipated with a rapturous enthusiasm the emancipation of twenty-five millions of their fellow men from the thralldom of despotism and superstition". Another preacher that later criticised the French Revolution was Jedidiah Morse, but he likewise had not always been anti-French. Morse had said that the French cause was, "unquestionably good", as for, "errors and irregularities", of the revolutionaries, they were, "proceeding almost necessarily from the magnitude and the difficulties of their undertaking(and)are not to be justified, nor yet too severely censured. All circumstances taken into view, they ought perhaps in a great measure to be excused".

Morse was prepared, for the sake of revolution, to excuse such atrocities as the prison massacres of 1792, which included many priests and a few bishops, and the execution of the king in January 1793. He also excused the de-Christianisation of 1793, which was an open attack on the Church, and the massacre of many priests, monks, and nuns, who were in the zones affected by the civil war in 1793. None of these horrific events aroused criticism from Morse; throughout he remained committed to the revolutionary cause. Indeed, throughout this period he appears to have remained optimistic concerning the outcome.
When peace and free government shall be established, and the people have liberty and leisure to examine for themselves, we anticipate, by means of the effusions of the Holy Spirit, a glorious revival and prevalence of pure unadulterated Christianity.31

Such views were quite common among clergy whose sermons were published during the first five years of the French Revolution. The problems that France was faced with were considered cathartic; necessary to clear away the evils of the old regime. Throughout the periods of anti-religious activity, the clergy still supported the revolutionary cause in France as a continuation of the American struggle for liberty.

Among the clergy, David Tappan of Harvard, remained a critic of the French Revolution, although Federalist politicians had spoken out against it. A turn around in clerical attitudes can be observed in 1794, when the French Revolution was perceived to be the link that was responsible for the spread of both Jeffersonian politics and infidelity, both of which posed a threat to New England's Christians. In 1794, David Osgood of Medford, Massachusetts, attacked the French Revolution as anarchy and irreligion, and in a November thanksgiving sermon, he said, admiration for France had led some Americans to embrace irreligion. The following year witnessed a change of opinion; fast, election, and thanksgiving sermons became opportunities to attack the French. In 1796 Morse commented:

Very few of the clergy in the circle of my acquaintance seem disposed to pray for the success of the French...and I apprehend the complexion of the thanksgiving sermons throughout New England this year is very different from those of last in respect to this particular.32

The change of attitudes among the New England clergy occurred not in response to events in France, but those at home. Political and
philosophical movements in the United States such as the rise of militant Deism and the Democratic Republican Party contained for the clergy a threat of social disorder and irreligion. Both of these would destroy their hopes for the establishment of a Christian nation.

All this was taking place at a time when division in American politics was becoming more apparent between the Federalists and the Democratic Republicans. Federalists emphasised a strong central government, and attempted to develop links with the ecclesiastical, judicial, and business communities. This alliance they believed should shoulder the responsibility of government. The Federalists saw a natural identification with British interests. The Democratic Republicans, or Jeffersonians, however, had a more egalitarian emphasis, placing more trust in the abilities and wisdom of the common man. Much of their support came from farmers and small shop-keepers. The Jeffersonians, although many of their leaders were Deists, had the support of most dissenting denominations as they sought disestablishment and freedom of religion in the United States. The Democratic Republicans saw the American Revolution repeated in the French, and therefore, their sympathies lay with France. So, in this situation the Federalists succeeded in arousing clerical fears at the rise of the Jeffersonians by instilling in the conservative minded a sense of political and social crisis in the mid 1790's.

An extreme example of clerical reaction is seen, when on May 9th, 1798, Jedidiah Morse, preaching in New North Church, Boston, and later that day in Charlestown, said, that agents of a secret European organisation who were dedicated to the destruction of all civil and ecclesiastical authority had infiltrated the United States. This organisation had links with free-masonry, and was known as the 'Illuminati'. They had been responsible for the French Revolution, and
sought to bring about similar chaos in the United States.

The response to Morse's sermon was immediate: journalists, clergy, and politicians repeated his claims, and called for an end to this foreign influence, and for strong central government, social unity, and a revival of religion as a safeguard. David Tappan of Harvard, and Timothy Dwight of Yale, also spoke of this conspiracy, thereby adding to the general panic.

Morse's claim was based on a secret document which he claimed he had in his possession, but was never able to produce. Another of Morse's sources was a book on the subject by John Robison, Professor of natural philosophy at Edinburgh University, entitled, 'Proofs of a Conspiracy Against all the Religions and Governments of Europe Carried on in the Secret Meetings of Masons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies'.

So, in the French Revolution the clergy found an identifiable source of America's problems. This they employed to counteract infidelity at home. In the Federalist Party they found a political basis for their campaign against infidelity, jacobinism, and Jefferson. A 'Christian America'

Towards the end of the 18th Century the clergy's understanding of a Christian nation developed a profound moral emphasis. This came about because they questioned the ability of Christian morality to survive in a liberal republican government, assailed by the immorality inherent in Deist philosophy.

The reasons for their emphasis on morality is made clearer when we understand that the clergy saw immorality as a downward spiral leading to social disorder, anarchy, and the consequent dissolution of the Union. This would mean the termination of, 'The City on a Hill', the failure of the, 'Errand into the Wilderness', and the infiltration of old world corruption into the new world. America would then,
because of its failure to conform to the divine plan of history, lose the opportunity of leading the world into the Millenium, and lose the mission of imparting liberty and pure Christianity to other nations.

As American Christians found themselves living under a new political structure that promised a greater degree of liberty, so the well being of society depended on the individual practice of virtue to a greater degree than before. John Adams was aware of this danger:

> There is one enemy who to me is more formidable than famine, pestilence, and the sword, I mean the corruption which is prevalent in so many American hearts, a depravity that is more inconsistent with our republican government than light is with darkness.\(^{33}\)

This danger that Adams referred to was also very prominent in the minds of New England clergymen. While a benevolent monarch might be able to control a corrupt society, in a republic the full responsibility for liberty and virtue was placed on the shoulders of the people.

> Virtue is the spirit of a republic; for where all power is derived from the people, all depends on their good disposition.\(^{34}\)

The liberal political structure of the new nation proved insufficient to offset these anxieties, held especially by the clergy. It was abundantly clear to them that human nature remained the same in the new world as it had been in the old; despite Thomas Jefferson's confidence in the essential goodness of those who laboured on the land:

> Those who labour on the earth are the chosen people of God ... whose breasts he has made his peculiar deposit for substantial and genuine virtue ... corruption of morals in the mass of cultivators is a phenomenon of which no age nor nation has furnished an example.\(^{35}\)
The clergy in New England clearly did not share this confidence; instead, in their sermons they renewed the theme of depravity, a theme which led David Tappan in 1783 to fear for the safety of the Union.

I shall therefore endeavour to show that though the morning of our political deliverance is come, yet a dark night in some respects still overspreads us, and a darker still seems preparing to visit us; which threatens to eclipse us, if not totally extinguish that dawning light which has begun to cheer and bless this western world . . . which leads me to add, the common depravity of human nature, in which we share with the rest of our species casts a dark shade over the present bright interval, and too strongly presages that it will not be constant and lasting. Such is the depraved temper of our world.36

In looking at the classical republics of ancient Greece and Rome, the clergy were of the opinion that they collapsed, not because of foreign conquest, but because of their own vice. Timothy Dwight took this line in his sermon, 'The True Means of Establishing Public Happiness'. He states that Greece and Rome did not comprehend the depths of their own moral problem. Their philosophers failed to develop a, "plan for amending the human character", and were unable to encourage virtue, in order to control the forces which disposed men to be, "ignorant, vicious, and unhappy . . . slaves of appetite and passion".37

So, as the clergy realised that, "liberty can no more exist without virtue",38 they asked, "can the selfishness of the heart be tamed?"39 In so doing they were questioning the viability of the Union. The quest for virtue blended both patriotism and Christianity, as virtue would ensure the spread of Christianity, and the survival of the Republic.

In the pursuit of virtue in the new Republic, the clergy concluded that a tight bond was necessary between civil and sacred, in order to
preserve society from disorder. This provided a further motive for
the clergy's commitment to Federalism, as it offered a strong
central government which the clergy were convinced was essential. If
the Republic was to last, "it must make provision for curbing the
lusts and bounding the riotous appetites of men". 40

Liberty and Slavery

For some Christians of this period, the objective of establishing
America as a Christian nation took expression in anti-slavery sentiment.
It was impossible to strive towards building a righteous nation while
it played host to the institution of slavery. Christians who held a
belief in the special destiny of the American nation, and who had a
conscience informed both by revolutionary ideology and Christianity,
found no place in America for slavery. If the on-going progress of
providential history was to be characterised by the advance of
liberty, how could America tolerate slavery. In later chapters the
slavery debate will assume a more central position, but in this period,
for some, it was clearly an aspect of their hope that America would be
a Christian nation.

Although Quakers had protested about slavery before the Revolution,
it was the emphases of the Revolution that demonstrated the
inconsistency of slavery, and clarified the issues in many people's
thinking. This then provided the initial spark for a protest which
was going to have a marked effect on American life in the next
century.

Many Americans, both preachers and politicians in the 1770's
pointed to the irony of America having slaves, and yet talking of
their own rights in a land of liberty. Benjamin Rush encouraged
Americans to pursue the cause of general liberty because, "the plant
of liberty is so tender a nature that it cannot thrive long in the
neighbourhood of slavery". Also, borrowing from the Puritan theme of a 'City on a Hill', Rush exhorted the new nation to, "remember the eyes of all Europe are fixed upon you to preserve an asylum for freedom in this country after the last pillars of it are fallen in every other quarter of the globe". The sin of slavery could well condemn the United States to be, as Governor Winthrop has said of the first New England Puritans if they failed in their mission,

A story and a by-word through the world, wee shall open the mouthes of enemies to speake evill of the wayes of God and all professours for God's sake; wee shall shame the faces of many of God's worthy servants, and cause theire prayers to be turned into cusses.

The problem of reconciling slavery with American professions of freedom was especially emphasised in the north and mid-colonies. In 1774 John Allen, a New England Baptist preacher, highlighted the hypocrisy in, 'The Watchman's Alarm'. He said that the, "iniquitous and disgraceful", practice of keeping African slaves violated every known law; civil, social, divine, or natural. In bringing the debate into a revolutionary framework, he said:

Blush ye pretended patriots: who are making a mockery of your profession by trampling on the sacred natural rights and privileges of Africans; for while you are fasting, praying, non-importing, non-exporting, remonstrating, resolving, and pleading for a restoration of your charter rights, you are at the same time continuing this lawless, cruel, inhuman, and abominable practice of enslaving your fellow creatures.

Allen's tract continued its unrelenting attack on slavery, which was strengthened throughout by his skilful comparison of the causes of the Revolution with the plight of the slaves.

Two further pamphlets from Congregational ministers powerfully put forward the anti-slavery argument, and in so doing made the dual appeal to revolutionary ideology and Christian theology. Levi Hart, in
a sermon given in Farmington, Connecticut, in 1774, contrasted liberty and slavery; accusing the American states of tyranny and oppression because innocent people were being deprived of their rights. Hart asked:

When oh when shall the happy day come that Americans shall be consistently engaged in the cause of liberty?  

Hart was convinced that only then will American liberty be established on a lasting foundation.

Samuel Hopkins also took up the anti-slavery cause. For several years Hopkins had worked to free slaves from masters who lived close to his church in Newport, Rhode Island. His concern for the slaves was no doubt influenced by the doctrines of 'Disinterested Benevolence', and 'General Atonement', both of which formed part of Hopkins' contribution to the theological tradition of New England. Hopkins believed that the cause of the colonies, and of emancipation to be indissolubly linked. In 1776, Hopkins wrote a sixty-three page pamphlet entitled, 'A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of Africans; Shewing it to be the Duty and Interest of the American Colonies to Emancipate all the African Slaves...'. In it he stated that the slavery which the American colonies complain of, "is lighter than a feather compared to their(slaves)heavy doom, and may be called liberty and happiness when contrasted with the most abject slavery and innuterable wretchedness to which they are subjected". Hopkins also wrote a letter to Congress highlighting this problem. He believed that the struggle for liberty in America could only prosper under God's protection, and that would never be fully granted while the enslavement of the Negro continues. Hopkins believed the guilt of slave-owning was national, and so should be the repentance. These
themes were taken up and emphasised by later abolitionists.

Many Christian ministers were determined to make America a Christian nation, and for it to thus play a central part in providential history. As the achievement of such an aim was measured by liberty and righteousness in America, so slavery needed to be abolished. In the quest of American Christians for national virtue, slavery was seen by many to be a major obstacle. In this conflict can be seen the interaction of revolutionary ideology with hopes for a 'Christian America'.

This chapter brings to an end a chronological survey of two themes running throughout American history, the one being hopes expressed by Protestants for a 'Christian America'. The other theme has been the Protestant scheme of history; how American Protestants saw providence operating in history, and what were their responsibilities, and place within this perspective of history.

In this period the increased politicisation of the Protestant scheme of history can be observed. This was because liberty, which was highly cherished by Protestants, could be achieved within a certain form of civil organisation. The Revolution confirmed the perspective of many New England Christians as they again saw themselves the defenders of liberty, but this time it was in opposition to Great Britain, thus confirming the centrality of both the American nation and its form of government in providential history.

The liberty that was guaranteed in the United States had the effect of turning many Christian revolutionaries into staunch conservatives. The Revolution, they believed, was a struggle for liberty against a hostile, tyrannical regime; the maintenance of that liberty, however, would require a strong central government, and the spread of
Christianity throughout the nation. This alone would ensure the virtue whereby the Republic could survive. Thus as Christians in this period considered the concept of a 'Christian America', they stressed morality as the key to achieving this goal.

This stress on morality was brought about by an awareness of the needs of the nation under a republican form of government. Christianity had always contained a moral emphasis, but when the state control of behaviour was reduced in favour of the individuals own self-determination, there existed a risk that such a society could easily degenerate into immorality and licence, unless a strong Christian influence should pervade society. They employed as examples of this the ancient republics of Greece and Rome.

This moral emphasis was therefore a result of the interaction of two factors; one being the Evangelical hope for a 'Christian America', and the other, the political situation within which their aspirations were expressed. The emergence of anti-slavery sentiment is also a consequence of these two factors. This can be seen in the arguments employed by anti-slavery protagonists in this period.

The following chapters will examine these themes as they were expressed by north-eastern Evangelicals in Jacksonian America. In particular, attention will be focussed on Lyman Beecher.
PART TWO

LYMAN BEECHER AND A 'CHRISTIAN AMERICA'
CHAPTER FOUR

REPUBLICANISM AND MORALITY

Subsequent to the Revolution there developed in New England, a call for full freedom of religion, and the disestablishment of the Church. This was seen by many as an aspect of the Revolution, and in the years following it was hoped that adequate legislation would provide for religious freedom as an established principle of a Republican government. The consequences of this are very important for the methods that were employed by Evangelicals to build a 'Christian America' in the early 19th Century. Religion was henceforth to be established on a voluntary basis.

From the sermons of the 1820's and 1830's it appears that there was a substantial body of Evangelical Christians who readily accepted the implications of a Democratic Republican government. Indeed they saw such a form of civil organisation as the high point of providential history. Far from opposing the extension of suffrage, disestablishment, and the power of popular opinion, many Christian leaders endeavoured within this voluntary structure to christianise the nation.

In this the importance of virtue to northern Evangelicals cannot be emphasised too strongly. They valued Republicanism as it guaranteed the liberties which they believed Protestants had been striving towards since the Reformation. Also they valued the practice of Christian virtue which from an Evangelical perspective was the only quality which would preserve the Republic.
Freedom of Religion

Before the Revolution there already existed in the American Colonies a degree of religious freedom. The roots of this can be found in the religious pluralism of the colonial people, the English Bill of Rights, toleration laws, and also in the 'Great Awakening', which made a considerable contribution to this development. Also of the original thirteen colonies, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware had for some time been committed to religious freedom.

At the time of the Revolution, Virginia was undergoing an intense struggle for religious liberty. The object of Virginian reform was the Anglican Church, which at that time was supported by land given by the Crown, and by taxes collected from the people. This state of affairs was bitterly resented by other denominations, and by Deists who considered religion to be a personal matter, and state support wholly inappropriate to matters of individual conscience. In this struggle the leadership was often supplied by Deists, while the political pressure was provided by dissenting Christians who felt unfairly treated. Consequently, for many Americans the fight for religious freedom became one of the goals of the Revolution, especially where the Anglican Church was established, as in Virginia.

Prominent in the Virginia debates were James Madison and Thomas Jefferson. In 1784 Madison wrote 'A Memorial and Remonstrance Against Religious Assessments'. He argued for freedom of conscience to be granted to all men, and that no civil or economic penalties or benefits should be attached to the religious persuasion of the individual conscience. Behind Madison's statement was his clear conviction that religious faith was a matter which of necessity must be left to the discretion of the individual conscience;
Religion, or the duty which we owe to our Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence. The religion then of every man must be left to the conviction and conscience of every man to exercise it as these may dictate.¹

In 1779 'An Ordinance of Religious Freedom' written by Thomas Jefferson was proposed in the Virginia Legislature, but failed to be adopted. However, in December 1785 virtually the same measure passed the Virginia House of Burgesses. The measures which Jefferson's Ordinance abolished were taxes directed towards the state support of any denomination, the civil necessity to attend a place of worship, or any civil or economic disabilities resulting from non-attendance of Church. Jefferson stated that;

... all men shall be free to profess, and by argument to maintain their opinions in matters of religion, and the same shall in no wise diminish, enlarge, or affect their civil capacities.²

This debate, which had been most intense in Virginia, soon occupied other states in the first decade after the Revolution. When the Constitution was ratified in 1789 it included in Article VI the legal basis for the separation of church and state. This stated that, "... no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office, or public trust under the United States."³ This was again emphasised in the first Amendment, when freedom of religion was listed with a number of other civil rights guaranteed to American citizens.

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of people peaceably to assemble and petition the government for a redress of grievance.⁴

The outcome of this provided American citizens with the liberty
to make up their own mind concerning religious commitment. The opinions of men depend on the evidence contemplated in their own minds, and therefore cannot follow the dictates of other men's. Individuals were granted the liberty to express their opinions freely, and to seek to persuade others of their beliefs. No civil or economic disabilities were to be suffered as a result of religious opinions, and contribution in the form of taxes would not be coerced in support of any ecclesiastical institution.

This policy aroused great anxiety for a number of clergymen, especially those of New England. As they contemplated the future they expressed concern over the questions of how the churches would survive financially, how would a Christian influence be spread throughout society, and how could the educational role of the Church be maintained. Jefferson however, was quite satisfied that varieties of Christianity were all sufficient to preserve peace and order in society. This he stated in his 'Notes on the State of Virginia' which were published in Paris in 1785. He considered Virginia to be a practical example of his belief that uniformity of religious belief and practice in a civil commonwealth was not essential to the public welfare as had previously been the norm throughout Christendom.

In New England the Federalists, and many of the Congregational clergy, stood at the opposite end of the political spectrum to Virginia's Democratic Republicans. Where most of the states passed acts of disestablishment in the last decade of the 18th century, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Hampshire did not. Connecticut severed the Church-state connection in 1818, New Hampshire in 1819, and finally Massachusetts surrendered the remnants of establishment in 1833.

In states where an Anglican Establishment had prevailed,
disestablishment was an accepted consequence of the Revolution. This was as a result of Anglican-Loyalist connections. However, in New England a different situation existed. The Congregationalist Establishment had been fiercely patriotic during the Revolution, and had thereby earned much respect, thus enabling them to maintain their privileged position much longer in New England.

The call for full religious freedom was strongly opposed by New England's Federalist Congregational clergy at the turn of the century. They came to identify true religion with the established Standing Order. Clergymen such as Timothy Dwight, and Jedidiah Morse could hardly conceive of Christianity being strong without the state connection.

From Dwight's perspective, sound government was dependent on morality; and morality was dependent on the continued establishment of the Church. The equation was simple and straightforward for Dwight; disestablishment had to be resisted. The fearful alternative was infidelity, which had demonstrated its moral tendencies in the aftermath of the French Revolution, and could lead only to anarchy and chaos. In almost hysterical outbursts, Dwight spoke of the consequences that would befall New England if the Jeffersonian party triumphed, and the state connection was severed. Not surprisingly, Dwight therefore brought his efforts to bear on the task of maintaining the Establishment.

Federalism and the Establishment

In 1800, with the election of Thomas Jefferson as the third President of the United States, the Federalist Party, who had previously been in power were thrown on the defensive. New England Federalists believed that social stability rested on an alliance of government with business. They believed in the essential wisdom of the wealthy
classes, and were very sceptical of the capacity of the masses for self-government. Consequently, Federalists resisted the extension of the vote to the propertyless classes. However, in the first two decades of the 19th century the popular vote was slowly being extended, and political power was being divorced from property.

In this period the Federalists looked to the courts, and to the clergy in support of their position. Federalists hoped to win over the clergy by offering protection against hostility from Jeffersonians, and in this they were largely successful. The main reason behind this alliance was the clergy's strong opposition to French infidelity which they believed was being introduced into America through the Democratic Party. The Jeffersonian Party was attacked by the New England clergy because of it's supposed Jacobin and infidel links. In return the Jeffersonians found the Congregational clergy in New England to be strong supporters of Federalism. This led to increasing mistrust of the clergy among Jeffersonians.

As well as attacks from Democratic Republicans, the New England Standing Order was also under attack from dissenting denominations. Denominations such as the Strict Congregationalists, Methodists, Baptists, Universalists, and other smaller groups who resented the favouritism shown to the Congregational Establishment. In New England this situation produced a union of Dissent and Democratic Republicans.

Since the Revolution dissenting denominations had greatly increased in New England through mission, and schism in the old order. Under the discriminatory New England regime the various dissenting groups had called for full religious freedom. They along with Rationalists believed that religion was a matter between the believer and God, and did not require institutional mediation. The collapse of the New England Standing Order was eventually brought about by the alliance
of these forces, although at the time Lyman Beecher was not quite so
generous as to label those opposed to the Standing Order as a union of
Dissent and Rationalists. His perception was that as democracy arose
it, "included nearly all the minor sects, besides the Sabbath-breakers,
rum-selling, tippling folk, infidels, and ruff-scuff generally," and as Beecher saw it this segment of society, "made a dead set at us of
the Standing Order."6

Disestablishment

In the early years of his ministry Lyman Beecher also took up the
cause of Christianity and the Establishment. Like Dwight, Beecher had
equated the Establishment with the preservation of true Christianity,
good morals, and sound government. However, in the May election of
1818 in Connecticut, the victory of the Fusion Party made certain the
withdrawal of state support from Connecticut's churches.

At the time Beecher was Pastor of a church in Litchfield,
Connecticut, and he had devoted himself wholeheartedly to maintaining
the Standing Order. To this end he had promoted revivals, and had
organised and published. Yet the election of 1818 put an end to his
efforts. His son Charles comments:

I remember seeing Father the day after the election, sitting
on one of the old-fashioned, rush-bottomed chairs, his head
drooping on his breast, and his arms hanging down; 'Father', said
I, 'what are you thinking of?' He answered solemnly, 'the Church
of God'.

Beecher initially saw this reversal as a time of great depression
and suffering. For him it was, "as dark a day as ever I saw. The
odium thrown upon the ministry was inconceivable. The injury done
to the cause of Christ, as we then supposed was irreparable." With the
benefit of hindsight, and wise adaptation to the new situation,
Beecher added that he suffered what no tongue can tell, "for the best
thing that ever happened in the state of Connecticut."\(^8\)

This new voluntary situation which Connecticut’s Congregational churches were placed in was soon seen by many to be more beneficial than state support. Beecher for one did not take long to see the benefits of a full voluntary system, and he was soon asserting that ministers had not lost their influence, as had been feared.

The fact is they have gained, by voluntary efforts, societies, missions and revivals, they exert a deeper influence than they ever could.\(^9\)

In Beecher’s opinion the churches gained because they were cut loose from dependence on state support, and this, "threw them wholly on their own resources and on God."\(^10\) In years to come this dramatic reversal in Beecher’s thinking came to be one which he greatly valued, and in his sermons he frequently listed the merits of Voluntaryism.

Another benefit which was almost a by-product of disestablishment was that the union of Dissent and Rationalists which had brought about the end of the Standing Order could now be dissolved. They now had no common purpose to hold them together. This resulted in a re-alignment of Dissent with Orthodox Congregationalists. Again upon reflection Beecher noted that the Congregationalist campaign to retain the Standing Order had resulted in a false alignment of religious forces, but as this had been corrected," the occasions of animosity between us and the minor sects was removed and infidels could no more make capital with them against us."\(^11\)

Beecher believed that this new situation made both the minor sects and the Congregationalists aware of the threat of infidelity. This threat to Christianity, "laid the basis of co-operation and union of spirit."\(^12\) This co-operation was expressed in the emerging national voluntary societies of the 1820’s and 1830’s. Beecher
thereafter became a tireless champion of Voluntaryism in church life, and a supporter of the formation of voluntary societies to achieve specific goals.

Beecher had clearly made a clean break with the established Church of New England's past. He welcomed this new development, and certainly in this area he cannot be criticised for being a backward looking clergyman drawing his models from the past.

When we were colonies or unallied states the law could make provision for the creation and application of moral power. The law could compel men to support the gospel, and attend the public worship of God; and the select men could see to it that every town should in due season settle a minister, and that every family should possess a Bible and some Orthodox Catechism. But these means of moral influence the law can no longer apply, and there is no substitute but voluntary associations for charitable contributions and efforts patronised by all denominations of Christians, and by all classes of the community who love their country. 13

**Voluntaryism**

In the establishment of Congregationalism in Massachusetts in the 17th. Century, the Church sought to be a community of convinced believers. However, it was not long before Congregationalism found itself in the dilemma of attempting to be both the Church of the regenerate, and the Church of the community, attempting to be inclusive and exclusive at the same time. In facing up to this dilemma the Church produced the Half-Way Covenant. This was an attempt to deal with the problem by admitting unconverted children of Church members to a diminished status membership. The trend towards a more inclusive Church continued because the Church in New England, which had originally intended to be the focal point of the whole commonwealth was in danger of becoming a small minority.

Another notable development, again at odds with the first settlers' intentions was seen in Solomon Stoddard(1643-1729), who
offered church privileges such as communion and baptism to all. Stoddard saw these as a means of grace, a means of bringing people to a point of conversion. They were not to be seen as privileges retained only for those who could testify to a conversion experience.

With these developments, the Church to an extent was becoming an inclusive institution, far removed from the community of the elect that had been the original intention of the Massachusetts Bay settlers. Revivals attempted to reverse this trend, and preachers through the medium of the 'Jeremiad' sermon frequently urged their congregations to emulate the example of their forefathers. The form of church life that resulted from disestablishment depended on the voluntary support of a committed laity. As churches were thrown upon their own resources they could again endeavour to be communities of the elect.

Disestablishment and Voluntaryism further encouraged this tendency towards a practical ecumenism that existed in American religion. The roots of this development S.E. Ahlstrom said are to be found in the Great Awakening, and also in, "the anti-doctrinal animus of the Enlightenment and the cohesifying force of patriotism . . ." 14

The term Denominationalism is frequently used to describe the American religious situation. A denomination should be regarded as the opposite of a sect, which regards itself alone as the true Church, and therefore exclusive. A denomination is an inclusive term, and the group referred to is but one member denominated by a particular name. Denominationalism insists on the equality of all churches before the law, and the inclusion of them all as belonging to the one true Church. Denominationalism contradicts the idea that all Christians must be comprehended by any one Church. W.B. Sprague in a sermon talked of the benefits of disestablishment, and the consequent Denominationalism of the American Churches.
I am not about to plead the cause of any religious sect; for if there be one feature in our Constitution upon which I dwell with more satisfaction than the rest, it is that which recognises a perfect equality among all Christian denominations.

The majority consensus however, was clearly Protestant, and often Christian advocates of tolerance were willing to concede to it only within certain Protestant limits. Elwyn A. Smith has referred to this situation as a 'Voluntary Establishment', and Sydney Ahlstrom as a 'Quasi- Establishment'. Toleration often wore thin for those outwith the consensus, and thus Jews and Catholics often felt the brunt of discrimination from Protestants.

Voluntary Societies

One of the greatest benefits of Voluntaryism for New England's Churches was the encouragement it gave to the organisation of benevolent societies. These societies were directed towards specific ends, either moral, educational, or humanitarian. There are many references of clergymen to the Voluntary System, and in this they were referring to more than just the support of churches by committed laity. Voluntaryism did include that, but also it included the emergence of numerous societies to achieve goals which were considered necessary to the spread of Christian influence. Although freedom of religion meant the relinquishing of legal measures as a means of ensuring the predominance of Protestant Christianity in America, it did not include the relinquishing of the hopes that America would be a Protestant nation. These however, were to be attained by voluntary means.

Robert Handy comments with regard to the christianisation of America:

The means were to be voluntary and persuasive, but the goal of a Christian society was as clear as it had been in the old days of legal establishment, even clearer.

In this new situation that New England's Evangelicals found
themselves, they believed that the task of evangelising the nation could be done successfully by voluntary associations working within a civil organisation whose institutions guaranteed civil and religious freedom. In the eyes of many of the clergy this was a far superior way of spreading religion than that of a dictatorial government which included religious functions.

The voluntary society was initially a British technique of securing quick and concerted action in the 18th. Century. Societies were formed for the reformation of manners, promotion of Christian knowledge, and the propagation of the Gospel. Also towards the end of the 18th. Century, foreign, mission, Bible, and tract societies developed.

In America this approach soon caught on, and very quickly became a major aspect of religious expression in America. In 1796 the New York Missionary Society was formed to promote Indian missions. Two years later the Missionary Society of Connecticut was formed with a different need in mind. Their aim was to establish churches on the Frontier. To support, and extend their work the 'Connecticut Evangelical Magazine' was formed. Along with the Connecticut Society, similar societies were formed throughout New England and the Middle Colonies. Societies were also formed for the protection of morals. One such society existed among Yale students in 1797. In 1813 the Connecticut Society for the Promotion of Morals was founded with Lyman Beecher playing a major role in its inception.

Many societies were formed in the first quarter of the 19th. Century, and were directed towards specific areas of need. They published magazines, organised financial support, gathered information, and sent out workers. Generally, societies began on a state-wide basis and eventually amalgamated with other societies, thus becoming
national societies with a national vision.

In 1816 the American Bible Society, and the American Education Society were formed. The American Colonisation Society was formed in 1817, and in 1824 the American Sunday School Union. Both the American Temperance Society and the American Home Mission Society were formed in 1826, and two years later the American Peace Society was formed, with the American Anti-Slavery Society following in 1833. Often societies would participate in the same projects, and the same names would turn up as Directors on many of the societies boards. The voluntary societies made possible a new solidarity between denominations, and provided for the opportunity to unite over common concerns. The societies were inter-denominational, although they were largely dominated by Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

Voluntary societies obviously proliferated before disestablishment in New England, but it was with the realisation that state support was now gone that Christians were now thrown completely on voluntary means. Beecher's initial involvement with voluntary societies was ironically for the express purpose of preserving the Establishment. Yet in so doing he was laying the foundations for what he later considered to be the best means for Christians to spread their influence. His son Charles comments on this:

We see him on the one hand, making herculean efforts to uphold the system of Church and State, and on the other hand lavishing almost superhuman energies in laying the foundations of the Voluntary system. 18

Voluntaryism and the Republic

Beecher became involved in the spread of voluntary societies from the early days of his ministry, and as societies proliferated so did his contacts with mission, reform, and humanitarian societies. In
Beecher found an outlet for the hopes he had concerning the spread of Christianity in the American nation. With his energy and enthusiasm directed through these channels it inevitably led to him becoming a figure of national prominence. Along with Ahlstrom, who thought Beecher best illustrates the method and spirit of the societies, W.S. Hudson said, "of all the New Englanders, he was the most important figure in the Benevolent Empire." Similarly C.C. Cole acknowledged Beecher's role by saying, "of all the Evangelists, Beecher was the most outspoken in enunciating the idea of moral reform."

For Beecher the distinction that, "all missionary efforts are conducted now, not by governments, but by voluntary associations of the pious and benevolent", was extremely important. Beecher often made the comparison between Voluntaryism and the legal measures that were previously taken to ensure the spread of Christianity. The voluntary societies were not only more appropriate but were, "the providential substitutes for the legal provisions of our Fathers."

The unique contribution of the voluntary societies was seen by Beecher as their ability to christianise a society, not by enforcing standards, but by winning over the hearts and minds of individuals. Previously dictatorial nations could legislate on morality, and then enforce it. However, in a Democracy this procedure could not be followed as it contravened the very basis of Democratic government. So the voluntary society was the answer; not enforcing behaviour, but attempting to achieve voluntary virtue. The societies could, "extend that influence which the law could no longer apply." Beecher realised that in a Democratic society, civil government was clearly incapable of administering, "... the moral influence which is needed to diffuse and perpetuate moral principle throughout the nation." Consequently:
To secure then the execution of the laws against immorality in a time of prevailing moral declension, an influence is needed distinct from that of government, independent of popular suffrage, superior in potency to individual efforts, and competent to enlist and preserve the public opinion on the side of law and order. 26

As Beecher considered the relationship of voluntary societies to a Republican form of government, he came to the conclusion that civil laws and moral influence should complement each other. Both were ineffective by themselves to produce a virtuous national character. On the one hand, "it is by the moral influence of religious institutions only that civil laws can avail to form the most perfect state of human society", because, "civil laws cannot reach the spring of action, and prevent social evils that annoy, or coerce social virtues that enrich society." Whereas on the other hand religion requires the assistance of civil laws to complement its persuasive contribution, as, "religion by her moral influence alone cannot arrest the arm of violence or punish encroachments upon life and property." 27

Therefore the ideal situation, in fact the essential situation for a Democracy was in Beecher's opinion that civil law and voluntary influence should complement each other.

The most desirable influence as we have before observed has been found in local voluntary associations of the wise and the good, to aid the civil magistrate in the execution of the laws. These associations ... awaken the public attention, and by the sermons, the reports and the conversation they occasion, diffuse much moral instruction ... they have great influence to form correctly the public opinion. 28

It is evident from the interest stimulated by the societies, and financial contributions donated to the societies that they were generally accepted among Evangelical Christians as an important means of bringing Christian principles to bear on the American nation. Many
clergymen and laity who shared the objectives of the societies participated in their work. For Beecher these people, "constitute a sort of disciplined moral militia prepared to act upon every emergency, and repel every encroachment upon the liberties and morals of the State." Similarly Francis Wayland, a Baptist contemporary of Beecher's spoke of voluntary societies as being, "the great moral means by which the regeneration of the world is to be effected." 

Public Opinion

One of the aims of the voluntary societies was to produce a consensus among the public in favour of sound morality. Beecher saw this goal as an imperative given the liberties possessed by the American people under a Democratic form of civil organisation. In a Republican State which extended popular suffrage, and individual civil rights, Christians soon realised the primacy of public opinion. This would dictate not only the level of morals, but also the security and well being of the nation.

Although the first few American Presidential elections were outwith the control of the popular vote, by 1828, when Andrew Jackson was elected President most of America was well on its way to adult male suffrage. Commencing in Maryland in 1810 there were attempts to wipe out the property qualification for the franchise. Connecticut, New York, and Massachusetts soon followed, and the new western states as they entered the Union spread Electoral Democracy. Also over this period Presidential Electors ceased to be appointed by State Legislatures. Their selection was instead decided by popular vote. As a result, by 1824, only six states used the old method of appointing Presidential electors, and by 1832 only one state remained using the old method of electing a President.

In Jacksonian America public opinion was rapidly assuming a
position of far greater importance than in the first few decades of
the Union. New England’s Evangelicals, far from being the homogenous
body of Arch-Federalists that they are often pictured as, appeared to
be quite reconciled to this transition, and willing to work within
the developing Democracy. Their wish was not to return to a nation
dominated by the wealthy, wise and well-born, but in an acceptance of
the spread of popular suffrage they attempted to work towards a
'Christian America'. Lyman Beecher typifies the kind of Evangelical
described above. For him the legislative power of the people was one
of the Republic’s central characteristics; this also brought
responsibilities.

But in a Republic where the whole people legislate, and
public sentiment is the supreme executive, the intellectual
and moral culture of the people must become universal and
elevated... 31

Beecher apparently did not ignore or resist political advances
but considered them helpful to the advance of Christianity.

Modern improvements in civil government facilitate the
propagation of Christianity -- when it commenced its career,
and ages afterwards physical power was the chief engine of
government. Now it is passing from the dominion of bayonets,
and coming under the influence of a public opinion more
potent than fleets and armies.32

This perspective is clearly at variance with John R. Bodo’s view
of those Evangelicals involved in the work of the voluntary societies.
Bodo refers to them as Theocrats, and that they were only willing to
endorse the extension of political freedom insofar as it was possible
simultaneously to educate the people in the moral principles of
Christianity. On the contrary, from Beecher’s writings and sermons,
and those of some of his contemporaries, also labelled Theocrats by
Bodo, it appears that the reverse is true. Beecher emerges as an
advocate of the extension of civil liberties. That they are potentially good in themselves, and that it is the responsibility of the Christian Church to work within this situation. Its task is to spread its moral influence throughout society as a means of safeguarding civil liberties.

The optimum for Beecher was a situation in which public opinion was pre-eminent, but in which that public opinion was virtuous; made so by the spread of Christianity. In christianising public opinion the voluntary societies played a crucial role in Beecher's thinking. This was because he was aware that in a Republic, laws could not be enforced upon the public as they could under a dictatorial regime.

In free governments . . . where people legislate and administer by delegated power, the laws cannot be executed beyond the sanction of public opinion. 33

The need for public opinion to be virtuous was not considered quite so urgently by Beecher under a Despotic government, where individual opinions did not receive much attention. Under a despotic regime, "laws will often be made" totally at variance to public opinion, "and executed with a severity which renders it difficult to decide which is the most dreadful, the outrage of crime, or the terrific reaction of law." 34

The comparison of despotism with democracy is a frequent tool of Beecher's. His two contrasting forms of civil organisation are described in very stark, idealistic terms. The question of whether Beecher's two states can be equated with actual nations need not detain us. Of primary importance is Beecher's perception in the matter. Within this perspective we find in Beecher's writings an intense commitment to the work of the voluntary societies. These he saw as the chief agency for encouraging the spread of virtue. In a
nation where public opinion was pre-eminent, it must be virtuous, as
this was essential to the well-being of the Republic.

In a Despotic government force may protect us where public
sentiment is too corrupt to secure the execution of the laws, but
in a Republic it is not so. There, when public sentiment falters
the laws have no power; and then first anarchy, and next despotism
ensues.35

Even when it concerned issues that were of great importance to
Beecher, he saw little point in safeguarding a principle by legislation
if it was not popularly approved of. Far from having Theocratic
tendencies Beecher's whole emphasis stressed that the minds of individ¬
uals must be won over by persuasion. Unless this is accomplished
legislation will prove to be futile. He comments with regard to the
observance of the Sabbath:

We need not petition Congress to spare the Sabbath; if they
do, the people can desecrate the sacred day. The people must
decide each man for himself, and his family whether they will
live under the government of God . . ."36

Along with Beecher who was President of Lane Theological
Seminary; Francis Wayland the Baptist President of Brown University,
and Samuel S. Schmucker, the Lutheran President of Gettysburg
Lutheran Seminary also appear quite satisfied with the people's
right to select their own leaders. Like Beecher, both Wayland and
Schmucker compared republicanism with despotism. Contrary to
despotism Wayland states that republicanism, "supposes the people have
a perfect right to select that form of government under which they
shall live."37 Likewise, Schmucker said, a Republic is a direct anti¬
thesis of a despotic and arbitrary government, and is characterised
by the fact that, "all power is ultimately wielded by the people" and
therefore the destiny of the nation, "is indissolubly linked to the
character of the people . . ."38
Evangelicals who shared views similar to those expressed above were not an isolated minority. It was Christians of this type that generally participated in the work of the voluntary societies. They approved of a democratic government, and yet with their hopes for a 'Christian America' they concluded that the popular opinions that guided the Republic must be virtuous or the nation would perish.

**Morality and the Republic**

Morality among Evangelicals was always emphasised as an essential constituent to national well-being. While on the one hand they readily accepted the separation of church and state, on the other, their emphasis on the link between morality and national life was intensified. Throughout the first half-century of the United States, Evangelical clergy took very seriously their role as moral guardians of the nation. This role led them to take infinite pains in describing the influence of morality and immorality on the body politic. In Beecher's opinion if the nation does not extend religious institutions which would spread morality then, "... it will be like a man among the tombs, becoming exceeding fierce, so that none can bind it, and will turn its giant hand upon itself, and pour out its life-blood by self-inflicted wounds." 39

Even against Deism and infidelity the clergy's main argument was more moral and political than theological. Their arguments were based on the moral tendencies inherent in each system. Evangelicals asserted that infidel thinking led directly and necessarily to personal immorality and social chaos. While Christianity, based on God's ordinances in the Bible was the only sure foundation for good morals and sound government.

In the minds of the New England clergy, France stood out as a concrete witness of the consequences that would befall a nation that
surrendered to infidelity and atheism. This enables us to understand the urgency with which many Christians addressed these issues. Great consequences awaited their outcome. As Beecher and other clergy faced these issues they were convinced that, "... the most powerful moral influence is that exerted by Evangelical action."40 This in their opinion was sufficient to provide the necessary motivation towards morality that alone could preserve a nation based on popular suffrage.

By the third and fourth decades of the 19th. Century erosive inroads were being made into traditional Calvinism. However, it remained the main system of theology which Evangelicals nominally adhered to. Central to a Calvinist outlook was the doctrine of human depravity which emphasised man's natural propensity towards evil. This theological aspect cannot be ignored in a discussion of the moral perspective of Evangelical Christians, as it must have provided an added motivation in their labours to preserve virtue in the national life. The effect of this theological perspective can be seen in Beecher as he states that, "governments originate in the necessities of self-defence against the violent propensities of man."41

This point came with added force when stated within the confines of a Democratic government. Beecher asks, "... what will that sentiment be which emanates from the heart of man, unchastened by the hopes and fears of eternity, and undirected by coercive human laws."42 Thus in a political situation where restraints are minimised, so the role of religion must increase to fill the void, thereby restraining the natural propensity of man towards sin.

Law and the gospel both play a part in curbing man's natural inclinations, and where one is diminished, the role of the other must be increased. Beecher notes that law protects against the violent
tendencies within man, but also he reminds his congregation that, 
"there is a brutality and ignorance and profligacy, always prevalent 
where the gospel does not enlighten and restrain."43 In the same 
sermon Beecher spells out the possible dangers in this situation.

The right of suffrage in the hands of an ignorant and 
vicious population, such as will always exist in a land where 
the gospel does not restrain and civilise, will be a sword in 
the hand of a maniac, to make desolate around him-- and 
finally to destroy himself."44

Although Evangelicals were reconciled to the extension of 
suffrage and a wide range of civil liberties, they did not share 
contemporary optimistic views of human nature. Jefferson spoke 
optimistically, if somewhat naively of corruption not existing in the 
hearts of American agriculturalists, and Jackson spoke of elevating 
man, and perfecting institutions so that the voice of the people 
becomes the voice of God.

Another contemporary, urging an optimistic view of human nature 
was Robert Owen, who came from Scotland and attempted to set up a 
utopian community in the United States. Owen believed man's 
environment was the all-important element in the formation of character. 
In his opinion man would become a ferocious savage, or a civilised 
benevolent being, according to the circumstances in which he was 
placed from his birth. For Evangelicals however, man remained a 
fallen creature in need of restraint by law, and by the gospel. The 
American political situation required that Christianity should make 
unceasing efforts to restrain selfishness. This was not only 
important because it was decreed in scripture, but also it was clearly 
in the national interest.

The Preservation of the Union

For Evangelicals there was a further objective which would be
achieved by their moral emphasis. They considered national virtue to be the only quality that would preserve the Union. Many sermons put the question of the link between morality and the safety of the Union beyond question. To Evangelicals this was an equation of the utmost importance, and was testified to by many Evangelical clergymen. Wayland said, "our institutions can only be supported while the people are restrained by moral principle." Similarly Gardiner Spring cautioned his congregation by stating, "our institutions will not long remain what they are unless the people become better." Also an anonymous writer in the American Education Society's 'Quarterly Register' acknowledged this widespread perspective by stating, "it is now generally admitted that the stability of republican institutions must depend upon the intelligence and moral virtues of the people." Similarly Beecher talking about the maintenance of the Union said, "our religion is unquestionably our greatest security," if "irreligion and vice be extended through the mass of our nation ... our liberties cannot be preserved." Evangelicals like Beecher displayed a remarkable desire for the well-being of the nation, and for the continuance of a republican form of government. They frequently described in vivid terms the ever present threat that would result from their failure to extend virtue throughout the nation. The intensity with which they approached this objective suggests that in their view there was more at stake than the survival and predominance of Christianity in their country, and the stability of the State. This question however, will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Education

Hand in hand with morality, Beecher saw education as also being a necessary element that would contribute to the maintenance of the Union; and as such education was a primary concern of Evangelicals.
Both the political order of America, and the ecclesiastical forms of Protestantism presupposed a literate laity. As a result of this emphasis there developed within Protestantism a marked movement towards the founding of academies and colleges. A dual motive was operating in the Evangelical emphasis on education. One was that of elevating the intelligence of the public, thereby instilling in them qualities they believed were necessary for a democratic government.

In order to maintain republicanism the taste of the people must be refined and well directed, otherwise they will fall into corrupting sensual indulgencies.\textsuperscript{49}

The other motivation urging on the Protestant educational thrust was the goal of providing an educated ministry for the churches of an expanding nation. Referring to this need Beecher said, "something must be done; something more than ever has been done, or our land will be ruined."\textsuperscript{50} His programme to meet this need was, "a Bible for every family, a school for every district, a Pastor for every thousand souls."\textsuperscript{51}

Seldom did Beecher make such appeals but he linked them to other aims which he valued. In this case the provision of an educated ministry was linked to the preservation of the Republic.

A land supplied with able and faithful ministers will of course be filled with schools, academies, libraries, colleges, and all the apparatus for the perpetuity of republican institutions.\textsuperscript{52}

The spread of Beecher's envisioned pious, intelligent, and enterprising young ministers throughout the nation would build the homogenous character that Beecher supposed was necessary to maintain the Republic. These ministers, "would provide a sameness of views and feelings and interests, which would lay the foundation of our empire upon a rock."\textsuperscript{53} At times when Beecher is calling for, "special
exertions to produce in the nation a more homogenous character," he sounds like an educated Easterner complaining of the want of education and sophistication in the United States; particularly in the West.

Beecher believed diversity of this kind was not possible in America with regard to education and virtue. The nation must seek a homogenous character, as ignorance and barbarism are, "most dangerous to liberty." The failure to combine a sufficient intellectual illumination with moral purity would prove to be, "the occasion of our swift destruction." By the time Beecher had moved out to Lane Seminary in Cincinnati, these priorities emphasised above came to have a special application to the needs of the West.

The thing required for the civil and religious prosperity of the West is universal education and moral culture by institutions commensurate to that result.

In seeking to establish for the United States a homogenous character Beecher found himself confronting a point of tension. He was an ardent supporter of the Constitution, which guaranteed civil and religious liberties, thus securing the existence of a pluralistic society. Yet for all practical purposes Beecher sought by voluntary means to oppose pluralism, and establish the United States on a uniform basis, namely Evangelical Protestantism. This tradition he believed had produced American liberties in the first place, and would preserve them in the future. This dilemma however, does not appear to have been a problem for Beecher as his commitment to voluntaryism enabled him to live with both conflicting interests.

For Beecher the old vision of state supported Christianity had been replaced by a new vision of the christianisation of America by voluntary means. Beecher's voluntaryism had no designs on the state,
consequently the term Theocrat that has been used of him and other Evangelicals involved in the work of the voluntary societies hardly seems appropriate.

Beecher strongly denied that there was any Christian conspiracy to unite Church and State in America. From Beecher's point of view the Church will never want an alliance with the State in America. Only infidels would now seek such a union in order to weaken the Church and, "perpetuate infidel ascendancy." Beecher saw no danger in the clergy imposing a national religion. This he scorned as, "the most chimerical and laughable imagination that ever danced in the brain of a lunatic."

This might have seemed perfectly clear to Beecher. However, from outwith Evangelical Protestantism it might have appeared very questionable. Those in that position were faced with a majority Protestant consensus, that was virtually a 'voluntary establishment', possessing the vast energy and resources of the voluntary societies, which were being mobilised in an effort to christianise the American nation.

Patriotism

An obvious consequence of this activity was that the work of Evangelicals was not only of mission and evangelism, but also of patriotism. This was unavoidable as one of the main aims of Evangelicals was the maintenance of the Republic. Patriotism was not a subliminal consequence of the Evangelicals work, it was a principal motive in their work, and one which they were well aware of. Once again sufficient evidence for this perspective can be drawn from the sermons of Evangelical clergy. Francis Wayland listed the objectives which the voluntary societies were seeking to improve on as, "the cause of our country, of liberty and of man."
Samuel Winchester suggested that as, "patriots, if from no other motive, we should labour to disseminate the principles of the Bible and strengthen the influence and restraints of religion." Gardiner Spring made the link more explicit by stating that, "he who cultivates personal religion, and obeys the gospel, is the best friend of his country—Christian piety is practical patriotism." Also Heman Humphrey, President of Amherst College, who also shared the vision of a 'Christian America', said in 1831 that the nation had at last achieved a sense of, "the true American union, that sort of union which makes every patriot a Christian, and every Christian a patriot." Likewise the American Home Missionary Society recognised the national importance of their work by stating, "we are doing a work of patriotism no less than that of Christianity."

As with his contemporaries Beecher's appeal to patriotism was also very obvious.

Are you friends of your country? . . . are you friends of civil liberty . . . are you patriots? Bless your country by uniting in the holy enterprise of converting a moral wilderness into a fruitful field."

The liberty provided by the United States, and highly valued by Beecher, was in his opinion, safe only with those who love their country as,"there is not in this wide world a safe deposit of liberty, but in the hearts of patriots." Moral Government Theology

Beecher's views and opinions were, as he saw it, principles that were laid down in the Bible. It was therefore extremely important for him that his actions be guided by scripture, and also that his philosophy should be derived from the same source. Theology was not an academic exercise, or topic of arm-chair speculation, but it explained man, God, and the world to him in terms that were to be
believed as absolutely true. So it is important in dealing with the perspective of a group of Christians, not to ignore the theology which they adhered to.

The theological system which Beecher adhered to was known as 'New Haven Theology', or 'Moral Government Theology'. It was developed by Nathanael William Taylor, Professor of theology at Yale Divinity College, and by Lyman Beecher. 'Moral Government Theology' was a re-statement of Consistent Calvinism, and soon in the hands of Evangelicals became an apologetic for revivalism.

This new school of Taylor and Beecher revised the Edwardean doctrine of the total inability of man to do anything towards effecting his own salvation, and undermined the belief in the imputation of Adam's sin onto the rest of mankind. Taylor and Beecher asserted the ability and responsibility of men to choose right and wrong without limiting Divine sovereignty. With this increased emphasis on the freedom of the will, 'Moral Government Theology' became a sound means of defending the legitimacy of revival preaching.

The central concept in 'Moral Government Theology' was that God governs mind not by irresistible forces, but by an appeal to the mind. This guarantees human free agency, which can operate only, "by the exhibition of motives to voluntary agents."67 'Moral Government Theology' described the influence of law upon accountable creatures. It included a Law-Giver, accountable subjects, and laws intelligibly revealed in the Bible, and maintained by a system of rewards and punishments.

From Lyman Beecher's perspective moral government proved to be more appropriate to Christianity as it carried out its mission in a republican state. 'Moral Government Theology' proved to be a sound basis with regard to the nature of man as seen in revivalism.
voluntaryism, and republicanism. Both revivalism and republicanism Beecher considered to be systems which placed man's destiny in his own hands, and as such he considered both to be in harmony with the nature of man as revealed in the Bible. Anything contrary, either in the political realm; an autocratic government, or in the theological realm; irresistible grace, was inconsistent with human nature, and consequently a denial of liberty. For Beecher, what liberty of conscience was to republicanism; freedom of will was to 'Moral Government Theology'. In this Beecher's theology brought harmony to his political and spiritual ideals. In his politics he did not support the arbitrary rule of a dictatorial monarch, so likewise his theology did not support the irresistible grace of Consistent Calvinism.

Direct irresistible impulse moving the mind to action, would not be moral government; and if motives in the view of which the mind chooses and acts were coercive of choice, accountability and moral government would be impossible. 68

Making a distinction between Edwardean Calvinism, and the re-stated New Haven Calvinism, Beecher said, "moral government is persuasion, and the result of it is voluntary action." 69 Beecher's objective in spiritual matters was to persuade by means of revivalism, and similarly in politics he saw persuasion as the appropriate means for affecting opinion under a Democratic Republican government.

The influence of the evangelist was to provide motives for a certain choice, because, "the influence of motives cannot destroy free agency; for it is the influence of persuasion only in choice, which in the presence of understanding and conscience is free agency." 70 Also in political matters, if this procedure was followed man would know the liberty that was his by natural right, and as the
Republic safe-guarded these liberties, so it would be maintained.

Evangelical Republicans

In a discussion of Beecher's jealous protection of the Republic and the importance morality and education played in sustaining this new political structure, it becomes evident that there was a clearly formulated body of opinion. Also that there was a significant body of important Evangelical clergymen, college presidents, and professors who would have shared the emphasis of Lyman Beecher. Among the more prominent of this group were Francis Wayland, President of Brown University; Heman Humphrey, President of Amherst College; Eliphalet Nott, President of Union Seminary; Nathan Lord, President of Dartmouth Seminary; Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College, and Edward Dorr Griffin, President of Williams College.

In the work of other historians this group have been labelled 'Theocrats' or 'Republican Theocrats,' the latter term proving to be somewhat paradoxical, as republicanism is linked with theocracy. Even to consider the above group as typical of Second Great Awakening Evangelicalism is inappropriate. There were many other Evangelicals who were whole-hearted in their support for the revivals, and reform-oriented Christianity, yet would not have shared the political and patriotic emphases of some of their co-labourers.

A suitable term to delineate the above group of Christians would be 'Evangelical Republicans'. This term combines their dual thrust; political and religious. They were clearly republican in their open advocacy of the pre-eminence of public opinion, in their fierce defence of civil liberties, and in their support for the voluntary nature of religion in the Republic. Yet they remained fervent Evangelicals, convinced that their responsibility was to spread the gospel throughout their nation, and the rest of the world. Central to
this commitment was their utilisation of the techniques of revivalism, and organisation of the many voluntary societies. There were clearly groups with differing emphases within the Second Great Awakening. However, the following chapters will specifically discuss the group denominated 'Evangelical Republicans'. Within this group the main focus will be on Lyman Beecher.

'Evangelical Republicans' did not attempt to reverse the direction of American politics as some Christians might have endeavoured to do. Instead they appear to be advocates of the form of civil organisation introduced by the American Revolution. They also appear to have approved of its development, with more power being placed in the hands of the people. In this new situation they perceived their responsibilities to be the spread of Christian influence in America by voluntary means. The aim was to christianise public opinion which they now perceived to be the arbiter of their destiny.

They also came to realise that any republican nation which provided a wide range of civil liberties, and acknowledged the importance of public opinion relied more on individual virtue than on state enforcement. Therefore the survival of the Union depended on the christianising of public opinion, a task which the voluntary societies were peculiarly suited to perform.

The Evangelicals under discussion in this chapter appear to have emerged in the third and fourth decades of the 19th. Century. Their emergence appears to be linked with the growing acceptance of voluntaryism as a principle of church life, and the usefulness of the voluntary societies in a Republic. With the discovery that disestablishment and freedom of religion were more advantageous to the spread of Christianity comes the acceptance that the democratic programme was more in keeping with the liberty that Protestantism had
traditionally been productive of.

When New England Congregationalism was closely identified with Federalism, there existed an ambiguity in the relationship of Evangelicals to the Republic. Although clergy at the turn of the century highly valued the American nation, the clear cut endorsement of democratic republicanism that Beecher could give was somewhat qualified among earlier clergy. They displayed a certain anxiety with regard to more democratic measures. 'Evangelical Republicans' however, viewed their responsibilities differently, and were able to share the priorities of democratic republicanism.

Sidney E. Mead has drawn attention to the similarity between Beecher's position and that of the Democratic Republicans, for whom Jefferson was the main inspiration. Mead sees Beecher as a central figure in American religious history. He sees him as a 'bridge-builder' seeking to reconcile traditional Evangelical orthodoxy with modern democracy. Mead's perspective offers a different insight into Beecher from that of a conservative representative of a static religious tradition. Possibly Mead pushes the similarity of Beecher with Democratic Republicans too far by suggesting he was in complete agreement with rationalist thinkers of his day, with regard to civil government.

In considering the 'Evangelical Republican' emphasis on the survival of the Union, and the linking of patriotism with Christian duty, it becomes clear that the object of value to them was not only the nation, but the specific political structure which the nation now had. It also emerges that 'Evangelical Republicans' valued their nation, not in the way other peoples and nations might be patriotic or nationalistic. 'Evangelical Republicans' believed great questions of history and destiny hung on the successful maintenance of the...
American experiment of democratic republicanism.

An explanation for this phenomenon can be found by looking at how 'Evangelical Republicans' viewed history, where they saw history going, and what their place in providential history was. In finding answers to these questions, Evangelicals began to develop an understanding of their own place and importance in history, and the responsibilities which were consequently incumbent upon them. The following chapter will attempt to deal with these issues.
CHAPTER FIVE

PROVIDENCE AND HISTORY

It has previously been demonstrated that certain groups of American Christians viewed history in the same way as the Old Testament Hebrews. The selective reading of history produced the concept of 'Salvation History', which was a record not only of people and events, but of God's oversight and involvement in history. The concept of 'Salvation History' involves the interpretation of historical data on behalf of people who belong to a particular theological tradition.

Within this perspective of history a certain origin was believed in, and a specific end hoped for. Thus the events of history were evaluated by their contribution to this ongoing tradition. This perspective included a linear conception of history, which made certain events from creation to the inauguration of the Kingdom of God meaningful for understanding the human predicament. In this tradition a high priority was placed on history. For people with such an approach it was important to understand how the events of history fitted into the Divine plan for history.

In an article in the 'Temple Law Quarterly', J.J. Finkelstein declares that the most revolutionary statement in the entire Bible is the word of the Lord given to his chosen people in, Exodus 19:16. In this verse it is said, "you shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation." Of this Finkelstein says it;

... set off chain reactions, that with ever increasing, one may say devastating effect have continued down to our time. It embodies the earliest formulation of what we know more familiarly as nationalism, i.e. the conscious elevation of the
community to the level of a transcendent moral entity, and the vessel for the progressive realisation of human history, which by the very same token becomes sacred history."\(^1\)

As the Old Testament Hebrews saw themselves as the "vessel for the progressive realisation of history", so also did the Christian Church at many points in its history. This belief was especially strong for many Protestants who saw the Reformation as a pivotal point in human history.

The Christian Church, belonging to the Hebrew tradition, also adopted a linear historical perspective in which the events of history became extremely significant. Similar statements were made of the Church as were made of the Old Testament Hebrews, thus providing a basis for viewing the Church as a chosen community. However, the transference of the Old Testament concept of 'Salvation History' onto the Church was not immediate, neither was it the ideal for all Christians.

On frequent occasions in the history of the Church such statements as are found in 1 Peter 2:9\(^2\) have been given a spiritual meaning, especially when the Church is in a minority situation, or undergoing persecution. At such times in Christian history a national commitment to Christianity is deemed unimportant, and Christian faith adopts a trans-national emphasis. Thus the concept of a 'Chosen Nation' becomes other-worldly and unhistorical.

An alternative interpretation of this concept relies more heavily on Old testament themes, and in this interpretation divine agency in human history is understood to operate through a specific nation. Many supporters of the Reformation adopted this interpretation as a consequence of the re-assertion of biblical themes within a nationally defined religious community. For them the Christian emphasis of a 'Chosen People', and an 'Elecet Nation' received a national definition.
As a consequence of the concept of a 'Chosen Nation' being nationally defined, the major events in that nation's life became significant for understanding Divine activity and purpose in human history. In their eyes the events of world history were clothed with the urgency of 'Salvation History'.

The polarisation of nations during the Reformation period enables us to understand how concepts such as a 'Chosen Nation' came to be applied to certain nations. In this contest they saw themselves as nationally defined religious communities, embodying true Christianity, and set over against other similarly defined religious communities, which in their opinion represented an erroneous position.

America--The Elect Nation

The destiny of the various nations and states caught up in the Reformation upheaval was decided by the principle of, 'Cuius Regio Eius Religio'. In this situation no nation stood out as decisively pro-Reformation as England after the accession of Queen Elizabeth in 1558. Protestants, and especially the emerging Puritans came to believe that England was the foremost nation of the Reformation; and as such took on the significance of an 'Elect Nation'. This belief remained a widespread opinion among Christians throughout the latter half of the 16th. Century, and well into the 17th. Century. However, in the third decade of the 17th. Century another self-consciously elect community was being established in Massachusetts Bay by Puritans. These Puritans believed that England had not completed its mission of purging the Church of impurities, and consolidating the principles of the Reformation.

The Massachusetts Bay colony Puritans believed the discovery of North-America, and its colonisation by Protestant Christians was a major development in a scheme of history in which every development
was providentially governed. Thus they adopted the theme of an 'Elect Nation'. It was inevitable that this theme would be understood to apply to the whole colony, as it was set up as a 'Holy Commonwealth' with every aspect of life, civil, economic, and religious to be governed by the principles laid down in scripture. Their intention was not to establish a gathered church within an ungodly nation, instead, the Massachusetts Bay colony was a whole-hearted attempt to establish a holy nation. Therefore their model for the concept of a 'Chosen Nation' was a nationally defined one as opposed to a trans-national model.

The New England Puritans, believing themselves to be at a critical juncture in eschatological history were the predominant shapers of America's conception of a millenial role in history. The first settlement in Virginia, although established on a Christian basis did not have the same eschatological intensity as New England. Virginia therefore did not contribute in the same degree to a unique understanding of the importance of America's place in history.

The intellectual and theological presuppositions that made it possible for many 17th Century Christians to adopt a sacred view of history remained with many of the Evangelical Christians of the 'Second Great Awakening'. In order to gain an understanding of their own place in history 'Evangelical Republicans' emphasised certain historical events, and interpreted them as part of a Divine scheme of history. As they endeavoured to locate their spiritual predecessors, and the events which brought them to their present place in history, so they established a tradition within history of which they were heirs and present day representatives.

E. McNall Burns writing in 'The American Idea of Mission' states that, "no period of American history has been free from the influence
of special destiny ideas." This would certainly hold true for the period of history under discussion. The inevitable consequence of the 'Evangelical Republican' reading of history was that the American nation was presently the central location for the realisation of God's plan for history. This perspective on history which emphasised certain historical events such as the Reformation, the establishment of English Protestantism, the settlement of America, the defeat of Roman Catholicism in North-America, and the American Revolution, now boasted a republican nation which included a wide range of civil and religious liberties. In all this Beecher could only see the hand of God at work.

We did not in the darkest hour believe that God had brought our fathers to this goodly land to lay the foundation of religious liberty, and wrought such wonders in their preservation, and raised their descendants to such heights of civil and religious prosperity, only to reverse the analogy of his providence and abandon his work.4

Thus for Lyman Beecher history itself, or his interpretation of it, was evidence to support his belief in the special destiny of the American nation.

Divine Sovereignty in History

In order for Christians to maintain such opinions their presuppositions must necessarily include a belief in Divine providence operating in human history. Puritan Christians held that the visible universe was under God's direct and continual control. All that occurred therein was under his constant supervision. Thus God's will was studied in scripture, and in the operation of his providence which was exhibited in the workings of the natural world. Puritans had no reason for the outcome of events but that God ordained it. This was true of all human situations. It explained why some were rich and
some poor, some wise and some foolish, and some saved and some not.

Divine providence was also the controlling principle dictating the outcome of national and international issues. Perry Miller has stated that this conviction was central to the Puritan world-view.

Men may not readily see it . . . they may be hard pressed to explain why some events turn out as they do, and be brought time and time again to confess that in this or that series of misfortunes, or streaks of luck they can not discover the wisdom of God. Nevertheless, that he who orders all things does order them by the counsel of his perfect reason, and that nothing in this world is really chance, accident or blind fate ---this was the constant and unshakable conviction of the Puritan.5

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that Beecher's re-statement of Calvinist orthodoxy led him to modify his belief in conversion being the result of irresistible forces upon the individual. He believed conversion was brought about by persuasion, and the presentation of motives to the individual. As this was Beecher's position on divine activity in conversion, so also in God's providential relationship to the world. God's supervision remained as total for Beecher as it had for Edwards, but Beecher saw the providence of God being exercised, "in the administration of motives, in the form of mercies and afflictions."6 These motives included, "cold and heat, day and night, summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, peace and war, sickness and health," and in different times have all been employed by heaven as, "motives to obedience and restraints from sin."7

In viewing the actions of God in history as motivating forces which were designed to compel the individual to follow a certain path, and not as immutable forces, Beecher allowed for human free agency to operate. He was convinced that without this there could be, "no justice in punishment, and no condescension, no wisdom, no mercy in the glorious gospel . . ."8 So Beecher's belief in the Divine
superintendence of history was as complete and thorough as it was for earlier Puritans, but his theology resisted the idea of God employing irresistible forces, and insisted that the nature of man required that God's activity be limited to motives persuading men and nations to follow a certain path. Yet Beecher also pointed out that the Divine means were not limited to immutable natural laws, or physical phenomena. Special mercies or afflictions were necessary for particular situations in order to lead toward the desired result. Beecher believed that physical laws, which serve as motives can be modified by the wise and merciful intervention of providence. This would then characterise God's oversight as the kind care of a heavenly Father, and not the cold results of general laws. Thus Lyman Beecher's theology, although modified, was adequate to support a scheme of history in which God frequently intervened in history on behalf of his chosen people, in order to bring about the renovation of the world.

The Reformation

American Evangelicals in the first half of the 19th. Century frequently referred to the religious significance of historical events. Of special importance to them was the Protestant Reformation. Francis Wayland said in a sermon to his congregation, "you are doubtless aware that society throughout Christendom has been undergoing very striking alterations since the era of the Reformation . . ." The Reformation came to be seen to be an event of critical importance. It put the Bible in the hands of more people, and this, linked with the rise of education, and the spread of printing, Wayland believed, educated man concerning his right to liberty. This created a dramatic change in the course of human history.

A survey of the history of Europe since the era of the Reformation would teach us that man has never correctly understood, nor successfully asserted his rights until he
has learned them from the Bible.\textsuperscript{10}

The timing of the Reformation and of America's discovery was of great significance to American Christians. Many New England clergymen believed that both events belonged to a scheme of history which was carefully regulated by providence. Such concepts had been prevalent in Puritan sermons, and had remained very much a part of the perspective of Evangelical Christians in the 19th Century. One such example is found in a sermon by John Chester.

This country was discovered at the close of the 15th Century. It opened upon the old world when the cup of abominations was full . . . at a period when letters were revived, when the art of printing was discovered, when men began to discern their natural rights, and the light of liberty and learning was beginning to shine upon a long benighted and ignorant world.\textsuperscript{11}

The practice of fitting events into a scheme of 'Salvation History' was also clearly of great significance for Beecher. At times his interpretation of events sounds remarkably similar to earlier Puritan evaluations of history.

But the Church at the close of three centuries declined in spirituality, grew tired of the government of God, and chose a king to reign over them. The Church became united with the state, its government became monarchical and aristocratic, a rapid decline in purity and spirituality followed: and in a short time all the horrors and abominations of pagan Rome were acted over again with increased atrocity in papal Rome. After a long gloomy night, some rays of light began to break forth in England, Bohemia, and among the Waldenses; but the ferocious hate of the papal power soon extinguished them; though only for a season till the time of the great Reformation.\textsuperscript{12}

As Beecher enumerates the gains of the Reformation his political sympathies become particularly clear. For Beecher the present political situation in America, under which he lived gained legitimacy by being derived from the Reformation. It was the Reformation, he believed, which focussed attention on liberty, and this was eventually
incarnated in the American Republic.

The assertion and maintenance of this right (private judgement) was the grand purpose of the Reformation and to the Reformers and to those who have held the doctrines of the Reformation is the world indebted for all the civil and religious freedom which it now enjoys. 13

In the same series of sermons Beecher stated that the Reformation as a moral cause was next in importance to the advent and death of Christ, and, "greater results hang upon it than upon any other era." 14

The gains which Beecher considered to be derived from the Reformation included, the increase of knowledge, an increase in piety, the improvement in the morals of the people, and the extension of the liberty and civil rights. This led to the commencement of the struggle for civil liberty in which the American nation held the predominant position. Along with Beecher, Wayland also saw great changes in the condition of man coming about as a result of the Reformation.

Power and wealth, and education were placed within the reach of a vastly greater number . . . the rod of feudal vassalage was broken and men were first acknowledged to possess rights which they did not derive from hereditary succession. 15

It was probably Beecher's emphasis on the Reformation that enabled him to avoid the dilemma of supporting the Union, and yet disapproving of the Deistic religious beliefs of the Founding Fathers. Many of those who actively brought about the American Republic were Deist with regard to their religious opinions, and this perspective motivated their actions and statements. Beecher apparently did not worry about this tension as he saw the Revolution as a political consequence of the Reformation, and therefore the Founding Fathers were part of the ongoing drama of history. They were unaware of the greater forces unleashed by the Reformation, which were now influencing their actions.
Without doubt, the Revolution in Beecher's mind was clearly the consequence of Reformation principles. He expected:

A great increase of the revolutionary principle both in energy and extent. The light which has been let in upon modern Europe in consequence of the Reformation cannot now be extinguished, and it so clearly exposes the usurpations which have been made upon human rights.  

As for the political statements of the Founding Fathers, who would have liked to have thought that they were giving political form to their philosophical and religious views, Beecher states, "our own Republic in its Constitution and laws is of heavenly origin", and that the Bible is the main influence in their construction. Again Beecher refers to the liberty guaranteed by the American Constitution as being, "poured out on man by these oracles of heaven". 

The full ramifications of the Reformation, Beecher believed had as yet not been fully realised, and thus future consequences were still to arise from this central event in human history. The future effects that Beecher enumerated resembled the political programme of the Democratic Republicans, and therefore included clear political elements that Beecher believed were inextricably linked with Protestant Christianity.

Beecher had come a long way since his discovery in 1818 that voluntaryism was more beneficial for America's churches. He now expected that, "the uncontrolled liberty of conscience" and the, "total exclusion of governmental interference with the concerns of the Church", will spread throughout the world as a future effect of the Reformation. As Beecher listed further 'Reformation inspired' political developments, he attacked authoritarianism, non-representative government, and the monopoly of land. Beecher believed these developments would be felt not only in America where they were now
taking root, but throughout the rest of the world. Irresponsible governments in which the people had no voice would be, "swept away by the wave of revolution". Also the abolition of the monopoly of landed property would, "permit the cultivator to hold . . . the soil on which he labours". Furthermore, and despite Beecher's Calvinist background, he insisted that another consequence would be, "the increased mental and moral culture and elevation of the whole human family".

The benefits which the 'Evangelical Republicans' saw as being derived from the Reformation, and therefore Christianity, indirectly justified and supported the American nation, and more particularly the civil organisation under which they lived. Beecher asserted that Calvinism had, "always been on the side of liberty in its struggles against arbitrary power; though, through the Puritans, it breathed into the Constitution it's most invaluable principles and laid the foundations of the republican institutions of our nation".

Thus in some way the American nation represented a climax to Protestant endeavours to establish civil and religious freedom.

**A Memory of the Fathers**

With this stress on history, the memory of the Pilgrim Fathers took on special significance for 'Evangelical Republicans'. The migration of thousands of Puritans to North America with the express aim of setting up pure churches within a Bible-based state became, like the Reformation, a central event in the Evangelical understanding of history. For many Evangelicals the purpose of God in removing the Puritans from Europe to America amounted virtually to a covenant between God and his People.

In fitting the Puritans into this scheme of history, Beecher indulged in painting a very bright picture of the early settlers. In this exercise, 19th. Century republican values were grafted onto the
memory of the Massachusetts Bay settlers. Beecher saw them as a, "race of men as never before laid the foundations of empire ... athletic, intelligent and pious." In another sermon he refers to the beginnings of the American nation as being, "civilised, learned and pious." In this Beecher is performing the task which countless New England preachers indulged in; that of holding up the piety of the ancestors as a high-point, and standard from where the current generation has fallen. Beecher, however, expanded this New England tradition. Not only was the piety of early New Englanders emphasised and held up as a standard for future generations, but also their love of, and commitment to liberty was stressed.

Beecher believed that the Puritans had prepared men to, "enjoy and perpetuate civil liberty." He said that they had, "formed some just conceptions of civil and religious liberty." They recognised, "the equal rights of man; they gave the soil to the cultivator, and self-government to the rights of conscience of the people." At this point Beecher has clearly gone beyond elevating the memory of pious ancestors, and has begun to graft republican politics onto 17th Century Puritans.

**Democracy and Despotism**

It has previously been demonstrated how liberty came to be a sign of the progress of providential history. Christians in America had seen Protestantism guarantee liberty over against the tyranny and despotism which was fostered in Roman Catholic countries. Following this, Great Britain itself came to be seen as the embodiment of tyranny as the British parliament ignored the rights and liberties of Americans. With the birth of the Republic, liberty was established, and a republican form of civil organisation was then seen as being a major development in providential history. For Beecher the American
Republic guaranteed liberty and civil rights as opposed to the oppressive measures of despotic regimes, and consequently, Beecher believed Christianity should be attached to a particular form of civil organisation. At this point Christianity, for Beecher and many of his contemporaries was confined to a certain political perspective. If it was true that since the Reformation, Protestant Christianity had fostered liberty, then the best example of this development was to be found in the United States. This nation was obviously the advance guard of providential history.

Beecher did not identify one particular nation or religion with the anti-christ, as had been the practice for previous New England clergy. Instead he was opposed to despotism in all nations that resisted the liberty that the Protestant religion was productive of. In listing forces that were opposed to Christianity he stated,"another form of resistance to the gospel is to be anticipated from the despotic governments of the earth." Liberty was to be the yard-stick against which nations were to be measured, and their destiny decided.

All the governments who yield to the intimations of that providence which sends out religion and civil liberty upon the earth will be safe and happy, and all who make resistance will be agitated by revolutions and destroyed by heavy judgements.

Beecher suggested that this division of the nations might even be the deciding principle of how the nations line up against each other in the final apocalyptic contest.

It may be the collision between light and darkness, between despotism and liberty, which shall call out the kings of the earth to the battle of the great day of God Almighty.

Lyman Beecher believed that liberty and Christianity had a symbiotic relationship. As well as Protestantism historically being productive of liberty, only within a republican state, guaranteeing civil and
religious liberty, could a pure form of Christianity exist. Here it would exist in a voluntary form which would represent the highest ideals of Christianity. Similarly, the liberty that had been established in America, would in another nation be an ephemeral experiment if it should be established without the backing of Christianity.

**Education**

As mentioned in the preceding chapter, education was an issue that was extremely important to Lyman Beecher. It is therefore understandable that he should spend a large portion of his life involved in education. He believed education was also encouraged by the principles of the Reformation. As such it proved to be extremely valuable in enabling people to understand their rights, and to strive for civil and religious liberty. He believed that a general education, which was encouraged in the United States, was not welcome under a despotic government as it did not suit the purposes of its rulers. Repression of knowledge and freedom of enquiry was therefore another divide which Beecher employed to characterise the division of nations.

Those nations which were opposed to liberty and the free spread of knowledge were considered to be working in opposition to the purposes of providence. In authoritarian regimes centres of learning were monopolised by certain sectors of society. The opportunity for the mass of the population to receive a general education was not an option that was open to them. Beecher spoke of this as, "light upon the mountain while the valleys sat in darkness."\(^{29}\) He said of the literary repression of the masses, that it:

Answered well the purposes of despotism, in qualifying the few to govern by force the unreflecting multitude. But in a Republic where the whole people legislate and public sentiment is the supreme executive, the intellectual and moral culture of
the nation must become universal and elevated, demanding an increase of colleges and professional men proportioned to the elevated standard and universality of education. A nation can no more educate itself for a republican government without colleges and academies and schools than it can feed and clothe itself without agriculturists and manufactories. 30

Beecher believed that a democratic republican form of civil organisation, as was found in the United States, represented the most advanced stage in this scheme of providential history. This form of civil organisation would be successfully sustained by universal education. Colleges and schools for Beecher are, "truly republican institutions." 31 Thus education was not an apolitical issue for Beecher, but one which had profound political consequences. In Beecher's scheme, "the colleges of republics are eminently the guardians of liberty and equality, and the great practical equalisers of society." 32 On the other hand any civil organisation which does not have a liberal policy with regard to the spread of education is, "evidently and eminently the enemy of civilisation--of republican institutions--of liberty and equality." 33

Beecher did not use the terms liberty and equality without making clear what he meant. By liberty he said that he did not mean, "independence of law, but the right of self-government by our own laws", 34 and by equality he meant that, "all shall be equally protected in their rights, and have the opportunity to rise by industry and well-doing, according to their several abilities, and their honest faithful action." 35 Both these qualities Beecher believed would be well served and protected by the spread of a general education; indeed he said of colleges that they are, "the fountains of efficient liberty and unperverted equality." 36 They perform this function as they, "... break up and diffuse among the people that monopoly of knowledge and mental power which despotic governments accumulate
Beecher predicted that unless the nations of Europe educated their populations, and delivered them from feudal ignorance and servitude, then, "revolution will arbitrate her destiny." Indeed, Beecher, as well as considering the American Revolution as an appropriate response believed that more revolutions would be necessary, and justified to extend the form of civil organisation that had been gained in the United States.

Where the demand for reform is met by stern resistance of force; revolution will perform the work of justice and emancipation. As Beecher observed history he concluded that the availability of educational institutions in the United States was another factor which was a direct result of certain forces operating in human history. Freedom of enquiry, and the spread of knowledge was a central foundation for the present form of government in the United States. Therefore these forces were important in bringing about, and sustaining a democratic republican form of government. The widespread prevalence of schools and colleges in the United States was in Evangelical minds traced back to the encouragement given to education by the Reformation. As well as employing liberty as a gauge of history, 'Evangelical Republicans' also employed education. Their enquiries led them to the conclusion that Protestantism, and especially American Protestantism played host to the more liberal educational programme. This reinforced the belief that America was the central nation of providential history; Beecher states:

Indeed it had been the design of Heaven to establish a powerful nation in full enjoyment of civil and religious liberty, where all the energies of man might find scope and excitement, on purpose to show the world by experiment of what man is capable.
So, America was the location for this experiment; this further stage in providential history. As for the Hebrews, so also for the Reformed tradition the concept of 'Salvation History' included many significant events throughout history. These events which represented God's dealing with men, would ultimately culminate in the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. As Beecher fitted the American nation, and republicanism into eschatological history, he, like Edwards and others before him did not ignore the probability that America was to be, not only the agent of the Divine will in history, but the location of the millenial Kingdom of God.

The beliefs that had motivated American Protestants and helped them to gain an understanding of their place in history included a concept of America as an 'Elect Nation'. They belonged to a certain tradition in which past events could be easily recalled and employed in support of the belief in an 'Elect Nation'. Another important theme that was adopted by American Christians was that of a 'City on a Hill'. This emphasised the dual responsibility of maintaining purity in the nation, and actively pursuing a policy of world mission, whereby the qualities of the 'City on the Hill' would be desired by, and exported to other nations.

Another theme that is frequently expressed as Americans sought to understand their history is that of America as a refuge from European decadence. This perspective often led to a dualistic view of history in which the forces of Christ were constantly engaged in a struggle with the forces of anti-Christ. The two competing forces have been variously represented as, old world, new world; Catholicism, Protestantism, or tyranny and liberty. In all cases American Christians saw themselves on the divinely approved side of these divisions, thereby affirming their belief that their history was overseen by Providence.
At all periods of American history these themes have been vitally important for Christians in helping them to understand the present, and showing them their place in history. These themes also formed hopes for a Christian nation, and were thus constantly referred to in efforts to christianise the nation.

What was significant in the 1820's and 1830's was the politicisation by 'Evangelical Republicans' of these themes, and consequently their restriction to a particular form of civil organisation. To 'Evangelical Republicans' the central event in their view of history was the Reformation, which was believed to be the source of all the many civil and religious benefits which America now enjoyed. Liberty, which had in Evangelical minds always characterised Protestantism was now firmly located within the democratic government of the United States of America. Within this political framework Evangelicals emphasised old world authoritarianism as opposed to new world democracy, they saw the Republic as the 'City on a Hill', and they believed that the Republic's inception was a major stage in the history of an 'Elect Nation'.
MISSION AND MILLENNIALISM

Special destiny theories regarding nations always include a responsibility for mission. At different times the specific content of what that destiny might be changes, but the necessity of its dissemination remains. As this was true of the Old Testament Hebrews, so it was true of every period of American Christianity that accorded some special destiny to the nation.

Throughout American Protestant history the 'City on a Hill' had been a dominant Christian theme which has repeatedly surfaced among American Christians; deriving its origin from Governor Winthrop's famous sermon, 'A Model of Christian Charity'. This placed in Puritan minds the responsibility that accompanied a special calling. Similarly in the first half of the 19th Century 'Evangelical Republicans' believed that they had a mission to the rest of mankind, and, that mission would be emptied of any credibility if they could not exemplify the truths that they wished to spread in their churches and in their national life.

A City on a Hill—Politicised

So, Lyman Beecher and many of his contemporaries employed the theme of a 'City on a Hill'; mission by example. However, what was to be spread was quite different from anything Governor Winthrop had in mind. The agenda for world mission included the spread of Protestant Christianity, and also republican government. Christians of this persuasion believed that when an oppressed people look upon a free people they will, "instinctively feel that they have inalienable rights, and they will never afterwards be at rest until the enjoyment
of these rights is guaranteed to them." The free people in question obviously being the citizens of the United States. Francis Wayland emphasises the republican nature of the 'City on a Hill' as seen by 19th. Century Evangelicals.

Our country has given to the world the first ocular demonstration, not only of the practicality but also of the unrivalled superiority of a popular form of government. Wayland suggests that because of the peculiar history of the United States, the eyes of Europe were now rivetted on America. He then proceeds to outline what the United States should attempt to demonstrate by example to the rest of the world.

It is showing to the world that every right can be perfectly protected under rulers elected by the people, that a government can be stable with no support (other) than the affections of its citizens; that a people can be virtuous without an established religion.

Lyman Beecher was also of the opinion that the American nation had a significant role to play in the redemptive history of the world. The settling of North America, and the establishment of a republican form of government were not chance events, but events that were full of consequence for world history. In Beecher's opinion, "God has raised our nation up, by the favour of heaven, the freest, happiest, and if not checked in its progress, soon to become the greatest nation on earth." The design behind this favour was to make the American nation, "one of the chief instruments of His mercy in giving the gospel to mankind."

In Beecher's opinion important issues hung on the satisfactory outcome of the course now being pursued by the United States.

If this work be done, and well done, our country is safe, and the world's hope is secure. The government of force will
cease, and that of intelligence and virtue will take its place; and nation after nation cheered by our example will follow in our footsteps, till the whole earth is free.6

The influence that was to be spread was clearly political in its main emphases.

It is the light of our republican prosperity, gleaming in upon their (Europe's) dark prison house which is inspiring hope, and converting chains into arms. It is the power of mind roused, by our example, from the sleep of ages and the apathy of despair which is sending forth earthquakes under the foundations; and they have no hope of rest and primeval darkness, but by the extinction of our light.7

Politicised Mission

Thus it was the American nation that came to be seen as an important example. In order for the benefits of a certain form of political organisation to be demonstrated, it had to be embodied in a specific nation. Consequently, Beecher exhorted his fellow countrymen by saying that, "if this nation is in the providence of God destined to lead the way in the moral and political emancipation of the world, it is time she understood her high calling ..."8 This period of history, like others that employed the theme of a 'City on a Hill' recognised that this brought special responsibilities, and failure in this mission would bring fearful consequences upon the nation. In a sermon in which Beecher was clearly referring to republican freedoms, he said of the American nation.

Our light will shine more and more to the perfect day, till earth's inhabitants cheered by it and encouraged shall burst their chains and walk erect and free upon the fair earth which God has given to them.9

'Evangelical Republicans' added a political element, thereby ensuring that it was not only salvation and pure churches that would be on display. American mission also involved the spread of liberty
and republicanism. Often this example of liberty would meet stern resistance from despotic nations, and here revolution was considered an acceptable means of introducing republican freedoms.

Where the demand for reform is met by the stern resistance of force, revolution will perform the work of justice and emancipation.10

Despotic governments were considered by Beecher to be an obstacle which impeded the progress of the gospel, and once, "these systems of physical resistance are destroyed, then will the time have come to extend the institutions of the gospel throughout the world."11 Far from thinking that religion was a tool for keeping the masses in their place, Beecher thought that religion had an elevating, equalising, and liberalising effect; but this only within a republican government. Otherwise the religion of an established Church could be just another tool by which a despotic monarch would seek to maintain authority.

Revolution Sanctioned

With the political emphasis that was present among 'Evangelical Republicans' there is evidence of the radical political tradition that had existed among Reformed and Puritan Christians. This tradition had been opposed to any theory of the divine right of kings, and of the legislator existing above the law. Rulers were seen as being guardians of the rights of the people, and when the ruler failed in this task, or himself undermined civil rights, the citizens had a right to demand a new ruler. Many Puritan political theorists attested to these rights, which were often worked out under persecution, thereby increasing the Protestant emphasis on liberty. This tradition was clearly very important for a generation that approved of the overthrow of its rulers, and the establishment of what they believed was a government that would protect the rights of its citizens.
So, inevitably there are examples of 'Evangelical Republicans' talking in language that is reminiscent of Reformed and Puritan radical politics of previous centuries. Wayland stated:

A form of government, to be stable must be adapted to the intellectual and moral condition of the governed; and when from any cause it has ceased to be so adapted the time has come when it must inevitably be modified or subverted. 12

Similarly, Gardiner Spring of New York stated the same principle. Although for Spring it was a contemporary issue which was relevant to the national situation of his day, his words could easily have been stated by Protestants in different times, facing a different set of circumstances. In this issue there is a marked continuity within Protestant political thought.

There may be, and doubtless is a point beyond which submission to oppressive and tyrannical governments may not be extended, and where power is so unreasonable and despotic as to justify revolt and revolution. Though the most weighty responsibility rests upon a people in deciding upon this fearful crisis, it has existed and may exist again. Hazardous as the regimen is, the body politic may be so disordered in its functions as to be constrained to resort to it. 13

Wayland even suggests that such civil and religious liberties once obtained should be defended by war if necessary. He suggests that a situation may arise where it requires that, "our choicest blood flow freely, for life itself is valueless when such interests are at stake." 14

'Evangelical Republicans' were willing to sanction for other nations the same measures that had brought them to their place in history. They believed revolution had been appropriate in the past, and was also appropriate for the present. In emphasising the necessity of force, Beecher recognised that power would not be voluntarily relinquished. He perceptively argues that the, "usurpation of the soil will not be relinquished spontaneously, nor
the chains knocked off from the body, and the mind of man by the hands which for ages have been employed to rivet them."^15 Consequently, Beecher advocated revolution as the necessary means for rectifying this situation. For Beecher a revolution that opposed arbitrary rule and that increased liberty would in all cases be Divinely approved, as liberty was a sure gauge of the advance of providential history.

He that sitteth on the throne must overturn and overturn, before his rights and the rights of man will be restored.^16

Beecher stressed that for major political changes to be accomplished, "in the civil and religious condition of the world, revolutions and convulsions are doubtless indispensable."^17 Then, as revolutions would be followed by civil liberty, so, "the way of the Lord is to be prepared."^18 Revolution had been essential in bringing the American nation to this high-point in Protestant history, and as these changes took place in other nations, so, the world would be led closer to the Millenium.

Beecher clearly had a vision of political liberty being spread throughout the world. He believed that in many cases this would be resisted by despotic, authoritarian governments. Nevertheless, as providence had a hand in this advance, he believed it would relentlessly press on, and the advance of liberty would produce a political climate which would be more conducive to the spread of Protestant Christianity.

**Mission in the West**

For many Evangelicals the American nation was now seen as possessing an important role in world mission and in history. This encouraged the hope among Evangelicals that in all its aspects it would remain a Christian country. Only in this way could it maintain
the moral authority of the 'City on a Hill'. One area where the Evangelicals saw a desperate need was in the West, where thousands of settlers from the East and immigrants from Europe were migrating. Evangelicals realised that they had to maintain a mission that would keep pace with the needs of the advancing frontier. In 1833, William Cogswell said that a view of the valleys of the two great rivers is enough to make heaven weep, it is, "enough to break any heart unless harder than adamant, and to rouse it into holy action, unless colder than the grave." As a response the combined energies of the voluntary societies were brought to bear on the needs of the West.

In an article in the 'Christian Spectator' in 1829, entitled, 'Religion Necessary To Our Political Existence', (written anonymously) eastern anxiety was aroused as the author pointed out that the smallest state in the Mississippi Valley was larger than all of New England. Also the ratio of population increase in the West was twice that of the East, so that by 1850 it was expected that there would be forty million people in the present Mississippi Valley states. Yet by far the vast majority of colleges, academies, books, schools, churches and societies were located in the East. Soon the expanding West would have a majority in Congress and therefore the balance of political power was passing into the hands of those considered morally and intellectually least qualified to hold it.

As a result of this situation, home mission has often been seen as an attempt to impose eastern culture on the West by a group of narrow minded representatives of a backward looking tradition. However, this might be an over-simplistic assessment of eastern anxiety. These Evangelicals passionately believed that Protestantism had produced republicanism, and as such this precious experiment could only be sustained by the spread and consolidation of the Protestant religion.
and its institutions. Furthermore, their support for electoral democracy, and the priority given to public opinion does not typify a narrow-minded static outlook.

In 1828, a great campaign was initiated by the voluntary societies to christianise the Mississippi Valley. The large societies such as the American Home Missionary Society, the American Bible Society, the American Tract Society, the American Education Society, and the American Sunday School Union responded promptly and were soon all involved. Beecher played a significant part in encouraging the societies to see the importance of the 'Valley Project'. As a speaker he emphasised the need, and as a society member he proposed that immediate action should be taken by the societies to meet this need. Also at the request of the Presbyterian General Assembly of 1831, he provided a condensed list of arguments in support of the 'Valley Project'.

The American Tract Society passed a resolution stating that, "the moral wants of large portions of the inhabitants of our country, especially in the valley of the Mississippi," called for prompt action to circulate religious tracts. Similarly, the American Sunday School Union endeavoured to establish, "a sunday school in every destitute place . . . throughout the valley of the Mississippi." This motion was proposed by Rev. Thomas McAuley, and seconded by Lyman Beecher.

The Importance of the West

The societies saw this as an immense task, but undertook it with determination, believing that large questions depended on its successful outcome. This was evident in the annual report of the American Tract Society.
If ever Christians had a work spread before them, at once of magnitude beyond all that the mind can grasp, and full of promise, in such a work are Christians of these United States now called to engage, and among the rising, forming, giant people within the limits of their own territory. . . The gospel must have a greater prevalence, or millions of souls will be left to perish in the native darkness of their minds; and our free and happy institutions in the absence of moral principle, to fall under the just judgement of God, and the weight of our nations iniquities. 23

Religious developments in the West became very important for Evangelicals, and in this it is possible to see just how the needs of the West were seen. For example, the question of whether Lane Seminary in Cincinnati was to teach orthodoxy and revivalism was for Beecher a question, "of as great importance as was ever permitted a single human mind to decide." 24

This was more than just a question of territorial conquest; the destiny of the West would decide the future destiny of the nation. As this combined with the belief that America had world-wide relevance, so the question of the maintenance and spread of Evangelical Protestantism in the West took on immense proportions.

For many 'Evangelical Republicans' the West assumed a high priority, as a nation that believed it had a special destiny also anticipated fearful consequences to be attached to the failure of its national mission. The failure of republicanism would be brought about by a western population devoid of Protestant Christianity, and this would result in the loss of civil liberties. Beecher shared this view, and himself participated in the work by moving west to Cincinnati in 1832. Although 1832 was the date of his move to the West, he had for some time maintained an interest in the West, and two years before his departure he had seriously considered going to Cincinnati. In a letter to his daughter Catherine, dated 8th. July, 1830, he expressed this interest.
While at Philadelphia, and since ... my interest in the majestic West has been greatly excited and increased ... the moral destiny of our nation, and all our institutions and hopes, and the world's hopes, turns on the character of the West, and the competition now is for that of the pre-occupancy in the education of the rising generation in which Catholics and infidels have got the start of us. I have thought seriously of going over to Cincinnati ... to spend the remnant of my days in that great conflict ... if we gain the West all is safe, if we lose it all is lost.

In another letter, to Franklin Vail, who acted as agent and representative for Lane Seminary, Beecher gave his arguments in favour of his own personal move to the West. He stressed the importance of his anticipated involvement in an orthodox seminary, countering error, and extending, "Evangelical doctrine and religion to the future millions of the West and thro' them to the millions of the southern continent and to the whole world." Beecher also believed that the great task of providing a competent, educated Evangelical ministry for the West must be done in the West. It would be this indigenous ministry, "educated on her own soil, who must preach the gospel to the West." So, a theological college established in the West would meet the need, and Beecher believed his own background had prepared him to teach theology in such a situation. In his letter to Franklin Vail he listed his qualifications.

The first ten years of my life having been employed in preaching and vindicating the doctrines of the gospel in the presence of a crafty cavilling infidelity--the next sixteen in countering the anti-nomian tendencies of hyper-Calvinism as well as the opposite extreme of Arminianism, and the last five in the exposition and vindication of the same doctrines in opposition to the innumerable mistakes and misrepresentations of Unitarians.

Beecher's arguments included the needs of the West, and his own qualifications, as listed above, to be part of the task-force that would endeavour to meet this need. Along with the voluntary societies Beecher also placed a high priority on the evangelisation of the West.
He was well aware of the size of the task, and realised that the coming exigencies of the West, "will demand the whole of the concentrated energy of New England,"²⁹ along with that of its own societies and institutions. If this work was not successfully accomplished then the vacuum left would be filled with, "worldliness and voluptuousness and political and ecclesiastical ambition and party spirit, and sectional selfishness and contention and papal intrigue and impudence and violence."³⁰ This fearful prospect led Beecher to ask:

If we fail to hold our own, in our own land--how shall we lead in the conversion of the world and who will take our place in the rank.³¹

So, with an expanding West that would soon control the balance of political power in the United States, it was essential that Christians should exert every effort to ensure the spread of virtue and education in the West. This would ensure the survival of the Republic, or as Beecher stated it, the West would then decide the, "religious and political destiny of our nation."³²

The Millenium

If the efforts of Evangelicals were successful, and the American nation was satisfactorily christianised, thus securing republicanism, then this linear scheme of history could progress on towards its climax; the millenial Kingdom of God. Central to this was the important role to be played by the American nation. In the 1820's and 1830's the millenial role of America was a familiar issue in Evangelical sermons. Eliphalet Nott, President of Union College, believed that the Millemium was at the door and would, "be introduced by human exertions."³⁵

Some interpretations of the millenial hope affirmed that only the second coming of Christ could save the world from evil, and inaugurate
the Kingdom of God in history. Other interpretations, which came to be expressed more frequently by Evangelical leaders saw the Millenium as a state to be progressed into. This state would be reached as civilisation was progressively christianised. The terms used of these two approaches are 'Pre-Millenialist' and 'Post-Millenialist' indicating whether Christ should return before or after the Millenium. Although, some historians prefer the terms, 'Millenarian' and 'Millenialist' instead of the two above.34

As mentioned, millenial speculation was common throughout the first half of the 19th Century, not only among minor sects, but also in the orthodox denominations, and among college professors and presidents. Many of the Evangelicals who supported and participated in the Second Great Awakening likewise expressed the hope that their efforts would be instrumental in establishing the Kingdom of God on Earth. Missionaries, reformers, and benevolent volunteers were all motivated by the hope of a 'Christian America', and the subsequent millenial Kingdom of God. However, for many of the Evangelicals, and Lyman Beecher in particular, the Millenium took on a definite political form; it was understood within the confines of the prevailing politics of the day.

Before the Millenium was reached, Beecher not only expected the gospel to be preached throughout the world, but he also expected liberty to spread throughout the world in the form of republican governments.

I observe then that to this renovation, great changes are required in the civil and religious conditions of the nations.35

In another place he stated that the Millenium, "cannot come to pass under the existing civil organisation of the nations."36 It must be remembered that this was not a clergyman writing in the height of fervour brought about by the Revolution, but Beecher was writing in
1835, a long time after the nation had been established, and the initial enthusiasm had subsided. Beecher clearly believed that certain political structures could not remain in a world that was heading towards an imminent Millenium as, "such a state of society as is predicted to pervade the Earth cannot exist under an arbitrary despotism, and the predominance of feudal institutions and usages."  

Beecher was very clear about the specific political changes that were required before the Millenium could arrive. He stated that first, "the monopoly of the soil must be abolished", and, "the monopoly of power must be superseeded by the suffrages of freedmen." A nation that excludes people from deciding how it should operate is less than God's will, and contrary to the nature of man as a free-willed agent.

While the great body of the people are excluded from all voice and influence in legislation, it is impossible to constitute a state of society such as the faculties of man allow and the benevolence of God desires.

Another pre-requisite along with equal land distribution and democracy is that, "the rights of conscience also must be restored to man, before the moral renovation of the world can be expected."  

Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College, in expressing sentiments similar to Beecher, said that there were three things in the world that were indicative of movement towards the Millenium. In this Hopkins betrays a clear political bias in his listing of the characteristics which he believed indicated an imminent Millenium. Hopkins spoke of, "the subjugation of the powers of nature to the use of man", of, "the attempt to realise ... the liberty and rights of the individual man", and of the, "benevolent and reformatory movements of the age". For Hopkins these phenomena, some of them political in nature, were as he saw it, "a natural and almost necessary preparation for the final triumph."
Lyman Beecher's millennial beliefs bear little resemblance to Jonathan Edwards' apolitical millenialism. For Edwards' as he anticipated the Millenium, his hope was based on the prevalence of revivals, and he hoped that this would deepen and spread, and ultimately lead to the Millenium. However, in the mid 1740's as the revivals faltered, so unfortunately did Edwards' hope of an imminent Millenium, as it was based on the unpredictable element of revival.

For Beecher the millenial role that Edwards ascribed to revival was supplemented by the spread of liberty. In addition to the unknown and unpredictable forces of revival which Edwards had commanded, Beecher had at his command the constitutionally established guarantee of republican liberty; and this, although it required constant watchfulness and maintenance was more dependable than revival alone.

As liberty was the pre-eminent gauge of historical progress, and had been safely established in the United States, so the inevitable conclusion followed; the American nation was about to lead the way into the millenial age. For Beecher and other Evangelicals the path to the Millenium followed definite political, as well as religious principles. While a Church might preach Christian freedom, only a nation could provide civil liberty. Therefore, as the American nation was providing this function, so it became important in the scheme of history and consequently was to play a significant part in hastening the Millenium. This nation which was the permanent seat of liberty became, "the primary agent of God's meaningful activity in history." 42 Beecher's understanding of the Millenium was strongly influenced by republicanism; not only did he, like his predecessors, fit America into eschatological history, but he also found a place for a republican form of civil organisation in it.
Although Beecher and Edwards might have differed over their beliefs regarding how the Millenium was to be introduced; yet, both theories led them to the conclusion that America was to be the location for the initiation of the Millenium. In his writing Beecher has stated his concurrence with Edwards millenial theories.

It was the opinion of Edwards that the Millenium would commence in America. When I first encountered this opinion, I thought it chimerical, but all providential developments since, and all the existing signs of the times lend corroboration to it; but if it is by the march of revolution and civil liberty, that the way is to be prepared, where shall the central energy be found, and from what nation shall the renovating power go forth? What nation is blessed with such experimental knowledge of free institutions.44

In this section of Beecher's sermon, 'A Plea for the West', we can see the importance he places on the providential developments of history. He believed that events since Edwards all confirmed the theory that America was to be the location for the Millenium. It seems safe to assume that the, "existing signs of the times", that Beecher was referring to could have only been the American Revolution, and the subsequent establishment of a republican government. Events such as these, combined with the development of electoral democracy and the extension of a wide range of civil liberties, confirmed for Beecher that America was to be the location for the inauguration of the Millenium. These were the reasons that justified his hope, "that our nation has been raised up by providence to exert an efficient instrumentality in this moral renovation of the world."43

In an examination of Beecher's views on mission and millenialism, it becomes evident that his views on these subjects were influenced by a particular political perspective. His idea of mission did involve spreading the gospel throughout the world, and it did involve sending home missionaries to the Frontier to cater for the religious needs of
settlers. However, it also included the spread of a republican form of civil organisation throughout the world, overturning authoritarianism and establishing liberty. It did involve the christianising and educating of Frontier settlers in order to enable them to sustain the providentially established American Republic.

On an international level the United States was again believed to be a 'City on a Hill'. However, for Beecher and many of his fellow-clergymen this belief was expressed in political terms. As oppressed people in other nations saw the liberties afforded by American democracy; so, they would not be satisfied till this had been attained in their own nations. Similarly the thrust for home mission was intensified with the realisation that as a political 'City on a Hill', the experiment had to prove successful. This could only take place if the expanding West was instilled with the virtue, self-control, and learning that was essential to a government which granted a wide range of civil liberties. The mission that Beecher espoused therefore included a political message. This, by definition, required that the truths to be communicated must be embodied in a nation as opposed to a Church. The obvious example, for New England Evangelicals, in this case was the United States.

There is a close link between mission and millenialism in Evangelical thought. It was believed that the expected Millenium would not be made manifest till the work of mission had been completed. This point was no less true with 'Evangelical Republicans' who emphasised a political mission. For them, not only the gospel, but political liberty had to be extended throughout the world before the Millenium could begin. Inevitably the work of expressing and extending republicanism was a national task, and so the American nation came to adopt a millenial role.
This perspective also contributed to the construction of a politicised Millenium. Certain political developments derived from democratic republican principles were stated, not only as necessary pre-requisites for, but characteristics of the Millenium. Beecher and his contemporaries thereby re-shaped the Millenium according to the prevailing political views of their age.

'Evangelical Republicans' established clear political principles which they believed must be present before the Millenium can be introduced. They believed that these principles were present in American political life. America, therefore, was the one nation upon Earth which was closest to the Millenium, and also the one nation which could lead others to this goal. In this process, Evangelicals were not only incorporating America within the ongoing scheme of 'Salvation History'; a task which had been successfully performed by previous generations of American Christians, but they were politicising the concept of 'Salvation History' by confining it within a certain political perspective.
EVANGELICALS AND NATIVISM

Statements in support of religious liberty were frequently expressed among Evangelicals in the 1820's and 1830's. They supported the constitutional right of American citizens to full religious freedom. However, this professed pluralism clearly set up a tension with regard to the homogeneity that Evangelicals sought, and stressed as fundamental to the foundations of the American Republic. Consequently the question is often asked whether in Protestant minds the extension of civil liberties was really extended to all. Or was it only intended for those within a certain tradition, namely Protestant Christianity.

Jacksonian Democrats strongly resisted the delimiting of tolerance to Protestant Christianity, and proposed a theory of religious non-intervention. For Democrats the state was a secular institution, whose single obligation to religion was to guarantee equal rights to all faiths.

Although disestablished, the Protestant churches in America still possessed as great, if not a greater social and national influence than an established Church. So, clearly a consensus existed which was predominantly Protestant. Unfortunately for some, it appears that certain social groups, by virtue of race, religion, or social background did not qualify as worthy members of this Republic which required that its participants be educated and virtuous. Therefore strenuous efforts were to be employed to bring these aberrant groups into harmony with the predominant consensus.

For Christians in previous centuries the establishment of religion
had rested upon the basic assumption that society's well being depended upon the maintenance of a body of commonly shared religious beliefs, and that the power of the state must be exercised in the promotion of these beliefs. Evangelical Christians still held to the importance for society of commonly shared beliefs, but they set aside for the state no role in the spread of these beliefs. Instead voluntary means were to be employed.

As we have seen from Beecher's sermons, there was nobody who was more insistent on the protection of republican freedoms. Yet also in Beecher is found a strong desire for religious homogeneity among American citizens. Milton Rugoff comments:

Lamenting a lost purity, Beecher spoke nostalgically of a time when Americans were a homogenous people, his plea for the West, was a plea for a West without ardent Catholics or poor foreigners.¹

Before the mass immigration of the early 19th Century, British Protestantism was the common heritage of eighty-five per-cent of white Americans. Thus when they spoke of America as a land of liberty, they saw it as having grown out of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism. It appears that Beecher and his fellow clergymen believed that this social group was the one most suited to partake of, and promote republican freedoms. Indeed this group provided the basis for their vision of a homogenous Christian nation. 'Evangelical Republicans' believed that there existed a vital link between their faith and the political and religious freedoms of their day. Francis Wayland stated that, "popular institutions are inseparably connected with Protestant Christianity."² Again, in another sermon, whilst referring to civil liberties he said, "... nowhere but in Protestant countries have the blessings resulting from the social changes to which we have alluded, been fully realised,"³ Along with other Evangelicals, Wayland was sure that, "the doctrines
of Protestant Christianity are the sure, nay the only bulwark of civil freedom.  

In this almost paradoxical situation the New England Evangelicals desired the maintenance of republicanism, guaranteeing religious freedom. Yet they believed this political situation, so highly cherished by them, could only be maintained by the predominance of Protestant Christianity. Therefore, they made strenuous efforts to ensure Protestant ascendency. E. N. Kirk, a pastor from New England, made the link that was commonplace in pulpit rhetoric.

It is also a fact, explain it as you may that Protestant nations have a higher tone of morals, as well as more industry and enterprise, than either papal, pagan, or mohammedan countries. . . .( we ) ascribe our peculiar history to our peculiar religion.

Deism as understood by Evangelicals did not contain the moral foundations for virtuous living, which was necessary to maintain the Union. Also the political philosophy which Catholicism supported tended towards despotism and repression. Both systems were deficient in terms of maintaining the Republic. Despite their ascription of political and moral deficiency to non-Protestant systems, in theory at least Evangelicals welcomed a heterodox populace. Certainly they supported the political documents which made provision for a pluralistic population. However, in spite of this they strove by voluntary means to convert America's citizens into a homogenous population. Their campaigns to achieve this end were not campaigns of hostility, censorship and repression. The means employed by them were entirely in keeping with the principles they believed America should be governed by.

Catholicism: Incompatible With Republicanism

Lyman Beecher considered republicanism to be an important aspect of the Protestant view of the progress of history. It was an important
stage in the linear journey of history towards the Millenium. In this scenario Beecher considered Catholicism to be hostile towards such a form of civil organisation, indeed he believed republicanism and Catholicism to be completely, "incompatible with each other." Protestantism was not only responsible for the existence of republicanism, but also Protestants were the rightful heirs to this inheritance. In a letter to Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College, Beecher said.

We retain from the Hudson onward to the last verge of civilisation, the great body of the legitimate Saxon-Puritan emigrants from New England, and their descendants, to whom God has committed eminently in this country the founding of republican institutions and government.7

In seeing a basic incompatibility between republicanism and Catholicism, Beecher proceeded to view Catholicism as an ally of despotism. For Beecher the lessons of history revealed that, "Catholicism has always existed in connection with despotic governments, is supported by them and gives them its aid in turn."8

One central feature of the beliefs of American Christians who have endorsed the view of an American role in redemptive history, is that history is divided into two exclusive streams: the one opposed to goodness and truth, and the other the vehicle for the realisation of the divine will in history. As a representative of this tradition, Beecher's opinions were formed by this type of division.

All the demoralising forms of religion with which the world has ever been infested have rested on this basis (justification by works)—hence the pilgrimages, fastings, penances of paganism, Mahomedanism and popery. On this side have always been found the enemies of freedom, the persecutors and torturers of the pious, the advocates of the divine right of kings, the encouragers of ignorance and licentiousness among the people. While the Protestants; the Puritans, have been the uniform defenders of liberty, the enemies of tyranny, and the friends of education and moral improvement.
For the 'Evangelical Republicans' this great division ran through contemporary history. On the one hand were despotic nations which denied liberty, and on the other, republicanism which provided for individual freedom. In this division of history, Catholicism sided with despotism, and Protestantism with liberty. For Beecher the anti-republican tendencies of the Catholic religion, "were illustrated by reference to its monarchical and aristocratic government, by its restraints upon the free circulation of the Bible, and by the prohibition of free enquiry in regard to the exposition of the Bible."10

Wayland, like Beecher linked Catholicism and despotism. He stressed that both the Catholic Church and despotic governments depended on each other for their continued survival.

The state needs the anathema of the Church to check the spirit of inquiry, and the Church needs the physical power of the state to silence by force when it cannot convince by argument. These systems are . . . the natural allies of each other; and hence in fact have they always been found closely united.11

The question of liberty of conscience is one that Wayland considers the two systems of Protestantism and Catholicism to be at issue on. He also points to discrepancies regarding the circulation of the scriptures, the improvement of the lower classes of society, the question of religious liberty, and the enforcement of doctrines by relentless persecution, Catholicism and Protestantism taking different sides on the above issues.

The Evangelical Appeal To History

In searching for evidence to back up this perspective, Evangelicals turned to history. Therein they found ample evidence to support their thesis that Catholicism was the enemy of liberty, and what was true of the Catholic system in the past was equally true of the present. This perspective is clearly represented in Beecher's thought.
I by an appeal to history have a right to illustrate
the coincidence between the political doctrines and the practices
of the Catholic Church, and to show that always they have been
hostile to civil and religious liberty.12

The fact that Catholicism had, "swayed a sceptre of iron for ten
centuries over nearly one third of the population of the globe,"13 was
in Beecher's mind not accident or coincidence. Instead it was a
direct result of the practical needs of the Catholic system, and a
logical extension of the principles taught therein.

New England's Evangelicals could not divorce present day
Catholicism from its repressive past, and despite outward changes
they believed the character of the system to be exactly the same. The
'Quarterly Register' of the American Education Society, in referring to
the Catholic Church reminded its readers that, "we cannot forget the
apprehensions of our Puritan ancestors, and their conscientious
opposition; nor the sufferings of many who preceeded them."14
Evangelicals refused to believe that any basic changes had occurred
within Catholicism.

The refinement of modern manners, the withholding of
objectionable articles of faith, in soothing conversations
maintained with enquirers, the specious glosses put on
expressions startling to the lover of scriptural simplicity
—all these might seem to say, Rome has changed, and is far
different from the power which Luther, Zuingle, Melancthon,
Calvin and Bucer, and the host of reformers combatted. But
the high tone of her present publications claims an unchanged
and unshakeable character for her faith and her practice.15

Similarly Beecher identified Catholicism, as he found it, with
the same repressive system that it had been in the past.

Though by revolutions it has been shaken and compelled by
motives of policy to cease a little from blood, not a principle
of this system has been abandoned.16

A more human face being displayed from a system that had previously
been blatantly repressive was not sufficient to change Protestant
attitudes towards the Catholic religion. The American Education Society stated that until the Roman Catholic Church renounced the right to tyrannise the consciences of mankind, and to exterminate heretics it was to be held responsible for all past violence.

The present Catholic hierarchy was also very suspicious of democratic governments. They were perceived as a threat to the order and security of Europe's nations. Consequently, Catholicism remained in the eyes of Protestants as being basically hostile towards liberty. This was promptly seized by Evangelicals, and was a further argument in support of their case, which claimed that Catholicism was incompatible with republican liberty. Beecher himself quoted Pope Gregory XVI, who in 1832 castigated the very basis of republican government and voluntary religion.

From the polluted fountain of indifference flows that absurd and erroneous doctrine, or rather raving in favour and defense of liberty of conscience for which most pestillential error, the course is opened for that entire and wild liberty of opinion.17

Pope Gregory also criticised the liberty of the press, and suggested the burning of erroneous books, and other restrictive measures. All this was totally abhorrent to Protestants who believed that liberty was a sure gauge of the progress of providential history.

Evidence in support of this perspective was certainly not in short supply for American Evangelicals. Gregory XVI, and Pius IX, who followed him, both fuelled this fire by frequent condemnations of liberty, democracy, and free enquirey. This was demonstrated in the treatment of liberal Catholics by the papal hierarchy. One such liberal Catholic on the receiving end of this treatment was Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), who was a contemporary of Beecher. Lamennais along with his collaborators, most notably Henri Dominique Lacordaire (1802-1861), and Charles Montalembert (1810-1870), launched a journal
entitled 'Avenir'.

This journal adopted a liberal position which would certainly not have proved offensive to American Evangelicals. 'Avenir' rejected the divine right of kings, and embraced the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people. It also advocated liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, termination of payment of clergy by the government, and freedom of the press, of education, and of association.

The journal lasted for only thirteen months. It was severely criticised and proscribed by the bishops, and when Lacordaire appealed to Pope Gregory XVI the whole liberal Catholic movement was condemned in a papal encyclical 'Mirarivos' in August, 1832. Pope Gregory considered the liberties advocated in 'Avenir' to be monstrous innovations. Contemporary Catholic Europe therefore confirmed Lyman Beecher's worst fears, and enabled him to assert a continuity between contemporary Catholicism and its repressive past.

Beecher, however, expressed no personal animosity towards Catholics. On the contrary, he desired that their rights should be protected in the Republic. Considered simply as a religious denomination, and unallied to the church and state establishments of the European governments, Beecher had no fear of Catholicism. Indeed his message to Catholics was, "we bid them welcome, and would have their property and rights protected with the same impartiality and efficacy that the property and rights of every other denomination are protected." 18 Beecher insisted that there was to be no equivocation on individual civil rights.

I not only admit their equal rights, but insist upon them; and am prepared to defend their rights as I am those of my own, and other Protestant denominations. 19

Contrary to Beecher's stated impartiality with regard to the
individual liberties of Catholics, he has been accused of having incited a mob to violence. The occasion was when a Roman Catholic convent in Charlestown was destroyed by fire. However, Beecher denied this charge.

The late violence done to Catholic property at Charlestown is regarded with regret and abhorrence by Protestants and patriots throughout the land, though the excitement which produced it had no relation whatever to religious opinions and no connection with any denomination of Christians.\textsuperscript{20}

The riot which destroyed the convent occurred on the same evening as Beecher was speaking in Boston.\textsuperscript{21} However, in defense of his non-involvement, he stated that nobody involved in the riot would have heard him speak, and his presence in Boston was not generally known till after that evening.

\textbf{Contest With Catholicism}

America, and in particular Puritan New England, had a history of deep Catholic mistrust. Events ranging from the Marian persecution and the Armada, to the Gunpowder plot and the inquisition were easily brought to mind by American Christians, and employed to demonstrate the tyrannical nature of Catholicism. In America this polarisation was fed by the outbreak of war with France and Spain. For half a century Britain and her colonies were engaged in conflict with Catholic powers. Catholics outside America were regarded as being hostile to liberty, and those within the colonies were suspected of being potential enemies, as papal allegiance might supersede their loyalty to the crown.

Anti-Catholic sentiment remained in New England minds in the early decades of the new nation, even without any major incident stirring up antagonism in America. However, such strong feelings needed little to arouse them. In the third decade of the 19th. Century
foreign immigration on a large scale was probably the most important cause which led to a resurgence of anti-Catholic sentiment. This period of immigration caused the Catholic Church in America to experience a time of rapid growth.

In the United States in 1807 there was one Catholic See, seventy priests, eighty churches, and approximately 70,000 Roman Catholics. By 1830 this had all changed, and instead of one See, there were now ten, along with six seminaries, nine colleges, thirty-three monasteries, plus convents, schools, and hospitals.

Beecher and other Evangelicals believed Catholicism to be a system entirely opposed to republicanism. They therefore concluded that the movement of thousands of Catholics to America, and then on out to the West was part of a large conspiracy by European Catholic despotic powers. Their aim being to subvert the Union, and bring a swift end to the experiment of republicanism. For Beecher, home mission in the West was not simply motivated by Christ's command to go into all the world and preach the gospel. It was part of a contest with Catholicism for the West, with very important issues dependent on the outcome, issues such as the success of the Republic, the establishment of America as a Christian nation, and the imminence of the Millenium. Indeed for Beecher this contest was significant as the direction of history depended on its outcome.

For Evangelicals desiring a Christian nation, and that to lead into the millenial age, it was imperative that Protestants should win this contest for the West. In a letter to Mark Hopkins, President of Williams College, Beecher expressed this anxiety.

If New England and the West is not aroused to come to the rescue--there is no visible human power to prevent their(Catholics) securing at no distant day the political and religious predominance at the West--and thus control the destinies of our country.
Gardiner Spring of New York, again emphasising the division of the nations that was common to those holding a Protestant view of history, spoke of, "the two great contending powers in the world" as being the, "papal hierarchy, and the kingdoms and states of Protestantism." This division he believed provided the two contenders in the, "great contest of the present day." With reference to the West, Spring suggested that this was the likely location for the last struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism. If so this would be, "the last battle for freedom and the rights of man . . ." Similarly Samuel M. Worcester commenting on the increased Catholic presence in the United States, said that all the signs indicate, "the rapid approximation of such a contest as has not yet been known since the great struggle of the Reformation." This struggle he asserted is, "soon to be fought in the valley of the West." 

The voluntary societies, in particular the American Tract Society, American Education Society, and the American Home Missionary Society became increasingly suspicious of Roman Catholic immigration to the United States. Probably the American Home Missionary Society was most outspoken on this issue, and in their journal, 'Home Missionary' they adopted an uncompromising nativist position from the mid 1830's. The editor of the 'Home Missionary' said in 1839.

The cause, is the cause of the West, for there the great battle is to be fought between truth and error, between law and anarchy, between Christianity and her Sabbaths, her ministry and her schools, on the one hand, and the combined forces of infidelity and popery on the other.

In the reports of the A. H. M. S. and other societies, alarm was being expressed at the increasing number of Catholics in the West. This added a further motive to the Evangelical desire to spread the gospel in the West, and thus save it from Catholicism.
A Catholic Conspiracy

It was common among Evangelicals to assume that the increase of Catholics in the United States was not simply the innocent migration of poor Europeans. It was in fact a conspiracy directed at undermining the republican government of the United States. This conspiracy was being perpetrated upon the United States by Roman Catholicism in alliance with European monarchies. It was believed that the Pope, and Catholic monarchs had particular designs upon the Mississippi Valley.

A prominent figure in the development of this Catholic conspiracy theory was Samuel F.B. Morse, son of Jedidiah Morse. Jedidiah Morse was a Congregational minister, and himself was the instigator of the 'Illuminati Conspiracy' which affected New England at the turn of the century. Samuel Morse drew attention to two Catholic mission societies that were active in the United States; 'The Leopold Association', and 'The Association for the Propagation of the Faith'.

The 'Leopold Association' in particular came under Morse's criticism. In this society he saw the Roman Catholic Church conspiring against the Republic. For Morse it appeared as no coincidence that the 'Leopold Association' was formed in Vienna in 1829. This was only one year after an Austrian government agent named Frederick Schlegel had given a series of lectures in Vienna in which monarchy and Catholicism were said to be inter-dependent, and therefore opposed to republicanism as it was found in the United States.

Morse believed that if the old monarchies of Europe were to survive, they must extinguish the influence of American liberty. If not, they would be confronted with rebellion among their own people. This they were trying to do through immigration, and the work of the 'Leopold Association' in the Mississippi Valley. Morse popularised
his conspiracy views by writing twelve articles entitled, 'A Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States'. These articles were serialised in the 'New York Observer' in 1834. The following year, a further series of articles were published in the 'New York Journal of Commerce', and entitled, 'Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States Through Foreign Immigration'.

Although Morse's conspiracy, like his father's, might have lacked evidence, it nevertheless aroused anxiety, and spread an awareness of the political tendencies inherent within Catholicism, and the need for the protection of republicanism. The propaganda obviously had the desired effect. In 1838, the House of Representatives was called upon by a group of ninety-seven petitioners from Washington County, New York, to decide whether there was not;

a plan in operation, powerful and dangerous, under the management of the Leopold Foundation, for the subversion of our civil and religious liberties, to be effected by the emigration of Roman Catholics from Europe, and by their right of admission to the right of suffrage with us in our political institutions.28

Other similar petitions found their way to Congress, thereby demonstrating that the anxiety aroused by this conspiracy theory was widely felt.

Among Evangelicals Lyman Beecher was probably the most prominent person to express such sentiments. In a letter to Mark Hopkins, Beecher expressed his anxiety at the level of Catholic activity in America. He concluded that there was a direct purpose behind this activity.

But the Roman Catholic religion is assuming an aspect in organisation and numbers, and object, and daring, and steady action which is now more formidable than all other causes. There can be no doubt of a systematised plan of the Catholic powers of Europe, civil and ecclesiastical, to outnumber us and to gain the great vote of power of the West.29
Beecher pointed to the vast amounts of money that the Catholic Church was directing towards America from papal Europe. It was being used to build cathedrals and churches, and to establish schools and colleges. As Beecher compared the lack of education for many in Europe, with Catholic efforts to provide education in America, he concluded that this system was not without design. Such schemes were, "laid out by the ecclesiastical powers of Europe, and are sustained by their copious, and annually augmenting contributions." 30

Along with other Evangelicals, Beecher insisted that the parochial school was to be a principal weapon in Rome's conquest of the West. These warnings were corroborated by missionaries who reported a rapidly growing Catholic education system to which Protestants were forced to subject their children because of a lack of Protestant schools. Beecher believed that education was the key to this contest for the West. Catholic education would lead to a Catholic West, and Protestant education to a Protestant West. Thus, Beecher placed a high priority on education, and believed that Catholic efforts in this area were part of this conspiracy to undermine the Union.

Do they not . . . tax their own people, and supplicate the royal munificence of Catholic Europe to rear schools and colleges for the cheap and even gratuitous education of Protestant children high and low--while thousands of Catholic children are utterly neglected and uncared for, and abandoned to vice, is all this without design?" 31

If education was one of the means employed, the overall aim was to, "corrupt the nation, and to shake down our republican institutions." 32 This was the threat that confronted America's Evangelicals in the first half of the 19th Century. Beecher suggested to Hopkins that this should not, "be proclaimed upon the house-tops", but should be, "employed in a sort of semi-confidential way . . . we must form a silent, but-a determined concert of action." 33 Yet only a few years
previously such sentiments had been proclaimed from the 'house tops' by Beecher; especially in his 'A Plea for the West' of 1835. As time passed the increased activity of Catholicism, with its anti-republican tendencies, must have heightened the danger to the American Republic, as perceived by Beecher, thus prompting him to take a more direct approach with regard to the Catholic threat.

**Lyman Beecher and Slavery**

Also linked to the Catholic question is the issue of whether there was a place for free blacks in Beecher's vision of a Christian America. As illustrated previously Beecher's American experiment depended on the existence of an informed, virtuous electorate. This led him to question the possibility of the maintenance of national freedoms with an influx of free blacks. Beecher's Republic was already threatened by immigrant Catholics, whom he believed were unsympathetic to democracy. This, combined with other uneducated white settlers, and free blacks could tip the balance, disturbing the order and self-discipline that was a requisite quality for the maintenance of religious and political liberties.

At Lane Seminary Beecher faced a crisis with regard to his views on America's black problem. This was precipitated by the presence of many students with abolitionist sympathies. Beecher, however, strongly disapproved of the students mixing socially with Cincinnati's Negro population. Yet at the same time in a letter to Lewis Tappan, who had enquired whether the Lane trustees had taken any action with regard to admitting coloured students to the college, Beecher replied,

> We have taken no order on the subject as none is needed, and I trust never will be. Our only qualifications for admission to the seminary, are qualifications intellectual, moral, and religious, without reference to color, which I have no reason to think would have any influence here, certainly never without my consent.
Here we confront an obvious dilemma in Beecher's mind. On the one hand he supported the proscription of students mixing with blacks in Cincinnati, while on the other hand he encouraged a racially mixed college. Beecher sought to prohibit students from mixing with blacks as in his opinion it would be harmful to the reputation of the college. Lane Seminary was in need of generous benefactors, local support, and a constant stream of students. Beecher believed that these needs would not be met if the reputation of the college was damaged because of students mixing, evangelising, teaching, and boarding with local blacks. In his opinion the college must not fail, because the evangelisation of the West, and the consequent security of the Union depended on the survival and effectiveness of colleges such as Lane Seminary.

Beecher's views on slavery are similarly ambiguous. On the one hand he considered slavery to be an evil institution, which should have no place in the United States. Yet on the other he questioned the feasibility of free blacks permanently residing in the United States. Beecher detested slavery and stated that this, "inhuman traffic" was one of the, "greatest evils upon the earth", and that no-one involved in this trade could claim to be a Christian. Yet the mixing of the races that would result from large numbers of free blacks residing in the Union, Beecher considered, "a wild chimera, fit only for the brain of a zealot or an enthusiast of the most visionary character."36 There were also other factors which led Beecher to question how appropriate it would be to allow blacks to remain in the United States.

Beecher believed that free blacks would prove to have a detrimental effect on the prosperity and stability of the nation. Negroes would remain social outcasts, shut off from full and equal
participation in American democracy. Also there was in America too much prejudice that would first have to be overcome in order for blacks to be allowed to assimilate peacefully.

Slavery had no place in America, and had to be removed for the well-being of the nation. Yet Beecher believed if cautious, peaceful methods of reform were not employed, the entire social system would be in jeopardy of being disrupted by slave insurrections, sectional hostility, and possibly even civil war.

### Colonisation and Abolitionism

Beecher tried to adopt a mediating position, and bridge the gap between colonisationists and abolitionists by saying that both had their place. The colonisationists sought to both educate and transport blacks back to Africa. Abolitionists, however, saw slavery as a sin, a violation of an individual's right to liberty, and demanded the immediate abolition of slavery throughout the nation. It appears that the option of bridging the gap between abolition and colonisation was not one that was open to Beecher. Abolitionism proved to be an exclusive and contentious position that could not possibly share a platform with colonisationism. However, in spite of this, Beecher in referring to colonisationism and abolitionism said, "I am myself both, without perceiving in myself any inconsistency."  

Beecher said God had commissioned colonisationists and abolitionists as two organisations to pursue the same goal, that being, "to do away with slavery and put the colored man in possession of the blessings and privileges of honourable citizenship and Christianity." The colonisationists' task Beecher understood to be the liberation of Africa, and the abolitionists' task was the emancipation of Negroes in America. Taking into account the exclusive nature of abolitionism, and Beecher's involvement with the American Colonisation Society, he
does appear to be much closer to the colonisationist position, despite his protestations of being both. Certainly he displayed more verbal support for the Colonisation Society than for abolitionism. While in Pittsburgh in 1836 he said of the Colonisation Society.

In its commencement it was God's society; in its progress it has been God's society, and the station it now occupies in the midst of all its difficulties which have grown out of experience, and the peculiar nature of the subject shows it to be God's society, and so does its success in Africa. 39

Colonisation was in Beecher's view a safe and peaceful anti-slavery programme which would not disrupt the social stability of America. Abolitionists, however, saw Beecher's position as being mere expediency, lacking moral urgency and compassion for the plight of the slaves. In Beecher's endorsement of colonisation he appears to disregard the arguments not only of abolitionists, but also of free blacks, against colonisation.

In referring to the dispute between abolitionists and colonisationists, Beecher emphasised that this issue had to be seen within the context of all the work of God's kingdom, and could not be allowed to jeopardise the larger tasks at hand. Yet most of his criticism was reserved for abolitionism. The divisions that existed were in his opinion a result of over-enthusiasm; reformers lacking fore-sight and maturity. He expressed anxiety at what might result from the, "few he-goat men, who think they do God service by butting everything in the line of their march which does not fall-in or get out of the way." 40 The consequences of the abolitionist position if persisted in, he believed would lead to disorder and strife.

I regard ... the whole abolition movement, under its most influential leaders, with its distinctive maxims and modes of feeling, and also the whole temper, principles and action of the south in the justification of slavery, as signal instances of
infatuation permitted by heaven for purposes of national retribution. God never raised up such men as Garrison, and others like him as the ministers of his mercy for purposes of peaceful reform, but only as the fit and fearful ministers of his vengeance upon a people incorrigibly wicked. 41

Religious strife such as was being generated by this dispute would lead to national disunion, social chaos, and a consequent despotic government. All this would alter the millenial timetable. In this, Beecher was clearly linking the state of the nation with an eschatological timetable.

The Union of the states is the happiness and glory of the country. Indeed the dissolution of the Union would cast a gloom over the entire prospects of the whole human family, and seem to indicate that Satan was yet to reign awhile before he should be bound. Despots and tyrants would laugh in their sleeves. 42

Probably more than anything else, Beecher objected to the style of moral reform evidenced both in the Anti-Slavery Society, and among students at Lane Seminary. Beecher's own reform model was based upon his understanding of the principles operating within God's moral government. In this, God deals with sinful and indifferent people by means of benevolent persuasion; motives presented to the mind. Beecher believed the moral tactics of the abolitionists were counter-productive as they dealt harshly with individuals in a coercive and intimidatory manner. As mentioned previously, Beecher approved of the destiny of the Republic being in the hands of popular opinion. He also believed that the sources of public opinion, the population, must first be turned against slavery. This would then provide the political backing to work towards the abolition of slavery.

African colonisation was seen by many Evangelicals not only as a solution to the desperate problem of slavery in the United States, but as a mission strategy for Africa itself. The American Colonisation Society was therefore an essential part of the missionary movement.
Colonisationists hoped that through the education and repatriation of Negroes they would export the institutions and values of Western civilisation to Africa. Commenting on this Beecher said:

The emancipation of them(Negroes) is connected with the emancipation of all nations—with their emancipation too from religious and political delusion, from ignorance, degradation, vice, immorality, and debasement; it is part of that grand achievement by which the world is to be regenerated, and in the accomplishment of which the whole human family is to be carried forward to the acme of perfection.43

Beecher eagerly anticipated the prospect of having freedmen educated, civilised, and christianised. This programme would lead to Africa being delivered from ignorance and barbarism, and in this campaign the mission of the Colonisation Society was crucial. It would lead to the removal of political and religious oppression and prepare the way for the inauguration of the Millenium.

Millennial anticipation also led Beecher to express optimism with regard to slavery. As a new age was to be providentially ushered in changes would inevitably result, with economic, political and social significance. These changes would tend towards the melioration of the condition of all enslaved men. Beecher was confident that slavery was destined to cease throughout the world, and would be abandoned in the United States by the end of the 19th. Century. The basis for this confidence was his belief that the approaching Millenium would bring about a new age,"when every yoke shall be broken, the oppressed go free."44

In attempting to understand Beecher's conflicting position with regard to American Negroes, it is important to find his main motivation. Otherwise, all that remains is seemingly contradictory positions. Beecher approved of the education and social betterment of Negroes, yet did not encourage their assimilation into American society. He
attempted to reconcile the colonisationist position with abolitionism. Also he spoke of the importance of liberty, free-enquiry, and popular opinion, yet advocated a society that had little room for free blacks.

In Beecher's life and work his great passion was grand schemes. It might be said of him that he was a visionary, and that much of his thinking was occupied with all-encompassing plans. Inevitably in maintaining the plans or schemes, and keeping his eye on his objectives, individual issues would receive unfair treatment as they had to fit into his large constructs of what he believed was the Divine will for the American nation.

He did what he did because of the unity of the Church, or the requirements of world mission, or the importance of hastening the Millenium. The projects with which he involved himself were given added importance by being linked to some grand scheme of mission, reform, or salvation. So it was with America's slavery problem. To an extent the day to day misery of slavery was ignored as Beecher attempted to fit the slavery problem, and the question of America's Negroes into such issues as a 'Christian America', and world mission. In the introduction to his three-volume, Works, he acknowledges this.

Of course from the beginning of my public life, the Church of God, and my country, and the world as given to Christ, have been the field of my observation, interest, motives, prayers, and efforts.45

Different scholars have suggested that the Millenium, or the unity of the Church were foremost in Beecher's thinking as he faced up to the questions raised by the abolitionism-colonisationism debate. These obviously contributed, but his desire for national security, and the maintenance of a 'Christian America', must also be taken into account. National security, and hence the stability of the Union
would be further threatened by a large uncivilised, free black population, and besides, the cause of world mission could be hastened by the repatriation of blacks, educated and christianised courtesy of the American Colonisation Society.

There is no obvious link between Catholics, poor whites, and freed blacks. However, in Beecher's eyes they are given a unity by being negatively defined as non-Protestant. Not the appropriate heirs to the American experiment, and certainly not possessing the virtues to maintain the Divinely ordained experiment of democratic republicanism.
PART THREE

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD AND 'NON-TRADITIONALISM'
CHAPTER EIGHT

TRADITIONALISM AND NON-TRADITIONALISM

IN NORTHERN EVANGELICALS OF THE

SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

By defining one group active in the Second Great Awakening as 'Evangelical Republicans', and analysing their various characteristics, it becomes evident that this group were not representative of all Evangelicals in this period. In the previous section the aim was to explicate the ideas of this one particular group of Evangelicals. They were located in the north-east, actively involved in the voluntary societies, and very aware of the traditions both theological and political that had brought them to their present place in history. However, also within the Evangelical camp were those who shared similar aims with the 'Evangelical Republicans', yet in their attitudes towards history and tradition were clearly of a different temper.

At first glance the distinction is primarily one of geographical location; the expanding West as distinct from the settled East. However, alongside this geographical division attitudes towards tradition will be stressed in this chapter as the dividing line between the two groups. The West in the 1820's and 1830's was an extremely fluid society which was experiencing rapid change. In this situation present needs far outweighed the importance of past traditions, irrespective of the value placed on them by those in the East. The theme of 'new beginnings' which was so important in the West, meant that the traditions which shaped the more settled communities in the East carried little weight.

In writing about the West at the time of the Second Great

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Awakening, Whitney Cross draws a distinction between the social patterns of New York State as opposed to those of New England. Of the rural people of western New York, he said:

No apology was required for unorthodoxy dictated by conscience in conference with scripture; rather any difference from custom created a compelling obligation for the individual to press toward conformity with his own light.*

Cross again draws attention to this distinction by stating that in New England the combined pressure of Church and State had been sufficient to suppress irregularities. It is also possible that the lack of church establishment in western New York helped weigh this side of the balance against conventionalism. Yet, "for whatever reason, the New York descendants of the Puritans were a more quarrelsome, argumentative, experimenting brood than their parents and stay at home cousins".²

A similar opinion was advanced by F.J. Turner, who developed the 'Frontier Thesis' in American history, and who in, 'The Nation and its Sections', described the features and characteristics of the different areas of the United States between the years 1830-1850. Of those migrating westward Turner said:

A change had come over the wanderers to those new regions, and a modified society, and psychology had been developed in the 'New York Yankee' which made him a distinct variety--less conservative, less Puritan, more adaptable, and more tolerant of other types than the Yankee who remained in the land of his birth.³

Western society, far from being the unified 'body politic' that many easterners idealised, appeared to have, as Turner said, "dissolved into its individual atoms, at the same time that tradition, precedent --in a word the past--lost its power by the migration into the new world beyond the mountains".⁴ In this new situation the developing
communities were too new and varied in their composition to have, "the historical state feeling of the old thirteen". In other words, the traditions that moulded the settled East were proving to be irrelevant to the exigencies of the expanding West.

Along a similar vein, an earlier social historian, Alexis de Tocqueville provided a description of this new spirit as he found it in Jacksonian America.

To evade the bondage of system and habit, of family maxims, class opinions, and in some degree of national prejudices; to accept tradition only as a means of information, and existing facts only as a lesson to be used in doing otherwise, and doing better; . . . but if I go further, and seek amongst these characteristics the principal one which includes all the rest, I discover in most of the operations of mind, each American appeals only to the individual effort of his own understanding. 

The individualism that is frequently referred to as being a major characteristic of this age should not be seen as the isolation of individuals from each other. It was an individualism that sought to minimise the restraints of government upon the individual. Westerners emphasised the right of the individual man to equal opportunity, "unfettered by custom and as little checked by government as possible".

As this distinction between settled East and expanding West was true of life in general, so also it was true of Evangelical religion. This distinction provided some with the heritage of rich traditionalism, and others with a heritage of innovation and non-traditionalism. It is this distinction among Evangelicals, which is part geographic, that will be discussed in this section. Both groups will be considered by the differing emphasis placed on tradition.

In defining 'Traditionalists' and 'Non-Traditionalists' it is important to first remove other distinctions that have been stressed
with regard to Evangelicals in the Second Great Awakening. The distinction in question is not that of orthodox/dissent. Although in New England history, Baptists had frequently displayed contempt for the traditions of the Congregational establishment, by the 1830's there were Baptists for whom past forms and traditions were extremely important. Likewise there were Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the frontier regions who demonstrated little concern for the traditions that shaped their denominations in its past history in New England.

Neither is the distinction of theocrat/democrat synonymous with that of 'Traditionalist'/ 'Non-Traditionalist'. This is also somewhat unsatisfactory as New England Congregationalists, as theocrats, are compared with western Evangelicals as democrats. As previously shown this division is far too simplistic, as it results in Lyman Beecher and others being inaccurately placed in the theocratic category as opposed to the democratic.

A further distinction that is employed of Evangelicals in this period is that of Puritan/pietist. Once again, eastern orthodoxy is equated with the Puritan emphasis, and western Evangelicalism with pietism. Although it is true that Beecher stressed continuity with the Puritan past, and Charles Finney emphasised devotion, holiness, and purity of heart, yet Beecher cannot be explained purely in terms of Puritanism, and there are other aspects of Finney that carry him beyond a pietist position. Finney's Christianity led to a deeper commitment to social reform. For Finney Christian activity should be persistently brought to bear on those aspects of society which proved to be in conflict with Christian principles.

This, however, is not to deny that pietism had a profound effect on American Evangelicalism, and on emphases found in Charles Finney.
The 'Non-Traditionalists' in this chapter bear many of the emphases of pietists; in their commitment to purity of heart they were pietists, but in their involvement with slavery they removed themselves beyond this category. None of the distinctions mentioned above can be satisfactorily approximated to that of 'Traditionalist'/ 'Non-Traditionalist', which is the distinction that will be explored in this chapter.

'Traditionalists'

In proceeding, the traditions that 'Evangelical Republicans' were committed to, will be summarised, and the 'Non-Traditionalist' position will thus be clarified by their deviation from the 'Traditionalist' position. Of the two groups the 'Traditionalists' obviously will place more weight on the importance of history, as it is from history that formative traditions are derived. For 'Traditionalist' Evangelicals it was a particular interpretation of history that was to be stressed. In this reading of history, certain events were selected, and held up, thus providing significance for the present. This is the process whereby American Evangelicals, building upon the Puritan theological tradition, developed their own understanding of 'Salvation History'.

The 'Evangelical Republicans', as 'Traditionalists', brought their theology to bear on history, and produced an understanding of history that gave them present significance. Their self-understanding, who they were and what was their position in a divinely overseen plan of history, was largely shaped by their theological interpretation of the past. These traditions, to a large extent, shaped the perspective of many Evangelicals, and led to the adoption of certain presuppositions with regard to the nature of a 'Christian America'. 'Non-Traditionalists' however, were not subject to such constraints.
In the sermons of New England clergy, there is frequent reference to past events that are of importance to the Protestant tradition. Events such as the Reformation and the Glorious Revolution were important, as also was the defeat of the Armada, Guy Fawkes and the young Pretender. These events proved to be extremely significant for Protestants who expected God's redemptive acts to be equally evident in their era, as it was for Old Testament Hebrews. Consequently, a rich, continuous, and consistent tradition supported 'Evangelical Republicans' in Jacksonian America.

Apart from the actual incarnation of Christ, the event which most 'Evangelical Republicans' held to be a major indication of God's redemptive work in history was the Reformation. At this point in history, theology, politics, and church government were set upon a new course. American Evangelicals in the early 19th. Century considered themselves to be in direct succession to the reformers, and were building on the foundation that had been laid in the 16th. Century.

Evangelicals saw many benefits deriving from the Reformation. Among them were; civil and religious liberty, literacy, education, freedom of enquiry, improvement in the arts and sciences, and a general progress of civilisation. As the history of these principles was traced to the Reformation, an interpretation of history developed in which Protestants had consistently been the uniform defenders of these principles. History had witnessed many struggles which had been fought as a consequence of the clash between liberty and tyranny; Huguenot persecution, persecution under Queen Mary, Puritan migration, Glorious Revolution, the French wars, and most recently the American Revolution. Consequently, the present form of civil organisation that governed the United States was a direct result of Protestant struggles. Liberty as established in the United States was the direct result of
the forces that had been unleashed by the Reformation. Hence, the Union itself, for many Evangelicals, was invested with deep religious significance.

In Jacksonian America, freedom of religion, voluntaryism, and popular suffrage were the results of this struggle which had taken place throughout history, and that had reached a stage of partial fulfillment with these freedoms being guaranteed by the American Constitution and the Bill of Rights.

For many Evangelical Christians this was of great significance. The American Union, to them was now the foremost nation in the world with regard to civil rights. They believed that God's plan of redemptive history was seen in the advance of Protestantism and liberty. Therefore America was now perceived as the foremost nation in their scheme of 'Salvation History'. The existence of democratic republicanism to them was an indisputable testimony to their belief that God had a special destiny for the American nation. These Evangelicals believed the events of their times were important providential acts, indicating the triumph of good over evil, liberty over tyranny, and thus, the advance towards the Millenium. So, it becomes clear why the Union was not something that could be held to loosely. It was to them an object of hope, and of reverence.

The 'Traditionalists' were clearly advocates of democracy. They approved of the pre-eminence of public opinion, the defence of civil liberties, and supported the voluntary nature of religion in the Republic. These principles were upheld because 'Evangelical Republicans' saw them as being dependent on the progressive activity of Protestantism in history. Protestantism had a tradition of liberty, and the liberties and rights that were offered to 19th. Century American citizens were a consequence of this stream at work within
As the survival of the Union was now of such importance, it is a small step for patriotism to be considered a Christian duty. This loyalty was not only to be directed toward the nation, but also to the specific political structure which it was now governed by. Great questions of history and destiny hung on the successful maintenance of the American experiment of democratic government, and as was repeatedly stressed by clergymen; patriotism was a Christian responsibility.

As a consequence of this perspective, many Protestants saw America as an elect nation. This again was not a new development among 19th. Century Evangelicals, but was a tradition that had been evident in their forefathers, and had been frequently expressed by succeeding generations. So, as 'Evangelical Republicans' spoke of America as an elect nation, they employed themes from the past. They spoke of America as the millenial location, referred to it as a 'City on a Hill', and spoke of God's American Israel. The particular contribution of 'Evangelical Republicans' was to confine these themes to one political perspective. The 'City on the Hill' had political freedoms to display to the world, and to export throughout the world before the Millenium could be expected. Their choice of particular political form to them was not an arbitrary one. It was an inescapable conclusion which was derived from their reading of history.

Another aspect deriving impetus from the Reformation was theology. This again was a tradition that was extremely important in New England. Within reformed theology, New England had developed its own rich theological tradition, which included such names as John Cotton, Increase and Cotton Mather, Jonathan Edwards, Samuel Hopkins, Timothy Dwight, and many other notable figures. The theology of the
'Evangelical Republicans' was itself a restatement of Calvinism as developed by Edwards, Hopkins, and Dwight.

The distinction of 'Traditionalist'/'Non-Traditionalist' can clearly be seen in the differing attitudes of Beecher and Finney towards Calvinism. Both sought a theology which was more in keeping with the invitation extended through revivalism; emphasising free will and accountability. Beecher, because of the tradition which he belonged to, and valued, saw his theology as a restatement of Calvinism. This landed him in deep controversy, both with Unitarians and Consistent Calvinists. Whereas for Finney, it was not important for him to justify his theology in terms of Calvinist orthodoxy. On the contrary, he held the Calvinist system of theology up to much scorn and ridicule.

The position of the 'Traditionalist' displays a deep commitment to history and tradition, and that these traditions were important as an explanation for the present. 'Traditionalists' were aware of the past, politically and theologically, and this obviously influenced their self-understanding in the present. Their commitment to history was a commitment to a particular interpretation of history in which God was sovereign, and certain events were emphasised as evidence of the direction and purpose of this scheme of history.

By the use of the term 'Traditionalists' it is the 'Evangelical Republicans' described in the previous chapters, that are generally being referred to. They were mainly located in New England and the Middle Colonies, and came from Congregationalist and Presbyterian backgrounds. Many of them were active in the Second Great Awakening and in the growing movement of voluntary societies that gave expression to their faith.

'Non-Traditionalists' shared many of the goals of 'Traditionalist'
Evangelicals. Both groups sought individual conversions, and emphasised the responsibility of the Church to be active in home and foreign mission. A high priority in their missionary endeavours was the establishment of America as a Christian nation. The achievement of this would be an essential step towards the millennial kingdom of God being introduced. However, often the rationale behind such tasks differed, leading to a slightly different perspective. The 'Non-Traditionalists' were more flexible, and could devote themselves to the eradication of what they considered to be sin, without having to concern themselves if this would conflict with another objective.

'New Measures'

There are generally three phases of the Second Great Awakening recognised among American religious historians. The 'camp-meeting' was the occasion for religious revival in the South. 'Camp-meetings' were large enthusiastic gatherings in the frontier regions which brought together people who mostly lived and worked apart. In New England revival broke out at the turn of the century in small towns, and also at colleges such as Yale. The third phase of the Second Great Awakening took place in central and western New York State, and is generally identified with the work of Charles Grandison Finney.

Distinctions are often made between the revivalism of New England and that of western New York. The one was safe and conservative, the other enthusiastic, emotional, and undisciplined. The one was conducted by settled ministers, or by their invitation to other ministers; the other by itinerants. One was conducted along traditionally approved lines, the other was known as 'New Measures', and employed techniques hitherto unknown in the respectable circles of New England Congregationalism.

These 'New Measures' generally included prolonged nightly services,
and the mobilising of communities to publicise the revival meetings. Women were encouraged to speak, testify, and pray in public meetings which to orthodox congregationalists were undisciplined and irreverent. An 'anxious bench' was set aside at the front for convicted or interested individuals, and a very direct, abrasive form of sermon was common, confronting the congregation with their own sin, and calling for immediate repentance.

'New Measures' was a distinction that arose over procedures for conducting revival services. It was an overthrow of traditional ways in favour of a method of revival that western preachers considered to be more in keeping with the needs of the situation that they found themselves in. This challenge to traditional church ways resulted in division among the older denominations such as Presbyterians and Congregationalists.

Finney was whole-hearted in his advocacy of 'New Measures'. Indeed he saw this as the only way by which the Church could be reformed, because, "if we examine the history of the Church we shall find that there never has been an extensive reformation except by new measures". Finney pointed to the Methodists as a good example that Presbyterians should follow in this matter.

Wherever the Methodists have gone, their plain pointed and simple, but warm and animated mode of preaching has always gathered congregations. Few Presbyterian ministers have gathered so large assemblies, or won so many souls. Now are we to be told that we must pursue the same old formal mode of doing things amidst all these changes.

'New Measures' revivalism was the natural counterpart, and complement of 'Non-Traditionalism' among Evangelicals. The same forces led to the development of both. Religious 'Non-Traditionalism' and 'New Measures' revivalism are best demonstrated in the western phase
of the Second Great Awakening, of which Charles Finney is the foremost representative.

**Finney**

Charles Grandison Finney was born in Warren, Connecticut, in 1792. Two years later, however, his family moved to western New York where he grew up in Oneida, and Jefferson counties. He returned to Connecticut for some of his education, and himself taught there before in 1818, he began to practice law in Adams, New York. After a dramatic conversion in 1821, Finney gave up law in order to preach the gospel, and in 1824 he was ordained by the St. Lawrence presbytery. Following his conversion he became a successful itinerant evangelist, and he pursued this calling for over ten years before accepting the call to be minister of the Second Free Presbyterian Church in New York. Finney remained there from 1832-1836, and this was followed by a short period at Broadway Tabernacle, New York. After New York, Finney moved West to Oberlin College. Here he accepted both the Professorship of theology, and the invitation to be minister of the First Congregational Church of Oberlin, Ohio. Both of these appointments he held into the 1870's.

From a brief description of Finney's background, it becomes clear that it is his type that Turner and Cross were referring to by saying New Yorkers were of a different temper from their more traditional "stay at home" cousins.

Like Beecher, Finney passionately hoped to establish America as a Christian nation. In his sermons he pleaded, "let us have the United States converted to God", and like Beecher he linked the spread of Christianity throughout the United States with the arrival of the Millenium.
If the whole Church as a body had gone to work ten years ago, and continued it as a few individuals . . . have done, there would not now have been an impenitent sinner in the land. The Millenium would have fully come in the United States before this day.\textsuperscript{11}

Finney's vision of a Christian nation was to be achieved, however, by the conversion of individuals, the spread of revivals, and the subsequent purging of society's institutions. Individual conversion and holiness was the key in Finney's strategy, and it is probably because of this that he is often described as a pietist. However, as pointed out before, the reform that sprung from Finney's revivalism was uncharacteristic of pietism, as also was his view of political involvement as a Christian duty.

In a popular government politics are an indispensable part of religion. No man can possibly be benevolent, or religious . . . without concerning himself to a greater or less extent with the affairs of human government.\textsuperscript{12}

Finney, who did not share Beecher's 'Traditionalism', did not expect America to be a Christian nation within a certain political form. For Finney, "the governments of the world are, and always have been exceedingly various in form", and it would be quite inappropriate for Christians, "to attempt therefore to insist upon any particular form as being universally obligatory".\textsuperscript{13} Unlike Beecher, Finney does not appear to use value judgements of different forms of civil organisation, but with a very pragmatic approach, he sees different forms as being more appropriate to different social and political situations.

When there are not sufficient intelligence and virtue among the people, to legislate in accordance with the highest good of the state or nation, then both democracies and republics are improper and impracticable as forms of government.\textsuperscript{14}
The determining factor for Finney in what form of civil organisation a nation should be under is the virtue and intelligence of the people. Lack of intelligence and virtue requires a despotic government, whereas with a general prevalence of intelligence and virtue, a democracy is more appropriate. It was Finney's belief that God had always, "providentially given to mankind those forms of government that were suited to the degrees of virtue and intelligence among them".¹⁵ This leads Finney to state things that Beecher would have been quite uncomfortable with.

In certain states of society, it would be a Christian's duty to pray for and sustain even a military despotism; in a certain other state of society, to pray for and sustain a monarchy, and in other states, to pray for and sustain a republic; and in a still more advanced stage of virtue and intelligence to pray for and sustain a democracy.¹⁶

However, as the government of the United States at the time was democratic, Finney, like Beecher, called for the, "progress of general intelligence and virtue",¹⁷ or else democracy would prove to be unstable, dangerous, and self-destructive. The community needs sufficient intelligence and virtue, "to impose by mutual consent, salutary self-restraints, and to enforce the power of public sentiment".¹⁸

As demonstrated previously the 'Traditionalism' of the 'Evangelical Republicans' led them to value the Union in itself. It became to many the agent of God's unfolding will in history, and therefore, must be maintained at all costs. This led many Evangelicals to weigh up reforms against the effect they would have on the Union. This differed from the more ruthless righteousness of the 'Non-Traditionalists', and of this distinction Finney commented:

There can scarcely be conceived a more abominable and fiendish maxim than, 'our country, right or wrong'. Recently this maxim seems to have been adopted and avowed in relation to
the war of the United States with Mexico . . . the same class of men seem to have adopted the same philosophy in respect to slavery. Slavery as it exists in this country, they acknowledge to be indefensible on the ground of right. It is a great evil, and a great sin, but it must be let alone as the less of two evils. It exists, say they, and it cannot be abolished without disturbing the friendly relations and federal union of the states, therefore the institution must be sustained. 19

Finney was directing this attack both at the developing 'Manifest Destiny' theory, and the justification among some Evangelicals for caution on the slavery question. Beecher, in defence of colonisation often mentioned the detrimental consequences to the Union, should the policy of immediate emancipation be pursued. Finney, however, was of a different persuasion; he considered that, "to adopt the maxim, 'our Union with perpetual slavery' is an abomination so execrable as not to be named by a just mind without indignation". 20 As Finney considered the horrific situation in which three million people were enslaved within the United States, he marvelled that this could possibly be considered by some a less evil than, "emancipation, or even than the dismemberment of our hypocritical Union". 21

This position was far removed from Beecher's position in which the Union was considered to be at the forefront of 'Salvation History'. In this situation the question arises of what national sins Beecher would have considered great enough to sacrifice the Union upon. The slavery debate is an area where 'Traditionalists', and 'Non-Traditionalists', as demonstrated in Beecher and Finney, led to a different position on a moral issue. This difference will be enlarged upon in the next section when Theodore D. Weld will be considered.

As a result of Finney's 'Non-Traditional' western ethos, his lack of respect for past customs, his hostility towards traditional Calvinism, and institutionalised denominational systems he is often
seen as being in sympathy with the basic principles underlying Jacksonian democracy. Similarity of emphasis between western Evangelicalism and Jacksonian democracy is an assumption that frequently surfaces among historians. There were many points of disagreement between Jacksonians and Evangelicals, but both were dealing with the same spirit, and the same type of people. Both were representative of a new mood in American society. Whitney Cross said of western Evangelicals that, "their spirit was fundamentally one with Jacksonian democracy", and that revivalism in this period was a, "folk movement, contesting clerical conservatism". Western revivalism undermined conservatism in much the same way as Jacksonianism undermined the established traditions of government.

The western backwoods families which supported Andrew Jackson had developed an emphasis on equality, individualism, and self-reliance. Along with these qualities went an antagonism towards the restraints of government, custom, and tradition. Their sense of equality was based upon the idea of a fair chance for everyone, and not on the conception of levelling by any arbitrary methods, certainly not by law. Jacksonian democracy implied a fuller trust in the common people and in their right and capacity to contribute to government.

Although both Jacksonian democracy and 'New Measures' were symptomatic of a new phase in American history, their views with regard to the role of religion were in sharp contrast. Jacksonians were opposed to religious involvement in politics, and did not give much support to reform activities. Arthur M. Schlesinger writing in 'The Age of Jackson', concludes that:

Jacksonianism thus assisted the growing secularisation of society. Its substantial effect was to divert the Church toward what many in this century believe its true function: to lead the individual soul to salvation, not to interfere in
politics. Religion, the Jacksonians felt could best serve itself by ending its entangling alliances with political reaction. 23

As opposed to this Finney considered that Christians are, "bound to meddle with politics in popular governments, for the same reason that they are bound to seek the universal good of all men". 24 Differences clearly existed between Jacksonianism and western Evangelicalism, not only in abstractions, but differences with regard to concrete issues such as slavery, Indian lands, and mission. However, both represented a new mood in American society, both provided a voice for the needs of the developing West, and appropriately addressed themselves to this situation.

Both Jackson and Finney were clearly representative of new strains emerging in American society. A further conclusion that is often drawn from this is that Finney represented a democratic emphasis in American Christianity, and Beecher represented a theocratic emphasis. Undoubtedly Finney's 'Non-Traditionalism' led to a greater freedom of expression, and a willingness to by-pass, or condemn, all-important institutions of a previous generation. Yet Beecher also would have considered himself an ardent supporter of the democratic principle. William McLoughlin is one such historian, who views Beecher exclusively as a representative of the Puritan theocratic tradition.

There is little doubt that Beecher and many of his colleagues hoped that through these (voluntary) societies the clergy could re-assert their proper influence as vice-regents of God; in order to make the United States a Christian nation rather than a secular one. 25

Also in the political realm, McLoughlin said of Beecher that he never became reconciled to Jeffersonian or Jacksonian democracy. At
every opportunity he resisted government of, and by the common man.

Beecher never lost his Federalist political philosophy, which maintained that the political, social, and moral life of any decent society should be controlled by the educated, the well born, and the well to do.26

This judgement seems somewhat unfair, as a 'turn-of-the-century' Beecher is being compared with Finney of the 1830's. By the 1830's Beecher would have considered himself an outright supporter of the extension of popular suffrage, the voluntary nature of religion, and a wide range of civil liberties. These principles in effect removed Beecher from both a Puritan theocratic perspective, and a commitment to a Federalist political philosophy.

Beecher did believe that the masses needed to be educated in order to correctly employ the liberties that a democratic government offered, but so did Finney, and that certainly is not sufficient to class Beecher as a Federalist. There is, however, a difference in the theory of history that Beecher placed these needs within.

Popular education, for Beecher was one of the pillars of democratic republicanism, and this was the form of government that represented God's progressive activity throughout history, establishing the United States as an elect nation. Whereas Finney's more pragmatic approach saw education in terms of one of the needs of the West, if the nation was to function under a democratic government. There are differences between Beecher and Finney, but that of democratic/theocratic is quite unhelpful in our understanding of this period.

The aim of this section has been to demonstrate that the 'Evangelical Republicans', as described in the previous chapters, were in no way representative of the totality of Evangelical opinion during the Second Great Awakening and on into the Jacksonian period.
An attempt has been made to deal with northern Evangelicals, who shared similar aims and goals, and on the surface might appear to be uniform, yet within this group two streams are obvious.

Geography can help to define these groups, the one evident in New England, the other in New York. However, more basic to the division is differing attitudes towards history and tradition, thus they have been labelled 'Traditionalists', and 'Non-Traditionalists'. It has been shown that a different society was developing in the West as opposed to the East. As this was obvious of life in general, so it was obvious of Evangelical religion. In the East, past traditions, theological and political were extremely important in shaping present understanding, whereas the West was more flexible and willing to overthrow the restrictions of custom and tradition.

The debate over 'New Measures' and orthodox practice is well known in American religious history. This division, however, had wider implications than differences over procedure for conducting a revival service. The natural complement of 'New Measures' in revivalism, was 'Non-Traditionalism' in theology, church polity, and politics. So, the division between northern Evangelicals can be seen in many issues; the 'New Measures' debate is just one of these issues. The basic principle separating the two groups is different attitudes with regard to tradition and history.

From this perspective it is evident that Lyman Beecher can not be understood without placing him in the setting of New England's orthodox 'Traditionalism'. Similarly Finney is a representative of 'Non-Traditionalism', and is understood within this context. The one moulded by past Protestant history, and seeing itself in continuity with this tradition. The other stimulated by the needs of the developing West and sharing many of the emphases of Jacksonian democracy.
Before proceeding to deal with Weld in more detail it is important to draw attention to different priorities which can be observed in Weld and Finney. Neither Weld nor Finney placed much emphasis on the efficacy of institutions or on political measures in effecting any change. A difference in priority did exist between them, but for both their target remained the conversion of the individual, then broader results would follow.

For Finney, national righteousness was important, as was moral reform, temperance and abolitionism, but all these things were dependent on, and should be made to follow revival. The difference that appears to have existed between Weld and Finney was in Weld's single-minded emphasis on abolitionism, and Finney's insistence that all reform must be made an appendage of revival. Yet both directed their attention to the conversion of the individual. Their goals would be achieved by the multiplication of conversions. In order for America to be a Christian nation it must be a righteous nation; this could only be achieved by the proliferation of righteous individuals. For Finney revival was his great absorbing passion; however, for Weld slavery was the great iniquity that first must be eradicated from the nation before any progress could be made possible.

Finney clearly preferred anti-slavery to be incorporated within Evangelicalism. In 1836, Finney tried to get students at Oberlin to moderate their abolitionist views. He wrote to Weld, Stuart, and Lewis Tappan expressing his concern over this issue. To Weld he said;

Br. Weld, is it not true, at least do you not fear it it is that we are in our present course going fast into a civil war? ... nothing is more manifest to me than that the present movement will result in this, unless your mode of abolitionising the country be greatly modified. 27

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This distressed Tappan who saw Finney's position as a compromise, but Weld endeavoured to set his mind at ease by stating that this was not so.

God has called some prophets, some apostles, some teachers. All the members of the body of Christ have not the same office. Let Delavan drive temperance, McDowell moral reform, Finney revivals, Tappan anti-slavery, etc., each of these is bound to make his own peculiar department his main business, and to promote collaterally as much as he can other objects.  

In the same letter, Weld noted that Finney's involvement with the voluntary societies was minimal. However, in his preaching he had identified himself with the principles of the temperance, reform and anti-slavery societies. He had "decidedly committed himself before the public in favour of their principles and taken a bold and high stand with reference to them at the communion table".  

The point that Finney desired to impress upon Weld and Tappan was that abolition should, "be made an appendage of a general revival of religion". If this was done then Christians would avoid pre-occopation with one single cause, which might have a deleterious effect upon the revivals. Finney's aim was not to curtail reform activities, he simply expected that revivalism would be accorded a pre-eminent place within Evangelicalism.

Preach on politics and on any and everything else as circumstances may demand, never however forgetting at any time to make the conversion of sinners, and the sanctification of the Church the great end at which they aim -- always insisting that right political action will follow from a right state of heart wherever the people are rightly instructed.  

The following chapter will focus on Theodore Weld as a representative of 'Non-Traditionalism', outlining how 'Non-Traditionalism affected his commitment to reform, and more particularly his commitment to abolitionism.
CHAPTER NINE

THEODORE DWIGHT WELD AS

A 'NON-TRADITIONALIST'

The previous chapter endeavoured to distinguish two different groups among northern Evangelicals; 'Traditionalists' and 'Non-Traditionalists'. In this chapter attention will be centred on Theodore Dwight Weld, who was converted under the ministry of Charles Finney, and became a reformer and an evangelist predominantly in the western states.

Theodore Dwight Weld is a central figure in western Evangelicalism, and therefore provides a valuable focus for a comparison with Lyman Beecher, who likewise was a central figure in, and representative of, traditional eastern orthodoxy. Weld is also important because as an Evangelical he was thoroughly committed to abolitionism. Beecher, however, stressed other priorities which prevented him from adopting Weld's radical position on slavery.

In a study of Weld and Beecher as representatives of two different Evangelical approaches, the slavery debate is important as the two positions of 'Traditionalism' and 'Non-Traditionalism' can be demonstrated with regard to a concrete moral issue. In this it can be observed how the different positions contributed to different perspectives taken with regard to the issue of slavery. An issue which proved to be the most contentious that confronted the Christian Church in ante-bellum America.

Theodore Weld, although born in Connecticut, and descended from a long line of orthodox Congregational clergy, appears to have been more
content as an itinerant lecturer in the West than in the East. In his time he travelled as a lecturer of mnemonics, temperance, manual labour and anti-slavery. Even while attending college he would use his vacation for itinerant lecturing.

The West

The West was important for Weld in two ways. In the first place he expressed a preference for the manners and customs of the West, and an antipathy towards the traditions of the more settled East. Secondly, he considered the West to be strategically important to the task of national mission. This area, more than any other, would affect the destiny of the nation.

Weld appears to have been naturally inclined to the West, and at every opportunity he sought to travel and lecture there. He made this abundantly clear in a letter to Lewis Tappan in 1836.

I am a backwoodsman -- can grub up stumps, and roll logs, and burn brush heaps and break green sward. Let me keep about my own business and stay in my own place.1

In another letter he again referred to himself as a "backwoodsman", and stated that his appearance and manners were more appropriate to the country than to the city. In identifying himself with the life-style of the West he said that, "a stump is my throne, my parish, my home; my element is the everydayisms of plain common life".2

As a consequence of his preference for the West, and of his personal dislike of being in the limelight, he often avoided large eastern cities, and turned down offers to speak at conventions. In his refusal to attend he was quite scornful of large conventions. Weld stated that he found such gatherings to be quite alien and unnatural to him.
The stateliness and pomp and circumstance of an anniversary I loathe in my inmost soul... it seems so like ostentatious display, a mere make believe and mouthing, a sham and show off. It is an element I was never made to move in. My heart was never in that way of doing things and never can be.3

Weld also questioned the purpose of conventions, and what they were intended to achieve.

I fear much lest our anti-slavery agents get too much in the habit of gadding... attending anniversaries, sailing around in Cleopatra's barge, clustering together, six, eight, or ten of them in a place at a big meeting, staying a few days and then streaming away some hundred miles to another and another, and lingering round large cities. The great desideratum of our cause is work, work.4

This tendency of Weld's to avoid conventions, and to question their effectiveness continued till long after he had ceased to be actively involved in reform work. This can be seen in a letter to his wife, Angelina, dated 25th. January, 1843, in which he is referring to invitations that had been sent to him to attend the World Anti-Slavery Convention in London. Of this Weld said, "they all know I have no taste for such gatherings and very little adaptation for them".5

Thus Weld continued to impose restrictions on himself, ensuring that he was not accorded a visibly prominent role in anti-slavery work.

Apart from his reticence in attending conferences, Weld further avoided the limelight by insisting that his letters and reports of abolitionism in Ohio should not be published. Elizur Wright disagreed with Weld on this, and clearly expressed his opinion to Weld on this matter.

They say to us, what are you doing with the money?... suppose now our agents write to us not a word but under the seal of secrecy; what shall we answer?... Why should not your letters be published, when they will encourage all real friends and throw dismay into the ranks of the enemy?6
Weld remained well respected and prominent among his contemporaries; however, as a consequence of his tendency to avoid the limelight he successfully confined himself to virtual anonymity as far as 20th. Century scholarship was concerned. This was until the work of Barnes and Dumond demonstrated Weld's centrality in the anti-slavery movement. They were also instrumental in the relocation of abolitionism within Evangelicalism, thus moving the centre of focus from W.L. Garrison to Weld and his co-workers. Barnes and Dumond said of Weld that he was, "the movements man of power, the greatest individual factor in its triumph". Weld's obscurity in the anti-slavery movement, however, was his own choice. He never accepted an office of authority or honour, nor spoke at anniversaries or conventions. He tried to avoid them, no matter how much pressure was put on him.

Alongside this natural inclination for western culture, it must be stressed that the West was important for Weld in another sense. Weld considered the christianisation of the West to be of major importance to the future of the nation, and in his day he saw the West as the area of greatest need, therefore, the task of Christian mission in the West could not be taken lightly. Writing in the 'Ohio Observer', in 1832, Weld said.

The great valley of the Mississippi is a cradle in which a giant in his swaddling clothes is sleeping. These swaddling clothes he will soon burst, and the time is not distant when he will sway the world! It lies with the present generation to decide whether he shall tread down the nations in blood or whether his march shall be the march of reurrection over the graves of ignorance and sin.

Apart from being a priority in the sense that the character of the West would decide the destiny of the nation, Weld also considered that the West must be considered a mission priority, because if the country areas were reached first, then these, "backfires" would provide the,
"springs to touch in order to move",\textsuperscript{10} the cities.

This was where Weld believed the heart of the nation was; here he exhibits a preference for the values of the common man, and suggests that this is a more accurate indication of national opinion. Consequently, Weld believed the surest way to change the nation would be to concentrate effort and energy in the country. He believed that if the labour expended on the cities, "had been distributed in the country ... depend on it, the Boston churches would have been open long ago".\textsuperscript{11} Also, in his own experience he found this to be the best way of obtaining results.

Sometimes in Ohio I found it utterly impossible to find rest for the sole of my foot in the capital of a county; but spend a few weeks in the towns round it among the yeomanry and instead of being thrust out, I would be invited and importuned to go to the county seat.\textsuperscript{12}

Weld also believed that the West must be won over, "by influences home manufactured",\textsuperscript{13} as it needed influences that were more suited to western culture. He therefore urged Finney that it was the West that needed him most, not large cities such as New York. In writing to Finney with these needs in mind, Weld said.

The churches in the East are comparatively well under weigh. They are moving on the full tide of revivals. They don't need you at all as they do here. Thro' all the West revivals of any power are almost unknown. This whole region is half a century behind the East. Besides here is to be the battlefield of the world. Here Satan's seat is; a mighty effort must be made to dislodge him soon, or the West is undone\textsuperscript{14}

Weld impressed upon Finney that the character of the West required indigenous influences in order to win it over as, "western men are clannish", and they will, "not receive an impulse from abroad".\textsuperscript{15} However, if an influence is brought into their midst, and naturalised, then it will be possible to reach the whole mass. These
were Weld's hopes for Finney as he wrote to him in New York. He urged Finney to move back to the West, where his roots were, hoping that he would become one of the indigenous influences that Weld believed was required to win over the West.

So, the West was important to Weld. It was important because he as an adopted westerner could readily identify with the disregard for tradition that permeated western society. Also, the West was important strategically in the struggle to establish America as a Christian nation. He believed that this was the area that would decide the destiny of the nation; this was the area whose opinions would soon form national opinion, and this was the area that presently stood in the greatest need of effective Evangelical influence.

Theodore Weld represented both traditions; western society and Evangelical 'Non-Traditionalism', and in him a link can be observed between them. Weld's stated preference was for the manners and forms of the West, and he did not count as important the traditions that shaped the understanding and perspective of many eastern orthodox Evangelicals.

At this point a brief biography of Weld would be appropriate. There are some elements that are contained in this biography which will be dealt with in depth at a later stage, as they are important in highlighting differences that existed between Weld and Beecher. However, at this stage a biography will provide a review of Weld's life with an emphasis on certain key events.

Theodore D. Weld

Theodore Weld was born on the 23rd. November, 1803, in Hampton, Connecticut. He was the son of Ludovicus Weld, a Congregational minister, and was descended from four generations of clergymen. Weld managed his father's farm from the age of fifteen, and two years later he went to Andover College where an over-enthusiastic commitment
to his work damaged his eyesight. In 1819, when Weld went to Andover, it was a stronghold of New England orthodoxy, and politically was aligned to the ailing Federalist Party.16

As a consequence of his damaged eyesight Weld abandoned his studies and became an itinerant mnemonics lecturer. After two years of travelling and lecturing, with his eyesight restored, Weld went to Hamilton College in Clinton, New York. While at Hamilton College he frequently visited his aunt and uncle's home in nearby Utica. It was here he first met Charles Stuart, who was English, a former army officer, a Baptist, and at that time Principal of Utica Academy. Stuart was to prove to be a close friend and a major influence on Weld's life.

In 1825, Charles Finney spent some time in Utica conducting revival meetings. Weld at this stage was quite hostile to Finney's revivalism, considering Finney not a proper clergyman like Weld's father Ludovicus. However, Weld's aunt managed to persuade him to attend a meeting at which, unknown to him, Charles Finney would be preaching. Although initially angry at having to listen to Finney, this led eventually to Weld's conversion, and his subsequent joining of Finney's 'holy band' of itinerant evangelists.

Weld entered Oneida Institute in 1827. Here he remained for three years, with his expenses paid by Charles Stuart. The Oneida Institute was a pioneer in the manual labour system, combining both farm labour and education. Soon Weld was supervising the labour and managing the farm, as well as maintaining his studies. Weld's love for travelling and lecturing was satisfied at vacation time when he employed his oratorical skills in the cause of the American Temperance Society. Along with Weld many other Finney converts and co-workers attended Oneida Institute, thus ensuring that the character of the college
would be that of 'New Measures' Evangelicalism.

After Oneida, in September, 1831, Weld accepted a double appointment from a group of New York philanthropists. He became the travelling agent for the Society for Promoting Manual Labour in Literary Institutions, and he also agreed to select a site for a national manual labour theological seminary. The location that Weld selected was in Cincinnati, Ohio, where Lane Seminary was to be situated.

In the years 1831 and 1832 Weld travelled throughout New York, Ohio, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Alabama, lecturing on temperance and on manual labour colleges. At one stage he stopped at Hudson Ohio, at a small college known as Western Reserve College. Here he was confronted with the doctrine of immediate abolitionism, with regard to Negro slavery, by Elizur Wright, Beriah Green, and Charles B. Storrs. This influence, combined with Charles Stuart's letters from England made a deep impression on him, leaving him thoroughly committed to the immediate abolition of slavery.

In the Spring of 1833, Weld, along with some other Finney converts, entered the new manual labour seminary at Cincinnati. This period in Weld's life, brief though it was, proved to be a period of major importance, with wide ranging implications for all those involved, especially Weld and Beecher. This period was also important for the development of Evangelicalism and abolitionism in the United States.

Early in the following year Weld organised a debate on slavery and its abolition. This had a dramatic effect on the seminary. The debates led to most of the student body adopting the position of immediatism with regard to slavery.

As a result of the students now believing that slavery was a sin, and that the Negro should be entitled to equal status with the white
man, they adopted a programme of activity, within the Negro community, which was unacceptable to the college trustees. For these students the logical conclusion of a belief in equality was integration, and this proved to be unacceptable. The college trustees reacted by censoring abolitionist activity in the college and discouraging the students from mixing with local blacks. These restrictive measures led to most of the students withdrawing from Lane.

After leaving Lane Seminary, Weld accepted a commission from the American Anti-Slavery Society for Ohio, and immediately and fervently set about abolitionising Ohio. Part of this commission stated that, "the people of color ought at once to be emancipated and recognised as citizens, and their rights secured as such, equal in all respects to others, according to the cardinal principle laid down in the American Declaration of Independence". 19

Weld's anti-slavery meetings usually lasted eight evenings in succession, sometimes more. They were in form and spirit similar to the extended meetings of Finney's revivals, and at the close Weld would call for converts to abolitionism. Weld performed this task for twenty months in Ohio, establishing many local anti-slavery societies, and an Ohio State Anti-Slavery Society in Zanesville, Ohio. In the early part of 1836 he began working in western Pennsylvania. Here he was known and respected, his lectures were attended, and he was given a fair hearing.

In the Summer of 1836, he moved into western New York, where he experienced considerable hostility. At Utica, Rochester and Buffalo, Weld was successful, but thereafter ran into trouble. He found that the mobs he encountered contained many more respectable citizens, and they were becoming more dangerous. At Troy, New York, hostility became invincible, yet Weld decided to remain until either his life ended or
mob violence ended. A letter written at this time sounded as if it could have been his last.

Let every abolitionist debate the matter once and for all, and settle it with himself . . . whether he can lie upon the rack -- and grasp the fagot -- and tread with steady step the scaffold -- whether he can stand at the post of duty, and having done all and suffered all . . . fall and die a martyr, not accepting deliverance . . . God gird us to do valiantly for the helpless and innocent. Blessed are they who die in the harness.20

Troy town authorities eventually offered Weld voluntary or forcible removal; so he left, for the first time failing to conciliate hostility and win a hearing.

The effectiveness of Weld's anti-slavery campaigning can be seen in the growth of local societies in the areas he covered. When the American Anti-Slavery Society held its annual meeting on May 12th, 1835, Elizur Wright announced that two hundred and twenty local societies were reporting to the national organisation. Of these two hundred and twenty, Massachusetts had forty-seven, New York had forty, and Ohio had thirty-eight. By the time of the next annual meeting, there were five hundred and twenty-seven local societies; Massachusetts had eighty-seven, New York had one hundred and three, and Ohio had one hundred and thirty-three.21 The greatest increase was in the areas that Weld was responsible for.

In 1836, Weld was given the task of re-organising the American Anti-Slavery Society, and along with Henry B. Stanton, and John G. Whittier he chose seventy workers. Most of these were selected during the late Summer of 1836, when Weld toured New England's colleges and seminaries looking for recruits. This re-organisation was as a result of the failure of pamphleteering,22 and the apparent success of revival based abolitionism. So, the national society played down its
pamphlet campaign, and directed more of its resources towards enlarging Weld's host. Most of the young men in this group came together in New York on November 7th, 1836, and remained till the 27th. of the month for an intensive course of lectures. This convention in New York took place before they were sent out as anti-slavery agents, and here Weld imparted to them his zeal and commitment to abolitionism. By the end of this convention, however, Weld was exhausted, and had severely damaged his voice. He seldom spoke from a platform again. Weld's loss of voice must have been very disturbing, as his whole understanding of his vocation was linked with his role as an orator. He had previously written to Lewis Tappan; "whoever knows me knows that I am a lecturer on abolition. It is my trade". 23

From January, 1837, Weld worked in the anti-slavery association headquarters in New York. He refused a salary and an official appointment, and during this period Weld carried out much essential work for the society in terms of organisation and information distribution.

It was also in this period, on May 14th, 1838, that Weld married Angelina Grimke, who was a southerner, a Quaker, and with her sister Sarah, was active in reform work. It was with their aid that Weld wrote 'American Slavery As It Is'. This book sold 22,000 copies in four months, and by the end of the year sales had exceeded 100,000. Until 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' was published in 1852, 'American Slavery As It Is' was pre-eminent in the field of anti-slavery literature. Indeed, Harriet Beecher Stowe relied heavily on Weld's book for information while writing 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'. This is further demonstrated in her factual follow-up to 'Uncle Tom's Cabin', entitled, 'A Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin Presenting the Original Facts and Documents Upon Which the Story is Founded, Together With Corroborative Statements
Verifying the Truths of the Work'. This book contains twenty-one references to Weld's book, as well as references to other articles written by Weld.

Weld continued to work in the New York office until the division of the society in May 1840. Thereafter he retired to his home at Belleville, New Jersey, feeling unable to unite with either the American Anti-Slavery Society, now controlled by Garrison, or the newly formed American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, whose constitution barred women from membership.

A new area of work was opened up for Weld in December, 1841, in Washington. Here he provided vital guidance and advice for those involved in the 'gag-rule' debates. In 1836, the Anti-Slavery Society adopted a new strategy. This was occasioned by the adoption in the House of Representatives of a rule denying a hearing to petitions containing anti-slavery sentiments. Abolitionists denounced this rule as violating their constitutional right of petition, and the northern public were sympathetic to their cause. With the right of petition as their main grievance, the society proceeded to send additional anti-slavery petitions to Congress in the hope that this would provoke discussion of slavery on the floor of the House. One of the most able opponents of the 'gag-rule' was the former President, John Quincy Adams, who said of this restriction that it was, "a direct violation of the Constitution of the United States, the rules of the House, and the rights of my constituents".24

Weld worked in Washington for two sessions, supplying information for a variety of cases. After this Weld refused to return to Washington, and despite repeated requests, from Joshua Giddings, who was an abolitionist and a Congressman, he declined. He was convinced that others could do the work, and also Angelina was expecting another child.
However, the lobby which he established in Washington continued to work for the anti-slavery cause. In time it acquired a permanent staff, and a newspaper entitled 'The National Era'. The editor of the newspaper was an early convert of Weld's, Dr. Gamaliel Bailey, who also briefly taught the 'Lane Rebels' at Cincinnati.

After Washington, Weld withdrew from reform work and slowly moved away from revival-centred efforts towards an individualistic, non-institutional piety. His disillusionment was expressed in a letter to Lewis Tappan in May 1844.

The wrongs, evils and chronic moral diseases of the age and the world demand, as I must believe, instrumentalities, and ministrations for their effectual removal of totally another sort from those which, while they cause a mighty rustling and rending among the leaves, and wide dispersion of twigs and bark, do but leave branches, trunk, and deep shot roots, to propagate anew with a vigour of production vastly increased by the pruning.

After this his main pursuits seem to have been agriculture and education; teaching in schools at Belleville, New Jersey; Englewood, New Jersey; and in Dio Lewis's school in Lexington, Massachusetts.

Following on from this review of Weld's life, the subject of Weld as an Evangelical abolitionist will be considered. In this there are important areas that must be discussed in order to obtain a better understanding of him. Areas such as, his conversion to immediate abolitionism, his perception of slavery, his views on the status of Negroes and his position in the abolition/colonisation debate.

Weld’s Conversion to Immediate Abolitionism

A major factor in Weld's conversion to immediate abolitionism was the influence of correspondence from Charles Stuart, who had returned to England in the Summer of 1829. He did so in order to participate in the British anti-slavery effort, and as the sinfulness of slavery
impressed itself on his conscience, so he wrote to Weld begging him to enlist in the sacred cause of Negro emancipation.

However, another important event in Weld's life affecting this conversion appears to have been a visit he made to Western Reserve College in October, 1832. Here he met Charles B. Storrs, who was the College President; Elizur Wright, who was Prof. of Mathematics, and Beriah Green who was also on the faculty. They were preaching a more radical remedy to the problem of slavery than mainstream Evangelicalism was, at that point, familiar with. Storrs had been receiving Garrison's 'Liberator', since February, 1831, and had been won over to immediatism before Weld's visit. Storrs was preaching abolition sermons at, and near the college, while Wright had proclaimed the iniquities of slavery, and urged its immediate termination in a series of articles that appeared in the 'Hudson Observer and Telegraph', from August to November 1832.

Even as late as September, 1832, it appears that Weld entertained hopes that the Colonisation Society still had a role to play in the abolition of slavery. This was expressed in a letter which Weld wrote to James G. Birney.

I am ripe in the conviction that if the colonisation society does not dissipate the horror of darkness which overhangs the southern country, we are undone. Light breaks in from no other quarter. 26

The Sin of Slavery

With Weld's conversion to immediate abolitionism, the premise that slavery was a sin, and should be immediately repented of, came with added force. Within this perspective, slavery could not be appeased, nor was it to be the object of a gradual programme of reduction, taking into account economic and political factors. Weld stated that in
discussing the subject of slavery he had always presented it as a "moral question, arresting the conscience of the nation, and rolling upon it, its infinite claims", and therefore:

As a question of politics and national economy I have passed it with scarce a look or word, believing that the business of abolitionists is with the heart of the nation, rather than with its purse strings.

Immediate abolitionists insisted that slavery was a sin, and that immediate emancipation was the starting point of any genuine anti-slavery programme. A recent article by D.M. Scott also emphasises the point that immediate abolition was, "at heart a theological conception uniting the image of the sin of slavery with the basic Evangelical doctrine of Christian duty towards sin". Another present day historian, L.T. Lesick, dealing with these questions, came to a similar conclusion. He saw immediate emancipation as the, "positive statement of the logical consequence of the idea of the free, responsible individual required to quit sinning immediately".

The piety of the Second Great Awakening demanded expression in concrete moral activism. Voluntary societies gave expression to 'Disinterested Benevolence', which was the necessary evidence of a life that had been converted from a selfish to a benevolent disposition. Anti-slavery activism must therefore be understood within this perspective; that of providing an outlet for the activity that was required of Christian conversion.

In Weld's presentation of the subject of slavery, he stated that he dealt with principles and arguments, and their application to conscience. He rarely appealed to sympathy, and never employed trickery. Furthermore, he avoided relating instances of cruelty as the central thrust of his anti-slavery argument. Instead, he emphasised
the afflictions of slavery on the mind; "its prostration of conscience, its reduction of accountability to a chattel, -- its destruction of personality -- its deathstab into the soul of a slave". 31

For Weld, the Negro was not a lesser member of society, but was, "a moral agent, the keeper of his own happiness, the executive of his own powers, the accountable arbiter of his choice". 32 Yet in the United States in this period these rights were being denied to the Negro by the system of slavery. Weld was emphatic that slavery produced only despair for the Negro. This system was responsible for the destruction of the family, it excited, "desperation and revenge, provoked insurrection, and perilled public safety". 33 The system of slavery also undermined the energies of the nation, brought poverty and decline upon slave-holding states, and instilled division and alienation in the offices of government. With regard to Christian mission, Weld believed that slavery undermined the integrity of missionary efforts, and exposed the nation to divine judgement.

Weld saw in the institution of slavery the wielding of arbitrary power. From this observation he stressed that the lessons of history, and the combined experience of the human race, all went to show that such power vested in individuals always had a tendency to make its possessor, "cruel, oppressive and vengeful towards those who are subjected to his control". 34 Alongside Weld's insistence that slavery, as man-stealing, was a sin, and a denial of individual rights, he stressed as a further testimony to the iniquity of slave-holding, the effect of arbitrary power on its possessor.

The fact that it will generally be abused in proportion as it is desired . . . that the greatest abuses of power are when men exercise it over their own species -- that the slave has no protection either from law or public sentiment . . .
facts in human history, constitute a mass of testimony utterly unimpeachable, and establish the position far more satisfactorily to thinking minds than millions of instances of cruelty. 35

The subject of arbitrary power was dealt with in detail in Weld's 'American Slavery As It Is'. Here he shows that the lessons of history and of human psychology all show that, "cruelty is the natural effect of arbitrary power". This has been the result of all experience, "and the voice of universal testimony since the world began". 36 In emphasising this, Weld asks:

Shall human nature's axioms, six thousand years old, go for nothing? Are the combined product of human experience and the concurrent records of human character, to be set down as old wives fables? 37

Having argued that arbitrary power has always tended towards cruelty, and pointed out the intoxicating effect that power has on its possessor, Weld proceeds to argue that this is the situation in the slave-holding states.

That American slaveholders possess a power over their slaves which is virtually absolute, none will deny. 38

To deny that arbitrary power is the possession of slave-holders, and that this has a detrimental effect on the treatment of those subjected to their control, and also that the nature of power makes it in the mind of its possessor intensely desired, is to, "set at nought the combined experience of the human race, to invalidate its testimony, and to reverse its decisions from time immemorial". 39

Clearly for Weld this was not a situation of conflicting priorities. As a 'Non-Traditionalist' he was not faced with the dilemma of what might become of the Union if slavery was immediately abolished, and free blacks given full rights and citizenship. To Weld the issue
was straightforward; slavery was a sin and must be abolished. Even if the Union supports this system then that was no reason to compromise such an obvious moral principle.

**Abolition or Colonisation**

For Christians such as Weld, who believed slavery to be a sin, equality to be imperative, and who, therefore, favoured the immediate abolition of slavery, the American Colonisation Society did not have the necessary philosophy, theology or machinery to deal with slavery. For Weld, colonisationism did nothing to change the Negro's civil disabilities, it did nothing towards enfranchisement, nor did it make any significant attempts to remove the prejudice which was present in American society. In addition to this, colonisationism made no attempt to extend to American blacks the protection of the law, nor acceptance within institutions of learning. In short, colonisationism did not consider slavery to be a sin, nor the Negro an equal to the white man.

The point which needs to be proved here is this: that the colonisation society not only connives at all these things as a society, but sanctions them (Negro disabilities) installs them into the high places of public sentiment -- supports -- upholds -- justifies -- powerfully strengthens and sanctifies the whole -- and even makes the alleged immutability of this state the great ground and reason of all its actions -- and this too when at the same time the colonisation society . . . itself keeps in existence and renders more and more these disabilities, outrages and wrongs from which it purports to relieve the colored man only by throwing him out of their reach when it is perfectly in the power of society to change public sentiment and thus remove the necessity of colonising which it has always alleged.  

Weld's anti-slavery reform operated on a different level from the discriminatory and paternalistic efforts of the American Colonisation Society. His programme led logically to full integration of blacks and whites within the United States. This has been demonstrated by his activity in Cincinnati, and was thereafter frequently expressed in
his letters and lectures.

With many colonisationists there was an assumption that blacks were innately inferior, and could not prosper alongside whites in the United States. Their emancipation, without any attempt to return them to Africa, would result in segregated communities and communal bitterness. Blacks would sink to the bottom of society, creating problems of a criminal nature, and would leave America with an unproductive and undesirable population. J.A. Thome, who was a southerner, and a Lane student, said at the first anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May, 1834, that colonisationism's only effect on him had been to, "lessen conviction of the evil of slavery, and to deepen and sanctify his prejudice against the colored people".41

It can be said of Weld that he shared many emphases of the Jacksonians, especially his preference for the values of the common man, and an egalitarian emphasis. However, for Weld, this egalitarianism was expressed mainly on behalf of America's black population.

No condition of birth, no shade of color, no mere misfortune of circumstance can annul that birth-right charter which God has bequeathed to every being upon whom he has stamped his own image, by making him a free moral agent, and that he who robs his fellow man of this, tramples upon right, subverts justice, outrages humanity, unsettles the foundations of human safety, and sacrilegiously assumes the prerogative of God.42

Contrary to the views expressed by the Colonisation Society, Weld believed that blacks had equal status, and could adequately fit into American society. One of the reasons behind colonisation was the belief that blacks had no legitimate place in American society, and would have extreme difficulty fitting in. Weld, in writing to Tappan, said the American Anti-Slavery Society should
work to offset these erroneous opinions. The society should show, "both to south and north that blacks are men, and in every respect equal to whites". Abolitionists must do all they can to, "refute the colonisation slander that they(blacks)can never be raised here". Weld believed that the education of blacks was important as, "nothing would tend more strongly to do away prejudice from the north than a transfusion of intelligence into the mass of colored population among us". Therefore, as part of the struggle against slavery and colonisation, abolitionists should occupy themselves with establishing day schools, evening schools, debating societies, lyceums, and libraries among blacks. This would help, "break the spell of colonisation sorcery". Weld perceived that a wide gulf existed between colonisationists and abolitionists, and the principle that caused this division was the status accorded to blacks by abolitionists and colonisationists. Weld saw in colonisationism a discrimination on the basis of colour, and this to him was unacceptable.

To make a distinction between a white man and a black on account of their color in organisation is the very principle of slavery. Treatment according to worth, irrespective of color is the doctrine.

Weld pointed out that when he was at Lane Seminary, most of his socialising was with coloured people.

If I ate in the city, it was at their tables. If I slept in the city it was at their homes. If I attended parties it was theirs -- weddings, funerals, -- theirs -- religious meetings -- theirs -- Sabbath schools -- Bible classes -- theirs. During the eighteen months that I spent at Lane Seminary I did not attend Dr. Beecher's church once.
Following the Lane debates, Weld gave reasons why the students could not stop mixing with blacks. He suggested that boarding with blacks was indispensable to gaining their trust, and any reference to colour as a bar to social intercourse was an odious and sinful prejudice. As well as mixing with Cincinnati's Negro population, Weld stressed the steps which they were taking to improve the condition of black Americans. In a letter to Lewis Tappan, Weld said:

We believe that faith without works is dead. We have formed a large and efficient organisation for elevating the colored people in Cincinnati -- have established a lyceum among them -- and lecture three or four evenings a week, on grammar, arithmetic, natural philosophy, etc., besides this an evening free school for teaching them to read is in operation every week day evening.49

Colonisationism and radical abolitionism had differing views with regard to the status of the Negro in American society. For the colonisationist, black Americans would prove to be a permanently unassimilable element, and should they remain in the United States as free people, they would produce grave social problems. Abolitionists, however, treated the Negro on a more egalitarian footing, encouraged their integration into American society, and their rights to full citizenship within the United States.

While Beecher had been in the East, in the midst of the Lane crisis, he had made a point of discussing Lane Seminary with Lewis Tappan. Beecher had suggested that Weld should go somewhere else, or quieten down. To this, Tappan suggested that Beecher should become an abolitionist. Beecher, however, did consider himself an abolitionist, but he also liked to think of himself as a colonisationist too. This position was clearly unacceptable to the abolitionists for whom the principles of colonisation were certain to undermine, "the best
interests of the colored people, to strengthen prejudice, to quiet the conscience of the slave-holder and put far off the day of emancipation". Charles Stuart, in a letter to Weld, demonstrates the irrevocable gulf that separated abolitionists and colonisationists.

I have heard with pain of Dr. Beecher's colonisation proceedings -- and can only regard the fact, as one of these hallucinations which the greatest minds are sometimes liable as well as the feeblest. I have just been reading a part of his speech . . . it is detestable -- he seems either to overlook the whole history of colonisation, or to have abandoned his Christianity entirely.

Clearly a different set of priorities were operating in the growing division between abolitionists and colonisationists. As mentioned previously, 'Non-Traditionalists', out of whose ranks the immediate abolitionists were drawn, were more flexible as they did not have past traditions that impelled them to adopt a certain course. The 'Traditionalists', however, had to consider the importance of the Union in their scheme of Protestant history. This restricted them with regard to the solutions which they could offer to the problem of slavery. Although they considered slavery a great evil, immediate emancipation might compromise some of their other, and more important priorities. For Beecher, colonisation enabled him to deal with slavery in a way that posed no threat to the Union.

As well as priorities which led in a certain direction, Beecher also exhibited a preferance for grand schemes. In pursuit of these schemes he appears to ignore moral imperatives which somebody like Weld would have immediately responded to. R.H. Abzug has also noticed this preference in Beecher.

There was of course, a certain grandness in choosing an African mission encompassing the geography and population of an entire continent, instead of limiting oneself to a few million blacks in the United States.
Weld and Jacksonianism

Jacksonianism is regarded historically as the age of the common man, and two of the central themes which characterised this era were equality and public opinion. Both of these figured prominently in Weld's thought, the former drawing approval, and the latter, as understood in Jacksonian America, attracting scorn. At first glance Weld might be considered the ideal representative of the Jacksonian spirit. He preferred the West, the manners of the West, and worked to undermine deferential attitudes and social distinctions in the United States. Yet under closer scrutiny, Weld can also be seen to challenge some assumptions of Jacksonianism.

For Weld, equality had long been a major element of his faith. Predating his commitment to abolitionism was his enthusiasm for manual labour colleges. This was, in part, spurred on by egalitarian sentiments. His advocacy of manual labour was a call for respect and understanding between classes, and this demonstrated his urge to bring all men together. In the western revivals Weld found, and embraced, an egalitarian concept of man that was at odds with the social distinctions that were evident in American society.

In Jacksonian America, current trends in speech, manners, and politics all reflected the preferences and values of common man and not those of a ruling elite or a sophisticated minority. Similarly, Weld came to stress the importance of the common man. His preference for the backwoods lifestyle has previously been illustrated, and he also suggests that among these people, with whom he preferred to be acquainted and identified, there is more evidence of virtue.

The middling and lower classes of society... which are not wrapped up in the innumerable folds of ceremony, nor entangled in the endless meshes of fashionable forms, furnish the best text book in the science of the heart.
If a preference for the values and tastes of the common man was one Jacksonian emphasis, another was the pre-eminence of public opinion. With regard to this we find Weld endorsing the former, but implacably opposed to an unchallenged acceptance of the latter. He did support an egalitarianism which ascribed significance to all men, but he had no room for the elevation of public opinion so that it took precedence over the dictates of conscience and scripture.

From his perspective a public opinion which condemned American Negroes to life-long slavery, with all its horrors, was not likely to be seen as a mark of the progress of providential history. Weld argued that the laws which enslaved the blacks and denied them their rights were, "merely public opinion in legal forms". He then proceeded to enumerate the crimes of public opinion.

In all the slave states this 'public opinion' has taken away from the slave his liberty; it has robbed him of his right to his own body, of his right to improve his mind, of his right to read the Bible, of his right to worship God according to his conscience, of his right to receive and enjoy what he earns, of his right to live with his wife and children, of his right to better his condition, of his right to eat when he is hungry, to rest when he is tired, to sleep when he needs it, and to cover his nakedness with clothing. This 'public opinion' makes the slave a prisoner for life on the plantation.

Weld and other abolitionists could not agree with the assumption that public sentiment was the measure of all things. Typical of this assumption was an article in the 'Western Monthly Magazine' of May, 1834, in which James Hall; writing an article entitled 'Education and Slavery', permitted no absolute standard by which to measure society, other than society's own expressed opinion. Public opinion was the judge of behaviour, and so in dealing with slavery, Hall used society as the measure, not scripture or any other divine injunction. He therefore considered that a campaign to abolish slavery might tear,
"asunder the whole of the newly erected political fabric". In Weld's response to Hall he displays the contempt with which he held such a viewpoint. Weld asks:

Are our theological seminaries to be awed into silence upon the great questions of human duty? Are they to be bribed over to the interests of an unholy public sentiment, by promises of patronage, or by threats of its withdrawal? Shall they be tutored into passivity, and thrown to float like dead matter in the wake of the popular will, the satellite and the slave of its shifting vagaries?

Weld considered Hall's expectation that Christian opinion should toe the line of public sentiment to be a denial of liberty, and of free discussion.

What! think to put down discussion in eighteen-hundred, thirty-four! and that, too, by the dictum of self-clothed authority! Go, stop the stars in their courses, and puff out the sun with an infant's breath.

A few years later, while writing 'An Appeal to the Philanthropists of Great Britain on Behalf of Oberlin College', Weld again attacked Christian subserviency to public opinion. Here he accused the ministers of Christ in the United States of being "the mere index of public sentiment".

In a word, there is among the professed ministers of Christ such connivance at cherished sins, such truckling subserviency to power, such clinging with mendicant sycophancy to the skirts of wealth and influence. Such humoring of pampered lusts, such cowering before bold transgression when it stalks among the high places of power with fashion in its train, or to sum up all, such floating in the wake of an unholy public sentiment, instead of beating back its waves with a 'thus saith the Lord' and a 'thou art that man'.

Such an emphasis on public opinion would, for Weld, necessarily compromise any moral stand that he believed should be taken by Christians. The Union was of great importance to many Evangelicals,
whereas Weld was of the opinion that such an obvious evil as slavery was "authorised by law, patronised and protected by republican institutions, sanctioned by public sentiment and sanctified by religion", thereby rendering the institutions of the nation, civil and religious, guilty of perpetrating slavery.

In this chapter it has been possible to understand some of the motivation behind Weld's life, and to attempt to understand him by placing him within his context. Therefore his western preference has been stressed, as has his participation in 'New Measures' evangelicalism. The following chapter will deal with the conflict that developed at Lane Seminary. Within this conflict it will be important to emphasise the roles played by Weld and Beecher, and to show what part their differing perspectives played in shaping the conflict.
CHAPTER TEN

THE CONFLICT AT LANE SEMINARY

The Lane conflict proved to be of major importance to the development and direction of evangelicalism and abolitionism within American history. Both Beecher and Weld were prominent in the Lane crisis and therefore this conflict, in which they emerged as the main protagonists, can help clarify the division that existed within evangelicalism.

The debates, which took place at Lane in February, 1834, eventually led to the majority of the students withdrawing from the seminary. This was as a result of the reaction of the trustees, and of the faculty, to the views held, and activity pursued, by the students. The students who withdrew have been known throughout American history as the 'Lane Rebels', and of these 'Rebels', Weld was the most prominent. At the time of the debates, and of the subsequent unrest at the seminary, Lyman Beecher was the President of Lane Seminary. Consequently, these debates, and the issues they raised, are important in gaining a better understanding of both Weld and Beecher.

Lane Seminary, which was situated in Cincinnati, Ohio, had its origin in a donation of $5,000 by two brothers, who gave their name to the seminary. This was followed by a grant of sixty acres of land by Elnathan Kemper, on the condition that a theological institution be established on the site. A further $15,000 came from some other Cincinnati citizens, and efforts were made in the East to raise money. Weld, while acting as an agent for the Society for the Promotion of Manual Labour in Literary Institutions, selected the Lane site as being ideal for a new manual labour college. Arthur Tappan promised a
further $20,000 if Lyman Beecher could be secured as Professor of theology. Weld and the Tappans had great hopes that Lane would be, not only a manual labour college, but also a centre of anti-slavery activity.

In this period Cincinnati was beginning to assume an importance in the West. Although it was on 'free soil' and many northerners were pushing west through Cincinnati the tone and culture of the town was southern. Many Cincinnati residents were southern, and a good deal of trading was done with the South; Cincinnati's merchandise going south, and southern grown market produce travelling in the other direction. There was also a large free black community in Cincinnati, living in an area known as Greentown. Here over 2,500 free blacks had settled.

The first theological class that Lyman Beecher had at Lane was an uncommonly mature set of young men for a seminary. Many of them had been converted under the ministry of Charles Finney, and over half had attended Oneida Institute. As a result they had been drawn from, and shaped by, a specific Evangelical tradition. Of this class, composed of forty students, thirty of them were over twenty-six years old, nine of them were in their thirties, all of them were graduates, six were married, and twelve had previously been agents for some of the voluntary societies. Beecher himself said of his first class.

It was a noble class of young men, uncommonly strong, a little civilised, entirely radical, and terribly in earnest. Penetrated as they were with admiration and love for their brilliant leader.¹

Although Beecher on a few occasions makes clear his respect for this first class of students, yet he also includes his opinion that their zeal was in need of direction and discipline. In his
autobiography he enumerates the qualities of his first theological class at Lane, but then states what he considered to be their downfall.

The only inconvenience we encounter as the offset to so much good is from the independence inseparable from such mature age and power of mind, unaccustomed to the discipline and restraints of college life.2

Beecher was in his mid-fifties when he came to Lane. He accepted the presidency of Lane as he believed that the future of his country lay in the West, and that he had a role to fulfil in this area. Beecher was wholeheartedly in favour of manual labour institutions, being himself a very energetic man. Whenever possible he, and his sons, would chop and carry wood for their domestic needs. It was also common for him, as he went into his study to prepare a sermon, to spend the first few minutes lifting exercise weights. If that was not enough then there was always the sand-pile in Beecher's cellar which he would shovel to the other side of the cellar when he felt in need of some exercise. In the 1830's Beecher was one of America's foremost clergymen, and was also prominent in mission and voluntary societies.

Beecher was known to all of the students as a result of his reputation, but Weld had actually met him on previous occasions. They had met while Beecher was at his second church at Lichfield, Connecticut, and again in 1827 they had met in Boston. This meeting followed a Labrador fishing trip in which Weld and his brother had been participating. Weld then proceeded to Boston and conversed several times with Beecher. This was at an awkward time in Finney and Beecher's relationship, shortly before they sought some form of conciliation at a conference in New Lebanon.3

We know little of the content of these meetings between Beecher
and Weld. Yet they seem to have been fairly amicable as Weld was keen that Beecher should be President at Lane, and Weld was content to share a platform with Beecher, and work with him at Lane Seminary.

Although the relationship between Beecher and Weld was destined to run into trouble, conflict certainly did not characterise their relationship throughout the first year at Lane. Weld contributed to the seminary by teaching a class, supervising the manual labour department, which consisted of farming, printing, coopering and cabinet making. He also shared a platform with Beecher at the anniversary of the Cincinnati Temperance Society in 1833. Also, Beecher, although unable to mask his underlying feelings, spoke highly of Weld.

Weld was a genius. A first rate natural capacity, but uneducated. Would have made a first-rate man in the Church of God if his education had been thorough. In the estimation of his class, he was President. He took the lead of the whole institution. The young men had, many of them, been under his care and they thought he was a god. We never quarreled however.1

The Lane Debates

For some months, Weld and some of the other students had been encouraging discussion on slavery and its abolition at Lane. Weld was quietly proselytising, seeking converts to abolitionism, in the same manner as he sought converts to Christianity. As a consequence, interest increased, until it was decided to publicly discuss the issue in February, 1834. The students applied to Beecher for permission to discuss the subject openly, and he assented and offered to participate. However, upon second thoughts, and after advice, he moderated his enthusiasm and advised postponement. The reasons given were the divisive tendency of such a debate, the risk of exciting popular prejudice and the probability that at a later date the situation might be different. Perhaps at a later date such a discussion might be
unnecessary as an alternative solution to the problem of slavery might be found, or perhaps such a discussion might prove to be less contentious as public opinion might not be found to be so hostile towards abolitionism.

Nevertheless, in spite of the advice of the trustees and the faculty, the debates went ahead. They centred around two questions; "ought the people of the slave-holding states to abolish slave-holding immediately?", and; "are the doctrines, tendencies, and measures of the American Colonisation Society, and the influence of its principal supporters, such as render it worthy of the patronage of the Christian public".  

The term debate, as in the 'Lane debates', is somewhat misleading. They were more like the protracted meetings of 'New Measures' revivalism, and were intended to establish conviction about slavery in the same way as a revival established conviction of sin. Most of the students involved in the debates were from western New York, converted under Finney, and therefore, carrying over into abolitionism the zeal of the revivals. This was an inevitable outcome given the attitude towards sin that was upheld by western Evangelicals, and their understanding of the nature of the institution of slavery. Therefore, slavery, as a sin, was the object of their crusade to establish America as a righteous nation.

The debates continued for eighteen nights, although, by the end of the first nine nights most of those present had voted for immediate emancipation. On the first two evenings, William Allen, who was born, bred, and educated in the midst of slavery, presented immediate emancipation as a remedy. Following this other testimonies from the South were presented in evidence of the cruelty of slavery. Also of importance was the testimony of James Bradley, who was a former slave,
and presently a Lane student. The debate was concluded by Weld and then a vote was taken. The remaining nights were devoted to a consideration of the American Colonisation Society; in this case the vote went against colonisation, and the students proceeded to organise an anti-slavery society.

On March 10th., a week after the debates had ended, the students formed an anti-slavery society, the object of this society was:

Immediate emancipation of the whole colored race, within the United States; the emancipation of the slave from the oppression of the master, the emancipation of the free colored man from the oppression of public sentiment, and the elevation of both to an intellectual, moral and political equality with the whites.6

The Lane Anti-Slavery Society

Following the anti-slavery debates the students became deeply involved in Cincinnati's black community and established a lyceum at which blacks were taught basic subjects; Sunday schools and Bible classes were also set up. This brand of abolitionism made it imperative that blacks were integrated into American society. This conclusion was both implicit in their presuppositions, and explicit in their activity within the black community. Indeed, the logic of their position meant that Cincinnati's blacks were now a test-case for a particular understanding of abolitionism. Not only were they to be emancipated, but they were to be considered equal, to be educated and thereafter integrated into American society.

One student in particular made this task his special objective. For Augustus Wattles the impulse to do something was so strong that he requested permission from Beecher to leave Lane and devote his life to education within the black community. Beecher let him go with his blessing, and another student, Marius Robinson, left to assist Wattles.
This venture was supported financially by Arthur Tappan, and he also sent some young ladies to assist in the teaching in Cincinnati.

As the students' activity was becoming more obvious and public, some members of the Lane faculty asked Weld to use his influence among the students to prevent boarding and other forms of mixing "which would offend the community and injure the seminary". To this Weld replied that he could not, and he pointed out that boarding was indispensable to gaining the trust of blacks and, "any reference to color in social intercourse was an odious and sinful prejudice", and in order to erase such a sin "one had to refrain from practicing it, even if that were in advance of public sentiment". 7

Characterising these Evangelicals was the demand that righteousness must be passionately sought after. As slavery was defined by abolitionists as a sin, and understood within the context of 'New Measures' revivalism, it of necessity must be immediately renounced. Thus, the Lane abolitionists, by placing slavery within such a context, called for immediate emancipation; anything less was compromise. In a letter to Weld, Elizur Wright clearly expresses the absolute nature of Evangelical abolitionism.

How fares the good cause of abolition in the Lane Seminary? Where stands our beloved Dr. B(eecher) now that the lines are forming between cringing expediency on the one side, and eternal truth on the other. 8

The Reaction

After the debates, and with the spread of race-mixing rumours, community pressure demanded that Lane control its students. Cincinnati's whites were well aware of the large number of blacks in the town. In 1829, and 1830, there had been race riots in Cincinnati, and many citizens, at that time, had advocated wholesale removal of
the black community out of Cincinnati. Not surprisingly, therefore, the rumour of social amalgamation stirred and angered local whites. When a march of the townspeople on the college was suggested, Beecher and the faculty were alarmed, and requested that the students moderate their position.

Perceiving the momentum of their motion and well aware how easy it was in those days to rouse the slumbering demon of pro-slavery fanaticism, Dr. Beecher endeavoured to caution them. Particularly with reference to putting into practice their principle of social intercourse according to character, irrespective of color -- A principle as dangerous as it is just.

Rev. Asa Mahan, who was a pastor in Cincinnati at this time, spoke of the mood among Cincinnati residents following the debates.

The most influential citizens openly talked of sending up an organised mob to demolish the buildings, and drive the faculty and students from the ground.10

For some of the faculty their requests for moderation were only a matter of short-term expediency. The object was to save the seminary. Before the end of the Summer term the Executive Committee of Lane Seminary were aware of the problem they faced, and had suggested some guidelines for dealing with this impending crisis, but the prohibitive measures which they had recommended were rejected by the faculty. However, after the departure, at the Summer recess, of Beecher along with Prof. Stowe and Prof. Morgan, this committee met again on August 20th. In reconsidering the subject of abolition they adopted a resolution.

Declaring that rules ought to be adopted prohibiting any societies or associations in the seminary, any public meetings or discussions among the students, any public addresses by the students in the seminary or elsewhere, or appeals or communications to the students at their
meals or when assembled on other ordinary occasions without
the approbation of the faculty; and requiring that the anti-
slavery and colonisation society of the seminary should be
abolished; and providing that students not complying with
these as with other rules should be dismissed.\textsuperscript{11}

At Lane Weld counselled the students to ignore the new rules on
the grounds of free speech. This they believed was not only their
constitutional right, but also free enquiry and free discussion were
the best ways to arrive at the truth of any given question. The
students also presumed that Beecher would preserve their freedom of
expression, as these new rules would not be ratified till October,
and Beecher, they expected, would have returned by then.

The students that remained at Lane for the Summer were hopeful that
all would be well. However, as Summer advanced, so this hope began to
fade. Prof. Morgan, a favourite among the students, was dismissed,
and resolutions for the dismissal of Weld and Allan were also prepared.
On the 13th. September, the trustees closed the school and the
dormitories, despite previously established Summer arrangements. The
reason behind this action was that the remaining students were using
the college as a base for anti-slavery activity. They were printing
abolitionist literature on the college printing machines, and inviting
local blacks to visit the college.

This situation deteriorated further. On 6th. October, the
trustees met and ratified the action of the executive committee by a
vote of fourteen to three. They then instructed the faculty to
enforce the new rules. Asa Mahan and two of his elders provided the
dissenting votes. Asa Mahan then described the response in his
autobiography.

One of the leading students now arose, and remarked,
that one privilege remained to them, namely to say, by
rising to their feet, whether they would, or would not, continue members of the institution under existing circumstances. For himself... the most solemn convictions of duty to his God, his conscience, his country, and the race, constrained him to say that he could no longer continue a student of Lane Seminary.12

Following this, fifty-one students withdrew; of this number, two went to Auburn Seminary, four went to Yale Divinity School, two went to Western Theological Seminary, and one went to Miami College. The remainder, apart from four who sought reinstatement, set up a school at nearby Cumminsville, Ohio, and undertook to teach one-another while maintaining their work in the black community.

After their departure, Weld wrote a statement of the students' position which all fifty-one of them signed. This was entitled, 'A Statement of the Reasons Which Induced the Students of Lane Seminary to Dissolve Their Connection With That Institution'.13 This statement contained an exposition on the right of free discussion, it chronicled the events of the past year, presented arguments against the regulations passed on October 6th., defended the students actions and criticised the trustees and the faculty for preferring expediency over what was right, and thereby bowing to public pressure.

An alternative location was presented to the Cumminsville group by Rev. John J. Shepherd. He proposed Oberlin as a place to continue their studies. The students agreed to enroll in the Spring, provided that they had a say in the selection of President and faculty, and of the rules of the seminary. They also demanded that Oberlin be committed to racial equality, and ensured that provision would be made for their Negro schools in Cincinnati.

With these things eventually secured, and Finney persuaded to be President, they went to Oberlin. Weld, however, did not enroll at
Oberlin, but accepted a commission from the American Anti-Slavery Society to be their agent for Ohio. In August of 1835, Weld selected thirteen students from Oberlin, and summoned them to Cleveland. Here, after two weeks of lectures, he sent them out as anti-slavery agents to convert Ohio. Until Weld's 'seventy' were chosen at the end of 1836, the 'Lane Rebels' formed the majority of anti-slavery agents in the field. Of this group G.H. Barnes has commented that, "rather than agents the Lane rebels were evangelists of abolitionism, and their power to move communities was one with the power of Finney". In the remainder of this chapter I intend to look at Beecher's role in this crisis, which is at times confusing and contradictory.

**Lyman Beecher and the Lane Crisis**

Possibly the Lane crisis could have been averted had Beecher returned to Lane immediately upon receipt of the letters informing him of disquiet at the college. Why he took so long, and did not even manage to return for the start of term remains a mystery for which the accounts of this period provide no satisfactory explanation.

Throughout the Summer vacation of 1834 the only faculty member remaining in Cincinnati was Prof. Biggs, who had previously been spurned by the students. Beecher, along with Stowe and Morgan, had gone to the East for the duration of the vacation. While in the East Beecher was informed by letter of the Executive Committee's resolution of August 20th. He was informed of the crisis by Weld, by Judge Nathaniel Wright (chairman of the trustees), and by Rev. Asa Mahan. Upon receipt of the news, Beecher did turn west, but on reaching Columbus, Ohio, he then went north-east to Granville, Ohio, instead of south, then he returned East to continue his fund-raising.

Previously Beecher had promised Arthur Tappan, and the students, that whatever his own opinions, he would guarantee the students the
right to freely express theirs, and that he would adopt measures to protect their freedom. To Tappan, Beecher had stated, "he would insist on free discussion and on the insertion of its recognition", in the laws and principles of the seminary.

As the new term commenced that Autumn, Beecher was still absent and the trustees moved to enforce the resolutions. At this stage Mahan states quite clearly that Beecher had been informed, and informed of the seriousness of the matter.

I immediately wrote to Dr. Beecher informing him of what was being done, and of the peril of the seminary. And urged him and Prof. Stowe to hasten home and prevent the dismantling of the institution, an event which I assured him, would occur, should the measures under consideration be carried out.16

In spite of such warnings, Beecher did not return, and the resolutions of the Executive Committee were accepted on October 6th. by the trustees. Mahan who voted against the resolutions said, "all that we could say was said to dissuade our associates from the suicidal measure".17 From Mahan's perspective the most obnoxious clause was that the committee should have the power to, "turn out any student from the seminary when they shall deem it necessary to do so".18 Mahan believed that the publication of this resolution, more than any other, turned the tide, and directed Evangelical favour towards the Lane students. This resolution also dismayed Beecher when he returned.

On the 10th. October the Executive Committee further moved to expel Weld and Allan, who at that time was President of the students anti-slavery society. Beecher returned to Cincinnati shortly after this date and recorded in his autobiography that he, "found all in a flurry, if I had arrived a little sooner I should have saved them; but it was too late".19 He continues in his autobiography by stating that he determined to make one last effort.
I went to the trustees, and told them that the manner of reformation in my absence was untimely, and the phraseology of the resolutions and orders, not the most felicitous, and that they must let us offer terms. They consented. The laws were revised and the objectionable features struck out. We then called a meeting of a number of the most discreet and sober among them, telling them I had a confidential communication to make to them.20

However, Beecher's rescue plan ran into problems when the students enquired whether they could discuss the new regulations, and discuss whether they should accept them or not. They were denied this, and so determined to leave the institution. Seventy-five students withdrew from Lane in the Autumn and Winter of 1834, fifty-one of them recorded their disapproval of the faculty's action.

Despite Beecher's apparent disapproval of the action of the trustees, he, along with Biggs and Stowe, signed, 'A Declaration of the Faculty of Lane Seminary', and an accompanying statement of the faculty's dismay and sense of betrayal. This document placed the blame for the trouble on Weld, whose abolition obsession, the faculty believed, had made him reckless of consequences. Yet this statement also paid tribute to Weld's qualities.

Justice and affection require us to render at the same time a willing and melancholy homage to the talents, and piety, and moral courage, and energy of the individual, while we lament that want of early guidance and subordination which might have qualified his mind to act safely by consultation in alliance with other minds, instead of relying with a perilous confidence in his own sufficiency. We regard it as an eminent instance of the monomania, which not unfrequently is the result of the concentration of a powerful intellect and burning zeal upon any one momentous subject to the exclusion of others.21

One very confusing aspect of Beecher's involvement in this crisis is his unwillingness to cut short his Summer vacation and return to the seminary. His autobiography registers a sense of regret that he did not arrive earlier, and be able to diffuse the crisis, but surely had

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he wanted to return prematurely it would have been well within his powers. Also, his autobiography suggests that he was not aware of the full seriousness of the situation, but this again is somewhat misleading as Mahan, Weld, and Judge Wright all wrote, informing him.

Consequently we can only guess at Beecher's motives for remaining in the East. Both G.H. Barnes and R.H. Abzug understand Beecher's action in terms of avoiding involvement and responsibility. Barnes suggests that perhaps he permitted the trustees to do a distasteful job, that he wanted done, but had promised Tappan that he would support the students in their desire for free enquiry. Abzug takes a similar view and demonstrates the consequences for Beecher of this action.

By staying in the East he may have been attempting to avoid a personal involvement in the crisis, hoping that his absence would delay matters until cooler heads prevailed, but all that really happened was that he lost whatever control he had of the situation and ended up having to choose sides.²²

There is also inconsistency in Beecher's letter writing. In explaining to Weld his failure to return to Cincinnati, he said:

I did not hasten home on the receipt of your letter because I could not do but one work at a time -- and I did not answer it because being absent and unacquainted with the necessary facts, I could say nothing without jumping in the dark, a thing which I do not like to do.²³

This letter was written to Weld on October 8th., and yet in another letter written on September 3rd., Beecher said to Judge Wright that he had discussed the crisis with Stowe and Franklin Vail, and having done so, they had agreed on six points of advice for the trustees. These points were included in Beecher's letter to Wright. In the light of Beecher's letter to Wright, and his conversations with
Vail and Stowe, his letter to Weld would seem to suggest that there is some substance to the suggestions made by Barnes and Abzug. One of the points of advice in Beecher's letter to Wright was that the resolutions of the Executive Committee should not be published until the faculty's return. A step of this nature, he believed, would push the two contending parties even further apart. However, when Beecher learned that the Executive Committee's report had been published, shortly after he had written to Wright, he accepted this decision with equanimity.

If anything should be added to the conjecture of Barnes and Abzug it might be an added stress on the problem that Weld posed to Beecher. On the one hand Beecher was dependent on the Tappans for the financial stability of Lane Seminary; and the Tappans were close associates, and shared many of the views of Weld. Yet on the other hand, Weld's influence among the students, in Beecher's eyes, was initiating a crisis in Cincinnati that could lead to the closure of the institution.

An ideal solution, from Beecher's perspective, would have been the removal of Weld. This was a suggestion which Beecher had made to the Tappans without success, when they met in the Summer of 1834. If Weld left as a consequence of the conflict with the trustees that Summer, Beecher would have avoided direct involvement in the issue, would have remained true to his promise with regard to free speech, and would then have a college divested, as he believed, of a disruptive influence. Furthermore, he was probably convinced that he could win over the remainder of the students to a more moderate position if Weld was removed. Unfortunately, however, the situation exceeded the bounds of what Beecher had probably envisaged.

In an attempt to explain the conflict at Lane Seminary, some factors emerge which can enable us to understand the conflict. It can
be explained as a clash between 'New Measures' and eastern orthodoxy, or as a clash between two different political perspectives. The age factor, young against the old, can also be stressed as a significant factor in this conflict, and probably more obvious, it can be explained as a clash between conflicting priorities. Each of these four factors can be employed as models to enable us to understand the conflict which developed at Lane.

However, a more comprehensive understanding can be provided by viewing the Lane crisis as an example of conflict between two Evangelical perspectives. This can provide a framework around which to build an adequate understanding of the Lane conflict, and therein an inclusive model will be provided, comprehending the four models suggested above.

In the first place the pietism engendered by 'New Measures' revivalism can provide an explanation for this crisis. As has been discussed previously, Weld, as a western Evangelical, laid more stress on an uncompromising search for righteousness. From Beecher's perspective this led the students to act with little regard for consequences. As a contrast to Weld, Beecher's promotion of grand schemes, and his emphasis on the efficacy of institutions necessitated the moderation, by wisdom or expediency, of such stringent demands. A reference to this perspective is provided in a discussion between Beecher and Garrison, where the latter asked, "in accordance with your doctrine of immediate repentance, is it not the duty of this nation to repent immediately of the sin of slavery and emancipate the slaves?" To this Beecher replied by informing Garrison that this was not the way to reason, as great economic and political questions can't be solved so simply, one must, "take into account what is expedient as well as what is right". 25
Secondly, Lane can be understood as a clash of political perspective; Weld and his colleagues were prepared to adopt a position which was contrary to public opinion, whereas Beecher frequently stressed his acceptance of the pre-eminence of public opinion, and his unwillingness to adopt a principle which would not be popularly approved of. In this area Asa Mahan quotes Beecher.

I have made it a fixed maxim of my life never to take a public stand in favour of any new subject that is likely to excite controversy, until I was fully assured that public sentiment was so far advanced in its favour as to sustain me in its advocacy.26

Also, in the field of politics, is the question of social and political equality. A central question, both to the Lane crisis and to the abolitionism/colonisationism debate, was the status of free blacks. Should they be emancipated and admitted as citizens to the Union? or, were they in some way unfit to be included in a democratic republic?

In the third place, the Lane crisis can be seen in terms of an age conflict. The students who attended Lane Seminary in 1833/34, although mature for a theological class, had not experienced the work of a settled ministry, and therefore, would not feel some of the restrictions that a settled pastorate might impose. An age clash can also be observed in some of Beecher's references to the age and experience of his students, and their consequent lack of wisdom and maturity. Had these qualities been present in the students, Beecher was convinced that this would have enabled them to avoid the crisis.

However, as we have noted before, most of these students were not inexperienced and immature. Although Beecher refers to their want of wisdom and maturity it is probably more accurate to say that they saw things differently from Beecher, and it was all too easy for
Beecher to explain this difference by suggesting student immaturity.

In the fourth place, a clash of priorities is also obvious in the Lane crisis. Beecher's priorities in the situation consisted of the production of a well trained group of young ministers to build up the Church, and christianise the American nation. To the students this was important, but of greater importance was the abolition of slavery and the consequent elevation of free blacks. Without this, other objectives seemed meaningless and hypocritical.

The two perspectives of 'Traditionalist' and 'Non-Traditionalist' can adequately provide categories which comprehend the issues discussed above. These two perspectives dictated which issues would be a priority, they led to a certain political perspective, and also encouraged the division between western and eastern Evangelicals.

Weld did not live within a Protestant scheme of history which continually enquired as to the operations of providence in contemporary history. This, however, was a priority for Beecher, and his interpretation of past history had led him to believe that the American nation had a redemptive role to play in world history. Therefore, the nation must be Christian, it must embody democracy and civil liberties, and it must be engaged in world mission. So, any further moral issue, for Beecher, could not be evaluated independently of the above presuppositions, and in this case the immediate abolition of slavery was too radical for Beecher's traditions. Immediate abolition raised problems for the achievement of his other aims and therefore it had to be laid aside.

Weld, as we have seen was quite different. When confronted with sin, his belief was that it should be immediately renounced. If this should conflict with the traditions of a denomination, the political
structure of the nation, or even the dictates of a Protestant
scheme of salvation history, then so much the worse for them. The
requirements of righteousness dictated his priorities.
As we have previously seen, Beecher's ideas regarding the Millenium could not be separated from the progress of Christianity in America, nor could his hopes for a 'Christian America' be separated from his belief that America had a special redemptive task to fulfil in world history. Indeed, his conception of a 'Christian America' can not be divorced from the success of the Protestant denominations in the United States, and the consequent maintenance of a democratic republican form of political organisation. Therefore, for Beecher, the survival of these institutions was the indispensable condition without which there would be no 'Christian America' and no imminent Millenium.

Weld also spoke of a Christian nation, and of hastening the Millenium, yet for him there was no insistence on the protection and survival of the Union, nor on the efficacy of the Protestant denominations in this task. For Weld the work of the denominations was not central to the achievement of the Millenium, nor to the quest for personal holiness. The churches, along with the nation could help or hinder these tasks and therefore, could also come under the judgement of God. In Weld's mind the maintenance of the nation was of less importance than the demands of the gospel upon it.

One of the aims of this chapter will therefore be to accurately illustrate the different interpretations that Weld and Beecher brought to the more common Evangelical goals of a 'Christian America' and the establishment of the Millenium.

This aim of demonstrating that two different perspectives existed among Evangelicals in Jacksonian America will further be illustrated by
reference to specific conflicts that arose as a result of the differing perspectives held by Evangelicals. Three areas of conflict have been selected in which Beecher and Weld were involved, and which demonstrate this division. Before proceeding to discuss the relative importance of the American nation to both Weld and Beecher, it is important to again emphasise the distinction in approach that existed between Weld and Beecher.

As has been pointed out elsewhere Beecher concentrated on the defense and efficacy of institutions. The truths and values he espoused were embodied in the Church and its auxiliary associations. The pietistic perspective that is evident in Weld, and the Oneida converts was somewhat different. Their position led them to view righteousness as the most important priority; this should encompass individual piety and be extended to the moral stance of institutions and churches.

Consequently, slavery when deemed a sin, must be immediately repented of. To the pietistic mind this took pre-eminence over issues such as the welfare of the nation, and the unity of the Church. Likewise, Weld placed importance in the individual's search for truth, and the consequent duty of action. So, "if institutions cannot stand upon this broad footing, let them fall". 1 Weld stressed that nothing should stand in the way of the individuals search for truth.

Better infinitely better, that the mob demolish every building or the incendiary wrap them in flames; and the young men be sent home to ask their fathers, 'what is truth' -- to question nature's million voices -- her forests and her hoary mountains, 'what is truth?' than that our theological seminaries should become bastilles, our theological students thinkers by permission, and the right of free discussion tamed down into a soulless thing of gracious condescending sufferance. 2

Beecher, however, would never have uttered such words. For him
the march of history towards the Millenium would be achieved by the
visible Church, before whose interests theoretical claims of
individual conscience remained subordinate. Beecher also emphasised
internal unity among Christians and acceptance of the democratic
republic; which he believed was the offspring of Protestant activity
in history.

Indeed, such a division over institutions extended into opinions
with regard to the nation itself. For 'Traditionalists' the nation
was as a result of providential activity in history, and would
continue to be the divine agent in history. For 'Non-Traditionalists',
however, if the nation should obstruct the pursuit of righteousness,
of what benefit was it?

The concerns of Weld and his colleagues were not dictated by a
scheme of providential history, and therefore, as they sought to
establish the United States as a Christian nation it was because of
the compelling needs of the present. It was not because history and
tradition had brought them to this time and place and laid upon them
the responsibility of a special calling. Their pre-occupation was
with present needs as they presented themselves. Weld stressed that
Christians should be aware of contemporary needs.

He who would preach in the nineteenth century must
know the nineteenth century. No matter how deeply read
in the history of the past, if not versed in the records
of his own day, he is not fit to preach the gospel . . .
in short our theological seminaries will only mock the
exigencies of the age, and the expectations of the Church,
unless they hold their students in contact with these
exigencies. 3

Weld did not bring his theology to bear on history to the same
extent as Beecher. For Weld there was the absence of a clearly
deﬁned system of salvation history in which American Evangelicals
were the present day representatives of. Consequently, Weld held loosely to the Union. To him it was not the object of hope and reverence that it was to Beecher. As Weld did not stand in a tradition of sacred history that emphasised the present day importance of the Union, he was therefore more flexible. To an extent his patriotism was tempered by moral concerns, and thus he had greater freedom to bring an Evangelical conscience to bear on the Republic.

Beecher, Weld, and the Republic

As a consequence of Weld's commitment to abolitionism he believed that a nation that protected such an evil institution could hardly be considered the divine agent in contemporary history. Likewise, the democratic characteristics of the nation, proudly enumerated by some, turned out to be a bitter irony for Weld because of his involvement in the anti-slavery struggle.

For Beecher, as he spoke of liberty and the pre-eminence of public opinion, he was aware of the historical tradition that had led to the presence of these characteristics in the Union, but for Weld, it merely reminded him of America's hypocrisy. If the laws of the land are, "merely public opinion in legal forms", then for the Negro it was, "public opinion that made him a slave in a republican government".  

So, far from seeing the elevation of public opinion as a mark of the advance of civilisation, for Weld, it trampled on all the, "fundamental principles of right, justice and equity, which are recognised as sacred by all civilised nations". Indeed, this public opinion had taken away from the slave his liberty.

It has robbed him of his right to his own body, of his right to improve his mind, of his right to read the Bible, of his right to worship God according to his conscience, of his right to receive and enjoy what he earns, of his right to live with his wife and children, of his right to better
his condition, of his right to eat when he is hungry, to rest when he is tired, to sleep when he needs it, and to cover his nakedness with clothing; this 'public opinion' makes the slave a prisoner for life on the plantation. 6

For a certain segment of the American population the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and the Bill of Rights were utterly repudiated. Weld believed that if public opinion was the measure of things, then this public opinion was at fault for not protecting black Americans.

Weld was of a different mould from the 'Traditionalists' who saw the American Revolution as a great step in the advancement towards the millenial era. Such progress, for Weld, could only be achieved by the eradication of national sins such as slavery, it must be removed before America could make any progress towards being a Christian nation.

At the present crisis it (slavery) not only overshadows all others, but it involves all others and absorbs them into itself; and it is my deliberate conviction that revivals, moral reform etc. etc. must and (will) remain nearly stationary until the temple is cleansed. 7

In this Weld is suggesting that all reform and revival was secondary to the success of abolition. This stance was even more radical than that of Finney, who said all reform should be made an appendage of revival. No millenial expectation could be maintained, or hopes for a righteous nation be expressed when the sin of slavery was still present in the nation. First, "the thieves, the man-stealers, the whore-mongerers must be thrust out with headlong haste and in holy horror, that God may come in". 8 Only one thing would save the nation, and that is, "repentance -- immediate, profound, public, proclaimed abroad, wide as our infamy and damning guilt have gone". 9 As for the freedom that was considered by many to be a major characteristic
of this age, he saw as a cruel irony.

The empty name of freedom is everywhere -- free governments, free men, free speech, free people, free schools and free churches -- hollow counterfeits all! FREE! It is the climax of irony, and its million echoes are hisses and jeers even from the earth's ends FREE! blot it out. Words are the signs of things. The substance has gone: let fools and madmen clutch at shadows. The husk must rustle the more when the kernel and ear are gone: ... FREE! the word and sound are omnipresent masks and mockers: an impious lie! unless they stand for free lynch-law, and free murder, for they are free.10

Many Americans who observed the flow of events in the first half of the nineteenth century were very aware that sectional conflict between the North and the South was a distinct possibility. From Beecher's perspective this would be a tragedy; it would lead to the destruction of the Union, which was the divine agent in contemporary history. Yet for Weld it would be a deserved act of divine judgement, an appropriate reward for maintaining the sin of slavery. In a letter to Weld, Angelina expresses her fear at the possibility of this outcome as she has family and friends in the South, and she acknowledges that because of this she cannot share his enthusiasm for such a catastrophe.

You could say in view of that war cloud which hangs round the horizon of our country, the conflicts in Congress, etc., you 'rejoice and leap for joy, you feel in more than perfect peace' Oh! brother how different it is with me -- my spirit sinks within me, and yet I pray God that I may learn to rejoice in his judgements in my soul. I have long despaired our being saved except thro' judgement, and believed slavery would thus be overthrown; but as the time approximates I remember that all my relatives are at the South, and I exceedingly fear and quake, and feel ready to go down and die for them or with them.11
No Government!

Although not directly relevant to a discussion of the conflict between Beecher and Weld, it is however, interesting and illuminating to consider another Christian perspective on government; both civil and ecclesiastical. It is also important in an understanding of Weld's position to see his interaction with Angelina in this matter and thereby to gain a better understanding of his own position. By doing this we can see that even though Weld shared little of Beecher's enthusiasm for civil and religious institutions, he was not a 'no government' man, and in his response to Angelina, he affirms, by implication, his belief in the need for political organisation in human society.

Some Christians had been persuaded, like Garrison, that all government civil or ecclesiastical, clashed with the government of God, and therefore, for the Christian no other government should be acknowledged. Garrison said in a 4th. July address in 1841, that, "my hope of the Millenium begins where Dr. Beecher's expires --viz. at the overthrow of this nation". Beecher's hopes for the Millenium were completely tied up with his hopes for the American nation. Garrison, however, had no such hopes. He shared no hope in the efficacy of human government or institutions, or belief in a special providential role bestowed on the American nation.

Influenced by John Humphrey Noyes, Garrison helped form, and became a leader in, the New England Non-Resistance Society. This society denied allegiance to any human government and refused to recognise national boundaries or distinctions of class, race, or sex. They renounced war, and pledged their members to hold no office in government; to use no governmental agencies for redress of grievance and to abstain from voting.
The Grimke sisters adopted the principles of this society and this consequently led to some argumentative letters between Weld and the sisters. A brief discussion of this view is important as it enables us to see Weld's interaction with Angelina on this issue. Clearly Weld had little time for Angelina's views on government.

I used to find it an exceedingly sore trial to my patience when I came in contact with a mind entertaining opinions which seemed to me utterly absurd, as for instance your views on government do to me.13

In a letter to Angelina, Weld described what he understood by the term 'non-resistance', and emphasised that he had been, and was still, an advocate of non-resistance, as he understood it.

The doctrine of personal, non-resistance, of returning good for evil, of being smitten and turning the other cheek, I have not only advocated in private for years and in public debate at Oneida Institute and Lane Seminary, but . . . not a 'no government' man -- that doctrine fills me with shuddering, and I pray for you, and all who are bewildered in its mazes, and stumbling on its dark mountains.14

Weld also challenged Angelina to explain the basis of her 'no government' views. This she did by transferring her individual sense of morality onto the offices and functions of state.

Civil government is based on physical force, physical force is forbidden by the laws of love. If I have no right to resist evil myself, I have no right to call upon another to resist it for me, and if I must not call upon the magistrate to redress my grievances, if I have no right to do so, then he can have no right to render me any such aid.15

From this position Angelina proceeded to believe that all institutions, whether political or religious, worked against God's purposes for history, and that only with their demise would the kingdom of God be brought about.
For I have no doubt that the Babylon of Revelation is the whole professing church including every sect. Hence the command, come out of her my people.\textsuperscript{16}

She also believed that God was, "about to gather his own people out of all connection with human government and church organisation".\textsuperscript{17}

These beliefs provided for Angelina a picture of the coming Millenium which was far removed from that generally accepted among western Evangelicals, and even further removed from views such as those of Beecher.

I feel the rocking of that great earthquake which is to shake down and whelm forever all organisations, institutions and every social framework of human device ... I see arising out of their ruin the everlasting kingdom of God.\textsuperscript{18}

Although Weld countered Angelina's 'no government' notions, Abzug asserts that he remained basically anti-authoritarian. Of Weld he said that he never felt very comfortable with any authority but God. The clash of father and son, ranging from the personal to the institutional was the keynote of Weld's generation of young pietists. So, for Abzug, Weld had a problem with authority, and this stemmed from conflict with his father.

On the other hand, however, it must be stressed that although Weld was involved in a dispute with the authorities at Lane, he functioned well within other institutions and authority structures. Before Lane he had attended three other colleges; Andover, Hamilton and Oneida, had been an agent for the Society for the Promotion of Manual Labour in Colleges, and a valued member in Finney's 'holy band'. Therefore, to say he was not comfortable with authority is to ignore the fact that in the institutions and associations mentioned above there is little evidence informing us that he resented the authority
structures within which he operated.

Having discussed the relative importance of the United States to both Beecher and Weld, and thereby demonstrating their different perspectives, another common hope which both men held to, yet interpreted differently, was millenialism.

Millenialism

Both Weld and Beecher expressed hopes for a future millenial kingdom. Although both shared this objective, an enquiry into the specifics of their millenial beliefs reveals that a different rationale was in operation.

For Weld the eradication of slavery in the United States was a moral imperative, and he could not anticipate any progress towards a millenial state while slavery remained. Weld believed that:

"Slavery as it exists in the United States is repugnant to the spirit of the gospel and must cease before the Millenium can come. It is therefore the imperious duty of every Christian to pray and labour for its immediate and peaceful termination."

The sin of slavery must be removed first before the Millenium can be achieved.

Yet for Beecher it was presumed that the Millenium was soon and unavoidably to commence. As time moved towards this climax in history, so slavery would die out. For Beecher past history had led inexorably to the place where the only conclusion to be drawn from history was that the Millenium was imminent, and that the United States would be instrumental and central in this phase of history. This was not so for Weld; slavery would not wither away as history progressed to its climax, but sin such as slavery would present an insurmountable, "obstacle in the way of the Millenium." In Weld's thinking there was no providential scheme of history relentlessly leading to the Millenium,
nor dictating priorities and a programme for the present.

The essence of Weld's concerns were articulated by Abzug in the theme, "American millenial promise doomed to inaction by the sin of slavery". In Weld's letters to his fellow abolitionists this theme frequently recurs.

The principle of slavery in its various forms of direct oppression and unchristian prejudice and exclusiveness is now the great obstacle in the way of the Millenium.

As a consequence of the link in Weld's mind between the abolition of slavery and the approach of the Millenium, he believed that no other moral reform or missionary activity had made such progress in the direction of the Millenium, "as this most glorious millenial enterprise". In referring to abolitionism in this way he is clearly making all other Christian endeavours subordinate, with regard to their capacity to hasten the millenial kingdom of God. Many Christians in this period believed that the gospel had to be preached throughout the world before the Millenium could be introduced. Therefore when Elizur Wright spoke of slavery being a major obstacle in the work of Christian mission, he was implying that slavery would retard the Millenium.

Every day adds strength to my conviction that this is the course of him who died for us -- that the colonisation doctrines in regard to slavery have been the worst obstacle in the path of our missionary effort, and whether speaking the truth faithfully will remove slavery or not, that we must honestly gird ourselves for the attempt before we can expect any great success in our enterprise of converting the world.

Herein is a clear distinction between the two groups of Evangelicals. For Beecher, colonisation was part of his grand scheme for world mission; with the repatriation of educated, christianised
Negroes, he envisaged a transference to Africa of Protestant Christianity and consequent notions of civil liberty. However, for Weld and his colleagues it was quite the reverse. To them colonisationism, and its inability to eradicate slavery, rendered all missionary effort futile and hypocritical while the United States remained host to the sin of slavery.

Angelina, Weld's wife, later rejected what was the very foundation of reform work in the minds of many Christians; the conversion of the world by Christian activity as a prelude to the Millenium. She was aware of this change in her thinking and its attendant consequences, and wrote Weld informing him of this.

I feel entirely prepared to give up the old idea of a Millenium and to embrace the opinion that the destruction of the world will precede it, and it certainly is very extraordinary that Daniel's date should appear to terminate in '43, if there is no truth in these calculations -- there are some things in the Bible which have always been inexplicable to me if the old ideas of the conversion of the whole world were true, but the new ideas of the Millenium conflict with none so far as I have examined the subject.25

Three Areas of Conflict

These differing interpretations inevitably led to conflict, therefore, the remainder of this chapter will be devoted to three specific areas of conflict which are representative of this division within Evangelicalism, typified by Beecher and Weld. Beecher, of course, was no stranger to conflict, yet in the following pages only these controversies which are considered relevant to this thesis will be dealt with. These are the following; the controversy between 'New Measures' and eastern orthodoxy, for which Beecher sought reconciliation at a conference in New Lebanon, New York, in 1827; the Lane crisis, which was dealt with in the preceding chapter, and closely associated to this event is Beecher's plan of union for colonisationists and
abolitionists, which did not find favour among many Evangelicals. As well as highlighting an important division within Evangelicalism, these conflicts show the frustration that Beecher felt at seeing his plans thwarted. In all three conflicts there is evidence of Beecher's initial moderation and impartiality, yet this can be seen to diminish and evaporate as his opponents refuse to fit in with his plans.

New Measures

With the onset of the western phase of the Second Great Awakening, predominantly under the leadership of Charles Finney, there was a considerable amount of disquiet in the East with regard to the measures that he employed in his revivals. Some of the more conservative Easterners considered such emotionalism to be detrimental to the Church. As in the Great Awakening there had been examples of excess and imbalance, so likewise, Finney's revivals were perceived by New England's orthodoxy. Asahel Nettleton appears to have been more disturbed with regard to this development than most, although his anxiety was shared by most Easterners, including Beecher. Initially Beecher had found Finney's revivals an embarrassment and he had consequently disassociated himself from the Oneida revivals.

However, Beecher, assuming the role of spokesman and leader for orthodoxy, proposed a conference to sort out the difficulties. This conference was convened on July 19th, 1827, at New Lebanon, New York, and the ministers present discussed for nine days. Of those ministers present, some were from the East and some from the West. Although disapproving of Finney's revivals, Beecher's tone was one of conciliation, and it is quite clear that his ultimate aim was to preserve the unity of the Church, albeit understood from his perspective. Beecher had written to Nettleton on 4th. March, 1827, while the 'New Measures' controversy was raging.
You will need to watch and pray, especially be careful about letting the war get up as between young men and old ministers; for brother; it will sound invidiously to young ears, and the young have the advantage of the old in respect to action and long life. We must save young men and not smite them. I mean we must take care not to throw young men into the opposite scale.\textsuperscript{26}

This conference, however, did not arrive at a solution, and Beecher, possibly out of frustration at not seeing his plans realised, launched into a bitter attack on Finney.

Finney, I know your plan, and you know I do; you mean to come into Connecticut, and carry a streak of fire to Boston. But if you attempt it, as the Lord liveth I'll meet you at the state line, and call out all the artillerymen and fight every inch of the way to Boston, and then I'll fight you there.\textsuperscript{27}

Such an attack on Finney, which carried with it the possibility of alienating many of the western ministers, was after Beecher had earlier offered advice of a quite different nature to Asahel Nettleton.

Take all possible care . . . that no provocation shall produce in word or look an asperity which we so much deplore in others.\textsuperscript{28}

In his autobiography Beecher has said of the issues behind the conference that, "it was not a question of orthodoxy, nor of the reality of the revivals, but of wrong measures".\textsuperscript{29} As the conference was inconclusive it was therefore established in the minds of the more orthodox that the westerners were unwilling to adopt the traditions that had shaped the ministry in New England. They had found a sense of freedom in 'New Measures' Evangelicalism which was expressed by N.S.S. Beman.

As freemen and as Christians . . . we have breathed an air too liberal and elastic to feel ourselves at home
and in our own element, when hemmed in by such confined narrow walls.30

These narrow walls were the traditions of New England orthodoxy.

The Lane Crisis

Another area of conflict that represents the division between Beecher and Weld is the Lane crisis. Although this was dealt with in the previous chapter, there remain a few general points that can be made as this crisis is seen within the context of a conflict between 'Traditionalists' and 'Non-Traditionalists'. Once again this was a situation in which Beecher attempted to brush over contentious issues, while at the same time having other goals in his mind. These goals included the unity of the Church, and the evangelisation of the West. Abzug recognised this tendency in Beecher, and commented on, "Beecher's strategy of avoiding the issues of race and slavery. His reluctance to recognise legitimate issues between parties", and that this tendency, "had its counterpart in his basic approach to the Lane crisis itself".31 Beecher's desire to hold together all Evangelical Christians in his grand scheme of christianising the world was no doubt laudable, but unfortunately, in this situation it led to his downfall.

In the Lane crisis Beecher was reminded of his previous conflict with Finney, who likewise refused to bring his 'New Measures' revivalism within Beecher's plan. Weld was a Finney convert, as were many of the Lane rebels. This led Beecher, in the midst of an attack on abolitionists, to assert that abolitionists were, "the offspring of the Oneida denunciatory revivals, and are made up of vinegar, aqua fortis and oil of vitriol, with brimstone, saltpetre, and charcoal, to explode and scatter the corrosive matter".32 Such a position he considered unhelpful in the work of the Church. In Beecher's
statement above, the revivalism that is to be found springing from Finney's ministry comes in for some strong criticism, as does abolitionism, which in Beecher's mind is derived from the same source. G.H. Barnes comments, "once more Finney's new measures, now in anti-slavery guise were fated to rouse Beecher's ire", and therein Barnes is acknowledging the relationship that existed between abolitionism and 'New Measures' revivalism.

The Union of Colonisationists and Abolitionists

As the Lane crisis follows on from the 'New Measures' conflict, so the next area of conflict follows on from the Lane crisis. Beecher sought to bring about unity between all Christians; between 'New Measures' and eastern orthodoxy, between New Haven theology and old school Calvinism, and similarly he planned to unite the two contending positions of abolitionism and colonisationism. In 1836, Beecher brought this plan to the Presbyterian General Assembly in Pittsburgh, and urged his plan on the delegates present. In referring to this division, and others that threatened the Presbyterian Church, Beecher commented:

These soft but mighty bands which have held Christians of the North and South together are beginning to break. Well may panic go through the hearts of those that love the land.

In the previous Assembly, in 1835, Weld had been active, and after two weeks of his work there he could write that forty-eight delegates to the Assembly were won over to abolitionism.

I find that forty-eight commissioners in the Assembly are decidedly with us in sentiment on the subject of slavery -- believing slavery a sin and immediate emancipation a duty.

Beecher's attempts to forge a union between the abolitionists and the colonisationists at the Assembly proved to be quite unsuccessful.
His plea for union was unacceptable to the 1836 General Assembly. At this Assembly Gerrit Smith wrote to Beecher, indicating the depth of feeling that was present among abolitionists, thereby rendering such a union a folly. To advance a course such as Beecher had at this Assembly must surely lead us to ask whether Beecher was aware of the issues, or simply chose to ignore them. Gerrit Smith, for one, was aware of the division that existed.

The opposition of the anti-slavery to the colonisation society is as defensible and justified as its foundation doctrine of immediate repentance is just; and never while one society continues to war upon that doctrine and the other cling to it can there be any honest and thorough reconciliation between them.36

Beecher was obviously angered by this rejection and adopted an attitude that he later acknowledged was inconsistent with his whole career. Further disappointment must have been with Beecher at this time as 1836 was also the year in which the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race failed. Beecher had been involved with this society from its inception.

After this Assembly, and as a result of his frustration, Beecher demanded action against abolitionism, which was the product of western revivalism. He therefore went to Norfolk, Connecticut, where the ministers of the Congregational Church were in session. At this conference he requested that Congregational pulpits be closed to itinerant revivalists. The resolutions that were passed at the Connecticut Congregational Association were known as the 'Norfolk Resolutions'. In appealing to Congregationalists Beecher employed a very traditional picture of the role and responsibilities of the ministry. This perspective would undoubtedly have struck a chord with many in New England, thereby leading them to adopt resolutions
guarding against itinerancy and the dangers it posed to a settled ministry.

The influence of the evangelist is to break up the order of Christ's house ... in the church the pastor is the sun, the source of light, and center of sweet influence. This is God's established order of things. Break up this and we have ... the miseries of Hell.37

Beecher then went on to the Congregational General Association of Massachusetts, where he adopted a similar line. Resolutions excluding evangelists from Congregational pulpits, and in opposition to abolitionism, were passed without dissent. To the New York executives of the American Anti-Slavery Society this turnaround was a catastrophe. Massachusetts and Connecticut's Congregational Associations were lost, and so, to redeem something from New England, Weld and Stanton went to New Hampshire where another Congregational Association was about to assemble. Weld and Stanton were able, at New Hampshire, to prevent Beecher from carrying his vengeance still further. As a result of their timely intervention, the pulpits of Congregational churches in New Hampshire remained open to itinerant evangelists and anti-slavery society lecturers.

These chapters have shown that there existed two approaches within Evangelicalism in Jacksonian America, and that these two perspectives are adequately represented by Theodore Weld and Lyman Beecher. In Beecher's case the tradition which he belonged to was given form and substance by the theological interpretation of history, and the consequent construction of a Protestant scheme of history in which he stood, and derived much of his programme for a 'Christian America'. In Weld's case his programme for a 'Christian America' centred on the eradication of sin from the individual and from the nation; and in this situation the main obstacle retarding progress

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towards both a 'Christian America' and the Millenium, was the sin of slavery.

Weld insisted that Christian duty required that individual believers should, above all, strive for personal holiness. This was to be achieved by following the dictates of scripture, and of the Holy Spirit as they were brought to bear on present needs and realities. No traditions, political, ecclesiastical or theological should obscure this imperative, and no grand schemes should be allowed to compromise the immediate requirements of righteousness.

Along with the 'Traditionalists', the 'Non-Traditionalists' continued to strive towards the goal of a 'Christian America'. Yet both parties, in sharing this common objective, brought to it different understandings of what it entailed, and different programmes for its eventual realisation.
CONCLUSION

One theme that has clearly emerged from this thesis is that many periods of American history, and aspects of American culture, have been influenced by a belief that the American nation possessed a unique destiny, and as such was believed to be an 'Elect Nation'. Consequently, for those influenced by this belief the United States had an importance in, and to, history, which was greater than that of other nations. This elevated self-understanding cannot be satisfactorily explained by the mere assertion of nationalism, nor the enthusiastic pride which might accompany a new nation.

The concept of a 'Christian America' which has been evident in many periods of American history, also needs to be approached in the same manner as the belief in special destiny. The hope of a 'Christian America' was not simply an aspiration for a nation of church-goers, with the consequent amelioration of social evils. The concept of a 'Christian America' was derived from a particular interpretation of history, and involved the realisation that certain obligations had been expected of the United States as an 'Elect Nation'. Also, large questions of history and destiny, of mission and millennialism depended on the pursuit and realisation of this hope. As the concept of a 'Christian America' has been observed and discussed, it would appear that there is a certain philosophy of history which facilitates and encourages such a belief among American Christians.

Such a philosophy of history is composed of certain presuppositions which can be observed in the life and thought of those Christians who fostered beliefs in a special destiny of the American nation. An essential element is the belief that history follows a linear pattern, a start, significant intermediate events, and a conclusion. Within
this pattern a belief in the sovereignty of God is also a central presupposition. A further essential element is that divine sovereignty is expressed in the selection of a 'Chosen Nation', who were to have a redemptive role in world history. Their responsibility was to act as a divine agent in history.

With regard to this concept of a 'Chosen Nation', it is obviously important that this concept is given a 'this-worldly' interpretation, as opposed to a trans-historical, or 'other-worldly' interpretation, as has been the case in many periods of Christian history. For many Christians this was assured as they traced their roots to the Reformation, which itself, gave a national definition to the concept of a 'Chosen Nation', and not a spiritualised interpretation.

It hardly needs stressing that a Protestant scheme of history is merely a selective interpretation imposed on history. Having been constructed, it then provides a framework for its adherents to evaluate the events of past and present history, and a self-understanding for the many American Christians who sought their antecedents in past Protestant history.

Many expressions of this concept have been seen in American history. The present thesis has outlined some of them as they existed before 1830. However, even after this period many later theologians and politicians have given contemporary form to such a concept, and therein can be seen again continuity and innovation within the scheme of history.

Examples such as John O'Sullivan's, 'Manifest Destiny', \(^1\) and Josiah Strong's, 'Anglo-Saxonism', \(^2\) represent the belief in an American special destiny. In the field of politics the belief in America's special destiny has also occupied a central place in national rhetoric. Even this century such themes have been prominently expressed by
American Presidents such as Woodrow Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Richard M. Nixon, and others. Also the more contemporary idea of J.T. Adams', 'American Dream', expresses the hope that a better quality of life would be made available to those who inhabited America. American history has witnessed many expressions of the belief in an American special destiny; often the content might vary, but the belief remains that providence has overseen the initiation and progress of the American nation.

The self-understanding of American Puritans was dependent upon such an interpretation of history, and because of their evaluation of their present circumstances they saw themselves as heirs to this tradition, thereby adding to it and changing it. This process continued as American Christians perceived themselves to exist within a providentially overseen scheme of Protestant history.

In Chapter one, J.F. MacLear's assertion that, "historians have not yet given adequate weight to the Puritan scheme of history, and its impact on early New England thought and institutions", was mentioned. As MacLear stated this with regard to Puritan New England, it has been suggested in this thesis that this question could also be raised of most periods of American religious history. Thus, in trying to understand American Christianity, and in particular the concept of a 'Christian America', have historians given adequate weight to the Protestant scheme of eschatological history? This thesis has endeavoured to address itself to this issue, and in particular to redress this imbalance with regard to Evangelicalism in the 1820's and 1830's.

The Puritans of New England clearly had a strong sense of an overruling providence guiding their migration to America. This no doubt increased their determination to form 'Holy Commonwealths', which would demonstrate biblical government in both civil and
ecclesiastical spheres. This would represent a further stage in Protestant providential history, and an advance of the principles of the Reformation. As they interpreted past history they stressed the importance of the discovery and colonisation of America in the divine plan for history, and thus ascribed to themselves a chosen position within a divinely governed scheme of 'Salvation History'.

In subsequent periods of American history this sequence of events can also be observed. The concept of a 'Christian America', and the hopes relating to its realisation, were motivated, and reinforced by a particular interpretation of history. Yet, as has been seen, such a tradition underwent change. Innovations were introduced as Christians confronted different situations, and evaluated them in the light of their theology and their interpretation of history.

This process can also be seen in the life and thought of Lyman Beecher. As Beecher's ideas are considered, he cannot be fully understood without taking into account the formative effect that past Protestant history had on his views. Lyman Beecher's interpretation of past Protestant history provided him with a tradition to stand within, a framework for evaluating contemporary events, and it helped shape the values which he believed a 'Christian America' should epitomise.

From an observation of Lyman Beecher's life and thought it has become evident that what was important to him was grand schemes. His tendency was to subsume individual issues into his wider goals and evaluate them from that basis. The wider goals that figured prominently in Beecher's thought included the unity of the Church, the establishment of America as a Christian nation, and the spread of Christianity throughout the world. Beecher's views concerning these subjects were shaped by his Christian beliefs, and also by his interpretation of history.
For Beecher history was providentially overseen, and throughout human history ran the continuous thread of 'Salvation History'. This was an account of God's redemptive activity in history. His agent, Beecher believed, was not only the Christian Church, but the political unit of the American nation, with its guarantee of liberty, education, democracy and civil rights. For Beecher these were qualities that had been nurtured throughout Protestant history, and now had come of age in the United States.

Such a conclusion was as a result of his belief in a particular philosophy of history, and a particular interpretation of history which traced the progress of Protestantism from the Reformation. Within this progress certain historical events were perceived to be significant for understanding the divine will in history. Events including the Reformation, the establishment of English Protestantism, Protestant colonisation of North America, the American Revolution, and the development of a democratic republican form of civil organisation were important in Beecher's construction of a Protestant perspective on 'Salvation History'.

The term 'Evangelical Republicans', has been employed to describe Lyman Beecher, and those of his contemporaries who were like-minded. Having done this, and outlined the principal characteristics of this group, it remained to point out that there was, however, a significant division among Evangelicals of the Second Great Awakening. This division has been clarified by outlining a group within the Evangelical camp that deviated from many of the points stressed by Lyman Beecher and the 'Evangelical Republicans'.

This other group that have been described, were represented in this thesis by Theodore D.Weld, and have been denominated 'Non-Traditionalists'. This is principally because tradition and history
were clearly important in the shaping of the 'Evangelical Republican' perspective on the subject of a 'Christian America'. However, with those more sympathetic to the approach of Weld and Finney, past Protestant traditions mattered little in their attempts to establish a 'Christian America'. For 'Non-Traditionalists', immediate needs were more important in shaping hopes for a 'Christian America' than were past Protestant traditions.

Weld's position places the nation and the Church in a totally different perspective. In Beecher, we have seen that both of these institutions were considered to be agents of the advance of Christianity. Beecher therefore, avoided any moral or political stance which might divide the Church or dismantle the Union. Weld saw things differently. For him the institutions of Church and nation were not to be maintained at any cost. Indeed, if either should conflict with the requirements of Christian holiness then they were to be considered as a hindrance to the cause of Christianity and would merit only the judgement of God.

A discussion of this group demonstrates that Evangelicals of the Second Great Awakening were not a homogenous group, and it also makes sense of the divisions that are frequently hinted at with regard to Evangelicals of this period; divisions such as, New Measures/orthodox practice, Puritan/pietist, democrat/theocrat and western/eastern. The terms 'Traditionalist' and 'Non-Traditionalist', can provide a unity and coherence within which understand the other differences that are conspicuous among Evangelicals.

In the 1830's the concept of America's special destiny was a very potent and ubiquitous cultural myth, influencing many aspects of life. 'Non-Traditionalists' also emphasised this concept; however, they distanced themselves from the traditions which gave rise to such a concept. As has been shown, the concept of a 'Christian America'

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has largely been derived from a theological interpretation of history. 'Non-Traditionalists', however, did not indulge in the theological interpretation of past history, and therefore, were more flexible with regard to their understanding of a 'Christian America'. This was because there were no restrictions placed on their present day activities by what they considered to be important in past Protestant history.

Where 'Traditionalists' emphasised a theological interpretation of history, the 'Non-Traditionalists' emphasised bringing a Christian conscience to bear on present realities. Within the latter approach nothing offended the Christian conscience so much as did slavery. Therefore in this distinction between Evangelicals, the issue of slavery is central. For Weld a 'Christian America' could not be considered a possibility without the abolition of slavery; and yet Beecher feared that the immediate abolition of slavery could create havoc with his hopes for a 'Christian America'. So, in the slavery debate we can see the practical implications of the two approaches as they sought to sought to realise their hopes for a 'Christian America'.

Beecher and Weld both entertained hopes that America would emerge as a Christian nation. Even though these hopes differed, as has been demonstrated, both Beecher and Weld saw the Millenium as being contingent upon the realisation of these hopes. Beecher's sermon 'The Memory of Our Fathers', clearly spells out what he believed was an essential prerequisite for the Millenium. Where Beecher provides us with a politicised path to the Millenium, Weld offered a more pietistic understanding. For him the Millenium could not be considered imminent when individuals in the nation, and the nation's institutions condoned and advocated sin such as slavery. This in itself proved to be a major obstacle in Weld's understanding of the path to the Millenium.

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In this thesis can be seen the importance of a historical perspective, and its effect on the concept of a 'Christian America', and on theories of special destiny as concerned with the American nation. It has been important in the course of this study to demonstrate how such concepts originated, and to show the importance of a particular philosophy of history, and the dynamic whereby the concept of a 'Christian America' was sustained and altered. Thus continuity and innovation within such a concept can be observed.

Hopes for a 'Christian America' have been frequently and variously expressed in American history, and in particular a treatment of Lyman Beecher with regard to this question has been a central feature of this work. In contrast to Beecher's position, Theodore Weld has been included as a representative of a different approach. In this comparison, the traditions and intellectual background that led them both to adopt differing positions have been outlined. Therein an attempt has been made to explain a major division within an otherwise homogenous Evangelical tradition.

A further aspect of this enquiry has been to show the practical implications of the two approaches as they sought to realise their hopes for a 'Christian America'. This has been achieved by demonstrating how the two perspectives contributed to differing attitudes with regard to slavery in America.

Two different approaches clearly existed, and these are exhibited in the life and thought of Lyman Beecher and Theodore Weld. Once evaluated within their respective traditions, many of their views and opinions can be better understood. Thus the approach adopted in this thesis has hopefully contributed to a greater understanding of two central figures in American religious history.
NOTES

INTRODUCTION


5. ibid. II:157


7. ibid. P. 114


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CHAPTER ONE


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14. Mede, J.: 'The Key of the Revelation', tr. by Richard More (London, 1650) in this work Mede closely linked history and apocalypse. The first vial Mede linked with the appearance of the Albigensians and Waldensians, the second vial with the reform work of Martin Luther, the third vial with the establishment of English Protestantism under Elizabeth I, and the consequent anti-Catholic legislation. The fourth vial caused the thirty years war, the fifth vial was to bring about the destruction of the throne of the beast, the sixth vial would result in the conversion of Israel and the destruction of the Turks, and the pouring out of the seventh vial would bring about the Millenium and the final judgement.


33. Miller, P.: 'Orthodoxy . . .', ibid. P. 210

34. Miller, P.: 'Orthodoxy . . .' ibid. P. 161


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32. Hatch, N.O.: 'The Sacred Cause of Liberty', ibid. P. 43


35. Cogswell, J.: 'God the Pious Soldier's Strength and Instructor', (Boston, 1757) P. 26, quoted in, Hatch, N.O.: ibid. P. 47


CHAPTER THREE


2. Dickinson, J.: 'An Address to the Committee of Correspondence in Barbados', (Philadelphia, 1766) quoted in, Bailyn, B. 'Ideological Origins . . .', ibid. P. 77


17. Austin, D.: 'The Downfall of Mystical Babylon', (Edinburgh, 1795) P. 32


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26. Timothy Dwight's poems that reflect an American Millenial theme include; 'America: or a Poem on the Settlement of the British colonies: Addressed to the Friends of Freedom, and Their Country', (1771)
'The Conquest of Canaan', (1783)
'Columbia', (1794)


31. ibid. P. 393

32. ibid. P. 393


34. Cooper, S.: 'A Sermon Preached Before His Excellency John Hancock' (Boston, 1780) P. 37, quoted in, Hatch, N.O.: 'The Sacred Cause of Liberty', op. cit. P. 105


45. Hopkins, S. : 'A Dialogue Concerning the Slavery of Africans: Shewing it to be the Duty of, and Interest of the American Colonies to Emancipate All the African Slaves'(1776), quoted in, Bailyn, B. : 'Ideological Origins . . .', op. cit. P. 244
CHAPTER FOUR


5. Dwight, T. : 'The Duty of Americans at the Present Crisis', (1798) For Dwight, disestablishment would lead to the triumph of infidelity with fearful consequences. In the sermon mentioned above he outlines these consequences.

"For what end shall we be connected with men of whom this is the character and conduct? Is it that we may assume the same character and pursue the same conduct? Is it that our churches may become temples of reason, our Sabbath a decade, and our psalms of praise, marseillais hymns? Is it that we may change our holy worship into a dance of jacobin phrenzy, and that we may behold a strumpet personating a goddess on the alters of Jehovah? Is it that we may see the Bible cast into a bonfire, the vessels of the sacramental supper borne by an ass in public procession, and our children, either wheeled or terrified, uniting in the mob, chanting mockeries against God and hailing . . . the ruin of their religion, and the loss of their souls? Is it that we may see our wives and daughters the victims of legal prostitution; soberly dishonoured, speciously polluted; and outcasts of delicacy and virtue, and the loathing of God and man? . . . Shall we my brethren become partakers of these sins? Shall we introduce them into our government, our schools, our families? Shall our sons become the disciples of Voltaire, and the dragoons of Marat, our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati." quoted in, Mead, S.E. 'Nathanael William Taylor, 1786-1858--A Connecticut Liberal', (University of Chicago Press, 1942) P. 42

7. ibid. I:302
8. ibid. I:302
9. ibid. I:304
10. ibid. I:302
12. ibid. I:453


25. ibid. I:127

26. ibid. II:95

27. ibid. II:218


31. Beecher, L.: 'An Address Delivered at the Tenth Anniversary Celebration of the Union Literary Society of Miami University', Sept. 1835, (Cincinnati, 1835) P.4


34. ibid. II:218

288
35. ibid. I:114

36. ibid. I:139

37. Wayland, F. : 'The Duties of an American Citizen', Fast Day sermon, April, 7th, 1825, (Boston, 1825) P. 13


41. ibid. I:97

42. ibid. I:96


44. ibid. P. 15


46. Spring, G. : 'The Danger and Hope of the American People, A Discourse on the Day of Annual Thanksgiving' (New York, 1843) P. 14

47. American Education Society's 'Quarterly Register', April, 1828 (Andover, 1828) P. 63


51. ibid. P. 10

52. Beecher, L. : 'A Plea for the West', (Cincinnati, 1835) P. 23


60. Wayland, F. : 'The Duties of an American Citizen', op. cit. P. 43


64. Peters, A. : 'An Address to the American Home Missionary Society, and an Appendix Containing the Constitution of the Society and Associations', (New York, 1826) P. 47


69. ibid. II:158

70. ibid. II:156


2. "But you are a chosen race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, God's own people . . ." (Revised Standard Version)


7. ibid. I:302

8. ibid. II:10


10. ibid. P. 19


13. ibid. 19th. Jan. 1831

14. ibid. 16th. Feb. 1831

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19. ibid. 23rd. Feb. 1831

20. ibid. 23rd. Feb. 1831


23. ibid. II:97

24. ibid. I:323

25. ibid. I:322


27. Beecher, L.: 'A Sermon Preached Before the American Board of Missions at New York', (Boston, 1827) P. 9

28. ibid. P. 15


30. ibid. P. 14

31. ibid. P. 15

32. ibid. P. 16

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33. ibid. P. 16


35. ibid. 1:14


2. ibid. P. 25
3. ibid. P. 26
5. ibid. P. 1
7. ibid. P. 51
8. ibid. P. 10
16. ibid. P. 298

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27. Ibid.

28. Ibid.


30. Ibid.

31. Ibid.


34. Tuveson, E.L. : 'Redeemer Nation . . .', op. cit. P. 34, with regard to the use of different terms, Tuveson has said, "To the earlier opinion--which expects the physical return of Christ--I have given the name 'Millenarian'. To the belief that history under divine guidance, will bring about the triumph of Christian principles, and that a holy utopia will come into being. I have assigned the name 'Millennialist'."


37. ibid. P. 9


39. ibid. P. 8

40. ibid. P. 8


44. Beecher, L. : 'A Plea for the West', op. cit P. 10
CHAPTER SEVEN


2. Wayland, F. : 'Duties of an American Citizen', op. cit. P. 19


9. ibid. 19th. Jan. 1831

10. ibid. 2nd. Feb. 1831


13. ibid. P. 130


15. ibid. P. 190


19. ibid. P. 87
25. ibid. P. 25
30. ibid. (June, 1842)
299


40. Beecher, L. : 'Autobiography and Correspondence . . .', op. cit. II:345

41. ibid. II:321

42. Beecher, L. : 'The Spirit of the Pilgrims', 6, July 1833, P. 399

43. ibid. P. 398


CHAPTER EIGHT


2. ibid. P. 82


4. ibid. P. 20

5. ibid. P. 23

6. Tocqueville, A. de : 'Democracy in America', (New York, 1898) vol. II P. 1, 2


9. ibid. P. 270

10. ibid. P. 305

11. ibid. P. 305


14. ibid. P. 245

15. ibid. P. 246

301
16. ibid. P. 247
17. ibid. P. 247
18. ibid. P. 245
20. ibid. P. 163
21. ibid. P. 162
26. ibid. P. xviii
28. ibid. I:243
29. ibid. I:243
30. ibid. I:319
CHAPTER NINE


4. ibid.


8. ibid. I:xvii


11. ibid.

12. ibid.


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16. Although never President, Alexander Hamilton was probably the main architect of the Federalist Party, the policies favoured by Federalists, who predominated in New England were slowly becoming more unpopular as the nineteenth century advanced. Strong central government, an alliance between government and business, the essential wisdom of the wealthy classes and an emphasis on the legal and ecclesiastical professions to the maintenance of order in society, were stressed by Federalists. Such policies led to a loss of influence for the Federalist Party in a nation that was slowly moving towards universal male suffrage, and away from powerful monopolies and vested interests.

17. This incident will again be referred to later in this chapter, P. 215

18. Chapter ten will deal with the Lane crisis in more detail.


22. The Anti-Slavery Society recognised that where pamphlet propaganda had often led to confusion and unnecessary controversy, the use of itinerant anti-slavery agents had been able to avoid these pit-falls and achieve a measure of success.


28. ibid. I:297


33. ibid. P. 93


37. ibid. P. 115

38. ibid. P. 116

39. ibid. P. 117


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41. Thome, J.A. quoted in, Abzug, R.H.: 'Passionate Liberator . . .'  
op. cit. P. 91

42. Weld, T.D. Letter to W.L. Garrison, January 2nd. 1833, Barnes, G.H.  

43. Weld, T.D. Letter to Lewis Tappan, February 22nd. 1836, Weld-  
Grimke Papers, op. cit.

44. ibid.

45. ibid.

46. ibid.

47. Weld, T.D. Letter to Lewis Tappan, March 9th. 1836, Weld-Grimke  
Papers, op. cit.

48. ibid.

49. Weld, T.D. Letter to Lewis Tappan, March 18th. 1834, Weld-Grimke  
Papers op. cit.

50. Wattles, A. quoted in, Lesick, L.T.: 'The Lane Rebels . . .',  
op. cit. P. 10, Augustus Wattles had intended to support colonisation in the Lane debates, but then  
changed his position.

51. Stuart, C. Letter to T.D. Weld, August 5th. 1834, Weld-Grimke  
Papers, op. cit.

52. Abzug, R.H.: 'Passionate Liberator . . .', op. cit. P. 114

Manual Labour in Literary Institutions', P. 60, quoted in, Abzug, R.H.: 'Passionate Liberator . . .',  
op. cit. P. 69

54. Weld, T.D. 'American Slavery . . .', op. cit. P. 143

55. ibid. P. 144

57. ibid. P. 107


60. ibid. II:743

CHAPTER TEN


2. ibid. II:326

3. This conference is also mentioned in chapter eleven, P. 259


7. Report of the Trustees of Lane Seminary, P. 37, quoted in, Abzug, R.H. 'Passionate Liberator . . .', op. cit. P. 111


13. Published in Cincinnati in 1834.

15. Ibid. P. 70


17. Ibid. P. 179

18. Ibid. P. 178


20. Ibid. II:329


CHAPTER ELEVEN


5. ibid. P. 150

6. ibid. P. 144


8. ibid.


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18. ibid.


27. ibid. II:101

28. ibid. II:100
29. ibid. II:101


1. O'Sullivan, J. : O'Sullivan was editor of the 'Democratic Review', and in this journal he first employed the term 'Manifest Destiny'. He believed it was America's, "manifest destiny to overspread and to possess the whole of the continent which providence has given us for the development of the great experiment of liberty and federated self-government". quoted in, Blum, J.M. (ed.) 'The American Experience', (London, 1963) P. 261

2. Strong, J. : The concept of 'Anglo-Saxonism' is well expressed in Strong's book, 'Our Country', (New York, 1885) and also in 'New Era--Or the Coming Kingdom', (New York, 1893) also by Josiah Strong.

3. Wilson, W. : In a 1919 address to the Senate, Wilson stated that it was America's destined mission to give it's freedoms to the world. "The stage is set, the destiny disclosed, it has come about by no plan of our conceiving, but by the hand of God who led us into this way. We cannot turn back. We can only go forward with lifted eyes and freshened spirit, to follow the vision. It was of this that we dreamed at our birth. America shall in truth show the way. The light streams on the path ahead and nowhere else". quoted in, Hacker, L.M. (ed.): 'The Shaping of the American Tradition', (New York, 1968) P. 1151

4. Roosevelt, F.D.: In 1941, when Roosevelt spoke of the defense of the four freedom, he saw them as ideals which formed the American heritage, and should now be extended to the rest of the world. "The first is freedom of speech and expression -- everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way -- everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want ... everywhere in the world. The fourth is freedom from fear -- which translated into world terms means a world-wide reduction of armaments to such a point, and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbour -- anywhere in the world". quoted in, Billington, R.A., Loewenberg, B.J., & Brockumier, S.H. (eds.): 'The Making of American Democracy', 2 vols. (New York, 1956) I:489

5. Nixon, R.M. : In an address at Wheaton College, 29th. Oct. 1960, Nixon(at that point vice-President) also expressed a sense of destiny and mission as being attached to
the American nation. In response to his own question of what makes America great, he answered.

--"What makes her great is not our military strength, nor our economic richness, but the fact that we believe in the right things--our faith--our faith in God, our faith in the rights of man, that these rights to freedom, to independence, don't come from men but from God, and therefore can never be taken away by any man; our belief that America came into this world one hundred and eighty years ago not just to have freedom for ourselves, but carry it to the world... America has a mission, and that mission is to keep the peace, that mission is to stand for freedom for ourselves and for others as well. That mission is to lead the world to a world in which all men can live together in friendship, in which all men can have the right to worship God, in which all men can have freedom".


8. Beecher, L. : 'The Memory of Our Fathers', this sermon is in, 'SermonsDelivered on Various Occasions', (Boston, 1828) P. 294

9. This is detailed in Chapter Six, P. 154-156

10. As has been outlined in Chapter Eleven, P. 256-258

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* Although their are no footnotes referring to these collections, they contained, along with letters, important sermons which have been used in this thesis. These sermons have been listed separately in the footnotes under their author with place and date of publication.


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