FROM ITS EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS TO 1791

THE UNITED STATES ARMY CHAPLAINCY
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By

Parker C. Thompson

Volume I

OFFICE OF THE CHIEF OF CHAPLAINS
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FOREWORD

This volume is one of a series of five prepared by various authors, designed to be useful and instructive regarding the long history of the United States Army Chaplaincy. The emphasis throughout is on how chaplains did their ministry in the contexts of both war and peace. The series seeks to present as full and as balanced an account as limitations of space and research time permit. The bibliography in each volume offers opportunities for further research leading to detailed studies, articles, monographs, and perhaps even volumes regarding persons, developments, and events of the periods concerned. No attempt has been made to express any specific point of view or to make policy recommendations. The contents of each volume represent the work of the individual author and do not represent the official view of the United States government.

An effort has been made to make this volume as complete and factual as possible. In the light of new information and developments, there may be modifications required concerning the material, interpretations, and conclusions presented. Such corrections, additions, and suggestions as readers may have are welcome for use in future revisions; they should be addressed to—

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The author of this volume is Chaplain Parker C. Thompson, a Regular Army chaplain of the Southern Baptist Convention. He is a native of Missouri, and entered on active duty as a chaplain in 1952. He has served at Camp Atterbury, Indiana; Fort Leonard Wood, Missouri; Fort Knox, Kentucky; US Army Chaplain Center and School, Fort Hamilton, New York; Fort Dix, New Jersey; and overseas, in Korea, Germany, and Vietnam. He has been awarded the Legion of Merit, the Bronze Star Medal (Valor) with 2 Oak Leaf Clusters, the Meritorious Service Medal, the Air Medal, the Army Commendation Medal with 1 Oak Leaf Cluster, and the Purple Heart with 1 Oak Leaf Cluster.
DEDICATION

To “that Company of Gallant Gentlemen,” the Chaplains of the United States Army; and particularly to the sacred memory of

CHAPLAIN (COLONEL) WILLIAM G. DE VANNEY
June 24, 1925—July 2, 1973

A veteran of World War II, the Korean and Vietnamese Wars, he was highly instrumental in the initial planning of the History of the Chaplains of the United States Army in five volumes. Preacher, counselor, staff officer; a minister of the Lord, he brought glory to the uniform he wore, and the love of God to all who knew him.
PREFACE

A Bicentennial Planning Meeting was held at the Department of the Army on June 26, 1973. Chaplain (Major General) Gerhardt W. Hyatt, then Chief of Chaplains, announced that among the thirteen chaplain projects to be accomplished during the several years of celebration, 1975-1983, was preparation of a five volume History of the United States Army Chaplaincy.

In an earlier meeting in his office, Chaplain Hyatt rejected the proposal of the “Publication of two hard cover books: The Chaplains of the American Revolution and A Source Book of Sermons by Revolutionary Chaplains and Clergy.” That concept was too limited. Rather, he directed that five volumes be prepared, following a chronological order that terminated at the close of major national or Army eras: Volume 1, From our European Background—1791; Volume II, 1791-1865; Volume III, 1865-1920; Volume IV, 1920-1945; Volume V, 1945-1972.

The scope of each volume was to include not merely anecdotal materials, but the religious and political climate peculiar to each period; specifics of chaplains in their work and organization—uniforms, pay, their place in the military structure; attitudes and behavior as influenced by their theological precepts; and above all, primary source materials for study and use by active duty chaplains stationed far from the great wealth of libraries.

Writing Volume I was my happy lot and high honor. Several difficulties, however, presented themselves. First, the era that ended in 1791—that date marks the entrance of the first Chaplain, John Hurt of Virginia, into the Regular Army of the United States—was fraught with attitudes very foreign to our twentieth century thinking. It was a time of such strongly held theological positions that anyone who deviated even slightly was anathema. Roman Catholics hated and killed Protestants, and were repaid in kind. Internecine struggles among Protestants, taken for granted then, scandalize the reader in our more tolerant and perhaps less believing age. It was a time when enemies were rooted out by the sword, when the Indian was “a savage” and the black man a tool. It was a time when the tobacco trade began to flourish and brought
prosperity rather than warnings of endangered health. It was a time when land was either purchased or conquered without qualms of conscience, but rather with praises to God for His kindliness. As I wrote, it was hoped that my colleagues in the chaplaincy and comrades of the heart would not be offended nor consider the descriptions of attitudes two or three centuries old in any way a reflection on their piety or patriotism. Douglas Southall Freeman faced the same problem in writing his masterful *Lee's Lieutenants*. He said: “Those war letters and diaries of the eighteen-sixties, so informative when available, so deplored when lost, exhibit, . . . as marked difference from present-day thought on religion as perhaps ever has been wrought in seven decades. Many of the men who appear in these pages kept religion in the same sanctuary of the heart with patriotism and love of home.” (Volume I, p xxviii)

The second problem I faced was the plenitude of primary source materials about some chaplains and the paucity concerning others, particularly in the southern campaigns of 1780–1781, and during the earlier Colonial Period. Manassah-Cutler’s journals and letters are literary gold mines. Of Ithamar Hibbard we know only that he served; of several others, even their service was ambiguous. It must be assumed—always dangerous for the historian—that those who left no record or whose writings fell prey to careless time performed their ministries in the military environment comparably to those whose work can be documented. That assumption was justified primarily when extant journals and letters were analyzed. Activities of ministry and attitudes appeared remarkably homogenous, since the bulk of those early civilian clergymen and chaplains, irrespective of denominational affiliation, were Calvinists in theology and practice.

Third, in order to mirror the men and the mentality of an age long past, it was imperative to include long quotes from their writings: prayers, sermons, diaries, and letters. Nothing less could adequately convey them in their particular frame of reference. Even the language, grammar, quaint spellings and abbreviations were left as written. While that might at first seem an inconvenience to the reader, it was hoped that the flavor of the era would permeate anyone willing to read more slowly, but infinitely more meaningfully. Further, only by provision of the words of the men themselves could an author-compiler avoid the centuries-old error of reference to documents not readily available. Saint Augustine of Hippo in his *Baptismo contra Donatistas* clearly enunciated the prob-
lem: “For I am well aware of the annoyance a reader feels when he comes across a knotty problem in some book he is reading and for the solution of it is referred to some other book which perhaps he does not possess.” The bulk of the documents used in this work were accessible in a few major libraries only. It was for the pleasure rather than the pain of the reader that this approach was followed throughout.

The fourth major problem was that of the author himself. A Revolutionary War chaplain and historian, William Gordon, quoted an axiom of his day concerning those who delve in history: “he should have neither country, nor particular religion.” On each count, I failed. It was hoped, however, that I could say with Dr. Gordon, “the compiler of the present history can assure the public, that he has paid a sacred regard to truth, conscious of his being answerable to a more powerful tribunal than that of the public; and has labored to divest himself of all undue attachments to every person, country, religious name or profession: whenever the reader is inclined to pronounce him partial, let him recollect that he also is subject to the like human fraility.” But far more serious than bias or prejudice was the lack of ability to convey interestingly the untold story of those men to whom our nation and houses of worship owed so immense a debt. The subject and the *dramatis personae* were worthy of Jeremiah’s “pen of iron, and with a point of diamond.”

To whom words of gratitude are due is the last, and most pleasant, of problems. It is problematical in that countless men and women—who lovingly preserved manuscripts, carefully deciphered the all but illegible script of chaplains writing under field conditions, and aided in the maintenance of priceless records—are anonymous. May their reward be great in Heaven! Special thanks must be rendered to persons involved in the actual production of this volume. First and foremost, the late Professor Arthur Carl Piepkorn, Ph. D., who guided me in the arrangement of materials. I am forever indebted to Colonel Emil V. B. Edmond, US Army, Retired, an Infantry officer and author who epitomizes the finest of both professions. When I served as his Regimental Chaplain, he encouraged me to write, and graciously critiqued my earliest efforts. For Sir Philip H. Snyder, O.S.J., I can not find adequate words. Out of his personal collection he loaned me original documents; infinitely more, he sacrificed his very limited time to assist me in research. His generous and scholarly contributions are re-
flected in many pages in this book. Mr. Norman Flayderman of New Milford, Connecticut, and Mr. Jacques Noel Jacobsen, Jr., of Staten Island, New York—both Fellows in the Company of Military Historians, authors, collectors of military memorabilia, and patriots—opened their personal libraries and collections to me. Further, they gave me guidance and constant encouragement. Noteworthy was the help afforded by Mrs. Judy Steen of the Library Reference Department, the University of California at Santa Cruz. It was she who directed me in my search for previously unused journals and diaries of those early chaplains whose efforts for American freedom were recorded in these pages. I am indebted beyond expression to her knowledge and professionalism.

Rabbi Pincus L. Goodblatt, Granada Hills, California, and Monsignor James F. Connolly, Saint Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, provided yeoman service, and are owed an unpayable debt. Without the kindness of Mr. Eugene Miller of Nutley, New Jersey, the rosters of early chaplains would have remained woefully incomplete. To Mrs. Evelyn Giles, Post Librarian at Fort Dix, and to Major David M. Fisher, Jr., US Army, a direct descendant of Chaplain John Steel, for materials, I am profoundly grateful. Colonel J. R. "Johnny" Johnson, former Chief of Staff at Fort Dix, friend, and a military historian and author in his own right, provided me with guidance, time for research, and gentle nudges when the work flagged. Without his support, as this work was being done as "an additional duty," this book could never reach completion. Too numerous for individual mention are fellow chaplains who helped and encouraged this effort. May they be pleased with the end result! Particular mention must be made of my secretary, Mrs. Emma Lee Johnson. She patiently typed and re-typed my notes, brought order out of the chaos of my catastrophic penmanship, and caught errors in my own quaint spelling. And to my long-suffering wife, Irene, and our children, I proffer my heartfelt gratitude for their sacrifice of time and continuous support.

PARKER C. THOMPSON
Chaplain (Colonel), USA
INTRODUCTION

The Chaplaincy of the United States Army has its spiritual roots deep in the pages of the Old Testament, and prototypes for its institutional and organizational structure in the British military forces. The tradition of a specially appointed clergyman accompanying soldiers into battle dates from the Pentateuch, Deuteronomy 20:2–4: “And it shall be when ye are come nigh unto the battle, that the priest shall approach and speak unto the people.” His message was to contain words of spiritual comfort for those soon to jeopardize their lives in combat, and patriotic sentiments suited to elevate morale.1 Throughout the centuries covered in the Old Testament accounts, priests and prophets went forth to battle and served in camp. Building on that concept inherited from Judaism, the Christian Church found a place for the military clergy in its ministries. In 742 A.D., the Council of Ratisbon decreed in Canon 2:

“We prohibit the servant of God in every way from bearing arms or fighting in the army or going against the enemy, except those alone who because of the sacred office, namely, for celebrating of mass and caring for the relics of the saints, have been designated for this office; that is to say, the leader may have with him one or two bishops with their priest chaplains, and each captain may have one priest, in order to hear confessions of the men and impose upon them the proper penance.” 2

Chaplains had, indeed, served in the armies of Christian rulers prior to the above decree.3 Apparently some had demonstrated a taste for actually participating in the battles as combatants, and had to be reminded that their duties were spiritual in nature and limited by their calling. Not all heeded this canon, as French, British, and American military records attest. Perhaps the more famous of these fighting clergymen was Archbishop Turpin (Tilpinus of Rheims) whose combat exploits as well as pastoral ministries mingle so prominently in The Song of Roland.

Following his conquest of England in 1071, William the Con-

See footnotes at end of Introduction.
queror found it imperative to introduce a permanent military organization to maintain the fruits of his victories. Unlike the vanquished Anglo-Saxons, among whom “every English freeman had once been a part-time soldier,” the Norman innovation was a standing army. And from the necessity of keeping its ranks full, the Church was not exempt. Bishops’ residences were fortresses; they traveled their hostile dioceses with retinues of armed guards, and went to battle in times of emergency not as clerics only but as feudal lords. The Bishop of Durham’s castle was the mightiest bastion in the north of England, and one of the holders of that title, Anthony Beck, was most distinguished as a combat leader. The Anglo-Saxon threat to peace having subsided with the rise of new generations, an edict issued by the Synod of Westminster in 1175 prohibited the clergy “to take up arms nor go about in armour.” Nearly two centuries, however, were to pass before this injunction was heeded. The fourteenth century witnessed the fighting churchmen gradually disappear, and chaplains in their strictly pastoral role, who had long co-existed with them, became the norm.

The Norman standing army gave place to volunteer forces, levied and called out for specific periods, as internal dangers of rebellion ceased and the enemy became foreign powers, Scotland and France. At the Battle of Crecy, August 26, 1346, chaplains were divided into three classes: the retinue of the King; chaplains in the service of noblemen who brought their own military forces to the royal standard; chaplains to the Welshmen—mostly pikemen. Coverage was not standardized ranging from one chaplain to 159 men in the Earl of Suffolk’s command to one per 2410 troops from North Wales. “There is no indication in the records of this campaign of anything approaching an ecclesiastical organization,” states Sir John Smyth, historian for the Royal Army Chaplain Department.

Throughout the periods of the Tudors, Stuarts, Cromwells, and well into the Hanoverian era, chaplains continued to serve as military forces were formed to meet new threats abroad, and during the Civil War and its aftermath at home. It is noteworthy that under the Tudors in the late sixteenth century the appointment and duties of chaplains were defined. It was the responsibility of the regimental commander “to have a well-governed and religious

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preacher in his regiment so that by this life and doctrines the soldiers may be drawn to goodness.” Further he was charged to have a formation at the headquarters each morning and evening “where divine duties are to be performed by the preacher.” Each small unit commander was directed “in the field and upon service to see prayers read at the head of his company every night; and on Sundays he will compel all soldiers not on guard to go to the Colonel’s tent to hear prayers and sermon.”

During this period of great religious fluctuations among the English peoples, before the Reformation was consolidated by the events of the Civil War and the Glorious Revolution of 1688, the only known “job description” of a chaplain’s duties was spelled out in an ecumenical spirit indicating the pluralism of the era. Regulations state: “The preacher, be he priest or minister, whether Lutheran or Reformed or Roman Catholic, his office is well enough known and there is much respect to be paid him; and the laws of war provide severe punishment to those who offer an offence or injury to his person or charges. His duty is to have ‘care of souls,’ and it is well if he meddle with no other business, but make that his only care.” This concept, the care of souls, will limit and define the prescribed duties of chaplains in both the British and American armies until the nineteenth century. It will be reiterated, but never broadened nor restricted, with one exception. That came under Oliver Cromwell, when chaplains were temporarily given the added responsibility of being the military reporters for the newspapers publicizing the maneuverings and battles of the New Model Army.

Cromwell’s army, although of relatively short duration, became the prototype of the future British army, which was to come into being during the reigns of Charles II and James II. The Stuarts, re-established on the throne, feared the militia; it was not deemed safe to have too many armed and trained former enemies drilling throughout the country. With the advent of a permanent military force, the chaplains’ places in the structure, and their pay, were formalized, as were the other members of the establishment. Chaplains continued to be part of the regimental system, either appointed by the commander or elected by the unit. Although there was the position of Chaplain-General, it carried no supervisory powers over other chaplains, but reflected the assignment on

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the staff of the sovereign or senior commander, the Captain-
General.

Throughout the recurring wars with France from 1689 to the
American Revolution—called the Second Hundred Years’ War—
the British chaplains continued in the system where “each regiment
was a self-contained possession of the colonel,” and they failed
progressively to meet the needs of their military parishes. Absenteeism became a syndrome of steadily declining morale throughout
the Army, and “chaplains stood high on the absentee list.” At one
period during Queen Anne’s War, 1704, only one-third of the
chaplains on the rosters were present for duty. The problem was
engendered by the system, even though chaplains were commis-
sioned field officers. Symth describes the situation. “The selection
of regimental chaplains was the perquisite of the colonel. He sold it
and the priest who bought it received the pay. But he did not
necessarily do the work, which was usually performed by a deputy
whose stipend was fixed by mutual agreement.” 10

Conditions steadily degenerated until by 1793 only one regi-
mental chaplain was present for duty in an entire corps in Flanders,
and not a single chaplain reported for duty with Sir Ralph Aber-
nathy’s West Indian Expedition of 1795. A formal chaplains de-
partment was organized, and the regimental chaplains system
abolished, by the Royal Warrant of September 23, 1796. The duties
of the chaplains remained unchanged: “The care of souls.”

Although some British chaplains are known to have served in
the wars in North America, their number cannot be determined
with any accuracy from the British Army Lists. So few documents
remain that in the official history of the Royal Chaplain Depart-
ment, there is a gap of almost a century, from Queen Anne’s War
until 1796. The sad conclusion is that this dearth reflects the in-
creasing absenteeism of chaplains so prevalent in the eighteenth
century. There were exceptions, however, which shall be noted.

While British military policy emphasized a standing army and
a small militia at home, it placed the burden of self-defense on the
colonies, using two approaches. The first, that of colonization, was
fostered through military forces raised and directed by civilian
companies under royal charters, e.g., the conquest of India under
the direction of the East India Company, and the Jamestown and
Plymouth colonies in North America under the auspices of the

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Virginia Company. John Sky states categorically: "Two names known to every American schoolboy—John Smith and Miles Standish—illustrates a neglected truth about the English settlement of North America: colonization was a military operation." Once colonies were established, and being devoid of a standing army, the colonists reverted to the earlier defensive techniques of England; namely a militia requiring universal military service from all able bodied men. "Clearly," Sky comments, "a policy of colonial self defense rested on the merchantilist assumption that colonies were not to drain but to contribute to the military strength of the mother country." 

The militia system succeeded or failed in the several colonies, depending in part on the density of the colony's population, the imminence of danger, the demands on its economy, and, in the case of Pennsylvania, its religious mores. Modification in the militia systems followed the changing requirements of the several colonies resulting from geographical expansion. New England frontier villages became garrison towns, housing soldiers from other areas to supplement their own forces. Frequently the town church became the fort, and the pastor became a de facto chaplain. Conversely, several garrison towns had permanent military chaplains, whose secondary activities included conducting religious services for civilians, teaching school, and missionizing the Indians.

Except when fighting in their immediate vicinity and for their own homes, the militia system generally did not live up to expectations. As the frontier grew distant, city and town bred men were no match for their Indian rivals. As early as King Philip's War, the colonists depended heavily on complementing their forces with friendly Indians skilled in forest warfare. Likewise, volunteer forces raised for special expeditions were usually not equal to long campaigns or against French regular troops. Some British regulars did, indeed, come to North America in the earlier periods: and large numbers became part of the American scene during and following the Seven Years War. The militia—varying in the different colonies and at different periods—trained anywhere from several times annually to twice weekly, depending upon the nearness of danger. Russell Weigley describes a typical training day in New England: "a town's militia company generally assembled on public grounds, held roll call and prayer, practiced the manual of arms

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and close order drill, and passed under review and inspection by the militia officers and other public officials. There might be target practice and sham battles. . . .” 14 On those afternoons, when peril was not too close, refreshments and social activities followed this European type training.

A distinction was made between the “common militia” whose members were there by compulsion, and the “volunteer militia”—“the formations whose recruits chose membership in them, generally with the understanding that they would respond first to calls for active service.” 15 From these volunteers came the minutemen of the Revolution. Records reveal that chaplains served in the militia, both common and volunteer, with volunteers raised for specific expeditions, in garrison towns, and later in the Continental Army.

Through the period covered by this book, 1607—1791, there will be examples of chaplains having very clearly defined status as commissioned officers, without rank or insignia of rank, in their various units; militia, volunteer expeditions, and the Continental Army. There will be many, however, whose service with the military—like the military itself—is ambiguous: “the closer one looks at how the colonies were defended, the more the clear distinction between ‘regulars’ and ‘militia’ blurs.” 16 It is not an era when precision can be universally expected in defining a chaplain’s station in each unit or expedition, for often the military formations themselves were temporary in duration, and hurriedly assembled. With the advent of the Continental Army, specific Tables of Organization appear. But the inherited regimental chaplain system was to influence American chaplains’ assignments throughout the period of this study.

The need for a chaplain organization, complete with its own leadership, will frequently be seen in the events described in these pages: an organization to provide universal coverage of units for religious and pastoral services, and to coordinate the activities of chaplains. For example, Washington scolded the chaplains at Newburgh because most had gone home on furlough at the same time, thereby allowing pastoral care to be inadequately provided for the total command. Again, many chaplains served during the Revolution from the northern and middle colonies, but there was generally a decided lack of military clergymen in the southern colonies,

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and especially in the southern campaigns of 1780–1781. This condition of ill balanced chaplain coverage for units would be repeated over and again until the frustrations of World War I brought the issue to full light, and the Office of the Chief of Chaplains was established by the National Defense Act of 1920. We followed the British once again, 124 years late!

During the period 1607—1791, American chaplains’ duties, like their British counterparts, were not defined beyond the ancient “care of souls,” to include the traditional clerical functions of preaching, praying, administering the rites, sacraments, and ordinances of the Church, visiting the sick, and burying the dead.

Throughout the period of the early Indian wars and the conflicts with France, and during intervals of peace, clergymen served as post or unit chaplains having received their position by various authorities and means. Several volunteered their services; others were selected and appointed by the Provincial Governor or the General Court; some were chosen by their Provincial legislative body or unit commanders, and not a few were requested by members of their own congregations, on going off to the wars. There was no general policy practiced continuously or universally. During the Pequot War, the ministers in Massachusetts selected two of their number most fit for military duty, and then cast lots to see which one was actually to go; in this case, John Wilson. When Phip’s expedition was formed in 1690, it was the General Court of Massachusetts which elected chaplains by vote. At the same time in New York, Governor Sloughter was ordered to appoint a chaplain by direction of King William himself. The Connecticut legislature appointed chaplains during Queen Anne’s War for service with volunteer forces. During the French and Indian War, similar procedures, as above, were used in the several colonies to provide military clergymen to their forces.

While chaplains were quite regularly on the scene in New England, they do not appear in Virginia, the Carolinas, or Georgia until the Revolution, and even then in relatively small numbers. The reasons for this absence are perhaps two-fold: the greater fields of military operations in the colonial period lay in New England and to some extent in the Middle Colonies; and, the Anglican being the Established Church in the South, a letter of license from the bishop—located in London—was required prior to

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a provincial governor appointing a clergyman for military duty. It is not surprising, therefore, that several civilian clergymen, among them Samuel Davies and William Richardson, are found ministering to troops in addition to their normal responsibilities. Their service will be described more fully in Chapter III.

In the Middle Colonies, chaplains were first found during King George's War and the French and Indian War. Thomas Barton, for example, an Anglican missionary to several congregations in Carlisle, Huntington, and York, Pennsylvania, frequently led his parishioners in combat against the Indians. At the occasion of Forbes' expedition to Fort Duquesne in 1758, members of his congregation volunteered their services with the proviso that he accompany them, and Forbes accepted him as the unit chaplain. Whether the governor confirmed Barton's appointment, however, is questionable. Certainly he did not obtain Episcopal authority from London!

Clergymen serving in peace time as post chaplains in their several colonies generally were appointed by the colonial governor or legislature. Illustrative of this, Massachusetts responded to Captain Henry Dwight's plea—"we shall lead a heathenish life unless a chaplain is allowed"—by sending Chaplain Daniel Dwight to minister at Fort Drummer. In Virginia, post chaplain duties were performed by civilian clergymen as a secondary function in their efforts to evangelize the Indians, and without official endorsement.

Of the period leading to the Revolution, several generalizations can be made. Chaplains served in some "common" militia units, in volunteer forces or expeditions during hostilities, and in post assignments. Paid varying amounts by their respective colony, they were officers on the commander's staff, yet without rank. Their duties were never enumerated except that they were to fulfill the role of clergyman, with the tasks normally associated with that office. With few exceptions they were members of the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches, the latter furnishing, by far, the greater number.

The Revolution began with clergymen appearing at Lexington and Concord, and assembling without plan or design at Boston. Several came as a result of their prior commitment to militia units, such as William Emerson and David Avery, while others merely followed their congregants to battle without appointment or pay. Efforts were made to bring order out of chaos. Connecticut's gov-

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ernor appointed chaplains to regiments; brigade officers selected their own chaplains in New Hampshire and Rhode Island units, assigning them at brigade or regimental level according to need; Virginia authorized the field grade officers and captains of each regiment to elect its chaplain. Massachusetts' Provincial Congress began by asking several local pastors to serve at Boston for a month's duration, at which time they would be replaced. This rotating system proved unworkable, and so another plan was adopted whereby nine ministers were selected for military duty by a board composed of general and field grade officers.

With the formation of the Continental Army,—Congress authorized a force not to exceed 22,000 men—chaplains were transferred from the militia and volunteer forces of their several colonies into America's first national army. As not all militia chaplains' services were required for the newly formed force, preference was given to those having the longest tenure of active duty. While the numbers of chaplains needed by the Continental Congress changed periodically, the appointment system seems to have remained constant; Congress, upon nomination by a unit commander, issued the chaplain's commission.

A total of 218 chaplains are definitely known to have served during the Revolution, 111 of whom were in the Continental Army. Additionally, accounts relate the services of several civilian pastors, who conducted services for soldiers in or nearby their pastorates, but were not in either Continental or militia units. The lion's share of chaplains were Congregationalists, some 90. Following in number were the Presbyterians with 41, the Anglicans, 20, Baptists, 11, Reformed Church, both German, Dutch and French, 6, Lutheran, 2, Roman Catholic and Universalist Churches, one each. The denominational affiliations of 46 chaplains cannot be determined with any degree of accuracy. Of these, about 20 have records too vague that it cannot be ascertained into which denominational category they should be placed: Congregational, Unitarian, or Universalist.

New England, reflecting its religious life-style, sent the largest number of chaplains into service, and the majority of these were Congregationalists. The Southern Colonies provided the least number of chaplains, largely Anglicans, some Presbyterians and 2 Baptists. From the Middle Colonies came the bulk of the Presbyte-
rians and all of the Reformed Church chaplains. The Baptist, who as a people were persecuted in both New England and the South, struggled strenuously for religious freedom. Throwing in their lot with the American cause, they provided chaplains mostly from the tolerant Middle Colonies of New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and from Rhode Island. One Baptist chaplain only came from elsewhere in New England—Massachusetts—and two from the South. The sole Roman Catholic chaplain, Louis Eustice Lotbiniere, was a Canadian national, serving volunteers in the First Canadian (Livingston’s Regiment). There are no Jewish chaplains identified in either the Continental Army or the states’ militias.

No denominational quotas for obtaining chaplains were ever set through the period of the colonial wars and the Revolution. Normally a chaplain came from the same locality as the members of a particular unit, and generally had an identification of religious affiliation with the majority of them. It will be noted that chaplains were usually, but not always, nominated or selected by commanders and/or their officers on the basis of prior knowledge and occasionally membership in their congregations.

European armies brought to America a long tradition of military chaplains. Their duties were essentially limited to the functions normally associated with “the care of souls.” While their appointment methodology varied, ranging from selection by the sovereign to the personal choice of the commander, all appear to have followed the regimental chaplain system. Specifically the British, French, and Hessian chaplains will be mentioned in reference to the Battle of Yorktown where all four forces met.

**FOOTNOTES**

12 Ibid., 4.
15 Ibid., 8.
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CHAPTER I
"In the Beginning"
Early Chaplains and Wars, 1524–1676

Spain’s control of the North American continent for a century without any serious rivalry gave Spanish chaplains and missionaries who accompanied expeditions of exploration time to initiate their apostolic enterprises. The depth of their devotion and the extent of their penetrations into an uncharted new world can be traced by the blood of martyrs. In 1542, on the plains of southwest Kansas, Frey Juan de Padilla, a Franciscan, was killed by Indians to whom he had hoped to bring the Gospel. His had been an adventurous life in the service of both his kings, eternal and temporal, and he knew all too well “the accustom’d sight of blood.” Born in the province of Andalusia at the turn of the century, it appears that he had been a soldier in his early years. Entering the Order of Friars Minor, he served as a chaplain in Guzman’s expedition to New Galicia in 1529–1530. While serving as a missionary he founded two friaries before accompanying Coronado’s famous search for the fabled city of Eldorado. His was a dual mission. While the penetration sliced ever deeper into the unknown, he was the chaplain of the conquistadors, often traveling in the advanced party, making friendly contact with the aborigines. When the expedition returned to Mexico, he elected to remain behind, and push ever farther north. Met by a hostile band of Indians whom he came to claim for Christ, he valiantly ordered his few faithful companions to hide in the high prairie grass while he bore the brunt of their savage wrath. The hidden survivors have given to posterity a grand scene: Frey Juan de Padilla, champion of the Cross, standing alone and unarmed except by faith in the midst of a vast plain and vaster continent, committed to his God, until arrows pierced his body like a New World St. Stephen, winning for himself a crown of martyrdom. Long before the American chaplaincy was even a dream,
Chaplain Padilla set a standard in America of loyalty to his mission and love for his friends and foes alike.¹

The first church known to have been built in the area destined to become the original thirteen colonies was a Jesuit mission at Axacan in the Powhatan country of Virginia, near the mouth of the Chesapeake. A party composed of two priests, four lay brothers, and two novices under the leadership of Padre Juan Baptista Segura landed on an autumn day, September 10, 1570, to begin their missionary effort. Failure was just a meal away throughout their first six months ashore, the early records presenting a triumph of faith over fractious nature. For six years prior to the missionaries’ arrival, the land had suffered famine. Their food supplies ran out rapidly, making a diet of roots the daily subsistence of Segura’s party. More dangerous by far than hunger, however, was the betrayal of an Indian Judas, their interpreter, named Luis de Velasco. Under his leadership the missionaries were massacred. Their deaths had far greater ramifications than the mere perishing of eight more men of God, as we shall see presently.

Valesco made a fatal error while wiping out the mission of his friends. Not doing a thorough job, a young Indian boy named Alonzo escaped. Taking time to decently bury these martyrs, he carried the tragic news until it came to the ear of Pedro de Menendez. A flaming protector of his religion, this founder of the City of St. Augustine had a love for Catholic missions and an unmitigated hatred of anything which hampered them, or smacked of Protestantism. Sailing to Virginia, de Menendez personally directed the capture and hanging of those Indians identified by Alonzo as perpetrators of the massacre. Accompanying this punitive expedition as its chaplain was Juan Rogel who baptized each of the murderers during their last hours on earth.²

An eminent Catholic historian, Theodore Maynard, states regarding the demise of Segura’s mission: “The failure was made glorious by martyrdom. It was therefore not a failure under its religious aspect. The abandonment of the Chesapeake region, however, was politically disastrous for Spain. Could it have been held, an effectual barrier would have been erected against the encroachments of the English in Virginia.”³

King James I, on April 10, 1606, chartered the London and Plymouth Companies, which had been founded by wealthy mer-

¹ See footnotes at end of chapter.
chants from London and Bristol, respectively. Under the auspices of the London merchants, 105 men set sail for the New World with the mission of building a permanent English settlement in Virginia. By decree the Church of England was established to be the sole religious body within the new colony, and Chaplain to this expedition was the Rev. Robert Hunt, pastor of the parish church at Heathfield, Sussex. Born in 1568, and educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, he served as vicar for eight years earlier at Reculver on the coast of Kent. It was there that a thousand years earlier Saint Augustine landed—597 A.D.—to begin his missionary endeavors of bringing Christianity to King Ethelbert and the peoples of Britain. Having served three years as vicar, Hunt married Elizabeth Edwards, a sixteen year old girl from Canterbury. To their marriage came two children, and much heartbreak in the form of a rival, John Taylor. Hunt’s will gives evidence of the depth of the marital problem he experienced. He made his wife his executrix with the following limitation: “Provided alwaies yf Elizabeth may said wiffe shall committ the act of incontinency or shalbe defamed or suspected of anye suche acte, during my life or if after my death before the proving of my will she staie and abide in the same house or other place whatsoever together with John Taylor the eldest Sonne of John Taylor of the parish of Heatherfield . . ..”

Apparently Hunt’s marital boat was as frail as the Susan Con-
stant, the Godspeed, and the Discovery in which the expedition sailed. Was the first Protestant chaplain to settle in English America walking in the footsteps of ancient Augustine? Or, was he seeking a parish in the New World so as to escape a problem in the Old? Could it be that he was looking for a new home for his family far away from John? History, like love, covers a multitude of sins, and existing records are tantalizingly suggestive but silent.

Even who was responsible for Hunt’s appointment is an open question. Edward Maria Wingfield, Jamestown’s first president when writing in answer to charges against his administration of the colony, said in A Discourse of Virginia:

For my first worke (which was to make a right choise of a spirituall Pastor), I appeale to the remembrance of my Lord of Canterbury his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whome I took with me: truly, in my opinion, a man not any ware to be touched with the

See footnotes at end of chapter.
rebellious humors of a papish spirit, nor blemished with ye least suspicion of a factious scismatick, whereof I had a speciall care.\textsuperscript{5}

Wingfield's formidable antagonist, the redoubtable Captain John Smith attributes Hunt's appointment to "Richard Hacluit Prebend of Westminster." \textsuperscript{6} Obviously Hunt's record was free from any hint of Roman Catholicism and Dissenter affilations.

Irrespective of Chaplain Hunt's domestic difficulties and his appointment, he proved himself invaluable to the expedition, and worthy of his title, chaplain. Leaving the Thame Estuary on December 19, 1606, the sea proved his first enemy. In the Downs, off of the coast of Kent and nearly within sight of Hunt's home, the convoy languished for six weeks without the proper wind to propel the ships onward. The trans-Atlantic crossing was under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, "a Marriner well practiced for the westerne parts of America." A sealed box, however, containing the Virginia Company's orders to the colonists, including the names of those who were to compose the council and government, was not to be opened until their landfall was made. This strange arrangement opened a flood of rivalries among strong personalities, immensely abetted by the tedious delay at sea. Captain John Smith wrote of this period:

"all which time, Maister Hunt our Preacher, was so weake and sicke, that few expected his recoverie. Yet although he were but 10 or 12 miles from his habitation (the time we were in the Downs), and notwithstanding the stormie weather nor the scandalous imputations (of some few, little better than Atheists, of the greatest ranks amongst us) suggested against him; all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godlesse foes, whose disasterous designes (could they have prevailed) had even then overthrowne the businesse: so many discontents did then arise; had he not, with the water of patience, and his godly exhortations (but chiefly by his true devoted example) quenched those flames of envie, and dissension." \textsuperscript{7}

The rivalries continued, growing more vicious and fierce. Not all dangers to the colony's life, however, were internal. Upon landing at Cape Henry, Indians wounded two men "very dangerously." Before the palisades of the fort at Jamestown were erected, and while their weapons were still packed in "drie fats," one boy was.

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
slain and seventeen men wounded "by the Salvages." With disasters pressing upon them caused by Indians and egos, Chaplain Hunt, again, by means of the Gospel, saved the colony. Smith chronicles:

Now was it time for that godly man, Master Hunt, to do his part in healing our strifes, and he went from one to another with sweet words of good counsel: how that we should love and forgive our enemies; nay, he used more worldly arguments, pointing out that the welfare of our little band depended chiefly upon our union, for that we were in an unknown land, exposed to the attacks of hostile natives, and we needed, therefore, all the ties of brotherly love. His arguments prevailed, for we all loved him for his exceeding goodness. I was admitted to take my rightful place as one of the Council, and the next day we all received the Holy Communion together, as an outward and visible pledge of reconciliation. And, indeed, it did seem as if the blessed Spirit of Peace had come down to dwell among us, for the next day came an embassage from the savages, voluntarily desiring peace, and to dwell in good accord with us, . . . .

Growing out of the Chaplain’s ministry of reconciliation came the initial celebration of the Lord’s Supper in the history of English America. Charles W. F. Smith, Professor at the Episcopal Theological School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, states: “It was the first Prayer Book service of Holy Communion in the new world of which we have a clear and unequivocal record.”

Hardly had Captain Newport’s sails disappeared over the eastern horizon than “we fell into sore straits for food,” according to Captain Smith, and nearly 90% of the company became ineffective resulting from malnutrition. “Our drink was water, and our lodgings were castles in the air, and had we been as free from all other sins as we were from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonised for saints . . . .” Weary from beastly toil, hungry, thirsty, and disease ridden, Captain Smith records that “between May and September fifty were put under the turf.”

By the Fall, all provisions were depleted, Smith remembering that even the "sturgeon and sea-crabs" which had supplied their diet for five months were no more. While anticipating a renewed confrontation with the Indians at any moment, “God, the patron of all good indeavours, in that desperate extreamity, so changed the harts of the Salvages, that they brought such plenty of their fruits and provisions, as no man wanted.”

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Among the early actions of the Jamestown settlers was the establishment of a regular place for their corporate worship. Captain Smith recalled:

I well remember wee did hang an awning (which is an old saile) to three or foure trees to shadow us from the Sunne, our walles were rales of wood, our seats unhewed trees till we cut plans, our Pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees. In foule weather we shifted into an ole rotten tent; for we had few better, and this came by way of adventure for new. This was our Church, till wee built a homely thing like a barne, set upon Cratchets, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth; . . . Yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two Sermons, and every three months the holy Communion, till our Minister died: but our prayers daily, with an Homily on Sundaies, we continued two or three yeares after, till more Preachers came.12

Before death removed Chaplain Hunt from his parishioners, he was to suffer one more trial, perhaps the most bitter of all which he experienced in America. A fire swept the small compound on January 17, 1608. Smith recorded: “Good Master Hunt, our preacher, lost all his library, and, indeed all that he had, save only the clothes which he wore upon his back; yet none ever heard him repine at his loss.” 13 Here was a lonely chaplain on the rim of a challenging continent, his heart doubtful of his wife’s fidelity, his congregants quarrelsome, his dwelling among hostile natives against whom he served in battle, for he was “as ready for defence as any;” hungry, thirsty, chilled in winter and burned in summer, and now deprived of his few precious books. Chaplain Hunt walked his godly path uncomplainingly, setting forever a standard for his spiritual descendents in the military clergy of America to follow.

What better report or epitaph could be written of him, or any chaplain, than that penned by an eyewitness to his struggles at being a priest and prophet in the expedition of Jamestown. The adventurous Captain Smith wrote:

“Master Robert Hunt, an honest, religious and couragious Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death.” 14

Hunt’s will was probated on July 14, 1608; apparently

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Elizabeth had caused no scandal. Neither the date of the Chaplain’s death nor his place of burial has survived. It occurred prior to June 12, 1608, on which date the ship carrying the news of his dying left Jamestown for “home.”

Under martial law and a discipline enforced with indescribable cruelty, the colony hung on to life and the edge of the New World. Its life was made less tenuous in October, 1608, by the arrival of seventy new settlers, and more desirable with the appearance of two young women among the passengers. The lack of female presence at Jamestown has been expressed quaintly but no doubt accurately as a “capital inconvenience.”

Among the extant records of 1612 is “A Praier duly said Morning and Evening upon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers.” A reading of this eight and one-half page petition shows it thoroughly Protestant in flavor, English in spirit, and fluctuating between the imprecations of the Psalms in their violence and the tenderness of the Gospel in its gentlest passages.

Being the earliest recorded prayer offered in the colonies other than those in the Book of Common Prayer, and used distinctly by the military force in Jamestown, some excerpts may convey the religious attitudes held in vogue by our earliest English settlers. (Appendix VIII)

Another colonizing force left England on May 31, 1607, aboard the Gift of God and the Mary and John, bound for the New World. Under the command of its President, George Popham, and sailing under the guidance of Raleigh Gilbert, its Admiral, the Popham Plantation was to be established by 120 colonists taken out of all the gaols of England. This structural weakness should have forecast the settlement’s doom before they sailed; within the year, the experiment had ended in failure. Docking at the mouth of the Sagadahoc River, now known as the Kennebec, they landed, building rapidly some fifty dwellings, a storehouse, and a church; Chaplain to this colony was the Rev. Richard Seymour. Winter came on mercilessly, and George Popham died. Lacking strong leadership, exiled criminals who were escaping prisons and their pasts rather than building a new society for the future, simply were not fit material for the task. The early collapse of this effort, in contrast to the Jamestown and later Plymouth endeavors, painted in vivid colors the necessity that the personal character and quality possessed by settlers was vital for any such colony’s success. Although
there were at Popham Plantation the outward symbols of faith, it failed to motivate and direct the colonists in any life-molding fashion. At Jamestown not everyone professed faith in any meaningful way, but there was indeed a nucleus that, in spite of the shocks it received, gave the colony strength to survive. The Popham adventure proved the German proverb’s message: “All fails where faith fails.” Few records remain and little is known of Chaplain Seymour’s ministry. Nearly three centuries passed before a manuscript entitled Relation of a Voyage to Sagadahoc came to light, having been tucked away in the archives of Lambeth Palace, London. From it we learn of only one religious service being held, although presumably there were more. It was left to another people, whom King James threatened to “harrie . . . out of the land” to be civilizing and Christianizing element in New England: the Puritans.

The voyage for the Pilgrims to America began at Delfthaven, where they parted from those electing to remain behind. William Bradford recorded the touching scene. Their pastor led them in “a day of solleme humiliation” using Ezra 8:21 for the basis of his sermon and the assembly’s day-long prayers. It was an appropriate text: “And there at the river, by Ahava, I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before God, and seeke of him a right way for us, and for our children, and for all our substance.” Bradford continues: “So they left that goodly and pleasante citie, which had been ther resting place near 12 years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest cuntrie, and quieted their spirits.”

Going first to England, it was at Southampton they boarded the Mayflower and the Speedwell, the latter being forced to turn back during the Atlantic crossing. Joining the Pilgrim company there were non-Pilgrims seeking the opportunities which the New World offered. Naturally values conflicted between the two groups and a misadventure in navigation abetted the problems. Rather than arriving near the Hudson River, they disembarked well outside of the jurisdiction of the Virginia Company, and their patent. Determined to remain and equally determined to succeed, they recognized their immediate need was to establish some form of civil government. According to Bradford, anarchy was suggested: “occasioned partly by the mutinous speeches that some of the strangers amongst had let fall from them in the ship—that when they

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came to a shore they would use their owne libertie; for none had power to command them." 16 The upshot was the writing of an agreement known as the Mayflower Compact. It has received universal acclaim, best summarized by Sir Winston Churchill as “one of the remarkable documents in history, a spontaneous covenant for political organization.” 17 An American historian has stated unequivocably, “that compact, brief and general, may be regarded as the foundation of civil and religious liberty in the Western World, and was the first instrument of civil government ever subscribed as the act of a whole people.” 18 The landmark document reads:

In the name of God, Amen. We whose names are underwritten, the loyall subjects of our dread soveraigne Lord, King James, by the grace of God, of Great Britaine, Franc, & Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c., haveing undertaken, for the glorie of God, and advancements of the Christian faith, and honour of our king & countrie, a voyage to plant the first colonie in the Northerne parts of Virginia, doe by these presents solemnly & mutually in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant & combine our selves togethther into a civill body politicke, for our better ordering & preservation & furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte, constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances, acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meete & convenient for the generall good of the Colonie, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-Codd the 11. of November, in the year of the raigne of our soveraigne lord, King James, of England, France, & Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scot land the fiftie fourth. Anno: Dom. 1620

Signatory to the covenant were forty-one of the leading men of the soon-to-be colony. To have liberty of religion, they found they must first secure a sound economic system and government established on “lawes and order, both for their civill and military Governments, as the necessitie of their condition did require.” 19 Throughout the hard winter they worked to build a settlement, losing nearly fifty percent of their community to death by various forms. A mutual defense treaty was enacted with neighboring Indians, and the hard struggle for life and liberty began.

Plymouth Colony and later Massachusetts Bay Colony, functioned under the Biblical concept of the covenant as

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exemplified in the Mayflower Compact. This was a contract or agreement made between individuals, tribes, or individual nations with God. Blessings or curses, such as those enumerated in Deuteronomy 27–28 could be anticipated by an individual or community based on faithfulness to the provisions of the covenant. Growing out of this commitment to God were two corollaries: sub-covenants could be made between individuals on the basis of their common faith in God; and, where a community covenant existed, one person’s misbehavior could bring Divine wrath upon the entire body. For this reason, religious tolerance was unthinkable, and personal behaviour was subject to communal censor. Two hundred years would pass before religious freedom became a reality.20

Nothing in this life is permanent; not even the Massachusetts Bay Colony could long maintain the pristine purity of its Puritanism, but it tried. New colonists came, and although they were Calvinist in creed and Congregational in church polity, they held vigorously to their right to privately interpret the Bible according to their own lights. Controversies abounded regarding the practice of the Christian faith, and especially the relationship for the state to the church. Their question: how far should the state be allowed to enforce religious doctrine and practice in the lives of individual citizens? Herein lies an open challenge to the covenant, and its ramifications affect our history. In the limited geographical area of England they would have stood their ground, but with a virgin continent beckoning them to take it for themselves, it was easier to move on, leaving theological quarreling behind. This availability of land fostered a major difference between Puritanism in America and that practiced back “home.” English Puritanism became highly speculative, whereas that in North America was marked by a lack of academic theory but containing an immensely practical side. The year 1635 marked the first westward movement of settlers emigrating from Massachusetts to what is now Connecticut, in search of religious freedom. Samuel Stone, co-pastor of the church in Newtown—now Cambridge, Mass—chose the site for a new city and negotiated the land’s purchase from the Indians, moving there in 1636. Whether it was he or his parishioners who selected the name Hartford for this town we do not know, but it

See footnotes at end of chapter.
was named in honor of their minister's birthplace, Hartford, England.21

This initial westward movement by Puritans, destined ultimately to reach the Pacific coast, was theologically based on the Divine intent for the earth's use in the act of creation, as stated in Genesis 1:26, and interpreted by them. Colonists coming to the New World were carefully instructed in the charter of Virginia to proceed "into that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other Parts and Territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian Prince or People." While there were certainly political considerations involved in these instructions concerning camping on claimed territory, the term Christian is the key to understanding these directions. Richard Hakluyt earlier had urged "trade with Japan, China and Cathay, etc." but not conquest. Specifically Governor Winthrop in "Divers objections which have been made against this plantation with their answers and resolutions" provides the rationale which gave the westward movement its religious thrust, and interprets for his followers the Charter of Virginia's and Hakluyt's injunctions. Because of its effect on his own and future generations who pushed ever westward, it is worthy of careful note. Essentially the theory was this: if land was cultivated or developed it showed that man had taken dominion over it; if it were open land which "hath never been replenished or subdued, (it) is free to any that will possesse and improve it." This theory, and its implementation, will hold sway until the end of the nineteenth century, as the Indians were pushed even farther westward.22

Living in Connecticut along the Thames River were the powerful Pequot Indians. Secure under the leadership of their chief Sachem, Sassacus, and protected by seven hundred warriors, they were openly hostile to their newly arrived and uninvited neighbors. In March 1637, a war party attacked Fort Saybrook, killing three soldiers. The Rev. John Higginson, who served as Post Chaplain at this frontier stockade in 1637-1638, does not appear to have been present at the time of this action. He recorded that he was "some-time a schoolmaster in Hartford," presumably being away from the fort for extended periods.23 Another raid, in April, on Weathersfield netted several people killed, while two girls were taken captive. This latter offense was beyond toleration, and a punitive

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
expedition under the command of Captain John Mason was organized to rescue the prisoners and punish their abductors. Hastily assembling at Fort Saybrook were eighty colonial volunteers and one hundred Indians led by Uncas—legendary hero of James Fenimore Cooper’s *Last of the Mohegans*—a Pequot prince in rebellion against Sassacus. Lieutenant Gardiner of Fort Saybrook, and a life long soldier, was shocked at the militia. Complaining to Mason, himself a veteran of service in the Low Countries, that they were “not fitted for such a Design,” he was conurred with by Captain John Underhill, another professional soldier. Not only were the English volunteers unprepared for a hard campaign but Uncas’ loyalty was an open question. Hardly “the noble Red man” of the novelist’s imagination, he was a dissolute individual. Numbered among this unlikely aggregation was the Reverend Samuel Stone. To him belongs the distinction of being the first military chaplain to begin his active field service in English America, rather than accompanying an expedition to the New World.

A council of war was held at Fort Saybrook. Captain Mason’s orders were to proceed to the Thames River by ship, and upon effecting a landing, begin operations against the Pequot Nation. This plan had major difficulties which Mason felt would prove disastrous if implemented. It would be better, he said, “if our Army landed at Narraganset, they would come upon their Backs, and possibly Surprize them unawares; at worst they should be on firm Land as well as the Enemy.” Captain Mason’s proposal received not a single vote of affirmation or confidence from his fellow officers. However, the decision was his, and his alone, as the commander to make. In his state of uncertainty, he turned to his chaplain in a remarkable fashion, as if it were a reenactment directly out of the Book of I Kings. Increase Mather, a contemporary historian, wrote in the *Early History of New England*:

“Captain Mason in this difficult Case, went to the Reverend Mr. Samuel Stone, late Teacher to the Church of Christ at Hartford, who was sent as Preacher to the Army, and desired of him in the Matter, how and in what Manner they should demean themselves. He retired himself from them aboard the Pink the remaining Part of that Day, and the following Night was not wanting in spreading the Case before the Lord, and seeking his Direction, in the Morning he came on Shore to the Captains Chamber, and told him he had done as he desired him, and

See footnotes at end of chapter.
though formerly he had been against sailing to Narraganset and landing there, yet now he was fully satisfied to attend it." 26

At the Council's next meeting the several courses of action were again discussed, and reversing themselves, a unanimous vote was given by its members to land at Narraganset.

Leaving the next day in the confidence of the Lord's guidance, Mason's tactic put the Pequots off guard, the ship and troops sailing past them. Landing in the territory of a neighboring and rival tribe, the Colonists sought permission to cross their land. More than they asked was granted. Miantonomoh, Chief of the Niantics, summoned 200 warriors and joined the Englishmen on the war path. Going cross country the citizen soldiers were severely oppressed by unaccustomed exertion and heat, but they fortified those who fainted with moderate amounts of liquor. Rapidly depleting their supply of "the friendly spirit," a contemporary records "the very smelling of the Bottle was effectual to the reviving of the fainting soldiers." Through all this "God guided them in the Way they should goe" and "was pleased to hide them in the Hollow of his Hand." 27

The Pequots were utterly surprised by the predawn attack. Two colonial forces penetrated their fortification. Surrounding the palisades were the friendly Indians, ready to deal with those fleeing the white man's wrath. Not desiring the enemy to have time to form, Mason fired their wigwams. Those fleeing this holocaust were cut down and butchered by the encircling Indian forces, mercy being an unknown virtue. Warriors, women, and children to the number of nearly 700 were killed, and the Pequot Nation disappeared both as a reality and as a threat to the Connecticut Colony.

What did Chaplain Stone consider to be his battle station in this time of "blood and fire, and pillars of smoke"? Mather recorded:

In the Night in which the Engagement was, . . . he was with the Lord alone, wrestling with Him by Faith and Prayer; and surely his Prayers prevailed for a Blessing; and in the very Time when our Israel were ingaging with the bloud-thirsty Pequots, he was in the Top of the Mount, and so held up his Hand, that Israel prevailed.28

Captain Mason gave credit to God for this unconditional vic-
tory, though some of the later and less endangered generations have seriously questioned whether God is desirous of such gory praise. In his *Brief History of the Pequot War*, the commander proclaimed: “God is above us! He laughs his enemies and the enemies of the English to scorn, making them as a fiery oven. Thus does the Lord judge among the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies.” 29 The term “fiery oven” was more than a reference to Psalm 21:9; it was the grim and dreadful reality of flaming wigwams.

Massachusetts, as a good neighbor, sent a detachment made up of 160 selected men to the war. Concerned that God would not bless the arms of men who “were still under a Covenant of Works,” only those were accepted who professed personal faith in Christ their Saviour. Their military pastor, Chaplain John Wilson, minister of the First Church of Boston, was chosen for this duty by his fellow clergymen. Increase Mather said of him: “I think I have myself heard him say, (or if I have not, others have) that he was before they went out, as certain that God would give the English the victory over those Enemies, as if he had seen the victory already obtained.” 30

From this first war fought by New England colonists, several attitudes held by them are evident and important for us to note. They certainly believed that success or defeat was in the hand of God; whether they were victorious or vanquished depended upon their commitment to Him. Viewing war as an undesirable necessity, those selected to be soldiers could not be unbelievers. As Christian soldiers, far from their homes and accustomed places of worship, they required a clergyman’s services to minister to their spiritual needs. Chaplain Stone, “who was sent to preach and pray with those who went out in those Engagements,” was not an ancillary but a full fledged member of the expedition. 31 It is worthy of recapitulation that having accepted the premise that the earth was to be subdued and civilized, the colonists were acting fully in accord with their Old Testament national prototype, Israel. 32

Further, it is noteworthy that the men of Connecticut purchased the land from the Indians, and did not go to war even after attacked, but only after prisoners were taken. John Wilson, after his experience as chaplain to the Massachusetts troops, worked with the saintly John Eliot for the conversion of the Indians, and in

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
1647 wrote hopefully, *The Day Breaking, if not the Sun Rising, of the Gospel with the Indians in New England.*

One result of the destruction of the Pequots was that “the Terror of God fell upon all the Heathen round about.” The colonists had peace for almost forty years, giving them time to divert their energies into constructive channels. Not so, the aborigines. Following their ancient ways, Miantonomoh with his Niantics and Uncas with his Mohegans, once their war with the Pequots ended, turned their knives against each other. Their remaining years were spent in self generated genocide.

With “peace more sweet than music” flowing over New England, far to the north and west events were developing which would shatter this idyllic scene for a century. Samuel de Champlain and others representing Henry IV of France began searching for a passageway to the Far East late in the sixteenth century. Unsuccessful in their mission, they did explore the St. Lawrence River basin, and penetrating deep into the heartland of North America via the river routes, laid the foundation for a vast new empire. His followers named a lake in honor of Champlain, which was to become a key terrain feature in our military history for the next two hundred years. Quebec, founded in 1608, prospered. During the period between the destruction of the Pequot Nation and New England’s next Indian war, the French pursued their explorations, missionary endeavors, and small efforts at colonization. By July 17, 1673, Father Pierre Marquette had descended the Mississippi as far south as present day Arkansas, and on that date began his return trip. His Journal makes thrilling reading, and is certainly a wonderful part of our American heritage. It is a record of high endeavor of the noblest kind, of pathetic suffering, and of triumphant faith. He called at “an Illinois town called Kaskaskia, composed of seventy-four cabins.” Usually we link its name to that of George Rogers Clark, forgetting the century earlier missionary. During Marquette’s exploration he carried the Gospel to all whom he found. Death was his constant companion, and toil his food and drink. With sublime dedication he recorded: “Had all this voyage caused but the salvation of a single soul, I should deem all my fatigue well repaid.” Essentially the French had, by using the inland waterways, established themselves in a great crescent, effectively pinning the English colonists to North America’s eastern seaboard. They

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
were settling on land claimed by the British crown, and directly in
the path of the Englishmen's inevitable westward lunge. Blood
would flow when political, economic, and religious systems came
close enough to quarrel; but, that was still several years away.

By 1660, the ever spreading population of New England was
beginning to worry Metacomet, Segamore of the Wampanoags.
Known to history as King Philip, he was the son of Massasoit, the
chieftain who graciously, but with caution, embraced the Pilgrim
Fathers at the time of their arrival on his shores. Governor Prince is
said to have given the names Alexander and Philip to the old
warrior's sons in honor of their warlike ability, comparing them to
the ancient Macedonian conquerors. He prophesied better than he
knew, for although Alexander, like his namesake, died early, Philip
went on to terrorize the colonists. An undated letter remains which
was sent by King Philip, probably in the late 1660's. It contained an
ominous hint that the days of peace were drawing to a close,
although it is couched in inoffensive terms. Written to Governor
Prince in the Indian style of using the third person, it said that he
would sell no land to the English for seven years.35

Carefully and with stealth, King Philip was arousing all the
tribes of New England to cease their internecine wars, and to form
an alliance for an attack on the ever encroaching white men. With
an army of 10,000 warriors he planned to drive the English into the
sea. Throughout this period of Philip's growing fear and irritation,
the Reverend John Eliot had been hard at work in his efforts of
evangelizing the Indians, translating the Bible into the natives'
tongue as a necessary step in his work.

The success of Eliot's efforts actuated King Philip's fear into
flaming hatred, because he was deeply attached to the ancient and
traditional religion of his ancestors. The sight of villages of "praying
Indians" was intolerable to him, and to seven hundred warriors
he proclaimed vehemently his faith in the old ways and the old god.

The murder of John Sassamon, an Indian convert, resulted in
a trial and hanging of the three alleged Indian assailants, found
guilty on shaky evidence by a jury composed of half Englishmen
and half Indians. Philip's warriors were enraged, calling for im-
mediate war, although he was pleading caution. It was too early to
put into action his grand plan to destroy New England, but events
slipped beyond his control. The impetuosity of the young spelled

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doo to their people, while saving the enemy they sought to annihilate. Of such paradoxes are history made.  

Unlike the earlier Indian campaign against Sassacus, the colonists were militarily well prepared, and at the commencement of hostilities, they began operations in earnest. George Madison Bodge provides a thorough account of the Massachusetts military establishment.

At the opening of the war, the colonial militia was quite efficiently organized. Each county had its regiment of 'trained soldiers.' The regiments of Suffolk and Middlesex counties consisted of fifteen companies of Foot and one of Cavalry each. The Essex regiment was of thirteen Foot and one Cavalry; the other counties smaller. There were seventy-three organized companies in the Massachusetts Colony, besides an independent cavalry company called the 'Three County Troop,' made up in Suffolk, Middlesex and Essex. The highest military officer of the colony was Major General Daniel Denison, of Ipswich. The highest regimental officer at this time was Major, or Sergeant Major. These local companies were not sent on active service out of their towns, but men were impressed from the number and placed under officers appointed for special service by the Council. Each company of Foot had a Captain, Lieutenant, Ensign, Clerk, Sergeants, Corporals, and a Drummer. Cavalry had Cornett instead of Ensign and a Trumpeter and Quartermaster. The regular number of privates in foot companies was seventy; in the cavalry fifty. On special service it was more. The pay of soldiers was 6s. per week, and 5s. was paid for their 'dyet.' There is no way of determining the rate of pay from Hull's Journal, as all payments are 'on acct' and do not specify time of service. A 'Chyrurgion' or doctor was attached to each expedition. A chaplain also generally served with each expedition. The price paid for horses was 18d. per week. Prices of Clothing, 'Waistcoats, 6s., Drawers 5s 6d., Stockins 2s., Shirts 6s., Shoes 4s.'

Among the chaplains who served in King Philip's War, the following names appear in records of the period: Hope Atherton, Israel Chauncy, Thomas Clark, Joseph Dudley, Samuel Nowell, and Nicholas Noyes. John Wise served against the Narragansetts, and will appear later in our history in another conflict.

Plymouth Colony sought aid from Massachusetts after the Indians raided Swansea. On June 24, 1675, the General Court of Massachusetts ordered both Infantry and Cavalry to the relief of

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the embattled town; they “shall be speedily upon their march,” hard-pressed Plymouth was informed.37

Colonial success was immediate, but to a degree it was self-defeating. In less than a month King Philip was a refugee among the Nipmucks. The Indians quickly learned better than to fight pitch battles, and the war degenerated into months filled with small guerilla type actions. All New England was aflame, and the scalping knife was not quenched in its thirst. A contemporary account reveals “the number of Christians slain since the beginning of the late Wars in New England, are 444. Taken Prisoner, 55. The number of Indians Slain in this war is uncertain because they burn their Dead, keeping their Death as a Secret . . . .” 38 The extent of the war’s devastation is given in these terms:

Twelve or thirteen towns were destroyed. The disbursements and losses equaled in value half a million of dollars—an enormous sum for the few of that day. More than six hundred men, chiefly young men, the flower of the country, of whom any mother might have been proud, perished in the field. As many as six hundred houses were burned. Of the able-bodied men in the colony, one in twenty had fallen; and one family in twenty had been burned out. The loss of lives and property was, in proportion to numbers, as distressing as in the Revolutionary war. There was scarce a family from which Death had not selected a victim.39

An Indian tactic often repeated was to attack families enroute to church services, or to burn their homes while they were away at church services. Even a casual observer could note the universal keeping of the Lord’s Day. At Hadley, Connecticut during a service of fasting and prayer, the Indians surrounded the meeting house anticipating an easy victory and many scalps. To their surprise, they received a terrible thrashing from a most unexpected quarter. The worshippers were always armed, but were innocent of military knowledge and experience. A stranger worshipping with them suddenly took command, enabling them to bring their fire so effectively to bear that their destruction was averted. This was no angel from God sent for deliverance, but General Goffe, one of the Cromwellian judges who had condemned Charles I to the executioner’s block. After the Restoration of Charles II, he was a hunted man in England. Forsaking his homeland for safety, he

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lived out his days in anonymity along the frontier of America's wilderness.\textsuperscript{40}

Indian antagonism to Christianity made churches, ministers, and their families the special targets of raids. During the assault on Groton "one of the first houses that the Enemy destroyed in this place, was the House of God." Next they attacked the parsonage, but were beaten off, the Rev. Mr. Willard having had the foresight to fortify it sufficiently. Nonetheless, their taunts lingered long after the battle: "What will you do for a house to pray in now we have burnt your Meeting-house?" Referring to this Indian propensity for destroying churches, Cotton Mather commented when a church was laid waste by alluding to Revelation 2, "another Candlestick removed out of its place."\textsuperscript{41}

Present at the Great Swamp fight on December 19, 1675 were Chaplains Joseph Dudley, Nicholas Noyes, and Samuel Nowell. Noyes ministered to a Connecticut regiment while Nowell served soldiers from Massachusetts. In this particular action Chaplain Nowell gained renown as a hero. Referring to his well known sermon preached to the artillerymen of Massachusetts entitled "Abraham in Arms" a contemporary historian referred to him as "This now revered, and afterwards worshipful person, a chaplain to the army," going on to say that "at this fight there was no person more like a true son of Abraham in Arms, or that with more courage and hazardly fought in the midst of a shower of bullets from the surrounding savages."\textsuperscript{42} Indeed it was a desperate battle with no quarter given. Secure and comfortable within their palisades, the Indians hardly expected to be alarmed in the dead of winter. Bursting suddenly upon them, the colonists leaped over the "trees of death" into the aroused fury of an enemy who fought with everything to lose. Casualties were frightful. Six colonial captains were slain, and twenty-two Indian chieftains were numbered among the corpses. All told the English suffered eighty-five soldiers killed and 145 wounded. Lost by the Indians to the combination of musket, sword, and flame—the compound was fired—were nearly one thousand warriors, women, and children. Those escaping to the swamp were not necessarily fortunate when one considers that they perished from hunger and cold in this icy hell. Chaplain Dudley's estimate of the number of casualties was limited only to warriors, about 200.\textsuperscript{43}
Nothing is known of Chaplain Noyes’ service in this action. After the war he was called by unanimous vote to be the pastor of the church at Salem, Massachusetts. The Noyes Genealogy records that “he officiated as clergyman at the hanging of the witches, Sept. 22, 1692, and after they were dead, said, ‘What a sad sight it is to see those eight firebrands of hell hanging there.’ Later in life he repented of his part in the witchcraft persecutions, and did what he could to assist the dependent families.” It is all but impossible for us to insert ourselves into the mentality of that era of witch hunting. Gratefully we learn that “with the morning cool repentance came.”

The turning point in King Philip’s War came at the Battle of the Falls near Deerfield, Massachusetts, in May 1676. Five tribes situated themselves along the Connecticut River. Once again they failed to reckon with the daring and traditional English bull-dog spirit. Growing lax in their security, the Indians put out few sentries. An expedition of only 160 men—both standing force and volunteers—formed at Hatfield with the mission of destroying the enemy by a surprise attack. “The Rev. Hope Atherton, minister of the gospel, at Hatfield, a gentleman of publick spirit, accompanied the army.” Marching on May 17, 1676, they silently intruded themselves into the very center of the Indian complex. Only one tense moment occurred. Far out on the periphery an enemy sentinel heard the sound of horses. A careless search was made, with the astonishing conclusion that the outpost had heard a moose in his wanderings. Gorged with beef and milk, the drowsy tribesmen were in no mood to look for an enemy they were certain would never foolishly penetrate their major encampment. With the dawn came panic as the sleeping Indians were awakened by vollies, only to be blasted into eternity. Three hundred of the enemy died to the loss of one colonist. So Indian-like was the attack that at first the cry went up “Mohawks! Mohawks!” in assumption that their traditional rivals were attacking. When the colonists withdrew, the full force of hundreds of vengeful warriors from the outlying tribes fell upon them. Twenty men made a gallant and effective stand at the river giving the main party time to get away. Some were taken prisoner, and rather than giving hot pursuit, the Indians entertained themselves in a savage manner. “They first covered them with dry thatch, then set fire to it, and compelled them to run: When one covering was burnt off, they put on another, and so continued, till

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death delivered them from their hands.” 46 A running fight with the main body took place over the ten mile retreat, but to no avail. The colonists had escaped. Before long the tribes were blaming each other for this and other failures, and the end of the war was only a matter of time. Chaplain Atherton related to his congregation a terrifying tale on the first Sunday after he returned from this campaign.

In the hurry and confusion of the retreat, I was separated from the army; the night following, I wandered up and down among the dwelling places of the enemy, but none of them discovered me. The next day I tendered myself to them a prisoner, for no way of escape appeared, and I had been a long time without food; but notwithstanding I offered myself to them, yet, they accepted not the offer; when I spoke they answered not; and when I moved toward them they fled. Finding they would not accept of me as a prisoner, I determined to take the course of the river and if possible find the way home, and after several days of hunger, fatigue and danger, I reached Hatfield.47

Conjectures about the Indians’ strange behavior concerning Chaplain Atherton abound. Perhaps it was they feared this white medicine man’s magic. Whatever the reason for his deliverance, Chaplain Atherton saw in it the Hand of God’s Providence.

The Indian alliance formed by King Philip was shattered. Some tribes withdrew from the arena of war entirely by going to Canada, while others forgot the white man in their rage with each other. In August, 1676, King Philip, a warrior to the end, was shot to death in an ambush by an Indian in the service of the colonials. Captain Benjamin Church, the most famous partisan fighter of the war, then ordered him decapitated. The indignities heaped upon the dead sagamore were gross. His headless body was taken and “executed” by being quartered, and a severed hand was presented like a medal to the Indian who killed him. On the day proclaimed for public thanksgiving, Philip’s gory head was carried through the streets of Plymouth in triumph. Most tragic of all, the only son of the King was sold into slavery in far off Bermuda as other Indian prisoners had been during the war. So ended the war, and the royal line of Massasoit who welcomed the Pilgrims to the New World. And, Captain Church was entitled to thirty shillings, the price regularly paid in Plymouth for Indian heads taken in combat.48

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
FOOTNOTES

Chapter I


3 Ibid., 31.


6 Ibid., Part II, 958.

7 Ibid., Part I, 93.


12 Ibid., Part II, 957–958.


26 Ibid., 125.

27 Ibid., 156.

28 Ibid., 157.


32 Ibid., 185.

Mather stated:

“There were two Reasons obvious, that may be assigned as Causes of that glorious and speedy Success, which God gave to the English against the Pequot Indians. 1. Blasphemy of those Enemies.
...some English were cruelly tortured to death by them. They would in a Way of Diversion bid them call upon God now, and blasphemously mock at them when they did so. Therefore did the Lord bring those bloody Blasphemers in a Moment down to Hell, year, and damned them above Ground, when they lay frying in the Fire that was kindled in their Houses, and making horrible outcries. 2. There was a mighty Spirit of Prayer and Faith then stirring; both in those that staid at Home, and in some that ventured their Lives in the high Places of the Field." Captain John Underhill, "a Commander, in the Wars there" recorded: "It may be demanded, Why should you be so furious? (as some have said). Should not Christians have more mercy and compassion? But I would refer you to David's war. ... Sometimes the Scriptures declareth women and children must perish with their parents. Sometimes the case alters; but we will not dispute it now. We had sufficient light from the word of God for our proceedings." John Underhill, *Nevses From America* (London, 1658), 25.

35 "A Letter from King Phillip to Governor Prince," *Collections of The Massachusetts Historical Society* (1793), unnumbered page.
44 John Williams, *The Redeemed Captive Returning To Zion, Annexed to which is a Sermon preached by him upon his return. Also, an Appendix, by the Rev. Mr. Williams, of Springfield. Likewise, an Appendix by the Rev. Mr. Taylor, of Deerfield. With a conclusion to the Whole, by the Rev. Mr. Prince, of Boston.* (Boston: Printed by Samuel Hall, 1795), 125.
CHAPTER II
“Out of the North An Evil Shall Break Forth”
Three Wars with France, 1690–1748

War between New England and New France was inevitable. Seldom have two so differently oriented cultures formed side by side, sharing a common but soon to be disputed buffer zone. Quebec—hardly more than a settlement—was captured in 1629 by an English privateer, Sir David Kirke, only to be returned to France in 1632 under the provisions of the Treaty of Saint Germain-en-Laye. Proclaimed New France in 1663 and designated a Province, that immense area stretching from Cape Breton on the North Atlantic Coast to the distant west came under the special care of Louis XIV. New France was feudal in government, Roman Catholic in religion, and settled largely by trappers who unencumbered by families ranged the endless forests in search of furs to satisfy French sartorial vanity. Its very presence was an offense to New England’s town meeting type rule, its hard core Puritanism, and its deep rooted family and farm civilization. Clashes began as the English pushed north into Maine, and the French trappers and their Indian companions roamed southward. A contemporary historian records the motivation for the first major colonial contest with New France, known as King William’s War:

“. . . as to the bloud which has bin shed, it is certain ye French & Indians were ye first Aggressors; tho which of ye two have bin most barbarous it is hard to say. Both Papists & Pagans and a sort of men as bad or worse than Either of Them, who pretend to bee Protestants were Inraged at ye Revolution in England & so wth (with) us in N.E. (New England)”

The expedition of 32 ships and 2500 soldiers was organized to capture Quebec. Sir William Phips, the commander, was a former shipbuilder, knighted for having enriched the exchequer of

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Charles II by the treasures recovered from a sunken Spanish galleon. The "Generalls Instructions" from Governor Simon Broadstreet are enlightening. Before they spell out his distinctly military duties, he is directed to take care of the spiritual life of his men.

You are to take especial care and command that the holy Worship of God be constantly celebrated & attended in daily reading of Gods Word and Prayers And that the Sabbath be duly sanctified that so you may obtaine the presence and blessing of God upon yor undertaking to Crowne it with Successe you have the Company and Assistance of some Revd and worthy Divines to further that worke, unto whom you are to show all due respect & kindness. Let all cursing Swearing drunkenness debauchery and all manner of Prophaneneness be Suppressed and duly punished. 2

The "Reverend and worthy Divines" who sailed from Massachusetts Bay on August 9, 1690, were Chaplains John Emerson, John Hale, Grindal Rawson, John Wade, and John Wise, a blunt veteran who learned his trade in the bloody days of King Philip’s War. Their status in the expedition may be ascertained both by their presence at the several Councils of War held aboard His Majesty's Ship Six Friends, and their listing in the record above the military and naval officers present at those meetings. 3 A Council held on October 6, sent Count Frontenac a summons to surrender Quebec, an offer which he rejected verbally, saying he would not write to heretics, traitors and usurpers, nor would he capitulate, "but would fight it out." 4 The campaign degenerated into an abject failure for the forces from New England. By November 19, the fleet was anchored again in Boston, having suffered many casualties without taking its objective. This spoiling attack did spare Maine from incursions for a short time, however. An anonymous contemporary recorded: "Not ye Enimy but ye Almighty God himself did (for Wise & holy Ends wee are sure) frustrate or (our) design." The author attributed to God’s inscrutable purposes a storm which "Scattered or (our) fleet & necessitated or (our) return." Furthermore, "The Holy God send (sent) diseases (a malignant feaver & ye Small Pox) into or (our) army" while "ye Divine providence brot (brought) Frontenack wth (with) 3000 Souldiers to Quebeck just before or (our) fleet arrived there." 5

Chaplain Wise was not so willing to allow Providence to bear

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the blame alone. In an after action report written to Cotton Mather, he went to great lengths to place the fault, in unflattering terms, at the feet of Major Walley, the expedition’s second in command with the temporary rank of Lieutenant General. In a word, he said the expedition failed essentially because of cowardice. For 18 printed pages he excoriated in addition to “our Sinne” the inadequate logistics, the bad timing of operations, and the timidity of several officers. A writer, apparently in agreement with the Indian fighting chaplain, contrasted Wise’s ferocious “We will fight with all Canada if they come” with Major Walley’s panicky propensity for retreat; he actually abandoned the artillery when no enemy was in sight. He reported:

Or (our) Soul’diers prayed That They might go on, professing yt (that) They had rather loose Their Lives than not take ye town; one of ye Chaplains (mr John Wise) Encoraged Them very much & ye Experience They had of ye Frenchmens flying be- fore Them was Intimation Enough yt (that) They had Cowards to deal with. But what is an army of Lyons wn (when) They must not go on Except a frightened Hart shall lead Them.”

Chaplain Wise’s report reveals that he had a keen eye for tactics, terrain, and logistics, perhaps far superior to that of the inexperienced men who were nonprofessional officers. It was said of him that he not only performed “the Pious Discharge of his Sacred Office, but his Heroic Spirit, and Martial Skill and Wisdom did greatly distinguish him.”

Returning to New England with the disheartened survivors, the chaplains faced civilian life with varying results. The gallant Wise spent the remainder of his days as pastor of a church at Chebacco, becoming a renowned minister whose innovative political teachings we will meet further on. Emerson remained a quiet village pastor; Rawson gained fame as a linguist of Indian dialects; Hale, a persecutor of witches in 1692, repenting of his folly only after his own wife was accused of this capital crime.

The seventeenth century closed in a rare interlude of peace; its successor became a century of wars on a world-wide scale and two history changing Revolutions. Chaplains, like Hunt and Seymour, accompanied expeditions to the New World when the century was young. In the middle years they served in sanguinary frontier Indian campaigns, and by the close of the century, they attended

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America's first "overseas" war. In all they provided the military forces with religious services while sustaining them by prayer: they counseled leaders on tactics; unashamedly were hawks in maintaining the spirit of their troops and encouraging them to fight; and were often under fire, setting standards for the wavering and the weak to follow. Emulating the example of their archetypes in the Old Testament, they were like the priests and Levites of Israel, representing "the Lord strong and mighty, the Lord mighty in battle." 10 In a classical phrase, they were men with a burning mission, "to harps preferring swords, and everlasting deeds to burning words." 11

A poetic clergyman has reminded us that "no man is an island, entire of itself;" 12 he could as well have enlarged his vision to include nations as not living in isolation, either. When Spain's Charles II died without heir, a series of political reactions developed which plunged Europe into a war of royal greed. Known generally as the War of Spanish Succession, 1702-1713, and as Queen Anne's War in the Colonies, it affected life on three continents, and gave the world never to be forgotten names of men and places: Louis XIV and Villiers; Marlborough and Prince Eugene; Gibraltar, Ramillies, Malplaquet, and Blenheim. Far removed from regal avarice, common men fought for reasons immediately affecting them, or in ignorance as to causes other than that they were called to the colors. Robert Southley's poem, "The Battle of Blenheim" captures this sense of being a pawn on an international board.

"It was the English," Kaspar cried,
"Who put the French to rout;
But what they fought each other for
I could not well make out;
But everybody said" quoth he,
"That 'twas a famous victory"

No wonder peasant Kaspar could not identify the reasons for a battle or even a decade of bloodletting. At stake were the throne of Spain, her New World and Pacific colonies, and her trade, for an Austrian Hapsburg or a French Bourbon. Louis XIV wanted Spain, the Holy Roman Emperor wanted Spain, and England wanted the balance of power to remain intact. After infinite and intricate diplomatic maneuverings, Great Britain, the Netherlands, Austria,
Denmark, Prussia, some assorted German states, Portugal and Savoy lined up against France, Spain, and Bavaria. Naturally the conflict spread to the New World. Fourteen chaplains are known to have served during this conflict: William Allen, Thomas Barclay, John Barnard, Ebenezer Bridge, Thomas Buckingham, Timothy Edwards, Daniel Epps, Andrew Gardner, Nathaniel Hubbard, Samuel Hunt, Samuel Moody, John White, John Williams, and infamous Chaplain John Sharp.

The first shots in the New World were fired in the British conquest of St. Christopher, the West Indies, in 1702. That same year South Carolinians destroyed Spanish held St. Augustine, only to be repaid four years later by a combined force of French and Spanish troops trying, though unsuccessfully, to capture Charleston. Beyond these efforts, the theater of operations lay in the far north. 1704 found Deerfield—recovered from its partial destruction during King Philip’s War—once again the scene of an even more terrible raid. Through the instigation of Major Hertel de Rouville, who would later personally lead in the horrendous massacre of Haverhill, the town was devastated. The deep snows of February materially aided the Indians and French in their surprise night attack. One house and the church only survived the engulfing flames, giving credence to a story as to why Deerfield was raided at all, and its aftermath of anguish. The tale goes like this.

Father Nicolas, priest in St. Regis, was proud of his small but recently built church. To complete it to the last detail he appealed to his Indian parishioners for contributions for purchasing a bell from France. Having ordered it, he awaited its arrival impatiently. The ship transporting the bell to America, however, was captured by the English, who sold its cargo at Salem in the autumn of 1703. For the Reverend John Williams the opportunity to buy a church bell at a reasonable price was too good to pass up, and soon its tolling peeled across Deerfield to call to Sabbath meetings both townsmen and the military garrison. “The priest of St. Regis heard of the destination of his bell, and, as the Governor of Canada was about to send an expedition, under Major Rouville, against the colonies of New England, he exhorted the Indians to accompany him and get possession of it.” 18 The bell was captured on February 29, 1704, and carried on red shoulders to the shore of Lake Champlain, where it was buried with the blessing of Father Nicolas.

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who accompanied the raid, to be taken to St. Regis when the weather improved. It borders on the impossible for us of a later day to comprehend the depth of the religious feelings of those long ago warrior-pastors. To our ears a bell costing the lives of 47 villagers, and the suffering of 112 prisoners—including Reverend Williams—would be forever out of tune, but not so in 1704.  

Upon his return from Canada on November 21, 1706, Reverend Williams wrote a remarkable account of his years as a prisoner, *The Redeemed Captive returning to Zion.* While not an official chaplain at that time, he served the garrison at Deerfield, even having soldiers living in the manse. His appeals to Governor Dudley to strengthen the military force in that remote frontier area brought no relief. During the attack two of his children were killed, and his wife, still weakened from childbirth “but a few weeks before,” could not keep up the pace set by their captors on their journey to Canada. The Williams’ last moments together were poignant: he recalled she “justified God in what had befallen us,” and committed their remaining children, “under God,” to his care. He said of her:

After our being parted from one another, she spent the few remaining minutes of her stay in reading the holy scriptures; which she was wont personally every day to delight her soul in reading, praying, meditating of, and over, by herself, in her closet, over and above what she heard out of them in our family worship. . . . the cruel and blood-thirsty savage, who took her, slew her with his hatchet, at one stroke.

To such character and courage, calm in her God in the midst of calamity, we owe the spiritual foundation of our nation!

The march north in deep snows was grueling. Williams sustained the sufferers, noting gratefully that the Indians carried the captive children in their arms when they weared. The record tells of his determined struggle to keep his family and flock from being proselytized. Sad was the moment when he heard that one of his two sons, Samuel, succumbed to “popery,” but upon receipt of a long theological letter from his father, he returned to Protestantism. Young Samuel wrote to his father on March 22, 1706: “You know that Mr. Meriel, the school-master, and others, were continually at me about it.” His brother Stephen, who will later serve as a chaplain, underwent the appeals and pressures of his captors un-

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scathed. Eunice, their sister, aged 10, was never returned to her family. Reared by Indians, she lived to become a nonagenarian, a squaw to the end.  

Throughout his imprisonment, Reverend Williams continued to minister to his fellow captives, among whom were an ever increasing number of military and especially naval personnel. “ Redeemed” in October 1706, through the efforts of Governor Dudley, he sailed to Boston on a ship commanded by Captain Samuel Appleton; we will meet this skipper shortly again. Returning to destroyed Deerfield, the pastor helped in “the rebuilding of the Place.” Taking a leave of absence, he served as a chaplain in the expedition against Port Royal in 1711, and with John Stoddard during 1713–1714 as a commissioner to Canada, aiding in the return of prisoners. 

In the spring of 1707, Colonel John March of Newbury was ordered to reduce the French fort at Port Royal, and capture Arcadia,—now Nova Scotia—for the Crown. Two colonial regiments numbering 1076 soldiers sailed from Nantucket on May 13, with two men-of-war protecting the convoy of transports and store ships. Evidently the logistical failures so frustrating in 1690 were not to be repeated. Chaplain Barnard recorded: “There were five chaplains to the army, viz. Mr. Daniel Epps, of Salem, Mr. Samuel Moody, of York, Mr. Samuel Hunt, itinerant at Dunstable, Mr. John Barnard, itinerant at Boston, Mr. William Allen, itinerant at Greenwich.”  

In our day of highly sophisticated and technical staff work, it is astonishing to learn that while the fleet was enroute to the objective, a council of war was being held aboard ship to determine a course of action for the campaign. It was decided to land two forces simultaneously to the north and south of the fort. Each wing landed safely; each was ambushed on its march inland; and each found night overtaking its forward movement, not having landed until late in the evening. The next morning the southern flank marched forward “with trumpets sounding, drums beating, and colors flying.” Spoilsports, the French ambushed the pageantlike parade and then retreated hastily into the fort’s shelter. Chaplain Barnard, author of a detailed article on this unbelievable campaign, fails to mention colonial reaction at seeing a bastion mounting 42 guns, some as large as 32 pounders, serviced by 500 troops. Rather late the command observed that “our men

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(are) unacquainted with attacking a fort." 22 Seeking an easy though cruel victory, it was planned to bombard the fort, hoping that the 220 dependents living there would be terrorized, and that "the cries of their wives and children would oblige them to surrender." 23 This un gallant attempt proved unworkable because the artillery, it was discovered, could not be brought forward safely. Ready to admit failure, Colonel March called another council of war. It is worth noting that the commander expressed to Chaplain Barnard his belief that the only reason one of his subordinate commanders had for desiring to begin a siege was to "increase his wages." 24 It was this maligned commander, Lieutenant Colonel Appleton, who had brought Reverend Williams home from Canada. In the face of this disgusting leadership, Chaplain Barnard bluntly told Colonel March to consider the consequences of failure; that should the mission not succeed "whether all the fault will not be thrown upon you, as head of all?" Colonel March was so emotionally moved by this straightforward counsel that he "hugged me in his arms," the Chaplain recalled. 25 An attack was ordered and then was immediately countermanded, and the campaign crumbled; the price of poor leadership. Little wonder the commander was nicknamed "wooden swords." 26 It did not have to fail. Chaplain Barnard had been reconnoitering, and discovered a route previously unnoticed by which to bring the vital guns forward; an avenue of approach not exposing them to fire from the fort. Having shown Colonel March how this maneuver could be geographically effected, the chaplain was told "Well, then, if it should be attempted, you shall be the one that shall bring it up." To which he replied: "Sir, that is not my business, as you well know; however, if it will be of public service, and you please to command me to it, I will readily venture myself in it, and find a way to do it." 27

During his time at Port Royal, Chaplain Barnard was frequently in action. A cannon ball "struck pretty near to the canoe" which he occupied during a river crossing. 28 Again while he was alone on reconnaissance for the purpose of drawing "a plan of the fort and avenues to it," he became the target of artillery fire, "the French supposing me to be the engineer." Piously he wrote, "thank God I escaped what was designed against me." 29

The expedition withdrew, sailing to Casco Bay where it was

See footnotes at end of chapter.
joined by reinforcements, among whom was "the Rev. Bridge for their chaplain." It was during their retreat to the ships that Chaplain Barnard was in his hottest fire fight. A force of 110 Frenchmen, largely privateers, attacked the last English elements remaining on the beachhead. Of this desperate fracas he wrote, "I had a shot brushed my wig, and was mercifully preserved." He gives no hint as to his part in the action—ministerial or military—or what use he made of "a large pistol stuck in my girdle."  

Upon returning home, Chaplain Barnard was invited to become the chaplain of Captain Wentworth's ship "of 500 tons, 20 guns, and 40 men." Obviously the comic opera campaign at Port Royal did nothing to sully but rather enhanced the reputation of this fighting parson. He delayed going to war for a year in obedience to his "good father's" wishes, at last sailing on the Lusitania, from Nantucket, July 9, 1709. This date is memorable to our history, for it marks the occasion that America obtained her first naval chaplain; one who served in and became a combat veteran with both the Army and Navy. Two of his experiences during his naval career are of importance. In Barbados, there being no congregation of Dissenters, he found that he could worship meaningfully with Church of England people. When invited by a leading member of the congregation to preach, he declined, however: "I thought it would not be prudent to give any disturbance to the Episcopal clergy." When in England, he was introduced to a young lady "who was very pleasant with me." The import of their conversation is so fraught with meaning for future events in America that they deserve to be quoted as he wrote them. It presents an ever widening gap between the motherland and her overseas daughter, and this as early as 1709. He remembered:

She asked me if all the people of my country were white, as she saw I was; for being styled in the general West Indians, she thought we were all black, as she supposed the Indians to be. She asked me how long I had been in the kingdom. When I told her a few months, she said she was surprised to think how I could learn their language in so little a time; 'Me-thinks,' said she, 'you speak as plain English as I do.' I told her, all my country people, being English, spake the same language as I did. With many such like questions she diverted me. What strangers were even the city of London to New England, excepting a few merchants who traded with us!

See footnotes at end of chapter.
What did Chaplain Barnard consider to be his ministerial role in peace and war, in the military or civilian sectors of society? In addition to his extant sermons, he gives us an insight of his own concept, and from it we may assume that he was representative of the other chaplains—all were Dissenters—of Queen Anne’s War.

I can truly say, that in the course of my ministry, I have endeavored to preach Jesus Christ and his laws, and not vain philosophy or the traditions of men; to set forth Christ, as the promised Messiah, the Son of God, and the alone Saviour of a guilty world, and the Judge of the quick and the dead; adorable in his person and natures, most amiable in his offices and benefits; as an all-sufficient and willing Saviour, even for the chief of sinners; who yet will save none without a life of repentance and new obedience, and a sincere subjection to the government of his righteous sceptre. I have also endeavored to show to poor sinners their wretched, sinful and miserable state, in their fall by Adam, and from their own wicked hearts and lives, and to convince them of their absolute need of a Saviour, and, by the most powerful motives of the Gospel, to persuade them to accept of Jesus Christ as their only Saviour, upon Gospel terms, and become his obedient followers, by a sober, righteous, and godly life and conversation. These have been the chief and constant subjects of my preaching. But, after all, what abundant reason have I to cry out, my leanness! my leanness! and bewail my want of zeal in the cause of God, of Christ, and the souls of his people, and the many neglects and unfaithfulness in the work of my ministry; and what I fear has been the sad consequence thereof, my very great unsuccessfulness. Though I bless God, there are several who are evidently the epistle of Christ, ministered by me, written, not with ink, but with the spirit of the living God, not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart. . . . My deficiencies have been so many, and my transgressions so great, that upon a view of them, I might well fear lest, after I have preached the Gospel to others, I myself should prove a castaway. But my hope is grounded, not upon the perfection of my works, but the infinite mercy of God, and merit of Jesus Christ, whom (if I know my own heart,) I have sincerely accepted of, and devoted myself unto; and therefore I trust my poor sinful person, and my defective services will finally be accepted, through that advocate with the Father, and propitiation for our sins.45

Chaplain Thomas Buckingham, Minister of the Second Presbyterian Church, Hartford, Connecticut, was an avid keeper of journals and diaries from which we gain insight into the everyday
life of a chaplain in the field during Queen Anne’s War. His first
taste of military life was aboard one of the thirty-six warships and
transports sailing bravely out of Nantucket on September 18, 1710,
under the command of General Nicholson. Their mission was to
capture Port Royal, recouping the earlier failure by Colonel
March’s expedition. If the English could gain Port Royal, inland
Canada would be effectively severed from being re-supplied from
France. Additionally, sea raiders from France would be denied a
station, while the British fleet gained a needed harbor.

In preparation for accompanying this adventure, Chaplain
Buckingham was provided credit from the Colony of Connecticut
and granted authority to make expenditures for travel to the port
of embarkation. He recorded:

An account of what I brought from Hartford.
A great coat, a new black broad-cloth coat, a serge coat, a
drugget jacket, a white waist-coat, a new pair of serge breeches, a
pair of leather ones, 2 shirts, 3 bands, 5 handkerchiefs, (three
white ones and two Rumals,) stockens, two pair of grey ones, and
one of black, a new pair of shoes, 2 pair of gloves, a new hat in
my last, a Bible borrowed of brother Samuel Woodbridge, a
psalm book, and ink-horn, knief and fork, tobacco box, between
twenty and thirty shillings in silver, silver shoe buckles, small
tobacco tongs, a pen knief, two napkins.36

From the above list, Chaplain Buckingham appears to have
been dressed in black—common to the clergy of that era—as a
“uniform,” but having other clothing more appropriate for wear in
the field. His ecclesiastical equipment was simple, for he, and his
fellow chaplains, were not liturgically minded: a Bible, of which we
will learn more later, a psalm book for singing, an ink-horn to aid
in correspondence and sermon preparation, a penknife—
indispensable for properly paring the points of writing quills, and
tobacco tongs for the solace of his pipe while he meditated on next
Sunday’s sermon. Chaplains at that time laid great emphasis on
their appearance. Chaplain Barnard wore his wig, even in combat;
Chaplain Buckingham we observe carried silver shoe buckles for
wear aboard ship and other proper occasions. Nor were chaplains
alone in this; it was the mark of a gentleman of that era to be
tastefully attired at all times.

Arriving at Port Royal on September 34, 1710, operations
began in earnest. By October 12th, Governor Danile Auger de

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Subercase surrendered the fort. On the next day both commanders agreed to and signed the Articles of Capitulation containing eleven articles; two are pertinent for us.

1. That the Garrison shall go out with arms and baggage, beating the drum and colours flying.
   (This mark of honor will recur repeatedly throughout the time frame of this book with two notable exceptions, Charlestown and Yorktown.)

9. That the effects, ornaments and utensils belonging to the Chapel shall be returned to the Chaplain, with the rest belonging to the hospital.”

Who the French chaplain was we are not privileged to know, but neither he nor the Governor could bear to have sacred pieces from the altar adorn a Protestant parsonage as trophies of victory. Generously, General Nicholson concurred. What Chaplain Buckingham’s attitudes were, however, he did not state.

Returning to New England, the chaplain recorded, for November 6: “Monday. Bought of Mr. Philips a bible, which cost me 12 shillings.” No doubt he returned the Bible borrowed from Rev. Samuel Woodbridge. Conceivably his only personal copy of the Scriptures had been one of the large, heavy family or pulpit size, designed for long hours of study but hardly suitable on a campaign.

Chaplain Buckingham’s Journal speaks in constrained terms of the joy common to all soldiers who have survived combat operations: “Returned to my own house about eight o’clock at night, when I had the satisfaction of seeing my family in good health, (blessed be God), after a long absence from them.” He would not remain at home very long. Leaving his loved ones again on August 8, 1711, he joined Chaplain Timothy Edwards, father of the renowned theologian, Jonathan, enroute to Albany. For this land and river campaign to Crown Point, he traveled with less heavy clothing, even forsaking his shoe ornaments. He carefully noted:

- brought from home to take to Canada
  - A black broad-cloth coat
  - 2 pair black serge breeches.
  - 2 pair of shoes, w/o pair of silver buckles
  - A portmantele with lock & key

See footnotes at end of chapter.
1 bottle of mint water, and another of rum & clover water
mixed together
2 galley pots, with essence of roses
A cartouch box, a gun boat & powder horn with the
& an Indian strip to hang it on.
An ink horn, tobacco stopper, 2 little brass pipes upon it
A bible, Psalm book, Milton on Comus, and many notes.\(^{40}\)

After reaching their rendezvous with the gathering forces, Chaplain Buckingham enumerated the activities for August 21:
“The chaplains were ordered a regimental suit, fusee, and accoutrements. Accordingly Mr. Edwards and myself went to the commissary and took them up . . . .”\(^{41}\) On the 25th, he recorded that he “paid to my Taylor, Sergt. Wallis, eight shillings in silver toward making my blew coat,” adding the expenses of such luxuries as “coquolate, gingerbread, and pipes.”\(^{42}\) Clay pipes were apt to break easily, and an extra pipe assured that an expedition into hostile Indian country, even if dangerous, could be enjoyable.

This is the earliest occasion on record which portrays chaplains dressed in the distinctive uniform of their military units. There is no indication or mention of chaplains bearing rank except that of their office. Again, it is the earliest record of chaplains being issued firearms, although certainly not the first time chaplains carried weapons. It had been a universal practice since Robert Hunt of Jamestown helped man the palisades during attacks. Bearing arms would not entirely disappear until the close of World War II, and then by specific prohibition by the Chief of Chaplains, and reiterated by each Chief of Chaplains since.

Chaplain Edwards took desperately ill after the expedition moved out for Crown Point, on September 4th being forced to return by a tedious trip down the Hudson River and overland in a wagon to Albany.\(^{43}\) In his absence the added load of caring for all the Connecticut troops fell on Chaplain Buckingham. Unlike his journal omissions during the capture of Port Royal, his diary for this campaign records the date and text of his sermons. They are: August 19, Psalm 20:3; August 26, Isaiah 3:10–11; September 2, Proverbs 14:9; September 9, Exodus 23:25–26 in the morning, and Deuteronomy 5:32–33 in the afternoon; September 16, Proverbs 18:10.\(^{44}\) The Old Testament being the book of illustrations of God’s working in the lives of men and nations, it was generally used.

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
to provide the texts for sermons in Calvanistic churches, irrespective of denomination. Chaplains reflected the churches which sent them into the Army as their spiritual representatives. It is not surprising to find most sermons preached by chaplains in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries developed from Old Testament texts.

Apparently discipline became a problem, and its enforcement quite unequally distributed. Buckingham wrote on September 9th: “This day morning the camp laws were again read to our people; and oh! that they were duly and impartially executed.”

Wednesday, October 9, 1711 was a bitter day for Chaplain Buckingham. Trouble came as twins. “Mr. Sharp, Chaplain to the regular troops, as it is reported this morning, went off privately last night in a bark canoe, attended by an Indian, in order to return home. This report proves too true: he is really gone.” Mr. Sharp drifted out of camp, lost forever to history. He had served in the colonies for at least five years as Chaplain to the Queen’s Forces in the Province of New-York. No earlier reference exists of a chaplain deserting from a camp or a campaign: a dreadful distinction for Mr. Sharp! On a strategic scale things were even worse. “Also news at camp of melancholy nature of fleet and troops in Canada. 8 transports reported lost in storms in the river, & 880 men lost. Rest so shattered they can’t go on with this expedition.” The attack on Crown Point had been planned as a pincer operation, but now one arm was ineffectual. He concludes: “An awful frown on New England in particular, and the poor captives in the hand of our anti-christian and pagan enemies. Oh, what will they say; how will they triumph and blaspheme, reproach and deride! But God governs.” By the 21st of October the expedition, having no hope of success, was ordered to return to Albany. “A melancholy things thus to be turned back—but God is righteous in all his ways.”

November 12th found Chaplain Buckingham once more at home.

Queen’s Anne’s War ended in victory through no achievement of arms in the New World. Won on the fields of Europe, France was depleted of men and money. A new generation must be reared before the fires of war could again be fed with human sacrifices. The Treaty of Utrecht, signed on April 11, 1713, ceded to England...
Gibraltar and Minorca, recognition of an uncontested Protestant succession to the throne of England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay area in Canada, other minor bits of geography, and the Asiento—a monopoly of the slave trade from Africa to Spanish America which Spain earlier had granted to France. It is apparent that Great Britain was not seeking land, but strategic areas for the control of sea lanes, which were utterly imperative for expanding and developing trade.

Thirty-two years of peace ensued before the next confrontation between England and France. During this period of international tranquility the Reverend John Wise of Chebacco, veteran chaplain of King William’s War, was deep in religious controversy. As a pamphleteer his views were widely disseminated; being in printed form, they became text books for study in the homes of New England’s Parsons and parishioners alike. Ver Steeg and Hofstadter state:

The issue he intended to address was the government of New England churches, but the direction of his inquiry led him to theorize on the roots and rationale of the right of people to govern themselves. The result is a philosophical argument for self-government based upon the experience of a man born and raised in the colonies. In the work of John Wise, self-government in America is elevated from practice to theory.  

**Vindication of The Government of The New England Churches**, authored by John Wise and printed in 1717, is a landmark document. While giving high assent to the British government “which has a regular monarchy, settled upon a noble democracy as its basis,” and favorably stating that “it is a kingdom that, of all the kingdoms of the world, is most like to the kingdom of Jesus Christ,” he stipulates that the monarch is one “who will own his people as subjects, not as slaves.” His thought on the subject is laid out in the clearly designated outline so loved by the clergy of that era, and reflects back to the covenants of both the Old Testament and the early days of New England. Sixty years later it will bear rich fruit.

Dying in 1725, John Wise was laid to rest by a clerical friend, John White, also a former chaplain. The funeral oration was printed for distribution. Entitled *The Gospel Treasure in Earthen Vessels*, White gave, along with comfort, advice to the mourning congregation on the necessary steps in calling a new pastor. His words reinforced the concept of democracy in church government.

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so long expounded by the deceased. “Pay a profound submission to the voice of the Majority, when you make your Election. Your principles oblige you to look upon the Voice of the Majority as Sacred. Such therefore as resist when the proceedings are Regular, resist not man, but God.” 52 It is but a short step from choosing one’s ecclesiastical leader to choosing one’s political leader, as the next five decades would dramatically demonstrate.

While former chaplains among others were hammering out church polity with farther reaching effects than they dreamed, settlers in Maine were more concerned about Indians, the perennial nemesis of their colonizing. Trouble with the Abenaki boiled over once more, and an expedition under Captain Lovewell took to the field. Even though France and England were at peace in Europe, French influence with the Indians in North America kept the frontier soaked in blood. Nearly 300 settlers had fallen to the musket, war ax, and flame, precipitating this campaign.

The expedition, which left from Dunstable with 46 officers and men, searched for the elusive invaders. In the meantime the Lieutenant Governor and the Ministers at Boston changed Thursday, April 29th, 1725 from a time normally devoted to public lectures in the churches “into a Day of Prayer.” Though the battle would extract a grimly heavy toll, it did succeed in turning back the raiders from continuing mischief. A contemporary suggested that “the success whereof should therefore be Ascribed with Thanksgiving and Praise to GOD as a Gracious Answer of the humble Prayers of his people.” 53

A small fort was built to serve as a base camp, stocked with supplies and staffed by nine men including Dr. William Ayers of Haverhill, the expedition’s physician. The combat force had been reduced to 34 men by the time it engaged in the Battle of Piggwacket, some forty miles through the forest from their fort. Saturday, May 8, began, as usual, with unit prayers. Deep in disputed country and doubtful if their numbers were adequate for their mission, Captain Lovewell asked the men, when a musket shot disputed their devotions, if they wanted to risk battle or retreat. Their answer, attested to by three survivors was, “We came out to meet the enemy; we have all along pray’d God we might find ’em: and we had rather trust Providence with our lives, yea dy for our country, than try to Return without seeing them, if we may, and be called

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cowards for our pains.” 54 Marching just under two miles, they found themselves suddenly attacked from front and rear simultaneously, the commander being mortally wounded in the first volley. The slayer of Captain Lovewell exposed himself, and “immediately Mr. Wyman fir’d at the Indian and kill’d him; and Mr. Frie and another scalp’d him.” 55 Mr. Jonathan Frie (sometimes spelled Frye and Fry) of Andover was the expedition’s chaplain! He fought alongside of his men during this day filled “with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood.” 56 After five hours of savage battle, Chaplain Frie fell, desperately wounded. “But when he could fight no longer, he pray’d audible several times, for the preservation and success of the residue of the company.” 57 Retreating back to their fort, four of the more seriously wounded could go no further; the chaplain being one of them. Left with the promise that they would be rescued, the wounded languished in the gloom of the dense woods. After several days “tho’ their wounds stank & were corrupt, & they were ready to Dy with famine” they tried to stagger on alone, realizing that no relief force was coming. It was just as well that they started, for the report of the battle carried by a deserter caused the “garrison” to bolt. After going several miles, Chaplain Frie could walk no more. Lying down, he told his wounded companions that “he should never rise more: charging Davis if it should please God to bring him home, to go to his father, & tell him, that he expected in a few hours to be in eternity; and that he was not afraid to dy.” 58 Davis did get home, the other two dying enroute. The esteem with which this young military pastor was held is reflected in the attitude of the survivors; he was “greatly beloved by them, for his excellent performance and good behavior.” The Boston News-Letter in the weekly issue of May 20–27, 1725, gave an account of the Battle of Piggwackett, referring to Chaplain Frie’s “undaunted courage.” 59 His lasting memorial which has withstood the passing of his own and succeeding generations is the city of Freiburg, Maine—named in honor of a fighting, praying chaplain.

This 21 year old theological student-hero was a very human person, and we would do him a disservice were we to think of him only in his professional role. He was eulogized in a ballad, “Lovewell’s Fight,” which was written in 1725, and called “the most beloved song in all New England.”

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Our worthy Captain Lovewell among them there did die, They killed Lieutenant Robbins, and wounded good young Frye, Who was our English chaplain; he many Indians slew, And some of them he scalped when bullets round him flew.\textsuperscript{60}

Far more penetrating and tender is \textit{The Mournful Elegy On Mr. Jonathan Frye, 1725}, written "by a young girl to whom he engaged himself against the wishes of his parents. Their objections were, want of property and education. Her name is lost." \textsuperscript{61} In that portion addressed to the chaplain’s grieving parents, she showed herself to be gentle and kind, and assists us to understand how the grief process was handled by a religious person in 18th century New England.\textsuperscript{62}

Across the sea, meanwhile, Handel and Bach began delighting Europe with their music; Voltaire’s pen and Pitts’ oratory held men of learning entranced though not always conceding to their points; literature witnessed the rise of Pope, Richardson, and Fielding, while religion had its Wesleys and Whitefield to boast. Palladian houses sprang up across England, and the Continent was becoming a mass of rococo curves and swirls. The human spirit prevails even though diplomats and crowns seem to do all in their power to hamper its progress. Into this era of mundane brilliance, war swept Europe once more. Known there as the War of Austrian Succession, and in the New World by the more homey title of King George’s War, blood was again flowing from the Molda to Lake St. George. Its chief actors were Maria Theresa, Frederick the Great, Augustus III, George II, and Louis XV, supported by countless millions whose task was to die for King, or Queen, and Country while paying impoverishing taxes for that privilege. America was a backwater in the main stream of war, but armies of colonists formed to do battle at Louisburg, and along the inland waterways of the far north. Serving in King George’s War were sixteen chaplains: Simon Backus, Adonijah Bidwell, Moses Coffin, Daniel Emerson, Joseph Emerson, Samuel Fayerweather, Timothy Griffith, Joseph Hawley, Samuel Langdon, William McClanahan, Samuel Moody, John Norton, Robert Rutherford, Elisha Williams, Stephen Williams, and Ashbell Woodbridge.

Hostilities began with a French incursion from Louisburg against a British outpost settlement on Canso Island. Enraged,
Governor Shirley of Massachusetts ordered an attack on the French fortress, an action which he had long been contemplating. Nearly four thousand troops were raised, one third coming from the often embattled Maine settlements. It must be borne in mind that at this period, Maine was still a part of Massachusetts. Serving for years at the lonely outpost garrisons of Pemaquid and Brunswick was Robert Rutherford, "the first Presbyterian clergyman who came to Maine." He remained at this duty station in Brunswick throughout the war, and long after hostilities ended continued to serve the troops at Fort St. George—now Thomaston—and work "as a missionary in Cushing, Warren, and other adjacent places." 63

Unique in the services normally rendered was that duty performed by Joseph Emerson, Adonijah Bidwell, and Samuel Fayerweather; they were assigned to Massachusetts's fleet, becoming in effect the first transport chaplains as well as pastors to their ships' crews. Emerson's Journal entree for Friday, March 15, 1745 reads: "After waiting upon the Committee of War, I went on board the Molineux frigate, . . . as chaplain for the expedition." 64 Putting into Canso harbor, he went ashore "to see the ruins of Canso a place which consisted of about 50 families, the French destroyed & burnt the houses about 9 months ago, a melancholy specticle!" 65 In between captures of enemy vessels and sea sickness, he continued this daily regime of study—those early chaplains were deeply studious men—reading such works as the sermons of George Whitefield, Thomas Bradbury, and Tidcombe, and spending days wading through Thomas Watson's Body of Divinity. He complained to his journal that he found "but little opportunity for study aboard." 66 His duties included leading the ship's company in prayers, and preaching as often as circumstances permitted. Surprisingly we find his texts were largely drawn from the New Testament. On two consecutive Sundays he used different sections of Colossians 2:6; he did the same thing later, using Acts 4:12 on two Sundays. For his victory sermon at Louisburg he preached from Psalm 126:3. One Sunday found him too ill at sea to officiate at services, and on April 21st he noted, "We were so busy we could not have any preaching." 67 This theme recurs frequently.

Chaplain Samuel Fayerweather, Emerson's classmate, served in a like capacity aboard Captain Tynge's frigate Massachusetts.
When opportunity allowed, they had fellowship, and Fayerweather preached to Emerson's congregation. With the Molineux serving as a transport for Colonel William Williams command, Emerson and Chaplain Stephen Williams—the boy captive of Queen Anne's War—enjoyed each other's company from Nantucket to Louisburg. Williams, the unit chaplain, expounded to the soldiers and sailors assembled during the voyage from the 10th chapter of II Samuel. Expositions of lengthy passages of Scripture were commonly given in church services in those days before short sermons came into vogue.

Louisburg was pounded into submission, having been lost as much by French ineptness in defense as it was won by American ineptness in siege operations. Sunday, October 7, 1745, was a great day for young Chaplain Emerson, as he tells his private record. Walking into the captured bastion, "I heard my grandfather preach in the forenoon in the King's Chapail, & Rector Williams in the afternoon." 69

"Grandfather" was Chaplain Samuel Moody of York, Maine; a tough and fiery old veteran of the Port Royal and "Pegwackit" campaigns of Queen Anne's War, some forty-two years earlier.70 He was a "character" whose age and eccentricities went far to make him a legend in both the military and civilian communities. Although he had been born in the settled city of Newbury, and educated at Harvard—Class of 1697—he was called to a frontier pastorate at York where he had served as Post Chaplain. Charles Edward Banks attributes his striking personality to his environment. "Coming as he did to a frontier settlement where for almost the entire time of his ministry no man dared go forth unarmed, even to church, he grew into the rough and ready outspoken ways of a pioneer people." 71 Outspoken indeed! An extant sermon entitled "Doleful State of the Damned" left little comfort to the unrepentant.72

"Father" Moody, as he was called, was loved by his parishioners. With advancing age, his congregants desired to take from him some of his carefully attended duties, so as to spare his strength and give comfort to a man renowned for his open-handed generosity to all who gave evidence of even the slightest need. They bought him a slave to be his personal valet, and on November 21, 1741, they obtained the services of an assistant pastor. However, like

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
ancient Caleb his vigor did not decrease with time, and in 1745 he went with the Provincial troops, on the staff of Colonel William Pepperrell. He was the oldest man in the Army, being seventy years of age.\textsuperscript{73}

Training exercises for the attack on Louisburg took place at Canso. Here Moody preached from Psalm 110:3. Seth Pomeroy noted in his journal the thrust of the sermon; “Christ ye Capt of our Sallvation Send Forth His Servants To Inlist volentiers in his Service.” Moody and Langdon worked closely, sharing preaching opportunities and praying with their troops.\textsuperscript{74}

Victory at Louisburg brought into evidence the iconoclastic zeal of Moody, an eighteenth century atavist. Having preached a sermon appropriate to the occasion, he entered a captured French church with the ax he carried throughout the campaign and proceeded to demolish the altar and statues in the tradition of Gideon. This action was not the behavior of a man estranged from reason nor the mores of his culture. John Gray, a deacon at Bidderford wrote to General Pepperrell: “Oh that I could be with you and dear Parson Moody in that church to destroy the images set up there, and hear the true Gospel of our Lord and Saviour there preached!”\textsuperscript{75} The chaplain next appeared at the celebration banquet given by General Pepperrell. Moody was asked to invoke the blessings of God before the meal, an invitation which was extended with fear that a thirty minute prayer would follow. To the amazement of all, his prayer was to the immediate situation, and memorable because of its brevity. Reverently he addressed the Lord of Hosts:

Good Lord, we have so much to thank thee for, that time will be too short, and we must leave it to eternity. Bless our food and fellowship upon this joyful occasion, for the sake of Christ, our Lord. Amen.\textsuperscript{76}

Moody has in recent publications been referred to as “the Chief of Chaplains” of the Louisburg Expedition. Originally the learned Francis Parkman wrote of him as the “Senior Chaplain,” which, of course, he was: by the prestige of assignment to the staff of General Pepperrell; by age and experience; by prior service; by his overall “stature” in ministerial circles. But he was not the senior chaplain in any organizational or institutional sense with defined authority and control over junior chaplains. No such structure

\textsuperscript{See footnotes at end of chapter.}
existed nor would come into being until the twentieth century. Neither is there any record of Chaplain Moody supervising subordinates; rather, the duties which he performed were identical to those of his fellow chaplains.77

Although Chaplain Moody returned to his beloved congregation unscathed by combat and in apparently good health, the exertions of the campaign took their toll. He died on November 13, 1747, surrounded by his adoring family and literally in the arms of his minister-son Joseph. Town and church together expressed their love for their pastor whose contradictory character traits made him so unique. Not only were his funeral expenses paid, but monies also were provided for his widow “to put herself in mourning,” his grown son, and his married daughter. On the tombstone marking his grave are carved the touching words of the Apostle Paul in II Corinthians 3:1-6.78

After the victory, Simon Backus remained at Louisburg, being chaplain to the Connecticut troops garrisoned there. In May, 1746, he died, the cause of death not being recorded. He was 45 years of age, and had served as pastor to the church at Newington, where he had been ordained, for 19 years. Surviving him was his widow, the sister of President Jonathan Edwards of New Jersey College.79

Chaplain Moses Coffin, whose father, Enoch, had served as a Post Chaplain at Penny-Cook Plantation—now Concord, New Hampshire—in 1726, nearly lost his life to small arms fire during the siege. A bullet struck him only to be stopped by his thick pocket Bible.80 Indeed he could say with the Psalmist, “Thou art my hiding place and my shield: I hope in Thy word.” 81 Those early day chaplains threw themselves into their military service, freely helping in areas other than solely religious tasks. Chaplain Coffin, because of his playing the unit drum, was given the humorous appellation, “the drum ecclesiastic.” More is here than meets the eye, or the ear, on the surface. During the anti-Puritan days of the Restoration, the Royalists of the rollicking Charles II lost no occasion to laugh their blue-nosed antagonists to scorn. Samuel Butler had served in Cromwell’s army, hating every moment of it: his high spirited humor did not lend itself to the ‘Ironsides’ life style. Far more comfortable in the loose days which followed, he wrote a mock epic entitled Hudibras, “to the pain of the puritans and the

See footnotes at end of chapter.
delight of the King." It was a smashing success of satire, the greatest poem of the era.

And pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
Was beat with fist instead of stick.

To sample further his humorous jibes, a description of Sir Hudibras will suffice:

For his religion, it was fit
To match his learning and his wit:
’Twas Presbyterian true blue;
For he was of that stubborn crew
Of errant saints, whom all men grant
To be the true church militant;
Such as do build their faith upon
The holy text of pike and gun;
Decide all controversies by
Infallible artillery;
And prove their doctrine orthodox,
By apostolic blows and knocks;
Call fire, and sword, and desolation,
A godly, thorough reformation.

The very fact that the congregants of Chaplain Coffin were aware of this satire, and could use it joyfully in reference to him and perhaps themselves, indicates more than the native joviality of these descendents of the Puritans. Scarcely fifty years had passed since witches were hanged in Salem; and it was yet a time of flaming religious quarrels, between Protestants and Catholics, and internally among Protestants, even among those of the same doctrinal stance. Here we see one of the earlier glimpses in our history of movement toward toleration. It is but a reference, a slight word, but it is of these signs that sweeping new concepts begin to break forth. Roger Williams had been a Baptist, crying in the wilderness for religious toleration; now there were many moving by humor in that direction. As Don Quixote is credited with having shattered forever the extremes of Spanish chivalry, the same may have been done, though not as dramatically, to Protestant self destructiveness by Butler’s "Hudibras." Even in death, humor—that keen edged weapon—followed the author. Dying in desperate want and poverty, a monument to his memory was erected forty years later, in Westminster Abbey. An epigram of that day ran to the effect, "He asked for bread and he received a stone."
Another minor event occurred at this juncture which provides insight into the ecclesiastical relationship of chaplains. In a day of intense zeal for congregational church government, no concept of a denominational endorsement of clergymen entering the military forces was considered, or would have been tolerated. But we do find individual churches authorizing their pastors to leave them for duty with the armed forces during periods of hostilities. The Reverend John Barnard, chaplain during Queen Anne’s War, wrote in his Autobiography indicative of the need for one’s congregation to grant approval for its pastor to serve as a chaplain even though the governments of the several states did not require any endorsement.

In the spring of the year 1745, the Government sent to me, desiring me to go one of the chaplains in the expedition against Louisburgh. I laid the matter before my church, telling them that I would go or stay, according as I should know the mind of God by their actions. They unanimously appeared against my going, from the difficulties attending service at my age, being then in my 64th year; for which reason I was obliged to deny the Government’s request.  

King George’s War was not limited to Louisburg. The frontier had been quiet since August, 1725, when commissioners from the General Court of Massachusetts and Indian representatives signed a peace treaty bringing to a close the campaign in which Chaplain Frie was killed. The Reverend John Taylor, Pastor at Deerfield wrote:

There appeared, for many years, an unusually pacific spirit among the Indians; probably in consequence of some acts of the General Court, favorable to them in their trade. It was thought, that they never again would have been disposed to hostilities, had they not been under the immediate influence of French interest . . . . The first year of the war, no Indians made their appearance in this part of the country: They had found of experience, that to maintain an open trade with the English, was greatly for their interest; and consequently at first, entered into the war with reluctance.  

The French did in fact anticipate the war’s coming. As early as 1744, well before England plunged into the fray going on between Austria and France, George, Sieur de Berthelot, made a report on the English fort at Saratoga. Numerous raids followed the opening of hostilities. Saratoga was attacked with frightful regularity, Fort

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Clinton felt the stinging lash of war, New England’s frontier settlements became a nightmare, and Fort Massachusetts “surrendered to a large body of French and Indians, August 20th 1746.”

The events involving the fall of Fort Massachusetts are related in Chaplain John Norton’s narrative, *The Redeemed Captive*. Accompanying a detachment of fourteen soldiers, the Chaplain and Dr. Williams, the Surgeon, left Fort Shirley on August 14, arriving at the fort the next day. Scouts found evidence that Indians were on the prowl, but nothing to suggest a combined army of 900 men under the personal command of Pierre de Rigaud, Marquis de Cavagnal-Vaudreuil, Governor of New France. This fort, with a population of “Twenty two Men, three Women, and five Children,” was surrounded and attacked on all sides simultaneously. The first assault was beaten off, surprisingly. The French “General” came to personally reconnoiter the area, receiving “a Shot in the Arm, which made him retreat.” The enemy fired incessantly all day, while in the fort several men who were too ill to man the walls moulded bullets for their healthy comrades. Many exposed French officers were spared, Norton says, because of the shortage of ammunition; it was being hoarded for the next anticipated assault. Fearing the Indians would burn the fort, pails of water were filled, and a passage cut between rooms for a last ditch stand. Chaplain Norton stood as look-out through the evening, constantly subjected to small arms fire. Certainly not a pacifist, the chaplain wrote gleefully: “We fired Buck-Shot at them, and have Reason to hope we did some Execution, for the Enemy complained of our shooting Buck-shot at that Time, which they could not have known had they not felt some of them.”

Chaplain Norton recorded:

Wednesday 20.

About twelve o’Clock the Enemy desire’d to Parley: We agreed to it, and when we came to General De Voudriule, he promised us good Quarter if we would surrender; otherwise he should endeavour to take us by Force: The Serjeant told him, he should have an Answer within two Hours. We came into the Fort, and examined the State of it: The Whole of our Ammunition we did not judge to be above three or four Pounds of Powder, and not more Lead: And after Prayer unto God for Wisdom and Direction, we considered our Case, whether there was any Probability of our being able to withstand the Enemy or not; for we supposed that they would not leave us till they had made a vigorous

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Attempt upon us; and if they did, we knew our Ammunition would be spent in a few Minutes Time, and then we should be obliged to lay at their Mercy; Had we all been in Health, or had there been only those eight of us that were in Health, I believe every Man would willingly have stood it out to the last; for my Part I should; but we feared, that if we were taken by Violence, the Sick, the Wounded, and the Women, would most, if not all of them die by the Hands of the Salvages, therefore our Officer concluded to Surrender on the best Terms he could get: Which were,

I. That we should be all Prisoners to the French, the General promising that the Salvages should have nothing to do with any of us.

II. That the Children should all live with their Parents during the Time of their Captivity.

III. That we should all have the Priviledge of being exchanged the first Opportunity that presented. 93

No sooner had the surrender transpired than the Marquis turned the prisoners over to the Indians. The Chaplain states indignantly: “had I tho't that the General would have delivered any of our Men to the Savages, I should have strenuously opposed the Surrender of the Fort, for I had rather have died in Fight, than to see our Men killed, while we had no Opportunity to resist.” 94 One Frenchman took an arm chopped from an American corpse, roasted it, offered it to a prisoner to eat, and later, it was reported, made a tobacco pouch out of the skin. 95 Even as late as the War of 1812, an eye witness reported that Kentuckians in revenge for the massacre on the Raisen River, took the body of a recently killed Indian—whom they thought to be Tecumseh—and cut strips of skin from his thighs to make razor strops. 96 This offers insight into what war meant on the frontier, the environment in which chaplains of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were called upon to run their holy course.

Throughout the long trek to Canada, Chaplain Norton provided pastoral care, “God having wonderfully strengthened many who were Weak.” 97 On August 22, 1747, he baptized the newly delivered baby of the John Sneed family, giving her the terribly appropriate name, Captivity. On May 17, 1748, the chaplain recorded her death. The Marquis, barely able to control his Indians, and genuinely concerned about his prisoners, promised the Indians a reward if they cared for the feeble prisoners. After her

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
delivery Mrs. Sneed was carried on a makeshift litter by two of her captors. August 31, being the “Lord’s Day . . . We had the Liberty of worshipping GOD together in a Room by our selves,” he noted. This was at Crown Point. Throughout his long imprisonment in Canada, Chaplain Norton ministered to his ever growing congregation of prisoners, sustained by the Scriptures, large portions of which he knew by heart. And he had much work to do, as his narrative reflects. He recorded: “Died in Captivity, in all, 73.” On August 16, 1748, Chaplain Norton and others having been exchanged went ashore in Boston from the Truce ship Verd Le Grace. His journal contains his thanksgiving: “This was a Day of great Joy and Gladness to me; may I never forget the many great and repeated Mercies of God toward me.”

Not so fortunate was the Reverend Nehemiah How, civilian pastor of the Great Meadows Fort. Taken prisoner in a raid on October 11, 1745, he died in Canadian captivity on May 25, 1747. His journal records, “September 15. Twenty-three Captives . . . were brought to Prison, among whom was the Reverend Mr. John Norton.” He too ministered to his fellow captives, faithful to the end. Although not officially a chaplain, he served in that quasi state so frequently found during this early period: civilian clergymen caring spiritually for the military men in their frontier garrison towns, and sharing their fate in battle and prison. His memory ought not to be neglected.

Peace came at last. Wars beget wars, and a greater conflagration will soon enflame the colonies from Maine to Georgia, bringing to the forefront young men whose names will later appear in our Revolution as leaders in government, army, civilian churches and the chaplaincy.

FOOTNOTES
Chapter II

2 Ibid., 20.
3 Ibid., 21.
4 Ibid., 36.
5 Ibid., 40.
6 Ibid., 8.
7 Ibid., 38.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
"Ibid., 4. Quote is by an anonymous author, appended to the funeral sermon preached by the Rev. John Wise, April 11, 1725, on the occasion of the interment of the Rev. John Wise.


10 Psalm 24:8 (KJV).


12 John Donne, Devotions, IVII.


14 Franklin B. Hough, A History of St. Lawrence and Franklin Counties, New York, From the Earliest Period to the Present Time (Albany, Little and Company, 1853), 115. "It is generally believed that this bell was the same taken in 1704, from Deerfield, in Massachusetts, but after careful inquiries the author has arrived (sp) at the conclusion that that celebrated bell was never at St. Regis, but that it is none other than the smaller of the two in the steeple of the Church of St. Louis, in Caughnawage." In addition to this argumentation as to the location of the bell, and the poem, "The Bell of St. Regis," see pages 116–120.


16 Ibid., 14.

17 Ibid., 82.

18 Ibid., 91. Clifton Johnson, An Unredeemed Captive, Being The Story of Eunice Williams (Holyoke, Mass.: Griffith, Axtell and Cady Company, 1897), 48. Eunice's Indian husband explained her determination to remain away from her family in these words: "She no go. Her father marry twice times. He no have marry, she go."


21 Ibid., 191.

22 Ibid., 192.

23 Ibid., 192.

24 Ibid., 192.

25 Ibid., 193.

26 Ibid., 196.

27 Ibid., 193.

28 Ibid., 193.

29 Ibid., 194.

30 Ibid., 194.

31 Ibid., 194, 195.

32 Ibid., 196.

33 Ibid., 197.

34 Ibid., 200.


37 Ibid., 87. Further, John W. Wright, Some Notes On The Continental Army, William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine, Second Series, IX, No. 2, April, 1932, 102. "When the garrison marched out, it was the custom for it to play on its drums, fifes and bugles an air of its opponent. The origin of this is uncertain. Probably it was a compliment made in return for the honors of war. It demonstrated that the defeated garrison had not been humiliated to the point where they could not exchange compliments with the victor . . . When General Lincoln surrendered Charleston he asked for terms permitting the garrison to march out with the honors of war, 'with drums beating, colors flying.' The British refused these terms and changed them to read, 'The drummers are not to beat a British march, or colors to be uncased.' . . . When Yorktown surrendered it was stipulated that the garrison should march out 'with colors cased, the drums beating a British or German march.' These were the terms of Charleston."

38 Ibid., 96.

39 Ibid., 99.

40 Ibid., 105–106.

41 Ibid., 109.
A democracy, which is when the sovereign power is lodged in a council consisting of all the members, and where every member has the privilege of a vote. This form of government appears in the greatest part of the world to have been the most ancient. For that reason seems to show it to be more probable, that when men (being originally in a condition of natural freedom and equality) had thoughts of joining in a civil body, would without question be inclined to administer their common affairs by their common judgment, and so must necessarily, to gratify that inclination, establish a democracy; neither can it be rationally imagined that fathers of families, being yet free and independent, should in a moment or little time take off their long delight in governing their own affairs, and devolve all upon some single sovereign commander; for that it seems to have been thought more equitable that what belonged to all should be managed by all, when all had entered by compact into one community.

A democracy is then erected, when a number of free persons do assemble together in order to enter into a covenant for uniting application and exercise of power. Therefore it is most agreeable with the law of nature, that they institute their officers to act in their name and stead.

Pray, sir, be patient; kiss the rod;
Remember this the hand of God
Which has bereft you of your son,—
Your dear and lovely Jonathan.
Although the Lord has taken (near)
Unto himself your son most dear,
Resign your will to God, and say,

"Tis God that gives and takes away;"
And blessed be his name; for he,—
For he has caused this to be.
And now to you, his mother dear,
Be pleased my childish lines to hear:
Mother, refrain from flowing tears;
Your son is gone beyond your cares,
And safely lodged, in Heaven above,
With Christ, who was his joy and love;
And, in due time, I hope you'll be
With him to all eternity.
Pray, madam, pardon this advice;
Your grief is great, mine not much less;
And, if these lines will comfort you,
I have my will. Farewell! adieu!


Ibid., 72–73.

Ibid., 72.

Ibid., 72, 74, 75, 76, 79, 82, 83.

Ibid., 73, 81.

Ibid., 82.


We might also transiently Consider Hell as a Place and State of the Blackest Darkness, the Most exquisite torment and extreamest Horrour, Despair and Raging Blasphemy. A Place of Howling, Roaring, Yelling, Shrieking.—But Words utterly and infinitely fail of expressing to the Life, the Heartrending Pangs of the second Death. It is metaphorically, and in Scripture Language a Prison, a Lake of Fire and Brimstone; a Bottomless Pit, a Furnace of Fire, Prepared for the Devil and his Angels; A Place where the Worm Dieth not, and the Fire is not Quenched: the Vengeance of Eternal Fire. Now, if the Bodies of the Damned shall be Tormented with Material Fire and Brimstone, it must needs be Dreadful! As if we should see a real Copper, containing the quantity of many Tuns, fill'd with Brimstone; then melted over a mighty Fire; then set on a Flame, as you have seen a Kettle of Boiling Tarr in the Ship-wright's Yard: and Men, Women and Children thrown into it alive; this would be terrible to Beholders, much more to the Persons thus executed; though the Pain and Horror would in this Case be over, in a few minutes. Suppose That God should keep thee alive in the Fiery Pond for one year and age to another, and we could walk safely by the side of it, and round it, and see the Poor Undone Creatures swimming about in the Midst of Flames and hear their Fruitless Cries for One Drop of Water. What Adamantine Heart would not Bleed at such a sight and Sound?

Louis E. DeForst (ed.) *The Journals and Papers of Seth Pomeroy* (Published by the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York, 1926), 16.


Ibid., 78.


Psalm 119:14 (KJV).


Samuel Butler, "Hudibras."

George Noel Lord Byron, "Don Juan," Canto XIII, Stanza 2: "Cervantes smil'd Spain's chivalry away."


CHAPTER III
“How Art the Mighty Fallen”

The Destruction of New France, 1755–1763

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle brought the War of Austrian Succession, our King George’s War, to its conclusion in 1748. In America, Louisburg was given back to France, but little changed territorially on the Continent. Peace merely gave the belligerents a breathing spell to nurse their hatreds, encourage their developing pride in their respective nationalisms, and realign their alliances for another go at mass destruction. William Pitt, the Elder, bombarded Parliament with brilliant oratory, proposing a treaty with Prussia to the ultimate defeat of France. The Prussia of Frederick the Great has been said to be not a nation with an army, but an army with a nation. With Britain ruling the waves and Prussia supreme on the soil, France could be forever eradicated as a troublesome contender for colonies. The distant lands of America and Asia and Africa would be British, won on the fields of Europe. Arraying themselves against these twin Protestant forces were the Catholic powers of France, Spain, Austria, and Poland, and ultimately Russia. This war for religion, trade, and patriotism began officially on May 17, 1756. In reality the war had long been on. The British were seizing French shipping where possible, and in America the frontier witnessed a renewal of horror. Early in the official war, the Duc de Richelieu was sent to capture Minoca. Admiral John Byng tried to stave off the island’s capture by reinforcing the defenders, his efforts proving to be ineffectual. Losing the battle, he was hanged from his own ship at Portsmouth on March 14, 1757. The Admiral did not give his fullest effort in trying to achieve victory, it was judged, and so he was punished; not because he lost a sea fight. This striking example set the tone of the seriousness of this conflict, and was not lost on other commanders aspiring to keep their necks free of hemp. The Seven Years’ War—our French and Indian
War—was to reshape the world’s life for two hundred years to come, giving England such trophies as India and North America. Conquest was to enrich the “island people” through trade, and spread the Protestant Gospel as far as the sun shines on our planet.

In America as early as November, 1753, George Washington, aged 21, was sent by Governor Dinwiddie to serve an ultimatum to the French who were encroaching on Virginia’s claimed lands in Ohio. Eighteen months later, as a Lieutenant Colonel, he would take Virginia militiamen to the site of present day Pittsburgh, lead a successful battle near Great Meadow on May 27, 1754, and after a ten hour fight at Fort Necessity be forced to surrender to a force of French and Indians, 900 strong. At the time of Braddock’s well known defeat on the Monongahela, young Washington showed himself to be a knowledgeable and daring leader. Casualties justified the term, defeat, one half of the force being killed. General Braddock was killed, as were Sir Peter Halket, five captains and fifteen lieutenants. “Out of eighty-six officers, twenty-six were killed, and thirty-seven wounded. The killed and wounded of the privates amounted to seven hundred and fourteen.”¹ Writing to his brother, Washington said: “By the all-powerful dispensations of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability or expectation; for I had four bullets through my coat, and two horses shot under me, and escaped unhurt, although death was leveling my companions on every side of me.”² Several weeks later, the Reverend Samuel Davies of Hanover County, Virginia, preached to a company of volunteers, as was his custom. Referring to this event in Washington’s life, he is reported to say: “I can not but hope Providence has hitherto preserved him in so signal a manner, for some important service to his country.”³ Davies himself, although never serving the Army other than in a quasi status, rendered important services to his nation. He was a celebrated Presbyterian evangelist who steadfastly fought for the toleration of dissenters against the restrictions of the Established Church in Virginia. Later he became the President of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton. Also, he was the orator whose pulpit eloquence served as the model for the youthful Patrick Henry, a member of his congregation.⁴

Following Braddock’s death and Washington’s Providential deliverance, Governor Dinwiddie appointed him to the rank of

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¹ See footnotes at end of chapter.
colonel with responsibility for defending 300 miles of rugged mountainous frontier with a force of 300 men. In this crucible of savage warfare, averaging one battle each two week period, he learned those lessons so needed for this greater service twenty years later. It was during this two year tour of duty that he constantly importuned the "powers that be" for a chaplain. His expressed attitude concerning a chaplain's qualifications and services are stated so clearly that it behooves us to note especially this early correspondence from the Father of our Country.

Letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, September 23, 1756.

The want of a chaplain does, I humbly conceive, reflect dishonor upon the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of this, and did propose to support one at their private expense. But I think it would have a more graceful appearance were he appointed as others are.\(^5\)

Letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, September 28, 1756.

As touching a chaplain, if the government will grant a subsistence, we can readily get a person of merit to accept of the place, without giving the commissary any trouble on that point, as it is highly necessary we should be reformed from those crimes and enormities we are so universally accused of.\(^6\)

Letter to Colonel Washington from Governor Dinwiddie, November 16, 1756.

In regard to a Chaplain, you should know that it's necessary his qualifications and the Bishop's Letter of License should be produced to the Commissary and Self, but this Person is also nameless.\(^7\)

Letter to John Robinson, Speaker of the House of Burgesses and Treasurer of Virginia, November 9, 1756.

A Chaplain for the Regiment ought to be provided; that we may at least have the show, if we are said to want the substance of Godliness! \(^8\)

Letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, November 24, 1756.

When I spoke of a chaplain, it was in answer to yours. I had no person in view, tho' many have offered; and only said, if the country would provide a subsistence, we could procure a chaplain, without thinking there was offence in the expression.\(^9\)

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Letter to Governor Robert Dinwiddie, April 29, 1757.

It is a hardship upon the Regiment, I think, to be denied a Chaplain. . . . We shou'd also be glad if our Chaplain was appointed, and that a Gentleman of sober, serious and religious deportment were chosen for this important Trust! Otherwise, we shou'd be better without." 10

Letter to John Blair, President of the Council and Acting Governor, April 1758.

The last Assembly, in their Supply Bill, provided for a chaplain in our regiment, for whom I had often very unsuccessfully applied to Governor Dinwiddie. I now flatter myself, that your Honor will be pleased to appoint a sober, serious man for this duty. Common decency, Sir, in a camp calls for the services of a divine, and which ought not to be dispensed with, altho' the world should be so uncharitable as to think us void of religion, and incapable of good instructions.11

Although authorized, no chaplain was appointed! Colonel Washington's efforts to have a chaplain appointed by the authorities speaks to more than merely having religious services held. These were being provided by civilian clergymen. For example, on September 25, 1756, the Morning Orders read: "The men are to parade at beating the long roll tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock; and be marched as usual to the Fort, to attend Divine Service. The Officers to be present at calling the roll, and see that the men do appear in the most decent manner they can." 12 Nor did he desire a chaplain solely as an instrument of morale. So regular was his personal attendance at Divine services upon his return to civilian life, between the wars, that his diary records the exception. Sunday, January 6, 1760: "The Chariot not returng. time enough from Colo. Fairfax's we were prevented from Church." 13 Further, he ordered for his stepson, "A small Bible neatly bound in Turkey, and John Parke Custis wrote in gilt Letters on the Inside of the cover" and "A Neat small Prayer Book." 14

One of the fortifications mentioned frequently in Washington's correspondence is Fort Loudon, which was located on land ceded by the Cherokees. Before it was captured by those same Indians in 1759, its garrison received the pastoral care of the Reverend William Richardson, a Presbyterian missionary. The conception of an Indian Mission to the Overhill or Upper

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Cherokees originated with Samuel Davies, whose sermon noting young Washington's preservation has been cited. Davies is called by Dr. Charles A. Briggs "one of the greatest divines the American Presbyterian Church has produced." He motivated John Martin to become the first Protestant minister ever to preach the Gospel in the Tennessee Country or in South Trans-Alleghenia, and also the Reverend William Richardson. The latter was born in Egremont, England, in 1729, and educated at the University of Glasgow. He emigrated to Philadelphia in 1750, taking up residence in Virginia as a member of the Hanover Presbytery. Drawn to the Scottish settlement at Waxhaw, it is conceivable—although it cannot be stated factually—that he served as pastor to young Andrew Jackson and his devout mother.\textsuperscript{16}

Armed with a letter of introduction from Governor Fauquier to Captain Raymond Demere, commander of Fort Loudon, Richardson's diary notes his arrival at this frontier garrison on Friday, December 15, 1758. Little did the captain realize that shortly he would be forced to surrender his fort to the Cherokees, and though promised safe conduct, his command and their dependents would be massacred by other Indians feeling no obligation to honor those promises. Among the slain would be Demere's wife. The Sunday following his arrival, Richardson officiated at a worship service, recording: "Preached to the soldiers who behaved well." For the service on Christmas, he spoke using Luke 2:10–11 as his text.\textsuperscript{17} On New Year's Eve, he recorded that he "preached to the soldiers; another express arrived informing us that the French & their Indians intend to attack the Fort soon."\textsuperscript{18} New Year's day found Reverend Richardson baptizing a soldier's child, and receiving the post's hospitality from its commander. "Spoke to the Capt'n about my maintenance; and my exps; he told me tho the Governor had made no mention of allowing me Provisions yet as he had Mr. Martin, I was welcome to such as he had and sh'd live as I had done."\textsuperscript{19} While continuing his work with the garrison, Rev. Richardson did not neglect the Indians although he had hard trials and frequent surprises arising from cultural differences and values. Yet he made strong friends among them, one named Standing Turkey even giving him a pistol "to kill the enemy when I sh'd ride from Town to Town."\textsuperscript{20} His red flock soon won his heart even while he observed that "the children are always armed with bows

\textsuperscript{15} See footnotes at end of chapter.
and arrows. War is their Profession, & they cannot be easy without it.” 22 The depth of his feelings are expressed in a prayer, not written for eyes other than his own to see. “O Lord remove every Impediment out of the way of their Conversion for Jesus sake.” 23

Before leaving the fort to pursue his missionary efforts, one of the last acts performed by Rev. Richardson was to conduct an interment service. “Went to the Fort at the Cap'n desire to talk at the grave of a soldier.” 24 From the vantage point of time, we see the scene at that lonely funeral casting “fatal shadows” into the near future. 25

This global contest being embarked upon was a duel to the death for France, and no effort was stinted to avoid that eventual-ity. The Seven Years' War dyed lands and seas in crimson drawn from human veins; it was truly a world war. Neglecting any comment on the fields of Europe and India as out of our sphere, battles, sieges, and campaigns with fascinating names and fantastically far reaching results occurred: Prague, Rossbach, Schweidnitz, Leuthen, Cuestin, Minden, Zuelichau, Quiberon Bay, Torgau, Freiberg in Saxon, Chandernagore, Plassy, Wandiwash. In America, beside the early operations in Virginia, 1755 found Dieskau and William Johnson locked in battle; 1756, Montcalm and Loudon clashing in bitter, small actions; 1757, the fall of Fort William Henry; 1758, Amherst developing a grand strategy citing objectives from Louisbourg to Quebec to Fort Duquesne; 1759, Oswego, Fort Niagra, Ticonderoga, Crown Point, and Wolfe at Quebec; 1760, river wars along the Richelieu and the St. Lawrence; then a semi peace until Pontiac’s post-war Indian uprising in the west.

Each new campaign summoned more men from their homes. Casualties mounted, “the purple testament of bleeding war.” 26 Soldiers and their loved ones surveyed the holocaust with apprehension filling their minds, and fear gnawing at their hearts. Disease swept away more men than bullets, and mercy was a quality seldom afforded. Massacres were tragically common, because the French—usually good and generous gentlemen—could not control their Indian allies at the moment of victory. Frightening tales spread across the land; one may serve as indicative of the type of hostilities with which chaplains had to deal. Hugh Gibson of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania related to the Reverend Abiel Holmes

See footnotes at end of chapter.
how he witnessed the torture of Mrs. Alexander M'Allister, captured in the Tuscarora Valley. Holmes wrote:

The same Indian who had killed Gibson's mother, tied her to a sapling, where she was long made to writhe in the flames. He knew the Indian to have been the murderer of his mother, from her scalp, which hung as a trophy from his belt. Before these unfeeling wretches had satisfied themselves with the slow but excruciating tortures they caused this woman to endure, a heavy thunder-gust with a torrent of rain came on, which greatly incommode the Indians. Mrs. M'Allister most earnestly prayed for deliverance, but cruel are the tender mercies of the poor unenlightened savages. They however, sooner no doubt than they intended, when they saw that their fire must be shortly extinguished, shot her, and threw her remains upon the embers.

They told Gibson that they had brought him to behold this sight, on purpose to show him how they would deal with him, in case he should ever attempt to run away.27

Recognizing fear to be a very genuine emotion, chaplains and civilian pastors struggled to help their people cope with it. Illustrative of their efforts is a sermon delivered by former chaplain Joseph Emerson to the soldiers of Captain Thomas Laurence's company before they left for the war. Preached at Pepperrell on May 7, 1758, its title tells its content: "The Fear of God, an Antidote against the Fear of Man." 28 A letter is extant, and its reply by the Reverend William Smith—later to be a chaplain—concerning "The Duties of Protestant Ministers in times of Public Danger." Though not using our terminology, early American chaplains and pastors dealt with stark issues and their human responses. Surviving sermons, letters, and journals indicate that while dealing with these problems, personal and public, they found their solution ultimately in the Ultimate. The Bible proved to be their comfort; they accepted it as the Word of God, literally.

Colonel Benjamin Franklin served as a commander of a volunteer militia unit numbering 560 officers and men. Marching to relieve the Moravian village of Gnadehut, which the Indians had burned and massacred, he discussed with Bishop Spangenberg his surprise at seeing "it in so good a posture of defense. . . . The armed brethren, too, kept watch, and reliev'd as methodically as in any garrison town." He was quickly told that abstinence from bearing arms was "not one of their established principles." 29

See footnotes at end of chapter.
building and maurading savages occupied Franklin's energies, but did not dampen either his common sense or humor. Happily, his chaplain was a person possessing flexibility and was himself not without humor.

We had for our chaplain a zealous Presbyterian minister, Mr. Beatty, who complained to me that the men did not generally attend his prayers and exhortations. When they enlisted, they were promised, besides pay and provisions, a gill of rum a day, which was punctually serv'd out to them, half in the morning, and the other half in the evening; and I observ'd they were as punctual in attending to receive it; upon which I said to Mr. Beatty, 'It is, perhaps, below the dignity of your profession to act as steward of the rum, but if you were to deal it out and only just after prayers, you would have them all about you.' He liked the tho't, undertook the office, and, with the help of a few hands to measure out the liquor, executed it to satisfaction, and never were prayers more generally and more punctually attended; so that I thought this method perferable to the punishment inflicted by some military laws for non-attendance on divine service.30

Franklin's admiration for the famous George Whitefield is well known. Writing to him on July 2, 1756, Franklin gives us knowledge of one of the evangelist's unfilfilled desires and one of his own great ambitions: "You mention your frequent wish that you were a chaplain to the American Army. I wish that you and I were jointly employed by the crown to settle a colony on the Ohio." 31 He then continues, whether ruminating or actively seeking Whitefield's partnership, by suggesting that his project would be "a security to the other colonies and advantage to Britain, by increasing her people, territory, strength, and commerce!" He continues:

Might it not greatly facilitate the introduction of pure religion among the heathen, if we could, by such a colony, show them a better sample of Christians than they commonly see in our nation!—Life, like a dramatic piece, should not only be conducted with regularity, but, methinks, it should finish handsomely. Being now in the last act, I begin to cast about for something fit to end with. Or, if mine be more properly compared to an epigram, as some of its lines are but barely tolerable, I am very desirous of concluding with a bright point. In such an enterprise, I could spend the remainder of life with pleasure; and I firmly believe God would bless us with success, if we undertook it with a sincere regard to His honour, the service of

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our gracious king, and (which is the same thing) the public good."

Colonel Franklin's project on the Ohio was not to be accomplished by him. A young man living in Connecticut, however, would also see this vision, and after his service as a chaplain in the Revolution, bring it to fulfillment. But, more of Manasseh Cutler later.

Pennsylvania suffered severe internal religious-political problems brought to a head by frontier warfare. Quaker pacifism came into open conflict with Christians who were theologically indisposed to bow humbly beneath the war ax. William Penn's work began in America when the ship Kent landed two hundred Friends on the banks of the Delaware, who settled Burlington, New Jersey in 1677. Their charter guaranteed that "no Men, nor number of Men upon Earth, hath Power or Authority to rule over Men's Consciences in religious Matters." Shortly followed the famed and admirable "Holy Experiment" on the west bank of the Delaware River in what is now Pennsylvania proper. The earlier wars of King William and Queen Anne were troublesome but largely ignored, being fought far off to the north and south. Governor George Thomas ran into a lengthy controversy, only to lose, in trying to raise troops and money during King George's War. The Quaker Assembly felt no sense of urgency, but rather an affront to their consciences by these demands. The coming of the French and Indian War with the frontier of the Middle Colonies blazing could not be ignored, although all but miraculous efforts were tried to do so. Following Braddock's defeat and the defection of the heretofore friendly Delawares, Pennsylvania's situation became vastly altered. Though the Quakers were safe and secure on the eastern seaboard, western settlements were being "continually butchered," to use Franklin's term.

During the year 1756, the minority population of Quakers in the colony was represented by holding the majority of seats in the Pennsylvania Assembly. When the Governor and Council declared war against the Indians—the Delawares and the Shawnee—they precipitated the abdication of the Quaker legislators, bringing to an end a rule of nearly a century of government by idealism and subterfuge.

Serving on the embattled Pennsylvania frontier was a man of

See footnotes at end of chapter.
powerful influence. John Steel led a militia company while serving as its chaplain as well, being referred to by the quaint title, the Reverend Captain.\textsuperscript{35} This was no short term assignment, but continued throughout years of border warfare following his commissioning on March 25, 1756. He pursued his duties in spite of the lack of such basic necessities as firearms, blankets, and even flints. During his tenure as Post Commander of Fort Allison, he was delivering a sermon at Sunday Worship when news was brought, interrupting the sermon, that Indians had murdered the Walker family at Rankin's Mill. Steel immediately brought the service to a close, took his musket from behind the pulpit, and led his force in pursuit of the enemy. Such was the life of the commander-chaplain in those days of terror.\textsuperscript{36}

The Reverend Captain had the distinction of having a fort named for him. Following Braddock's defeat, a stockade was erected around the meeting house where Steel was the pastor, known as “Rev. Steel's Fort.”\textsuperscript{37} Its site is on the south side of the east branch of the Conococheague creek, being about twenty miles north from the Mason and Dixon line, and a little to the west of a straight line of where Hagerstown, Maryland, stands.

The year 1756 found the northern colonies making full preparations to drive the French and their Indian allies from Crown Point. They failed. As may be expected, a number of chaplains went on this expedition, the journal of Chaplain John Graham of Suffield, having survived, giving some record of the events. It is important to note that the Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut took official action to provide for the spiritual well-being of its soldiers through its traditional use of military chaplains. The Connecticut Colonial Record states:

This Assembly do appoint the Rev'd Mr. David Jewet, of New London, the Rev'd Mr. John Norton, of Middleton, the Rev'd Mr. Grayham, of Woodbury, to be Chaplains in the forces to be raised in this Colony for the Expedition against Crown Point.\textsuperscript{38}

The Reverend John Graham of Woodbury was quite elderly, having been born in Edinburgh in 1694. Several references in the journal mention receiving letters from and writing letters to the author's father. Presumably the chaplain who accompanied this campaign, and went in 1758 to Fort Edward, and again in 1762 to

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capture Havana, was the son with the same name; John Graham, pastor of Suffield.

These three chaplains were assigned to give pastoral coverage to four regiments under the command of General Phinehas Lyman. As a leading citizen of Suffield, the chaplain’s village, and as a deputy of the Colony’s Assembly, Lyman’s choice of Graham to serve throughout three campaigns ranging from the pine woods of Lake George to the palms of Cuba, is not hard to ascertain. The chaplain appears to have had intense difficulties adjusting to the rough and tumble ways of camp life. He found long marches terribly fatiguing, but far worse for him was the conduct of the officers. “Labour under great discouragements for find my Business but mein in the Esteem of many, and think there’s not much for a Chaplain to do.” Continuing, he seems to suggest—his writing lacks clarity here—that officers resented his admonitions while expecting him to confine his exhortations to “be ordily and attend Duty” to the enlisted men. He closed the day’s comment with the prayer:

O Lord to thee belongs praise and glory, Teach me how to live and Conduct that I may Conduct myself both faithfully and acceptably.  

Three times more he picks up the theme again. His own words state his case.

Saturday Augst 7. 1756. Twas with much Exercise of mind I spent the Day Considering the awfull growing wicked of the Camp—and nothing Effectual attempted to restrain—Lord Do thou restrain us and turn us to thee and we shall be saved. . . . 

Tuesday Augst 17. 1756. Breakfasted this morning with ye Genl.—But a graceless meal—Nevr a Blessing Asked, nor Thanks given—At the Evening Sacrifice, a more open Scene of wickedness. the Genl. and Head officers with Some of the Regular officers—in Genl. Lyman Tent, within 4 Rods of the place of Publik prayers;

None came to prayers; but fixing a Table without the Door of the Tent. where a Head Col. was posted to make punch in ye Sight of all they within Drinking, talking and Laughing During the whole of the Service to the distrubance and disaffection of most present.

This was not only a bare neglect but an Open Contempt of the Worship of God, by the Heads of this Army Twas but last Sabbath that Genl. L_______n spent the Time of Divine Service in

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the Afternoon, in his Tent Drinking in Company with Mr. Gourden a Regular officer—I have oft heard Cursing and Swearing in his presence, by some past field officers, but never heard a reproof, Nor so much as a Checkk to them for taking the Name of God in Vain, Come from his Mouth nor in the least to intimate his dislike of Such Language in the Time of it—tho he never Uses Such Language himself, but in private Conversation, when I have Spoken of it to him he disapproves of it to me—Lord what is man,—truly the May Game of Fortune—Lord make me Know my Duty What I ought to do

Wednesday Augst 18. 1756, Last night Col. Glazer getting into Anger with the Capt. of the Fort Guard, Close by my Window where there was nothing to be heard from Glazer but Damn and G—d. D—n, You 40

Divine services were conducted regularly by Chaplain Graham, as well as daily prayer. “Preached P.M. from ps (Psalm) 84:12. The assembly appeared not only Serious but many Effected—Thanks be to God the Glorious Head; all Influences.” 41 Other texts used throughout the campaign are: Isaiah 8:13; John 5:50, Psalm 78:37, Jeremiah 7:2, Romans 2:4, Joshua 24:15, and Isaiah 8:19. 42 Nowhere does he mention dining with or fellowshiping with other chaplains, although Chaplains Swain and Hawley preached for him when he was “much Disordered” on July 18, and Chaplains Lee and Norton preached to his units on other occasions. And he, too, gave coverage at worship services to other units from Boston and New Hampshire. 43 Perhaps it was this lack of professional relationships on weekdays which gave him a sense of isolation, and too much time to brood over his own loneliness and the sins of the camp. His frequent notations concerning mail suggests that homesickness, unrelieved by nearby friends, was a source of his dissatisfaction. Whatever the cause, he kept with his troops until nearly the war’s end in 1763. Hopefully he never adjusted to profaneness, but, on the other hand, he learned to deal with it constructively.

1758 witnessed a three pronged operation against the French. Major General Jeffrey Amherst planned to capture Louisburg, and Quebec, Brigadier General John Forbes was to move against Fort Duquesne, and Major General James Abercrombie was to drive north along the Hudson and Lake George from the vicinity of Albany, New York. This latter force was composed of 6367 British regulars and 9024 provincial troops. “There were chaplains, who

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preached to the regiments of citizen soldiers, a renewal of the days when Moses with the rod of GOD in his hand sent Joshua against Amalek,” wrote the renowned George Bancroft. 44 Involved were Chaplains Beckwith, Brainard, Ebenezer Cleaveland, John Cleaveland, Eels, Emerson, Forbush, Hitchcock, Ingersoll, Little, Morrill, Ogilvie, Pomeroy, Saunders, Shute, Spencer, Spinner, and Woodbridge. Assigned to the Regulars was “Mr. Johnston, chaplain of the Highlanders.” 45 Even with this array of ecclesiastical lights, the campaign failed miserably. The commander ordered a frontal assault against the French in Fort Ticonderoga. Chaplain Daniel Shute recorded in his diary, July 8, 1758: “The Genl (General) thought proper to attempt to force ye Enemies entrenchment before ye fort, only with small arms. In ye rash attempt, Killed 571. Wounded 1363. Missing 34. The slain and wounded, chiefly Regulars, who were in ye center, the Provincials upon each wing in the attack.” 46 Smarting from this repulse, Abercrombie retreated, and the campaign dragged on to a halt.

Massachusetts commissioned chaplains for each regiment, specifically for their ministerial duties within the context of the military environment. Copies of the commission issued to Chaplains John Cleaveland and Daniel Shute are extant. Shute’s reads:

SEAL

Thomas Pownall, Esqr, Captain General and Governour in chief in, and over his Majest’s Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, Vice Admiral of the same, etc.

To DANIEL SHUTE, M.A. Greeting. Reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Piety and Learning, I do, by these presents, Constitute and appoint you the said Daniel Shute, to be Chaplain of a Regiment of Foot, commanded by Colonel Joseph Williams, raised by me for a general Invasion of Canada. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of a Chaplain to the said Regiment in all things appertaining thereunto, Observing such Orders and Instructions as you shall from time to time receive from your Colonel or any other Superiour Officer, for which this shall be your Warrant. Given under my hand and Seal at Arms at Boston the thirteenth of March, 1758. In the Thirty first year of his Majest’s Reign.

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Three themes run through the chaplains’ extant records of this period: a budding ecumenicity, wholesome relationships with local civilian clergymen, and a structured pattern of daily services in the several commands.

Unlike the lonely isolation of Chaplain Graham two years earlier, Chaplain John Cleaveland preserved for us an account of chaplains’ fellowship on a daily basis. Certainly no formal structure existed, and there is not even the slightest hint of any organization of chaplains with its concomitant variations of rank and authority. There did exist, however, a camaraderie which provided its participants with meetings for prayer, mutual support in their preaching, and presumably personal needs, and intellectual as well as military conversation. Cleaveland’s journal is filled with reference to meetings such as on Tuesday, July 25, when the chaplains met in Emerson’s tent, with Eels and Pomeroy praying. It must be remembered that prayers in that day were not short collects, but lengthy and carefully prepared intercessions to the Almighty. The next day Cleaveland called on his fellow chaplains casually, and on Friday at the chaplains’ meeting prayers were offered by Ingersoll and Johnston of the Highlanders, “two excellent prayers, solemn and fervent.”

Perhaps at this later meeting Chaplain Cleaveland discussed his problem of homesickness, for recorded under that date is that he had dreamed of his wife’s censuring him for his being gone from home. These were men of prayer, both private and public, and their diaries are filled with short petitions in reference to their labors. Cleaveland wrote:

23. Sabbath. This forenoon preached with some freedom from Mal. 1:6, a son honoreth his father and a servant his master, &c., the people (gave) good attention and many of the regulars attended, O that God would set the truths of the gospel home upon the hearts of all, and that my heart may be encouraged and my hands strengthened in the work of God.

Found in this fraternity of Congregationists and Presbyterians was John Ogilvie, Church of England, and long term post chaplain at Fort Hunter, New York. Cleaveland reports that he heard him deliver “a very good sermon” on Cornelius the Centurion, and later

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his prayer at the chaplains’ meeting is described as “excellent, pertinent, serious, and fervent.” The chaplains “are greatly pleased with this prayer and his freedom from that bigotry which prevails very much among New England Church Ministers.” At another chaplains’ meeting, Tuesday August 22, Chaplains Beckwith and Eels prayed, and Ogilvie “reads an excellent discourse of the Bishop of London, setting forth the weakness of the religion of nature, and the necessity of revelation.”

Another entry is that Woodbridge and Cleaveland called on Ogilvie. “He treated us not only like a gentleman, but like a Christian; talked freely upon the doctrines of religion, and appears not only a sound but clear Calvinist.”

In our day it is hard to visualize the immense step forward these chaplains’ meetings were, particularly when fellowship was extended to and received by a Church of England man. Recall that these chaplains were the sons and grandsons of Dissenters whose education and family traditions were saturated with tales of persecutions back in England. Elevating the hostility between Dissenters and Church men was the continuing ordination controversy begun in 1722, and the introduction of the Church of England’s Society For the Propagation of The Gospel into the colonies.

In addition to the regular meetings of the chaplains, they shared daily in their duties and free time. Touching is the spiritual and physical care they provided for each other. Cleaveland and Forbush spent time conversing and reading together; Woodbridge was visited during his illness; they preached to each other’s units, and shared in prayer over their several flocks. This chaplains’ fellowship is the first of its kind to make its appearance in our history, and even today sets a standard far from universally practiced.

A happy relationship appears to have taken place, also, between chaplains and the civilian clergymen in the vicinity of their camps. The Dutch pastor, Reverend Vroom of Schenectady, frequently had off duty chaplains worshipping in his congregation, and he and some of his congregation “attended Prayers in ye Fort in ye Evening.” The Dutch were a constant source of comments in diaries, indicative of the provincialism of the authors. Chaplain Shute noted without comment on the dress of the ladies, the petticoats being short “so as to show the greater part of ye Legs.” That

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must have made keeping his Puritan mind on his prayers difficult indeed! When Shute was recovering from near death caused by small pox which he received while visiting his sick soldiers, Mr. Frelinghassen, another Dutch pastor, came, he says, “to see me.”

Preaching was confined to Sundays, but prayers were held daily in each command, conditions of war and weather permitting. The content of those daily prayers is given by John Cleaveland:

I pray to God to be with us to keep us from sin, sickness, and every evil occurrence—that he would be wife, family, and people—be their God, strength, and everlasting portion.

A partial list of texts used during this campaign has been preserved. They are: John Cleaveland, Deuteronomy 23:9 and Matthew 3:8; Forbush, Exodus 17:8–14; Hitchcock, Psalm 7:76 and Psalm 139:23–24; Little, Nahum 1:7; Pomeroy, Deuteronomy 32:29; Shute, Genesis 28:20–21, Exodus 23:20–21, I Chronicles 16:31—on the news of Louisburg’s surrender, Jeremiah 23:10, Colossians 1:23; Spencer, I Chronicles 11:32.

Pastoral care involved visiting the sick and wounded, and spiritual counseling to anxious souls. August 5, 1758, found Chaplain Cleaveland conversing with Corporal Stevens, who “is under some degree of soul-concern.” Earlier he noted that Lieutenant Burnham, dying of his wound while enroute across Lake George “inquired much for me, and desired to see me before he died. But I was in another battoe and could not be found, the Lake being full of them.”

Generally chaplains had a good working relationship and social life with the officers of their commands. They were officers on their commanders’ personal staff and were part of “the mess.” Frequently they dined with senior officers, and their commanders had them to meals often, and in some cases regularly. Yet there were days, then like now, as Chaplain Shute comments on July 29, 1758: “The Col very fractious.”

Coming down across the centuries we see a picture of an Army chaplain in the days of the French and Indian War:

Mr. Cleaveland had blue eyes and a florid complexion, was nearly six feet high, erect and muscular. His voice was heavy and of great compass, and his gestures were appropriate. In preaching he was not confined to written sermons. He was a man of strong constitution and ardent temperament. An earnest spirit,

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an unpolished energy, and a sincerity which none could ques-
tion, characterized him in the pulpit. His familiarity with the
scriptures was proverbial. His general learning was respectable.
His writings, though often forcible and fervent, could lay no
claim to elegance. He was not afraid of controversy, and more
than once ventured into the camps of polemic, as well as those of
national war. 61

Not given to ecclesiastical equipment—what more did he need than
his Bible?—the chaplain went armed. His grandson, Nehemiah
Cleaveland wrote: "We have also the rude buck-horn-handled
sword which the brave chaplain wore in all his campaigns." 62

Dr. Caleb Rea of Danvers, Massachusetts served on Colonel
Bagley's staff with Chaplain John Cleaveland. No history of chap-
lains of the 1758 campaign would be complete without reference to
this pious physician. It was he who selected the more capable
singers in the regiment to form a choir, "the better to carry on the
daily service of singing psalms." 63 No earlier record exists of such
an endeavor, and so to Dr. Rea belongs the honor of being the
Father of Chapel Choirs. Perhaps the term chapel is out of place,
because his vocalists sang their devotions to the Almighty deep in
the forests of New England. The scene captures the imagination:
an armed band kneeling in prayer; the psalms of David, the war-
rior king, being entoned by rustic voices from beneath the broad
branches of towering pines; their chaplain voicing the petitions of
his parishioners to the Father of Lights. For a man dedicated in life
to serving and glorifying God, Dr. Rea was nearly moved to tears by
the sins of his associates. He confided his anguish to his diary: "Sad,
sad it is to see how the Sabbath is profaned in camp." Particularly
he is grieved at "the horrid custom of swearing, more especially
among the regularly; and I can't but charge our defeat on this
sin." 64 His spirits were sustained by the quality of ministers in the
military. In his diary the devout doctor observes with spiritual joy
and approbation: "A rare instance indeed and perhaps scarce ever
was an army blessed with such a set of chaplains before." 65

In the campaign of 1755, Colonel Ephraim Williams com-
mented on the camp language in a letter to Colonel Israel Williams,
saying: "We are a wicked, profane army, especially the New York
and Rhode Island troops. Nothing to be heard among a great part
of them but the language of Hell. If Crown Point is taken, it will not
be for our sakes, but for those good people left behind." 66 To

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appreciate the full impact of Colonel Williams' fear, and Dr. Rea's despondency—as noted earlier—it must be kept in mind that they viewed America as the "New Israel," a covenant people whose behavior determined the blessings or cursings from the God with Whom the relationship existed.

Lieutenant Seth Pomeroy, equally devoted to God, took a broader view, for he was more of a crusader. In this struggle between faiths, he did not concern himself as much with individual pietism, as with major issues. Deeply religious and committed to theology—it was he who led the fight to rid the congregation of the controversial Jonathan Edwards—he wrote to Colonel Israel Williams: "As you have at heart the Protestant cause, so I ask an interest in your prayers that the Lord of Hosts would go forth with us and give us victory over our unreasonable, encroaching, barbarous, murdering enemies." 67

What did the French and Indian War chaplains believe and preach? As has been noted earlier, irrespective of their denominational loyalties—Congregational, Presbyterian, and Church of England—they were universally Calvinistic in theology. It is apparent that their differences stemmed from their respective churches' polities, which represented the major forms of ecclesiastical governments found in American Protestantism. Few sermons from that period are extant. It is doubtful if many were ever preserved in manuscript form, and a few only were ever printed. Obviously, sermons preached weekly were not preserved, and certainly not those delivered within the shadow of a pallsaded frontier fort or deep in a forest filled with wild beasts and wilder enemies. Customarily, special sermons were preached on major occasions: the death of a member of the royal family, a great victory, or national emergency, the seating of a colonial assembly, an ordination or funeral. At the behest of some member of the auditory, or perhaps by the body of legislators, such a sermon would then be printed and widely distributed.

The Reverend William Smith of Philadelphia, later to serve as chaplain to the Royal Regiment of Ireland by appointment of Colonel Wilkins, delivered a sermon which ultimately went into print, entitled: "An earnest Address to the Colonies, particularly those of the Southern District; on the opening of the Campaign, 1758: Written and published at the Desire of Brigadier-General

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Forbes, when levying Forces for the Expedition against Fort Du Quesne, which was afterwards taken by him.” Smith was a man of towering contradictions and ambiguous status. His influences in the early development of the University of Pennsylvania were monumental, as were his labors in organizing the Protestant Episcopal Church in America. He was a literary leader and an orator of immense power. To the Americans of the Revolution he was a Loyalist; by the British he was arrested for his pro-Revolutionary posture. Admired by John Adams, he was tended by Dr. Benjamin Rush in his final illness. Writing of his last days, the physician said: 

“Unhappily, his conduct in all his relations and situations was opposed to his talents and profession. His person was slovenly and his manners awkward and often offensive in company . . . he early contracted a love for strong drink and became toward the close of his life an habitual drunkard. . . . His temper was irritable. . . . and when angry he swore in the most extravagant manner. He seldom paid a debt without being sued or without a quarrel, he was extremely avaricious . . . On his death bed he never spoke upon any subject connected with religion . . . nor was there a Bible or Prayer Book ever seen in his room . . . He descended to his grave . . . without being lamented by a human creature . . . From the absence of all his children not a drop of kindred blood attended his funeral.”

Smith’s “Address to the Colonies” is introduced by an appeal to “the duty we owe to his sacred majesty, to our holy religion, and to our latest posterity,” and the speaker promises “brevity and perspicuity shall be my principle aim.” The discourse failed in this ideal, running to nearly thirty printed pages! This, however, is the normal length of sermons of the period. Pregnant with premises that we, with hindsight, can see developing into main themes in the approaching Revolution, a long excerpt will provide the flavor of sermons of that era. (See Appendix VIII)

Smith delivered another sermon on September 17, 1758, “on occasion of the remarkable successes of His Majesty’s Arms in America,” celebrating the reduction of Louisburg. His text, Exodus 15:1. It was equally long and fiercely anti-Catholic.

Chaplain Eli Forbes, a former enlisted man of King George’s War, served Massachusetts troops in Colonel Timothy Ruggles’ regiment between March 13 and November 15, 1759. At the close

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of the campaign, he and Chaplain John Brainard, brother of the famous missionary, David, “had four hundred invalids commited to their charge to march with them to Albany, and to serve both as chaplains and officers.” 71 This season of campaigning had witnessed Wolfe’s capture of Quebec, and Amherst’s steady drive garnering for the British Fort Ticonderoga and Crown Point. To the west, Oswego and Fort Niagara, too, were captured. In a thanksgiving sermon for the victories, Forbes stated:

God has given us to sing this day the downfall of New France, the North American Babylon, New England’s rival . . . . We had to lament the fall of the valiant and good General Wolfe, whose death demands a tear from every British eye, a sigh from every Protestant heart . . . . He (General Amherst) transplants British liberty to where till now it was unknown. He acts the General, the Briton, the Conqueror, and the Christian. What fair hopes arise from the peaceful and undisturbed enjoyment of this good land, and the blessings of our gracious God with it? Methinks I see towns enlarged, settlements increased, and this howling wilderness become a fruitful field which the Lord hath blessed; and to complete the scene, I see churches rise and flourish in every Christian grace where has been the seat of Satan and Indian idolatry.72

Chaplain Ashbel Woodbridge preached a sermon before the war to the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecticut in which he served warning to the Crown.

Among the signal Favors that God bestowes upon Mankind, that of civil rulers, of the best Character, must be look’d upon as none of the least; . . . the People were not subjected to the civil Ruler, for the sake of Supporting, Honouring, and Aggrandizing, their Prince; which nevertheless they owe to him; but the civil Ruler is constituted for the People, Viz: for their God; which might not be, an unprofitable consideration, for Kings and Princes.73

Thoughts like this took seed, blossoming twenty-five years later into a well developed plant bearing the blooms of liberty.

Daniel Shute, then a respected veteran, preached an Election Sermon to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 1, 1767. Using Ecclesiastes 9:18 for his text, his outline is down to earth.

I. That war is to be expected, in the present state of man-

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II. That to provide weapons for defense is necessary and fit. But,
III. That wisdom is still a higher qualification for defense, and will answer the purpose better than weapons without it.\textsuperscript{74}

Not all sermons dealt with war or a Christian’s view of government, of course. Ebenezer Pemberton, one time chaplain at Castle William, preached a sermon at the ordination of David Brainard, which two centuries later is still worthy of careful consideration. He warns the young missionary to fear neither discouragement nor failure, framing his work in the context of eternity.

And for your encouragement, I will only add, When I consider the many prophecies, in sacred scripture, of the triumphant progress of the gospel in the last ages of the world, I cannot but lift up my head with joy in an humble expectation, that the day draws near, yea, is even at hand, when the promises made to the Son of God shall be more illustriously fulfilled: When he shall have the heathen for his inheritance, and the utmost ends of the earth for his possession; When his name shall be great among the gentiles, and be honoured and adored from the rising of the sun to the going down of the same. But if the appointed time is not yet come, and the attempts made to introduce this glorious day, fail of desired success, your judgment will be with the Lord, and your Reward with your God. If the gentiles be not gathered in; you will be glorious in the eyes of the Lord, who accepts and rewards his servants according to the sincerity of their desires, and not according to the success of their endeavors.\textsuperscript{75}

In summary, during the period of the French and Indian War, there existed no formal chaplains organization, each clergyman having volunteered his services for a particular expedition or campaign under the regimental system; that is, militarily responsible to his regimental commander solely. While chaplains are known to have been plentiful in the northern and middle colonies, no records tell of chaplains in the southern colonies. It appears that the spiritual needs of the men from the south were met in part by civilians, such as Davies and Richardson, in their quasi chaplain status.

In an age characterized by deep hued and bitter struggles between Roman Catholics and Protestants, and intra-Protestant hatreds, it is refreshing to learn of the chaplains’ meetings for prayer, discussion, and fellowship in the 1758 campaign; they were

\textsuperscript{74}See footnotes at end of chapter.
not separated by dogma but united by the points of commonality in their faith. As a poet has observed,

"Years mature into fruit
So that some small seeds of moments
May outlive them." 76

FOOTNOTES
Chapter III

6 Ibid., 1, 498.
7 Ibid., 1, 498.
8 Ibid., 1, 505.
9 Ibid., 1, 510.
10 Ibid., 11, 33, 56.
11 Ibid., 11, 178.
12 Ibid., 1, 473.
13 Ibid., 11, 341.
14 Ibid., 11, 370.
16 Ibid., 129.
17 Ibid., 132.
18 Ibid., 132.
19 Ibid., 133.
20 Ibid., 133.
21 Ibid., 137.
22 Ibid., 136.
23 Ibid., 135.
24 Ibid., 136.
25 John Fletcher, “Upon An Honest Man’s Fortune.”
30 Ibid., 142.
32 Ibid., 6–7.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Clarence M. Busch, *Report of the Commission to Locate the Sites of the Frontier Forts of Pennsylvania,* "Fort Steele" (Harrisburg, State Printer of Pa., 1896), 1, 553.


45 Nehemiah Cleaveland, "The Journal of the Rev. John Cleaveland," *Essex Institutes Historical Collection,* XII:


On September 13, 1722, Daniel Brown wrote to the Rev. Mr. Andrew and the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge:

Reverend Gentlemen:

Having represented to you the difficulties which we labour under, in relation to our continuance out of the visible communion of an Episcopal church, and a state of seeming opposition thereto, either as private christians, or as officers, and so being insisted on by some of you (after our repeated declinings of it) that we should sum up our case in writing; we do (though with great reluctance fearing the consequences of it) submit to and comply with it: And signify to you that some of us doubt of the validity, and the rest are more fully persuaded of the invalidity of the Presbyterian ordinance, in opposition to Episcopal: and should be heartily thankful to God and man, if we may receive from them satisfaction herein, and shall be willing to embrace your good counsels and instructions in relation to this important affair, as far as God shall direct and dispose us to it.

A true copy of the original.

Timothy Cutler,

John Hart,

Samuel Wittelsey,

Jared Eliot,

James Wetmore,

Samuel Johnson,

Daniel Brown.

Testify,

DANIEL BROWN.

October 2, 1722 found a letter addressed to the Reverend Dr. C. Mather by the Rev. Joseph Moss announcing that:

... no less than five ordained ministers. ... have declared before the trustees of the college, in the library, when many others also were present, that they were fully persuaded that only an Episcopal ordination was valid, and according to divine institution, and therefore in as much as their own ordination was by presbyters only, they esteemed it invalid: three of them said that notwithstanding, they should go on to administer sacraments, &c. as before, for a while waiting for further light; but if they could get no better light than now they had, thought that in time it would come to that pass with them that they should proceed no further to minister at the altar without a reordination by a bishop: two of them pretended to be conscience bound at present to cease all sacred administrations until they had further light, or an Episcopal ordination: ... and that they scrupled communion in sacred things with any other but the church of England: because of the invalidity of a Presbyterian ordination ... I have according to my mean ability, studied the scriptures upon this point many years past, and have been and now am, most fully satisfied in my own mind, that the truth is on our side, and that there is no difference between a bishop and a presbyter, jure divino, and that there is no such superior order of church officers as the diocesan bishops are,
by divine institution. But it is now a time with us, that we must put on our armour and fight, or else let the good old cause, for which our fathers came into this land, sink and be deserted.

Rev. Mather in turn wrote to Rev. Joseph Webb saying candidly: "I apprehend the axe is hereby laid to the root of our civil and sacred enjoyments, and a doleful gap opened for trouble and confusion in our churches."

By 1740 the issue of missionaries being sent to colonial towns by the Church of England's Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was brought to the forefront by the Rev. Dr. Seeker, the Bishop of Canterbury. The Rev. Andrew Eliot, D.D., answered the Bishop's stated objectives in terms that left no doubt that he was treading on the already sensitive toes of Congregationalists and Presbyterians. Quakers and Baptists, not being of the Reformed Traditions, however, fared no better with the author than with the Bishop.

There were Christian assemblies in every place in New-England, to which the Society sent a missionary. Rhode Island not excepted. Several places in New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, which partook of this charity, were under the same happy circumstances. Nor were these assemblies only Quakers and Baptists, against which his lordship has particular exceptions, and which, for this and no other reason, I join together; but Presbyterian and Congregational assemblies, well furnished with ministers, in which the sacraments of the gospel were regularly administered, and in which infants were not 'denied the sacraments of baptism.'


73 Ashbel Woodbridge, "A Sermon delivered before the General Assembly of the Colony of Connecti-
74 Daniel Shute, "A Sermon preached to the Ancient and Honourable Artillery Company in Boston, June 1, 1767," 10.
75 Ebenezer Pemberton, "A Sermon Preached at New-Ark, June 12, 1744, at the ordination of Mr. David Brainard, a missionary to the Indians."
76 Rabindranath Tagore, "On Visiting Yale University."
CHAPTER IV
“Proclaim Liberty Throughout the Land”
The War Begins, 1775

An enormous bibliography is readily available dealing with causes precipitating the revolt of the American Colonies from the rest of the British Empire. For indeed it was an empire, visualized by the elder Pitts, won at the cost of massive expenditures of red blood and gold bullion, arranged by the Peace of Fontainebleau on November 5, 1762, and confirmed on February 10, 1763, at the Peace of Paris. From that day and for centuries to come, it would be said of Briton, as it had earlier been applied to both the Spanish and the Dutch, that the sun never sets on the British flag. But with a newly gained world to rule and an exchequer sunk in debt to the sum of 140,000,000 pounds, the crown needed to devise a system to administer its victory. Centralization of government became its key. This approach met with universal success except in North America. The English and the Americans were two peoples sharing a common ancestry, who over 168 years and three thousand miles requiring 8 to 12 weeks sea travel for communication, grew apart in every conceivable category and institution of life. Beyond the irritating commercial and legislative enactments of Parliament, or newly enforced old regulations, lay the real origin of our Revolution. Basically, the American colonies had come to age, complete with their ancient charters of government and legislative bodies, schools of higher learning, churches, commerce, potential for industry, developing sources of raw materials, and confidence in their own military forces. Or, in the words of Thomas Jefferson: “We were now grown up and felt ourselves strong; we knew we were as free as they were.” ¹ The unbelievable ignorance of America and Americans, and its concomitant contempt, in England at all echelons of society boggles the mind. As late as 1765, Major Robert Rogers, hero of the Rangers who bore his name in the late

See footnotes at end of chapter.
war, wrote _A Concise Account of North America_, and in 1775 _A Concise Historical Account of All the British Colonies in North-America_ was printed for J. Ben in Pater Noster Row. These volumes deal with such basic colonial information as geographical locations, peoples, and animals: “their situation, extent, climate, soil, produce, rise, government, religion, present boundaries, and the number of inhabitants supposed to be in each.” 2 This astonishing lack of knowledge of Americans permitted Lords Bute, Townsend, and Grenville to take steps logical to the British mind for centralizing control of the Empire, which to the American mind were utterly offensive and contradictory.

How to interpret the events leading up to the War for Independence, how much weight to give one cause above another, or one set of happenings over others, has been debated for nearly two centuries in tons of paper and gallons of ink. Schools of interpretation have risen, flourished, and declined, giving place to still newer schools. The reader, whose interest carries him to these intricate writings in historiography, is urged to read Esmond Wright's _Causes and Consequences of the American Revolution_, and Jack P. Greene's _The Reinterpretation of The American Revolution, 1763–1789_, for a review of authors, schools of thought, and the frames of reference from which they proceeded in their investigation.

Germaine to this history is the theological aspect of the causes of the War for Independence, and their ramifications as seen by the people and churches from which came the chaplains of our Revolution Army. Sadly this portion of our history, of which a vast literature survives, has generally been neglected or secularized. It ought not to be so! Even in our own era, General MacArthur cut through the perplexing problems of contemporary life, with the judgment: “The problem basically is theological and involves a spiritual recrudescence and improvement of human character that will synchronize with our almost matchless advances in science, art, literature, and all material and cultural developments of the past two thousand years. It must be of the spirit if we are to save the flesh.” 3 Perhaps it was not less so in 1775.

Writing to Mr. Niles on February 13, 1818, John Adams expressed this thought in the following words:

But what do we mean by the American Revolution? Do we mean the American War? The revolution was effected, before the war

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commenced. The revolution was in the minds and hearts of the people. A change in their religious sentiments, of their duties and obligations.\(^3\)

William Gordon, who served as Chaplain to both houses of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress in 1775 and as a chaplain in the militia, published a four volume work in 1788 entitled *The History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States*. Included is a record of a meeting's report made on January 4, 1773 by the freeholders and other inhabitants of Petersham, Massachusetts. A long document, it preserves the attitude and flavor of the colonists interpreting legislation coming from Parliament. Mr. Quincy was asked to assist the town's people in drafting their resolves. He and another author—whose identity remains unknown—produced a statement showing politics heavily weighted with theological principle. Essentially it stated that “the present grievances and abominable oppressions” (enumerated at length) were “against the natural rights of man, and in open violation of the laws of God.” And further, as they are “diametrically opposed to the establishment of christianity in a society . . . it is our duty to oppose such a government.”\(^5\)

Although numerous political issues rallied the colonists to oppose the crown, two of a distinctly theological nature elicited their violent and vitriolic response: the Act of Episcopacy of 1772, and the Quebec Act, or Canada Bill, of 1774. The former was an endeavor to establish an Anglican bishop in the Colonies; the latter ceding the territory west of the Appalachian Mountains and north of the Ohio River to Canada, and establishing the Roman Catholic Church and French laws as the religious and legal systems of both conquered Canada and the former western lands of the colonies.

Concerning the efforts of Dr. Thomas Seeker, Bishop of Oxford and Archbishop of Canterbury, to have an Anglican bishopric in America, John Adams wrote a lengthy review. Dated December 2, 1815, he said:

Where is the man to be found, at this day, when we see Methodistical Bishops, Bishops of the Church of England, and Bishops, Archbishops and Jesuits of the Church of Rome with indifference, who will believe, that the apprehension of episcopacy contributed, fifty years ago, as much as any other cause to arouse the attention, not only of the inquiring mind, but of the common people, and urge them to close thinking on the con-

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
stitutional authority of Parliament over the colonies? This, nevertheless was a fact as certain as any in the history of North-America.6

Elucidating, Adams continues his enumeration of fears this prospect conjured up in the minds of the large Dissenter population: "if Parliament can erect dioceses and appoint Bishops, they may introduce the whole hierarchy, establish tythoes, forbid marriages and funerals, establish religion, forbid dissenters, make schism heresy, impose penalties extending to life and limb, as well as to liberty and property." After examining this intended legislation's effect on the colonies outside of New England, he states explicitely concerning the passage of the Canada Bill, "The people said, if Parliament can do this for Canada, they can do the same in all the other colonies: and they began to see, and freely to say, that Parliament had no authority over them in any case whatsoever." 7

Young James Madison writing on January 24, 1774, to William Bradford, Jr., minces no words concerning his fear of an established church and his desire for a pluralism of free denominations: "If the Church of England had been the established and general religion in all the northern colonies as it has been among us here, and uninterrupted tranquillity had prevailed throughout the continent, it is clear to me that slavery and subjection might and would have been gradually insinuated among us." 8

On November 16, 1774, a pamphlet under the signature of A. W. Farmer was made public throughout the Colonies. Its author was the Reverend Samuel Seabury, Episcopal Rector at Westchester, New York. Seabury was soon to be a Loyalist chaplain in the King's American Regiment, and a very active chaplain indeed. Familiar with the terrain, he served as a guide to the Royal forces on Long Island, and in Westchester Country. He was a man of towering integrity, maintaining the respect of those whom he opposed so forcefully. On November 14, 1784, he was consecrated "by the nonjuring Scottish prelates," becoming America's first Episcopal bishop. His efforts under the pseudonym Farmer argued for Americans to seek redress for their supposed wrongs within the context of the existing government.9

A. W. Farmer's reasonings were ably and immediately answered by a seventeen year old student at King's College, Alexan-

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der Hamilton. On December 15, 1774, his publication, *A Full Vindication of The Measures of Congress*, &c was printed warning his readers: "Remember civil and religious liberty always go together, if the foundation of the one be sapped, the other will fall of course." Turning his attention specifically to the Quebec Act, he wrote:

The affair of Canada, if possible, is still worse. The English laws have been superceded by the French laws. The Romish faith is made the established religion of the land, and his Majesty is placed at the head of it. The free exercise of the protestant faith depends upon the pleasure of the Governor and Council. ... Does not your blood run cold, to think an English parliament should pass an act for the establishment of arbitrary power and popery in such an extensive country. ... They may as well establish popery in New-York and the other colonies as they did in Canada. They have no more right to do it there than here. ... Your lives, your property, your religion are all at stake.¹⁰

The following June 15 and 22, 1775, Hamilton issued a two part series: "Remarks on the Quebec Bill."

However justifiable this act may be in relation to the province of Quebec with its ancient limits, it cannot be defended by the least plausible pretext, when it is considered as annexing such a boundless extent of new territory to the old. ... This act develops the dark designs of the ministry more fully than any thing they have done; and shows, that they have formed a systematic project of absolute power. The present policy of it is evidently this. ... The preeminent advantages secure to the Roman catholic religion will discourage all protestant soldiers of whatsoever nation: And on these accounts the province will be settled and inhabited by none, but papists. If lenity and moderation are observed in administering the laws, the natural advantages of this fertile infant country, united to the indulgence given to their religion, will attract droves of emigrants, from all the Roman catholic states in Europe; and these colonies, in time, will find themselves encompassed with innumerous hosts of neighbours, disaffected to them, both because of difference in religion and government. How dangerous their situation would be, let every man of common sense judge. What can speak in plainer language, the corruption of the British Parliament, than its act; which ... makes such ample provision for the popish religion, and leaves the protestant, in such dependent disadvantageous situation that he (the King) is like to have no other subjects, in this part of his domain, than Roman catholics.¹¹

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¹⁰ See footnotes at end of chapter.
The distinction made by most Dissenters was not very clear between the Anglican and Roman Churches—historically this gave rise to the Puritan movement,—and the dual problems of Anglican bishops and the Quebec Act stimulated fears usually not very dormant at best. Traditional stories of ancient persecution found in families sprang anew to life. The contemporary attitude was that the admission of an Anglican bishop to the Colonies was simply an open door to Rome’s appearance. Nor were the Protestant scalps by the hundreds hanging outside of the mission at St. Francis in the last war, and French-Indian raiding parties led by priests such as Picquet, Bigot, and Thury easily extinguished from recent memory. 12 England’s policy in the American Colonies could not have struck nerves more sensitive than these two pieces of legislation touched. “To some Americans, ‘No Bishop’ was hardly less important than ‘no taxation without representation’,” concludes John C. Miller in his monumental Origins of The American Revolution. 13

In the southern colonies where the Anglican Church was established, there was small enthusiasm for a bishop’s presence. Congregations were ruled by the laymen of the vestries whose power would be sharply curtailed were a mitred head to appear on the scene.

Universally proclaimed was the concept that neither religious liberty nor civil liberty could exist without the other, and an attack on one was an attack on the other. This theme was stated over and again in the Election Sermons, preached annually in Massachusetts beginning in 1634 and in Connecticut since 1674. Noteworthy, the Rev. John Witherspoon said in a sermon preached at Princeton on May 17, 1776—in less than six weeks he would sign the Declaration of Independence—“God grant that in America true religion and civil liberty may be inseparable.” 14

“The most powerful social institution in eighteenth-century America was the church, and it, of all, could be the most effective in dissemination of propaganda.” 15 This judgment by Philip Davidson assists our study of the influence and status of the churches from which clergymen came to supply the chaplaincy and soldiers for the army. He refers to there being “approximately thirty-two hundred churches of eighteen denominations,” actually accounting for some 3228 congregations. “Congregational, 668, Presbyterian, 588, Anglican, 495, Baptist, 494, Quaker, 310, German Reformed,

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159, Lutheran, 150, Dutch Reformed, 120, Methodist, 65, Catholic, 56, Moravian, 31, Congregational-Separatist, 27, Dunker, 24, Mennonite, 16, French Protestant, 7, Sandemanian, 6, Jewish, 5, Rogerene (Baptist), 3." The Congregational and Presbyterian churches were nearly 100 percent for revolution, while Catholics supplied personnel to each side during the years of struggle. Two separate Loyalist units were composed of Roman Catholics, as well as many Revolutionary heroes, such as John Barry. Methodists, small in number, largely remained neutral or faithful to the Crown; confusion arose from the contradictory writings of John Wesley. In 1770, Wesley had printed a pro-American article, "Free Thoughts on the Present State of Public Affairs." Five years later his "A Calm Address to our American Colonies" brought abuse on his head for being a turncoat, and sheer confusion among his spiritual followers because of its strong pro-Crown, anti-American stance. The small number of Jewish citizens in the colonies stoutly supported the Revolution, Haym Soloman heavily financing the Revolutionary government, and Colonel David Franks serving on Benedict Arnold’s staff. Lutherans held sympathies in both camps. German in background, many felt a loyalty to George III, not so much as the British King but as the Elector of Hanover, while at the same time the son of the “Father of American Lutheranism”—Henry Melchior Muhlenberg—served as a general in the Continental army. Members of the Dutch and German Reformed Churches, opposed to the extension of the Anglican Church, followed a divided path; some remained neutral as their interests dictated, but others actively aided the American cause.

The Baptists deserve special attention because of their unique contribution at this troublous period which affected the future of American life. With congregations drawn from people of the lower social classes, they were roundly and historically persecuted in the northern colonies by the established Congregationalists, and in the southern colonies by the established Anglican Church. It was in the more tolerant middle colonies only that they found civic peace, the Philadelphia Baptist Association growing steadily in numbers and influence. Baptists were no friends of Rome, nor could the thought of an Anglican bishop in America be greeted with special joy. Were not their clergymen imprisoned in the south for preaching the Gospel, and the Rev. John Waller carrying scars to his grave

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from a beating by a sheriff? On the other hand, the Congregational north was no better to them. Prior to 1738 they and others had to support financially the established Congregational pastors in their respective towns, and after that time exemption could be obtained only after humiliating legal procedures had been accomplished, and this for each individual person’s case. In Virginia, the large and weighty body of Presbyterians defended their own rights, and sympathetically aided the Baptist outlaws.\textsuperscript{19} At the time the First Continental Congress was in session, several Baptist leaders arranged a meeting—it lasted for hours—with delegates from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts on October 14, 1774, to discuss religious liberty. Representing Massachusetts were Samuel Adams, Robert Treat Paine—a chaplain veteran of the French and Indian War and later a signatory of the Declaration of Independence—and Thomas Cushing. President James Manning of Rhode Island College, a Baptist institution, read to them a paper on behalf of his co-religionists, urging that they be offered the same freedoms which the Congregationalists and others were so vociferously demanding from the Crown. It was less than a subtle argument, and in the words of a Baptist scholar, “it was not received with sympathy” by the men from Massachusetts.\textsuperscript{20} While the Quakers, equally maltreated, remained silent, the Baptists struggled on. Men such as Isaac Backus, James Manning, Samuel Stillman and Hezekiah Smith, who would serve well and famously as a Revolutionary chaplain, were not seeking toleration but total religious freedom. Ultimately theirs and others’ efforts succeeded: in 1796 the Episcopal Church was disestablished in Virginia, and the Congregational Churches in New England in 1833; America had gained a thorough separation of church and state. Speaking of this Baptist bid for liberty channeled through service in the Revolution, Robert G. Torbet states:

The efforts put forth by Baptists in behalf of religious freedom, during and after the American Revolution, contributed greatly not only to the ultimate achievement of the goals, but also to their popularity. Indeed, the Revolution provided them with a unique opportunity. They had little to lose and much to gain. Like Congregationalists and Presbyterians, they were bound by no ties of loyalty to a state church in England. Their participation in the War of Independence was therefore a contribution to the cause of religious liberty.\textsuperscript{21}

\footnotesize{See footnotes at end of chapter.}
Each new act by the Crown brought a thunderous response from American churches and churchmen. Ministers opened their homes for spinning bees, urging the ladies of their communities to recover American civic rights by bringing Briton economically to heel. Not least among these entrepreneurs was old-soldier John Cleveland, soon to be a chaplain again. Clergymen supported the Solemn League and Covenant of 1774, organized Committees of Correspondence, recruited, and at each provocation, rent the air with fierce sermons. The Boston Massacre stimulated Rev. John Latrop’s roaring denunciations from Genesis 4:10, “The voice of thy brother’s blood cryeth unto me from the ground,” and at Tredyffrynn, Pennsylvania, Rev. David Jones preached to Colonel Dewee’s Regiment on July 20, 1775 an unequivocal sermon entitled: “Defensive War in a Just Cause Sinless.” Hundreds of sermons like these are extant, and had the Crown been attentive, it would have understood the signs of the times. Nor did the clergy limit themselves to passive resistance and passionate words. Besides the famous “tea party” in Boston, another was held in Greenwich, New Jersey, on Friday, December 23, 1774. Leaders in burning the cargo from the Greyhound were Andrew Hunter and Philip Fithian, theological students. Fithian, soon to serve with the New Jersey militia in the Flying Camp at New York records innocently in his diary:

Last night the Tea was, by a number of persons in disguise taken out of the House & consumed with fire. Violent, & different are the words about this uncommon Maneuver, among the Inhabitants—some rave, some curse & condemn, some try to reason, many are glad the Tea is destroyed, but almost all disapprove the Manner of the destruction—.

Few events portray the immense influence of churches and religious sentiment during this pre-Revolutionary era than the fact that Thomas Jefferson and others recognized their need to exploit it. News of the Boston Port Act arrived in Williamsburg in May, 1774. More disastrous to the young political lions than the actual closing of Boston to commerce was the lethargy with which the news was received by the people of the Old Dominion. Indifference was a knotty problem which needed immediate untangling. Jefferson’s own candid account from his Autobiography is illuminating.

The lead in the house on these subjects being no longer left to

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the old members, Mr. Henry, R. H. Lee, Fr. L. Lee, 3. or 4. other
members, whom I do not recollect, and myself, agreeing that we
must boldly take an unequivocal stand in the line with Mas-
sachusetts, determined to meet and consult on the proper mea-
sures in the council chamber, for the benefit of the library in that
room. We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing
our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen as to
passing events; and thought that the appointment of a day of
general fasting and prayer would be most likely to call up and
alarm their attention. No example of such a solemnity had
existed since the days of our distresses in the war of 55. since
which a new generation had grown up. With the help therefore
of Rushworth, whom we rummaged over for the revolutionary
precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day, preserved by
him, we cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing their
phrases, for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the Port
bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation and
prayer, to implore heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war,
to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn
the hearts of the King and parliament to moderation and justice.
To give greater emphasis to our proposition, we agreed to wait
the next morning on Mr. Nicholas, whose grave and religious
character was more in unison with the tone of our resolution
and to solicit him to move it. We accordingly went to him in the
morning. He moved it the same day; the 1st of June was pro-
posed and it passed without opposition.25

Tuesday, May 24, 1774 was the date of this action in the House
of Burgesses. The resolution, being couched in the style and lan-
guage of the English Puritans of the seventeenth century, was quite
a concession for the decedents of cavaliers and indicative of their
desperate straits. But then as now political expediency knows few
limitations. Governor Dunmore upon receipt of this action hastily
dissolved Virginia's House of Burgesses, perhaps the worst but
only alternative he could have selected. His dilemma is obvious
when the resolution's contents are carefully scrutinized.

This House being deeply impressed with Apprehension of the
great Dangers to be derived to British America, from the hostile
Invasion of the City of Boston, in our Sister Colony of Mas-
sachusetts Bay, whose Commerce and Harbour are on the 1st
Day of June next to be stopped by an armed Force, deem it
highly necessary that the said first Day of June be set apart by
the Members of this House as a Day of Fasting, Humiliation, and
Prayer, devoutly to implore the divine Interposition for averting
the heavy Calamity, which threatens Destruction to our civil

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Rights, and the Evils of civil War; to give us one Heart and one Mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper Means, every Injury to American Rights, and that the Minds of his Majesty and his Parliament may be inspired from above with Wisdom, Moderation, and Justice, to remove from the loyal People of America all Cause of Danger from a continued Pursuit of Measures pregnant with their Ruin.

Ordered, therefore, that the Members of this House do attend in their Places at the Hour of ten in the Forenoon, on the said 1st Day of June next, in Order to proceed with the Speaker and the Mace to the Church in this City for the Purposes aforesaid; and that the Reverend Mr. Price be appointed to read Prayers, and the Reverend Mr. Gwatkin to preach a Sermon suitable to the Occasion.26

Nearly a year passed, with relations between the mother country and the colonies steadily deteriorating: an armed clash then occurred and any hopes for continuing peace evaporated rapidly. Militiamen, who had assembled during the night, formed a line across Lexington Green. Approaching was a column of 700 British troops enroute to Concord to confiscate an American supply of gun powder. The order by Major Pitcairn to disperse was ignored, shots were fired, and casualties sustained. The date, April 19, 1775. Present at that initial action was the Rev. Benjamin Balch of Danvers, Massachusetts, serving as a Lieutenant in an Alarm Company commanded by a Deacon, Captain Edmund Putnam. Following the Battle of Lexington Balch volunteered to be the Chaplain to Colonel Ephraim Doolittle’s Regiment. Discharged in 1778, he appears next as Chaplain aboard the frigate Boston—the first chaplain in the fledgling American Navy.27

By the time the short march to Concord was completed, the British were met face to face by American militia units from neighboring communities. Separated by a small river, Musketaquid or Concord, a tense moment in history had arrived while neither force effected any action. Above the motionless units on the American side fluttered the Bedford flag, the only minute-man flag present on that fateful day. Carried by Cornet Nathaniel Page, its embroidered motto told the tale, Vince aut Morire—Conquer or Die. Then was “fired the shot heard ’round the world,” a battle ensued, the British retreated, and a running fight all along their return to Charlestown followed.28 Casualties mounted, and American morale soared.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Attending to the spiritual needs of their now fighting congregations were a number of pastors. The first person to arrive in response to the call of impending battle was the pastor of Concord, the Reverend William Emerson. On guard in the village that night was Amos Melven. Learning from Dr. Samuel Prescott, Revere's and Dawes' companion, that the British were afoot, he sounded the alarm. So deeply impressive was Emerson's hasty appearance at the church bell's ringing, that Melven commemorated the gallant pastor's patriotic appearance by naming two of his sons in his honor, "one, William, and the other Emerson." 29 It is not surprising that Emerson reported immediately, although the manse was some distance from the meeting place. He was of that family whose men served as chaplains in war after war, and his mother, Mary, was the daughter of fierce old Samuel Moody of York, Maine, chaplain in Queen Anne's War and King George's War. Here was a man whose family traditions, religious and patriotic, could not be denied. While campaigning he will die in the service of God and America, and will rest in a place distant from his home, awaiting the Resurrection. We honor him as our first American chaplain in the Revolution. William was reared in a pastor's home marked by love, piety, scholarship, and poverty. His father longed for him not to waste his "precious time" apart from his books, but his mother, a true daughter of Moody the frontier preacher and chaplain, saw that he had time for physical development and recreation. Religion was genuine and pervasive. Prior to William's birth the family home was destroyed by fire. As the flames devoured their belongings, the pastor and his young wife, holding their first baby, Hannah, in her arms, sang the hymn "There is a House Not Made With Hands." Calamity could not defeat people with this type of faith in a personal God! 30

Graduating from Harvard in 1761, Emerson married Phebe, a daughter of his predecessor, the late pastor of Concord. Here he had been called by both the church and town to be their pastor in 1765. Two of his four brothers-in-law served in the American forces, two others served under the standard of George III.

William Emerson was a patriot long before April 19. He served as chaplain to the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts in 1774, and was heavily involved in the activities of a Committee of Safety. On January 31, 1775, his diary records "much time spent in Mili-

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1 See footnotes at end of chapter.
tary Maneuvers.” 31 And on March 13, he preached at “a general Review of Arms in Concord” from the text, II Chronicles 13:12: “Behold God himself is with us for our Captain and his priests with sounding trumpets to cry alarm against you.” 32 He warned his soldiers to trust in God, to be faithful in duties, to obey military commands promptly, to train diligently. He calls their attention to their duty to their ancestry and posterity, a most common concern and appeal in that day: “let us not be more unkind to the genera-
tions yet to be born than our fathers were to us, lest in time to come they rise up and call us cursed.” He continues:

Yes, to tell you the truth, if I thought you could possibly be innocent and stand unconvicted in the eye of Heaven, if you dropped your weapons and submitted to the late Bill for the alteration of the Constitution, I would immediately change my voice and preach to you the long-exploded doctrine of Non-
resistance. But as an honest man and as a minister of Jesus Christ, as a servant of Heaven, I dare not do it. As a friend to righteousness, as a priest of the Lord who is under the Gospel Dispensation, I must say—The Priests blow the trumpets in Zion—stand fast—take the Helmet, Shield and Buckler and put on the Brigandine!

Arise! my injured countrymen! and plead even with the sword, the firelock and the bayonet, plead with your arms the birthright of Englishmen, the dearly purchased legacy left you by your never-to-be-forgotten Ancestors. And, if God does not help, it will be because your Sins testify against you: otherwise you may be assured. But . . . let every single step taken in this most intricate affair be upon the defensive. God forbid that we should give our enemies the opportunity of saying justly that we have brought a civil war upon ourselves by the smallest offensive action.33

When the battle lines formed, fears ate deep in the very human soldiers. Chaplain Emerson, firelock in hand, walked along the “front” strengthening these first American infantrymen. For years after the war, one old veteran was not ashamed to relate how terrifying those moments of waiting were, and his own gnawing anxieties; fears known to every combat soldier. Neither was he ashamed to recall that Chaplain Emerson—his chaplain—put his hand on his shoulder, saying, “Don’t be afraid, Harry; God is on our side.” And with that gesture and word, he tells, he felt calm.34

Several days after the Battle of Concord, Chaplain Emerson
noted in his journal, that he "attended prayers at the Meeting-
house with seven hundred soldiers from the frontier towns." 35

Emerson had alongside of him at Concord, Rev. Joseph Thax-
ter, armed with his brace of pistols, who after the battle ate lunch
with him at the Manse. Present, also, was a twenty-three year old
theological student from Reading, Edmund Foster, who had to
borrow a gun before accompanying Captain Brooks to the action.
Coming from Wakefield was the Rev. Caleb Prentiss, and from
Wilmington, old Chaplain Isaac Morrill of the French and Indian
War. Enroute he rested at Rev. Joseph Penniman's manse in Bed-
ford. Shocked to see his host still there, the old veteran, armed and
looking for a fight, exploded, "Why are you here on such a Day!"
"Oh," pleaded Parson Penniman, "I can't go." "Yes you can. Seize
your gun. Ride on with me." "Oh, I can't," he protested much to
Morrill's chagrin. "You go and fight. I will stay and pray." His inane
prayer is recorded, "We beseech Thee to send the British soldiers
where they will do some good; for Thou knowest, O Lord, that we
have no use for them about here." 36

Perhaps the appearance of the Reverend Doctor Phillips
Payson of Chelsea pleasantly surprised both clergy and laymen
alike in this embryonic army. At thirty-nine years of age, he was
openly friendly to the Royal government.37 So much so that he was
condemned by several of his demonstratively patriotic ministerial
friends, to the extent that at least one, Rev. Treadwell, refused to
have him exchange pulpits with him as was customarily done.
Payson witnessed the destruction done to his countrymen at
Lexington, and instantly became enthused to drive the Redcoats
from the land. An account in the August 2 edition of the Pennsyl-
vanian Journal relates:

The Rev. Mr. Payson, of Chelsea, in Massachusetts Bay, a mild,
thoughtful, sensible man, at the head of a party of his own
parish, attacked a party of regulars, killed some and took the
rest prisoners. This gentleman has been hitherto on the side of
government, but oppression having got to that pitch beyond
which even a wise man cannot bear, he has taken up arms in
defense of those rights, civil and religious, which cost their
forefathers so dearly.38

Rev. Payson led the charge, musket in hand, but the honor was
not his alone. Helping him plan and organize this independent

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
operation on the retreating British was his friend, the Rev. Edward Brooks of Medford.\(^39\)

Following the high passions and heat of the battle, a chaplain’s duty is not finished; largely it has just begun. Casualties were heavy on each side. Among the mortally injured was Lieutenant Edward Hall of the 43d Regiment. Wounded at North Bridge, he was captured on the retreat. Before his interment in Charlestown on May 4, he was to suffer much. Ministering to the wounded, Rev. David McClure found him and an American casualty in the same room. As a man of God, his duty was equally to them both. Actually Hall was dying, having taken three musket balls. Moreover, he was destitute of clothing excepting blood drenched breeches and stockings, and items given him in charity by his captors. He told Rev. McClure that he was stripped of his coat, vest, and shirt by British soldiers and by Americans of his shoes and buckles. He knew he was dying, and would never more see his native Scotland or his family again. The pastor recorded in his diary: “I conversed with him a short time on the prospect of death, and a preparation for that solemn scene; to which he appeared to pay serious attention.”\(^40\) Later Rev. McClure notes: “Saw three regulars in beds in a house in Cambridge; one of them mortally wounded. Conversed with them on their melancholy situation. One of them refused to answer, and cast me a revengeful look. Perhaps he was a papist, and his priest has pardoned his sins.”\(^41\)

Before continuing the enrolling and momentus events about to transpire at Boston and in Canada, it is well to pause and note from Chaplain Emerson several matters of lasting importance, problems faced and patterns formulated. Following Concord, Emerson served the newly formed army at Boston’s siege line and elsewhere while remaining the pastor at Concord. With the war’s enlargement, obviously, this arrangement could not continue. His diary entry for August 4, 1776, relates that he sought leave from both the church and town of Concord to “go as a Chaplain into the Continental Army, they to supply the pulpit.”\(^42\) An affirmative vote was given, and he left to join his men on a campaign. Arriving at camp, he wrote home, “I was more than paid for all ye Fatigue of ye Journey by receiving ye most sincere and cordial Congratula-
tions of Colo. Reed & ye rest of our Friends in ye Regiment, particularly Capt. Miles of Concord & his Company. I wish I may

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^ See footnotes at end of chapter.
answer their Expectations & be as useful as I hope I desire to be.” 43

In a day and theological environment when ecclesiastical endorsement in any denominational sense was not considered, he and other pastors entered the chaplaincy with the approval of their congregations. Early records abound of churches giving their leave and blessings to their pastors departing for duty as chaplains.44 It must be observed that it was quite normal for a young minister to receive a call from a congregation, and remain there throughout his entire life time. Endorsement, then, was a by-product of the local church permitting their pastor to go on an extended leave of absence rather than affirming to military authorities that he was a clergyman in good standing. We must wait until the War with Spain to see that type of endorsement procedure operative among Episcopalians, and for the twentieth century to witness it become universally applied. Later during the Revolution, however, there will appear, though for a vastly different reason, a letter representing genuine denominational endorsement, and this by Lutherans.

Early during Chaplain Emerson’s service in the Continental Army, he longed to be shed of the standard black clerical garb worn by civilian pastors, and chaplains in lieu of a uniform, and be attired more in keeping with his fellow soldiers. Edward Waldo Emerson wrote of this:

We can see the picture. The Chaplain, still young, vigorous and hopeful, riding away from the Manse on the captured ‘sorrel horse’ which the Provincial Congress had granted him to use, with valise and saddle-bags behind him. He is dressed in a long black coat of which he laughingly complains to his wife in a later letter that he shall be ashamed among the Military gentlemen, and begs her to turn his blue one, shorten its skirts, and face it with black. He perhaps wears a plain cocked-hat, and possibly a sword, for it is mentioned in the appraisal of his effects.45

Uniforms for chaplains were to become a matter of frequently changing regulations throughout the nineteenth century, and it will not be until the dawn of the twentieth century that this point was ultimately settled. Reminiscent of Chaplain Emerson’s request to his wife, chaplains currently wear on formal occasions in winter the Army Dress Mess Jacquet, blue with black facings; the latter color depicting their branch of service. Throughout the Revolution, however, chaplains, although officers without rank, had no

See footnotes at end of chapter.
specified uniform. Usually they wore, as in earlier campaigns in America, the standard civilian dress worn by the clergy which, of course, was quite distinctive, and in a way, was a uniform in itself.

Far more basic and important was the approach American pastors, chaplains, and their congregations took to the problem of war, and their role in that habitual plague of mankind. Throughout the long history of Christianity, three major stances on this dreadful subject have prevailed: the crusader, the pacifist, and the combatant who participates in war as a grim reality and sad necessity of life while wishing wholeheartedly for “peace, good will toward men.” 46 Throughout the four wars with France in which colonial America participated, and numerous Indian expeditions, existing records indicate many, if not most of the chaplains, went to war though longing for peace and the quiet life of their homes, churches, and communities. Several were patently crusaders at heart. And there were pacifists to be found—not chaplains, obviously—but clergymen, and the Quakers representing the larger and better known denomination taking this position. The issue of the morality of war was certainly not ignored, but faced. Universally in this era, chaplains bore arms, both fire arms and edge weapons, and on occasion used them as we have already seen. Apparently neither they nor their military and civilian congregations felt this was outside of the chaplain’s role, nor a violation of his holy office. Additionally by their sermons and examples they were not reluctant to do all in their power to enhance a unit’s combat power through fostering high morale and esprit de corps. As symbolized in Emerson, we find in the Revolution chaplains who were inheritors of a long tradition in America’s wars, going to camp and campaign armed and dedicated to using their spiritual and moral resources without the trace of apology, to insure victory for their cause. Emerson “also speaks of General Gates, who invited him to sup on venison at Head Quarters, gave him a frank and friendly reception, and though not professing himself to have much Religion, said he looked upon a Chaplain as a very much necessary officer in the Army. . . .” 47

An illness which proved to be fatal caused Chaplain Emerson to leave camp. Traveling as far as Rutland, Vermont on his journey home, he was too weak to go farther, and was graciously cared for by the village pastor, Rev. Benajah Root. Knowing that his death

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
was all but sure, Chaplain Emerson wrote to his soon to be widow, mother of four small children. Their seven year old son, Billy, became the father of America’s famous essayist and poet, Ralph Waldo Emerson. The chaplain’s letter home, written from his death bed on September 23, 1776, is instructive of his theological and spiritual outlook, showing us how an early chaplain prepared to die.

Dear Mrs. Emerson:—I am now on my way homeward but whether I ever shall reach there is very uncertain. May God give us such a humble acquiescence to his sovereign Will as will bring Honor to God, and Comfort to our own Souls. I desire to leave You & our dear little Ones, to a kind & gracious Providence. My dear, strive for Patience, let not a murmuring Tho’t, & sure not a murmuring Word drop from your Lips. Pray against Anxiety.—don’t distrust God’s making Provision for You. He will take Care of You & by Ways You could not think of.—I desire to leave you in ye Hands of a Covenant keeping God, & leave ye Matter with him who does all Things well. May ye God of ye Fathers be your God & yr dear little Ones, whom I would recommend to him, & rest your affectionate Husband

WM. EMERSON 48

Reverend Root, writing “to the Church and people of God in Concord” told of Chaplain Emerson’s death and burial.

He has often expressed his sense of your endearing kindness to him and how he wanted an opportunity to acknowledge it, and, if God should give him opportunity, how he would show his gratitude by exerting himself vigorously for your good. . . . His Disorder was very afflicting, long and tedious, yet he appeared through the whole of his sickness the most unexampled instance of patience I ever saw. He always appeared to be possessed of the greatest calmness, serenity & composure of mind, never appeared to be in the least surprised at the near views of Death, but met the King of Terrors with the greatest Composure. . . . He was decently interred at this place with the honours of way by a detachment from Colonel Vandyke’s Regt. commanded by Major Shippen.49

It is appropriate to ask why the chaplains and the men of their units went to war. Few men volunteer for high flown civic and religious reasons, no matter how valid these may be. Men have their private agenda, their motivations, as anyone familiar with soldiers knows full well. Some seek the transient vapor called glory,
others are pulled along by the herd instinct, a few to escape problems at home, while still others are moved by psychological factors not always known to themselves. The testimonies of Captain Preston and Chaplain Fithian shed light on this question.

Captain Levi Preston, a veteran of the Battle of Concord, was interviewed in his great age by Judge Mellon Chamberlain of Chelsea. The purpose of the meeting was to determine why a man left home to stand up to the world’s strongest empire, risking life, limb, property, and honor. The Judge gleaned from this interview the distinct impression “that their religious liberties were indissolubly connected with their civil liberties, and therefore, that it was a religious duty to resist aggressions on their civil rights; that a man could not be a good Christian who was not a true patriot.”

The interview proceeded as follows:

“Capt. Preston, what made you go to the Concord fight?”
The old man, bowed with the weight of four-score years and ten, raised himself upright, and turning to me, said, “What did I go for?”
“Yes,” I replied, “My histories all tell me you men of the Revolution took up arms against intolerable oppression. What was it?”
“Oppression, I didn’t feel any that I know of.”
“Were you not oppressed by the Stamp Act?”
“I never saw any stamps and I always understood that none were ever sold.”
“Well, what about the tea tax?”
“Tea tax, I never drank a drop of the stuff, the boys threw it all overboard?”
“But I suppose you have been reading Harrington, Sidney and Locke about the eternal principle of liberty?”
“I never heard of these men. The only books we had were the Bible, the Catechism, Watts’ psalms and hymns and the almanacs.”
“Well, then, what was the matter?”
“Young man, what we meant in fighting the British was this: We always had been free and we meant to be free always!”

Far to the southwest on the frontier linking Pennsylvania and Virginia, Philip Fithian recorded in his journal under the date of Thursday, June 1, 1775, his view of America, and his responses.

O America! with Reverence I look forward, & view thee in distinguished Majesty. It is not rash to assert, without the Aid of Prophecy, that thy Commerce, & Wealth, & Power, are Yet to

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
rule the Globe! I entered upon learning the Prussian Manual, Shame to have begun so late. 52

His dream led him to the Revolutionary Army, and to his death at Fort Washington, New York.

FOOTNOTES
Chapter IV


The resolutions of the Petersham document state:
Resolved, That it is the opinion of this town, that a despotic, arbitrary government, is the kingdom of this world, as set forth in the New-Testament, and is diametrically opposite to the establishment of Christianity in a society, and has a direct tendency to sink a people into a profound state of ignorance and irreligion; and that, if we have an eye to our own and posterity's happiness (not only in this world, but the world to come) it is our duty to oppose such a government: ...

Therefore resolved, That it is the first and highest social duty of this people, to consider of, and seek ways and means, for a speedy redress of these mighty grievances and intolerable wrongs; and that for the obtaining of this end, this people are warranted, by the laws of God and nature, in the use of every rightful art and energy of policy, stratagem and force: ...

We believe that there are very many, who in these days have kept their integrity and garments unsullied, and hope that God will deliver them and our nation for their sake. God will not suffer this land where the gospel hath flourished, to become a slave of the world; he will stir up witnesses of the truth; and in his own time, spirit his people to stand up for his cause, and deliver them.

7 Ibid., 198.


11 Ibid., 174–175.
12 Francis Parkman, Count Frontenac and New France Under Louis XIV, 11 (N. Y.: Little, Brown and Company, 1897), 152–153. P. S. Garand, The History of The City of Ogdenburg (Ogdenburg, N. Y.: 1927). While lauding Piquet's tender care of the "young children and crippled old people" who were prisoners, Bishop Piquet acknowledges that: "Besides helping suffering humanity, Father Piquet was obliged to organize war parties. He had to select men carefully, had to equip them, then prevail upon them to go to war, which was not always an easy task." 65. Further: "He was present at the battles of skirmishes of Lydia, Sarasto, Fort Edward, Lake George, and Lake Champlain. . . . " 15. See: Lord Amherst's letter of instruction to Major Robert Rogers reference the "enemies Indian scoundrels." Franklin B. Hough (ed.), Journals of Major Robert Rogers (Albany: Munself's Sons, 1883), 145.
13 Margaret W. Willard (ed.), Letters On The American Revolution 1774–1776 (Boston and N. Y.:
THE WAR BEGINS, 1775


14 John Witherspoon, "The dominion of Providence over the passions of man." A sermon preached at Princeton, on the 17th of May, 1776. Being the general fast appointed by Congress.


21 Ibid., Torbet, 261.


23 Ibid., 112.


26 Ibid., 105–106.

27 G. W. Balch, "Some Account of Reverend Benjamin Balch," The Historical Collections of the Danvers Historical Society, VII (1919), 88, 91. Concerning Benjamin Balch's military career, his grandson wrote: Following service aboard the Boston, Balch was transferred to the Alliance, the first frigate built for the Continental Congress. Two of his sons, Thomas and Benjamin, were his shipmates. On duty throughout the war, with short periods at home to earn money for his family's upkeep, he was heavily engaged in a violent sea battle in May 1781. A family tradition recorded by Mr. G. W. Balch survives. "The Alliance having fallen in with a British armed ship and a brig, the three vessels became engaged, but on account of a prevailing calm, the Alliance was at one time placed in great peril from the enemy's superior position, and the ability of the two vessels to deliver 'raking shots.' The peril the ship was in brought out the desperate courage of every man on board the Alliance, the 'cloth' being no exception. Reverend Benjamin, armed cap-a-pie, was seen in the midst of the fray, and thereafter is said to have become known as 'the fighting parson.' His son Thomas was also in the fight, and when father and son met afterwards, it was with an embrace and with the words 'Thank God, my son.' A favoring breeze having sprung up, the fleet Alliance came to her own, and captured both vessels." For argument that Chaplains John Reed and Edward Brooks preceded Balch in naval service, see: William L. Dike, "Three Saints and a Surgeon," The Chaplain, Vol. 34, No. 4, 1977, 10–15.

28 Ralph Waldo Emerson, Hymn Sung at the Completion of the Battle Monument, Concord, Mass., July 4, 1837, Stanza 1.


30 Edward Waldo Emerson, A Chaplain of The Revolution (Boston: Printed by Courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1922), 4–5.

31 Ibid., 11.

32 Ibid., 11–12.

33 Ibid., 12–13.


Ibid., 22.


CHAPTER V
“For The Cities Of Our God”

Declaration Of Independence, 1775–1776

Three days following the battles of Lexington and Concord, Rev. David Avery and twelve other militiamen left Gayesborough for Boston. The alarm was being spread across Massachusetts by Colonel Seth Pomeroy, and in response, men left home for war, carrying the barest necessities of their new duties: “Guns & lead & Flints & a small quantity of powder.” Little did the parson imagine as he marched along that his military service would take him farther from home than Boston, nor that until March 4, 1780, he would be called by a new title, “chaplain.” Neither could he foresee that places like Dorchester Heights, Long Island, Trenton, Valley Forge and Bennington were shortly to take on new meaning for him as a minister to America’s fighting sons. Enroute he preached at Northampton from Nehemiah 4:14, the 23d of April being the Lord’s Day. Before setting off at 10 o’clock the next morning, he preached once again, a short sermon using John 15:4 for his text. On April 29, he “wrote a Receipt for Capt. Watkins to Capt. Roger Drench for 68 meals for his company on their march to Boston.” This brief sentence in his diary gives a small hint that the novice chaplain had assumed some administrative duties for his unit.1

Chaplain Avery was but one of thousands of militiamen and volunteers heading to besiege the red-coats in Boston. Among that throng was young Daniel Barber, who enlisted in the command of Captain Elihu Humphrey of Simsbury, Connecticut. Descendant from a long line of Puritans and soldiers, he, at age 19, began a military career which would pass through the disaster of Long Island and terminate with a medical discharge. Later in life he became the rector of the Episcopal Church in Claremont, New

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Hampshire, leaving that communion on November 15, 1818, to become a Roman Catholic. Far different were his feelings toward religion, however, as he trudged along the road to war. Immediately prior to his enlistment, his grandfather died. The old gentleman's spiritual legacy to his grandson, given several months earlier, is worth noting.

He immediately began to speak to me concerning the times, and the apparent trials then approaching; (this was a little before the commencement of the Revolutionary war.) He said some serious things to me about religion; mentioned his fears lest the King of England, George the Third, had a design to make the Catholic the established religion of this country; said he should not live to see the day, as I might do; and, as it would be a dreadful day to us, he charged me to stand fast, and remain sound in the faith. This, I believe, was the last time I conversed with him before his death.²

Preparatory to leaving for the front, Barber remembered “the Rev. Mr. Pipkin of Farmington, was requested that day to preach the farewell sermon to the soldiers.” It was a touching and long remembered scene, similar to ones being performed throughout all the colonies. The pastor delivered a “warm and fervent prayer” for the success of American arms, followed by a message on the theme, “Play the man for your country, and for the cities of your God; and the Lord do that which seemeth good to him.” (Modification of II Samuel 10:12.) With the last “Amen” said, the drum rolled “to arms” and amid heartbreaking farewells, the company moved out.³

Again we pick up Private Barber’s account from his memoirs written late in life:

It was also a day of joy, on account of the union of design, feelings, and interest for the public welfare of our country, then threatened, and in danger of being brought into bondage by the uncontrolled and arbitrary power of George the Third and his armies. We were all ready to swear, that this same George, by granting the Quebec Bill, (that is, the privilege to Roman Catholics of worshipping God according to their own consciences,) had thereby become a traitor; had broke his coronation oath; was secretly a Papist; and whose design it was to oblige this country to submit itself to the unconstitutional powers of the English monarch, and, under him, and by his authority, be given up and destroyed, soul and body, by that frightful image with seven heads and ten horns. The real fears of Popery, in New

See footnotes at end of chapter.
England, had its influence; it stimulated many timorous pious people to send their sons to join the military ranks in the field, and jeopardize their lives in the bloody contest. The common word then was, 'No King, no Popery.'

The siege line occupied by American forces formed a crescent around the land side of Boston. From Dorchester Heights in the east, the fortifications ran west to Roxbury—across the narrow isthmus connecting Boston itself with the main land mass, north across the Charles River, to Cambridge, angling to the northeast, and terminating on the Mystic River. Militia units and their chaplains poured in to take up their positions. Most came for short durations, usually 90 days or even less.

Numbered among those New England parsons who raced pell-mell for Boston was the Rev. Nathaniel Eells, 65 year old pastor of Stonington, Connecticut. His brother Edward had served as a chaplain in the French and Indian War, and in front of Boston another Rev. Eells, Samuel, was ministering to those early volunteers. Likely he was a kinsman, for the Eells family was prolific, patriotic, and produced pastors in astonishing numbers for generations. Evidently Nathaniel did not remain too long before returning home. The following May, however, he was appointed the chaplain to a newly raised regiment of state troops with the important mission of guarding New London, a military-naval center.

Parenthetically, a dramatic account of this patriotic pastor and his congregation responding to Washington's call later in the war is indicative of the spirit of the times, and revealing of the respect held by a parish for its pastor. A biographer wrote:

In 1776, ten years before his death and while Washington was holding the British at bay on Harlem Heights, runners were sent to New England to arouse the people to come to the rescue. Just as 'Father' Eells, as he was called by his parishioners, had commenced his sermon, a horseman rushed up to the door of the meeting house, his horse covered with foam, and handed out to the Selectman, a paper, who immediately passed it to the minister. After perusing it, he laid it on the side of his Bible; and after preaching a brief sermon, told his congregation that 'The Great General Washington, and the sons and daughters of civil and religious liberty were in great peril and calling for help.' He then read the message and said: 'As many of you as are willing to peril your lives in this glorious cause will, immediately after the benediction, repair to the Public Green and organize yourselves into

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
a military company and prepare to start for the Patriots Camp by daylight tomorrow morning. The mothers and sisters will hasten home to make preparations for the journey.' He then told them, 'I consider the cause of the Patriots as one that God will bless.'

As the congregation passed out the men and older boys filed off to the Green where they soon organized and selected all their officers but the captain, and then appointed a committee to notify the minister that they were ready to report, and desired his presence.

When he arrived he was informed that they wanted his consent for them to elect him as their captain; that he had long been their spiritual leader and that they would be pleased to have him lead them in this trying hour. He replied that if they thought he was the most suitable person for so responsible a position, he would cheerfully accept their appointment. On arrival at camp, General Washington appointed Mr. Eells Chaplain and another was selected as captain of their company.5

To provide for the religious and spiritual needs of their militia forces, the colonies of New England began formally authorizing chaplains. Massachusetts hoped this need could be met by civilian pastors serving on a rotating basis. This plan quickly proved unworkable, however. On May 25, 1775, a committee of the Provincial Congress, armed with a list of pastors volunteering their services for military duty reported:

Whereas it has been represented to this Congress that several ministers of the religious assemblies within this Colony have expressed their willingness to attend the army in the capacity of chaplains, as they may be directed by the Congress, therefore Resolved, That it be and is hereby recommended to the ministers of the several assemblies within the Colony that, with the leave of their congregations, they attend said army in their several towns to the number of thirteen at one time, during the time the army shall be encamped, and that they make known their resolution to the Congress thereon, or to the committee of safety, as soon as may be.6

It will be noted that Massachusetts' resolution made no mention concerning the denominational affiliation of prospective chaplains, nor suggested that this was even a consideration. Apparently the only stipulation for service was a leave of absence from their respective congregations.

Chaplains volunteering for duty with units raised by the sev-
eral colonies were provided warrants or commissions similar to one extant that was issued by Connecticut.

To Rev. , greetings: Reposing special trust and confidence in your piety, ability, fidelity and good conduct, I do hereby appoint you, the said , a chaplain of the regiment, and do hereby authorize and empower you to exercise the several acts and duties of your office and station as chaplain of the said regiment, which you are faithfully to perform in a due and religious discharge thereof, according to the important trust reposed in you, for which this is your warrant.

Given under my hand and seal-at-arms, in the Colony aforesaid this day of , A.D. 1776.7

June 12, 1775 found Congress recommending “to Christians, of all denominations, to assemble for public worship, and to abstain from servile labour and recreation on said day.” The purpose was to beseech from the Almighty, among other blessings, “That virtue and true religion may revive and flourish throughout our land; And that all America may soon behold a gracious interposition of Heaven, for the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, a reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both; And that her civil and religious privileges may be secured to the latest posterity.” 8 On Wednesday, June 14, 1775, Congress resolved:

That six companies of expert riflemen, be immediately raised in Pennsylvania, two in Maryland, and two in Virginia; that each company consist of a captain, three lieutenants, four serjeants, four corporals, a drummer or trumpeter, and sixty-eight privates.

That each company, as soon as compleated, shall march and join the army near Boston, to be there employed as light infantry, under the command of the chief Officer in that army.

That the pay of the Officers and privates be as follows, viz. a captain @ 20 dollars per month; a lieutenant @ 13½ dollars; a serjeant @ 8 dollars; a corporal @ 7½ dollars; drummer or (trumpeter) @ 7½ doll.; privates @ 6½ dollars; to find their own arms and cloaths.

That the form of the enlistment be in the following words:

I have, this day, voluntarily enlisted myself, as a soldier, in the American continental army, for one year, unless sooner discharged: And I do bind myself to conform, in

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7 See footnotes at end of chapter.
all instances, to such rules and regulations, as are, or shall be, established for the government of the sad (said) Army.\textsuperscript{9}

In these few words was born the Continental Army—long term soldiers as opposed to short term militiamen.

Mr. Thomas Johnson of Maryland on June 15, 1775, nominated George Washington, Esq., of Virginia to be the General “to command all the continental forces, raised, or to be raised, for the defense of American liberty.”\textsuperscript{10} By the last day of June, the “Rules and Regulations” governing the Army were established. Of the fifty-nine articles comprising this corpus of military law, Articles II and LXIV are of particular interest.

Art. II. It is earnestly recommended to all officers and soldiers, diligently to attend Divine Services; and all officers and soldiers who shall behave indecently or irreverently at any place of Divine Worship, shall, if commissioned officers, be brought before a court-martial, there to be publicly and severely reprimanded by the President; if noncommissioned officers or soldiers, every person so offending, shall for his first offence, forfeit One Sixth of a Dollar, to be deducted out of his next pay; for the second offence, he shall not only forfeit a like sum, but be confined for twenty-four hours, and for every like offence, shall suffer and pay in like manner; which money so forfeited, shall be applied to the use of the sick soldiers of the troop or company to which the offender belongs.

Art. LXIV. No sutler shall be permitted to sell any kind of liquors or victuals, or to keep their houses or shops open, for the entertainment of soldiers, after nine at night, or before the beating of the reveilles, or upon Sundays, during divine service or sermon, on the penalty of being dismissed from all future suttling.\textsuperscript{11}

Although Congress did not recognize the existence of chaplains in their deliberations until July 29, it is apparent at the very founding of the Army that “divine service or sermon” was an integral part of Congressional thinking concerning America’s first military organization and life. And this, of course, implied the presence of chaplains! 29 July 1775 marked the official entrance of chaplains into the Continental Army, and consequently, the chaplaincy’s acknowledged birthday.

Along the Boston siege line, provincial chaplains and civilian clergymen provided pastoral care and other services. In their Commanding General they found a strong supporter. General

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Orders dated July 4, 1775, announced: "The Continental Congress having now taken all Troops of the several Colonies . . . into their Pay and Services. They are now the Troops of the UNITED PROVINCES of North America; . . . .," continuing:

The General most earnestly requires, and expects, a due observance of those articles of war, established for the Government of the army, which forbid profane cursing, swearing and drunkeness; And in like manner requires and expects, of all Officers, and Soldiers, not engaged on actual duty, a punctual attendance on divine Service, to implore the blessings of heaven upon the means used for our safety and defence.\(^\text{12}\)

Divine services were held regularly throughout the Continental Army as earlier in militia and volunteer units. What precipitated the directive in General Orders, dated August 5, 1775, is unknown, but apparently a special service was scheduled in a church building used normally by the Army for secular purposes. It requires, "The Church to be cleared tomorrow, and the Rev'd Mr. Doyles will perform Divine Service therein at ten O'Clock." \(^\text{13}\)

Before peering into the daily activities and ministries of chaplains, it is worthwhile to observe the administrative growth of the Army Chaplains. The army of which Washington took command at Cambridge on July 3, 1775, was little more than a well intentioned mob. His immediate task was to formulate policies, structure, and organization while at the same time endeavoring to defeat the armed might of the Crown. Regarding clergymen serving military units, there were chaplains appointed by the individual colonies, supplemented by pastors who came without official credentials, and visiting parsons coming for brief periods of time. On Saturday, July 29, 1775, Congress voted pay for various officers and enlisted personnel in the Continental Army, not previously covered in the resolution of June 16. Here is the first official recognition of chaplains by the Continental Congress, and reads simply in reference to dollars per month: "Chaplain, 20." \(^\text{14}\) This sum was the same extended to captains and Judge Advocates. By August 15, 1775, Washington counted 15 chaplains for 23 regiments in the Continental Army. The number fluctuated throughout the Autumn: in September, there were 20 chaplains and 40 regiments; in October, 22 chaplains and 41 regiments; in November, 21 chaplains and 39 regiments. \(^\text{15}\)

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
To rectify this chaotic condition, General Washington wrote to the Continental Congress on December 31, 1775:

I have long had it in my mind to mention it to Congress, that frequent applications have been made to me respecting the chaplains' pay, which is too small to encourage men of abilities. Some of them who have left their flocks are obliged to pay the parson acting for them more than they receive. I need not point out the great utility of gentlemen, whose lives and conversation are unexceptionable, being employed in that service in this army. There are two ways of making it worthy the attention of such. One is an advancement of their pay; the other, that one chaplain be appointed to two regiments. This last, I think, can be done without inconvenience. I beg leave to recommend this matter to Congress, whose sentiments hereon I shall impatiently expect.16

In response to General Washington’s request, the Congress on January 16, 1776 resolved to increase the pay of chaplains to 33½ dollars per month.17

Appearing in the Continental Army lists on January 8, 1776 are the names of the following chaplains: Noah Cooke, Ebenezer David, John Ellis, Abiel Leonard, Isaac Mansfield, Oliver Noble, Hezekiah Smith. The name of the chaplain assigned to the 3rd Continental Regiment, commanded by Colonel Ebenezer Learned, was not recorded. Each chaplain, other than Avery and the one whose name is not given, served two regiments. All were with infantry units except Leonard who was chaplain to the Artillery Regiment as well as the 20th Continental Regiment.18

On February 7, Washington announced:

the Continental Congress having been pleased to order, and direct, that there shall be one Chaplain to two Regiments, and that the pay of each Chaplain shall be thirty-three dollars and one third, pr Kalendar Month.—As there can be put fourteen Chaplains under this establishment to the 28 Regiments (including the Artillery, and Riffle Regiments) and as preference will be given to those Chaplains who served last Year, provided their conduct, and attendance, have been unexceptional: The Brigadiers are to enquire into this matter and with the Colonels, and commanding Officers of the several Regiments, arrange them agreeable to the above direction, and make report thereof that orders, may issue accordingly.19

Nearly two weeks passed, and the Brigadiers were prodded

See footnotes at end of chapter.
because of their failure to make reports concerning Washington's unlikely pair of inquiries, ammunition and "the Arrangement of Chaplains: may be informed that he expects an immediate report from them." Circumstances quickly set in to nullify Congress' solution to the problem of chaplain assignments. Washington, finding religious coverage far too inadequate, spelled out the difficulties, and threw the problem back to Congress who held the source of monies for manpower. In a letter to the President of the Continental Congress on June 28, 1776, he wrote:

I would also beg leave to mention to Congress, the necessity there is of some new regulations being entered into respecting the Chaplains of the Army. They will remember, that application was made to increase their pay, which was conceived too low for their support. It was proposed that if, It could not be done for the whole, the number should be lessened and one, Chaplain be appointed to two Regiments and an additional allowance made them on that Account. The Latter expedient was adopted, which, at that time and while the Army continued altogether at one Encampment, answered or at least did not produce any Capital inconveniences; But the Army now being differently circumstanced from what it then was, part here, part at Boston, and a third part detached to Canada, has Introduced much confusion and disorder in this Instance, nor do I know how it is possible to remedy the Evil, but by affixing one to each Regiment, with a salary competent to their support; no Shifting, no Change from one Regiment to another, can answer the purpose, and in many cases it could not be done, tho' the Regiments should consent, as where detachments are composed of unequal numbers, or Ordered from different Posts. Many more Inconveniences might be pointed out, but these it is presumed will sufficiently shew the defect of the present establishment and the propriety of an alteration. What that Alteration shall be Congress will please to determine.\(^\text{20}\)

Writing to Major General Artemas Ward on July 9, 1776, Washington mentioned that "Congress have made some Alteration in the Establishment of Chaplains, and advanced their Pay; as they have that of the regimental Surgeons. . . .\(^\text{21}\) The General Orders of that same day announced Congress' decision in the matter of pay and assignments, adding the Commander's personal directive for the qualifications required in chaplains to be recruited, and his attitude toward religion in the Army.

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
The Hon. Continental Congress having been pleased to allow a Chaplain to each Regiment, with the pay of Thirty-three Dollars and one third pr month—The Colonels or commanding officers of each regiment are directed to procure Chaplains accordingly; persons of good Characters and exemplary lives—To see that all inferior officers and soldiers pay them a suitable respect and attend carefully upon religious exercises. The blessing and protection of Heaven are at all times necessary but especially so in times of public distress and danger—The General hopes and trusts, that every officer and man, will endeavour so to live, and act, as becomes a Christian Soldier defending the dearest Rights and Liberties of his country.22

Following the above statement, General Washington proceeded to announce in the very next paragraph the momentus news that "The Hon. The Continental Congress . . . having been pleased to dissolve the Connection which subsisted between this Country, and Great Britain, and to declare the United Colonies of North America, free and independent States." 23 The Brigades were to be formed to hear the announcement of Independence. He then expressed his belief that each soldier must realize "now the peace and safety of his Country depends (under God) solely on the success of our arms." The juxtapositioning of these two announcements—that regarding chaplains followed by the announcement of Independence—is startling, and indicative!

That Washington was actuated throughout the Revolution and following by a deep sense of awe of the Diety is revealed repeatedly throughout his personal and official letters as well as his General Orders. The Army was notified on August 3 how he felt toward vile language, and church attendance.

That the Troops may have an opportunity of attending public worship, as well as take some rest after the great fatigue they have gone through; The General in future excuses them from fatigue duty on Sundays (except at the Ship Yards, or special occasions) until further orders. The General is sorry to be informed that the foolish, and wicked practice, of profane cursing and swearing (a Vice heretofore little known in an American Army) is growing into fashion; he hopes the officers will, by example, as well as influence, endeavour to check it, and that both they, and the men will reflect, that we can have little hopes of the blessing of Heaven on our Arms, if we insult it by our impiety, and folly; added to this, it is a vice so mean and low,

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without any temptation, that every man of sense, and character, detests and despises it.24

Earlier, the Commander had transmitted the desire of the Congress for a Fast Day. Dated May 15, 1776, the wording is specific and the sentiment transparent.

The Continental Congress having ordered, Friday the 17th. Instant to be observed as a day of “fasting, humiliation and prayer, humbly to supplicate the mercy of Almighty God, that it would please him to pardon all our manifold sins and transgressions, and to prosper the Arms of the United Colonies, and finally, establish the peace and freedom of America, upon a solid and lasting foundation”—The General commands all officers, and soldiers, to pay strict obedience to the Orders of the Continental Congress, and by their unfeigned, and pious observance of their religious duties, incline the Lord, and Giver of Victory, to prosper our arms.25

May 16, brought the following unequivocal order: “As the Troops are to be exempt from all duties of fatigue to morrow, the regiments are to parade on their regimental paradies, and to be marched from thence a little before Ten, to hear divine service from their respective chaplains.” 26

Meanwhile, military operations had been in full swing. Writing to Colonel Seth Pomeroy on May 4, 1775, the Rev. Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, informed him of conditions on the Massachusetts frontier. There is trouble with the Tories. Far more vital, however, is the secret American expedition moving against Ticonderoga. It will soon provide Ethan Allen a lasting place in history, and, Rev. Allen informed Pomeroy, “the taking of those places would afford us a key to all Canada.” 27 This letter is filled with phrases which now may sound heavily pietistic. When read in the context of a war, the outcome of which was decidedly uncertain, these devotional sentences take on a vastly deeper meaning. “I hope God will inspire you with wisdom from above in all your deliberations, and your soldiers with courage and fortitude, and that Boston will be speedily delivered into your hands.” Again: “I have been concerned lest General Gage should spread the smallpox in your army. May Heaven preserve you from his wicked wiles. May you be shielded, sir, in the day of battle, and obtain a complete victory over the enemies of God and mankind.” 28 Five days later, Rev. Allen wrote again. This time he told Pomeroy of an abundance of cannons and

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ammunition at Crown Point and Ticonderoga. With an eye far more militarily oriented than many of the militia officers, he proffered a most pertinent proposal. "Should the expedition succeed, and should the Council of War send up their order for the people this way, to transport by land twenty or thirty of the best of the cannon to headquarters, I doubt not but the people in this county would do it with expedition. We could easily collect a thousand yoke of cattle for the business." 29 Allen's proposal was ignored, to the detriment of the siege. It was not until winter that General Knox did the very thing this country parson, who was an avid reader of military history, had suggested. The result was that the commanding Dorchester Heights was shortly loaded with artillery, and the British, finding Boston no longer tenable, evacuated the city. It is worthy of note that during the actual movement of over fifty captured cannon and their ammunition by sled, Allen played a conspicuous part. He will again appear; not as a tactician, but as a hero-chaplain on several contested fields.

To the northwest of Boston, above Charlestown, rise two prominent terrain features: Bunker Hill and Breed's Hill. By occupying the latter, the American forces placed themselves in a position which the British could not ignore. Their line of communication was breached, endangering their shipping. With appalling contempt for both his enemy's abilities—a common attitude of English officers growing out of the French and Indian War—and for the safety of his own troops, and by not enveloping the promontory with his commanding naval force, the plan of Lord Howe was for Brigadier General Pigot to take a position to the American front, holding them in place, while his own force of light infantry by-passed the American fortification on the north side, enveloping them from the rear. Howe's movement was blocked, and a series of frontal assaults were made directly up the hill, at the cost of nearly fifty percent of the British force. Of the 3,200 American troops present, about 1,500 only were in position to be effectively used to stem the magnificently disciplined charges hurled against them. Present, as chaplain to Prescott's regiment in this action, was the Rev. Joseph Thaxter, veteran of Concord; his official commission as a chaplain would not be granted until January 23, 1776. In a later action, Thaxter was so severely wounded that through the remainder of his long life he walked

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with a limp. Discharged because of this injury, his heart and mind lingered with his beloved soldiers. We will see him again later in the war. Much later—June 17, 1825—the venerable Rev. Joseph Thaxter had an honor reserved for few combat veterans. On the fiftieth anniversary of the battle, he was selected to officiate as chaplain at the laying of the Bunker Hill Monument cornerstone.\(^{30}\)

Rev. John Martin had several close brushes with death at the Battle of Bunker Hill. While trying to persuade reluctant civilians to evacuate Charlestown, he entered a house for a drink of water only to have a cannon ball destroy the building. He fought and prayed, and by word and example, struggled to encourage his men. A newspaper article from Newport, dated July 3, 1775, tells of his spiritual efforts to affect morale, after the battle.

Last Friday evening the Rev. Mr. John Martin, who fought gallantly at Bunker’s Hill, and is since appointed to a post in the Rhode Island regiment, preached an animated sermon in this town, from Nehemiah IV., and part of the 14th verse: ‘Be not afraid of them: Remember the Lord which is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons and daughters, your wives and your houses.’ The next morning he preached another sermon, at 5 o’clock, and then set out for camp.\(^{31}\)

Numbered among the chaplains at this famous fight is the Rev. Samuel McClintock, pastor at Greenland, New Hampshire. Within sight of the action but out of the line of fire, he remained in the ancient posture of prayer throughout the battle, standing erect with arms outstretched toward Heaven. Like Moses, he cried out to the God of Battles while his young Joshuas fought. It’s a striking scene, and McClintock’s presence has been immortalized by Jonathan Trumbull in his renowned painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill. The old patriarch paid a terrible toll for his patriotism. Sending four sons to the army, one only returned to experience the hard won blessings of Liberty.\(^{32}\)

General Washington’s presence at Cambridge was greeted happily by one clergyman, but with some disappointment by another. The house gratefully offered and provided for his quarters was the home of the Rev. Dr. Samuel Langdon, President of Harvard, and former chaplain in King George’s War.\(^{33}\) Washington’s host was actively engaged again, as Chaplain David Avery noted in his diary, April 30, 1775: ‘Dr. Langdon being chaplain for

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ye army precht in ye College area I Tim. 6, 2–Fight ye good fight of faith, lay hold on eternal life.” Chaplain Benjamin Boardman complains about the Commander-in-Chief, however: “Genl. Washington gave out orders for officers to have rations; in general they will do pretty well, but it gives me an idea that he sets no great (blurred) by chaplains, as he has made them ye lowest in the grant, giving them only 2 while others have from 3 to 15.” Sourly he records the grant of rations, from Major Generals receiving 15 to Subalterns and Staff officers getting 2. Boardman, Chaplain of the 2nd Connecticut and later the 20th Continental Regiment, obviously neither recognized that a chaplain was a staff officer, nor knew that in the ancient struggles between commanders and staff officers, commanders will inevitably back their own counterparts! “Human nature will not change.”

Diaries and journals provide an abundance of materials, giving insights into the life style of chaplains in the makeshift army encircling Boston. Certainly there was much preaching, and daily prayer services were conducted by chaplains in provincial units. Divine services were held in local meeting houses, the common term for church buildings in that era, in open areas, and not infrequently under extraordinary conditions. Once at a Sunday service, Chaplain Avery “precht out at a window.” Sermon texts which Chaplain Boardman recorded for his own discourses are Deuteronomy 32:4 and 32:29, II Samuel 10:12, II Chronicles 20:12, Proverbs 27—“on the shortness of life,”—and Colossians 1:15. Without mentioning his text, he spoke during the morning of October 15, on Christ “in the character of an advocate.” Marsh preached from Judges 5:18, Bliss from Deuteronomy 23:9–14, and Cogwell used Joshua 5:13–14 to develop two main points: (1) Christ is the captain of all God’s Hosts, and (2) we should engage him on our side. Other clergymen at the siege of Boston, either chaplains or visitors, were Samuel Eells, Bray, Chapman, Dr. Stiles, Gordon—the historian whose volume has been quoted in the last chapter—Olcott, Bird, President Daggett of Yale, and Adams, the pastor at Roxbury. In the midst of all this piety, human nature has a way of making itself felt; a reminder that chaplains have “this treasure in earthen vessels.” Chaplain Boardman, no doubt sitting in soggy clothes and chilled to the bone, confided to his diary: “Friday Novr 10. Last night was a rainy blustering night. I hope the

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enemy may have had some evidence that Heaven frowns on them." 37 So much for loving one’s enemies!

Pastoral duties included visiting the sick and wounded, and care for the dying. Boardman records: “Visited the sick this day, baptizing one Benjamin Taylor of Hebron who was very sick, after having discoursed with him upon yt (that) subject a day or two before.” 38 Chaplain Avery attended a dying soldier who was mortally wounded by an accidentally discharged weapon. He observed: “Mr. Phelps appeared to be very calm and patient—had a good sense of God’s gov’t & ye Equality of Providence . . . . Mr. Phelps died. I closed his eyes—& gave words of exhortation to ye spectators.” 39

Throughout the period of the Revolution, funerals, both civilian and military, British and American, were conducted with dignity, pomp, and ceremony. It was an age of very formal courtesies to both the living and the dead. References abound in journals. Chaplain Boardman gives a detailed account of the military funeral of Lieutenant Wadsworths, on Monday, October 30.

Attended Lieut. Wadsworths funeral to day. His mother & one of his brothers present. The procession was Ensn Warner at the head of ye advanced guard with their arms reversed; then the seargts who were bearers; then the corps covered with black velvet; on the top of the coffin were placed two naked swords with black ribands on yr (their) hilts, crossing each other with yr points forward toward the feet of the corps. Then followed the mourners; ye (then) yt (that) Coll of ye regt, in connection with whom were the field officers of other regts; then the capts &c of ye same regt followed with a large number under arms wh brought up ye rear. On the fife was played the tune called the Funeral Thoughts. At the end of each line in the tune the drums beat one stroke. Ensn had the colours half wound with a black riband flowing from the top of ye pole.40

Pastoral counseling went beyond purely spiritual matters. Pay is always high on the list of things affecting a soldier’s morale, and it was no different two centuries ago. Recognizing that there were no allotments, and families were bereft of financial support except that coming to their soldier-husbands, money took on an extreme importance throughout the course of the war. November 1, 1775, found Chaplain Boardman stemming a potential riot.

Nothing special all this day till about 7 o’clock in the evening,

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when there was a movement among the soildiery in Coll Parsons regt & ours. A tumult arose wherein there was manifested great uneasiness about yr (their) being paid in Kalendar months, but the general soon stilled matters. I was out among ym (them) & advised ym yt (that) if they had any difficulties yy (they) would lay the same before ye general in some orderly manner, & yy seemed to hearken, & after a while matters eased away, &c.41

A visiting clergyman caused difficulties—over conscience—for himself and some chaplains. The problem is indicative of the ambiguity of this unsettled time before the signing of the Declaration of Independence. The Rev. Jeremy Belknap was appointed chaplain to New Hampshire troops, but failing health prohibited his occupying that office. His journal gives hints that he was conspicuous with dignity and social grace, but lacking in humor. A diary entry for October 22, 1775, points up the issue between himself and another civilian parson—both obviously patriotic—and some of the military chaplains.

Preached all day in the meeting-house. After meeting I was again told by the chaplain that it was disagreeable to the generals to pray for the king. I answered, that the same authority which appointed the generals had ordered the king to be prayed for at the last Continental Fast; and, till that was revoked, I should think it my duty to do it.

Dr. Appleton prayed in the afternoon, and mentioned the king with much affection. It is too assuming in the generals to find fault with it.42

This will not be the last time chaplains and civilian clergymen will quarrel over ecclesiastical duties, both well intentioned, but conditioned by their respective environments.

Joining the Continental Army on September 17, 1775, was Rev. John Murray, “appointed Chaplain to the Rhode-Island Regiments and is to be respected as such.”43 Actually Murray had arrived at the siege of Boston the previous May, and his doctrinal differences—he is the Founder of Universalism—caused much rancor to arise in his fellow chaplains. Illness forced him soon to leave the army, being replaced by Chaplain Ebenezer David, but controversy followed him to his grave. His doctrine challenged the Calvanistic position, declaring, “that every individual shall in due time be separated from sin, and rendered fit to associate with the denezins of heaven.”44 Among the foremost of his challengers was

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Chaplain John Cleaveland, who responded to Murray's theological gauntlet by publishing *An Attempt to Nip in the Bud the Unscriptural Doctrine of Universal Salvation*,

Murray was a personable and sensitive man. His entrance into the military chaplaincy was through the initiative of several commanders; interestingly, they were not of his faith. Happily, the letter of invitation to become a chaplain has been preserved, and expresses both strong feelings concerning Rev. Murray and the place of religion in the Army.

Dear Sir:

Amidst that concurrence of events which the great Creator in infinite wisdom directs, for the accomplishment of his own purposes, a British armament hath set hostile foot upon American ground. What the design of the Almighty may be, we cannot at present absolutely determine. One thing we know, our cause is just, and also that the Parent of the universe can do no wrong. An army hath been raised in this Colony, which is now stationed upon Jamaica Plains in Roxbury, and that this army may do honor to themselves, and the cause in which they are embarked, it is requisite propriety of manners, regularity of conduct, and a due reliance upon the Almighty controller of events, should be cultivated and enforced. The most probable human means we can devise to effect an object so ardently to be desired, consist in a decent, sincere, and devout attendance, at opportune seasons, upon divine worship. We have, therefore, selected you, as a Chaplain to our Brigade, well convinced that your extensive benevolence and abilities will justify our choice. We cannot, without doing violence to the opinion we have formed of your character, doubt of your ready compliance with our united request. The support you will receive shall exactly correspond with your feelings, and your wishes. We are, dear sir, &c. &c. &c.

Signed in behalf of the Brigade,

J. N. VARNUM

May 24, 1775.45

Following the evacuation of Boston by British forces, on March 17, 1776, a Sunday, clergymen were not restrained in their comments, pro and con, making for excellent press. The Pennsylvania Evening Post, March 30 issue, reports:

This afternoon, a few hours after the British retreated, the Reverend Mr. Leonard, preached at Cambridge an excellent sermon, in the audience of his Excellency the General, and others of distinction, well adapted to the interesting event of the

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45 See footnotes at end of chapter.
day, from Exodus XIV.25: “And took off their chariot wheels, that they drave them heavily: so that the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians.” 46

Across the sea in England, a correspondent for the Pennsylvania Evening Post recorded:

A certain popular preacher not far from town, last Sunday took his text from these words, Isaiah XXI.15: “For they fled from the sword—from the drawn sword and the best bow, and from the grievousness of war;” which words he thought to be highly descriptive of the inglorious retreat of the King’s troops from Boston. And if it really was true, that these troops had ever turned a house of religious worship into a play house, he thought, go where they will, they can never expect success in any one enterprise, till by deep repentance they had conciliated the favor of heaven.47

Far different was the editorializing by the New York Packet, April 6, on the sermon preached by Rev. Bridges at Chelorford, Massachusetts. He spoke from the text, II Kings 7:7; “Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight, and left their tents and their horses, and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their lives.” The journalist commented: “This passage of Scripture is a good description of the late flight of our ministerial enemies from Boston, for they left their tents and their horses, and a number of Tories for asses.” 48

Chaplain Abiel Leonard, mentioned earlier, represents the weight of humanity which each chaplain bares in his own life. Human beings themselves, they did—and do—strive to witness to the eternal truths of God in spite of their own weaknesses, “as full of frailty as of faith.” General Washington wrote to Governor Nicolas Cooke from Cambridge, on December 14, 1775 concerning Chaplain Leonard. This letter, although not designed to be, is really the earliest example of something comparable to an Officers Efficiency Report. Certainly it reveals the General’s immense esteem for this chaplain.

Having heard that It’s doubtful, whether the Reverend Mr. Leonard from your Colony, will have it in his power to Continue here as a Chaplain, I cannot but express some Concern, as I think his departure will be a loss. His General Conduct has been exemplary and praiseworthy: In discharging the duties of his

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Office, active and industrious; he has discovered himself warm and steady friend to his Country, and taken great pains to animate the Soldiery and Impress them with a knowledge of the important rights as we are contending for. Upon the late dissertation of the Troops, he gave a Sensible and judicious discourse, holding forth the Necessity of courage and bravery and at the same time of Obedience and Subordination to those in Command. ("the late dissertation of the Troops," refers to the departure of Connecticut soldiers on December 14. Their enlistments had expired, and by their leaving Washington's line weakened.) In justice to the merits of this Gentleman, I thought it only right to give you this Testimonial of my Opinion of him and to mention him to you, as a person worthy of your esteem and that of the public.49

Chaplain Leonard did not leave the army, but continued serving the Third Connecticut Regiment and Knox's Continental Artillery through 1776. It is reported that he "became insane," and died on August 14, 1777.50 In a letter from a "Camp 5 Miles North of Peeks Kills" on August 2, 1777, Chaplain Ebenezer David provides more detail:

I suppose you have heard the shocking news of Parson Leonards making an attack upon his own Life with a Razon the Gash was deep & his life despaired of some time but hopes are now entertained of his recovery—What are men when left to themselves—this awful accident gives me great concern not only as it respects himself & his immediate connections but on account of the use which the Enemies of our Religion & Country will make of it—People here are pretty generally satisfied what disappointments lead him to so dreadful an act. . . .51

This tragedy is the first known chaplain's suicide. What were those "disappointments"? Had his health been failing? He was a young man at the time of his death, having been born in 1740. Were there family problems gnawing at his heart? Did the brutality of the battlefield shatter a sensitive soul beyond repair? Obviously a generation less conscious of the workings of the emotions than ours did not perceive his cry for help eighteen months before this horrible step, although as Washington's letter suggests, he was undergoing grave but unidentified problems.

Surviving Chaplain Leonard is a work, unique for its time, which tells us something of the man. Quite contrary to the anti-prayer book stance taken by most Congregationalists, he wrote a

See footnotes at end of chapter.
lengthy prayer for the devotional use of America's earliest soldiers in our national drama. It is filled with words directly from the Testaments, Old and New, and in its written form perhaps reflects Leonard's education in the Presbyterian tradition, at the College of New Jersey—now Princeton. (See Appendix VIII.)

Nor was Chaplain Leonard the only casualty dating from the siege of Boston. The Rev. Joseph Emerson ministered as a volunteer chaplain, returning home desperately ill. The death of this chaplain, who saw combat duty at Louisburg in King George's War, and preached so powerfully, though as a civilian, to soldiers in his village during the French and Indian War, occurred on October 29, 1775. While ministering to Colonel Prescott's Regiment, he "took a severe cold which a few months later caused his death. . . ." There is a hint that his cold, to use the eighteenth century term, was in reality tuberculosis—a disease at that period unidentified by specific nomenclature. To him is attributed a unique event: "... Mr. Emerson offered up before the troops the first prayer ever made in the American camp." The Town of Pepperrell erected a monument to mark his grave. Even when allowing for the hyperbolic sentiments engraved on the markers of the deceased, a glimpse is obtained of what the people of that era found worthy of remembrance in their pastor's life.

. . . Pastor of the Church here
who deceased Oct 29th, 1775,
in the 52d year of his age,
and 29th of his Ministry:
Steadfast in the Faith
once delivered to the Saints,
Fixed and laborious
in the cause of Christ & precious souls
Exemplary
in visiting and sympathizing
with his Flock,
Diligent in improving his Talents;
A kind Husband, a tender Parent,
A faithful Reprover, a constant Friend,
and a true Patriot.
Having ceased from his Labours
his works follow him."

Coinciding with the siege of Boston was the American attack on Canada. Two forces moved northward: one under the com-

See footnotes at end of chapter.
mand of General Richard Montgomery via St. John and Chambly to Montreal; the other led by Colonel Benedict Arnold to Quebec by way of the Kennebec and Chaudiere Rivers, and the portage separating them. Arnold’s expedition to Quebec numbered 1100 men, two of whose names would become household words, Daniel Morgan of Virginia and Aaron Burr. The Continental Congress was hopeful that the Canadians were restless under the rule of their late enemy, and would join the American cause. Canadian support could be raised, and the British deprived of a key staging area for invading the rebellious colonies. The naivete of this political objective in contrast to the purely military goals is evident in light of the vitriolic scorn heaped upon the French Canadians because of the Quebec Act of 1774. To add insult to insult, the First Continental Congress sent an “Address To the Inhabitants Of the Province of Quebec,” October 26, 1774. Among numerous reasons proposed that the Canadians “add yourselves to us” is the blatant absurdity, if not abject hypocrisy, of the following.

We are too well acquainted with the liberality of sentiment distinguishing your nation, to imagine that difference of religion will prejudice you against a hearty amity with us. You know that the transcendent nature of freedom elevates those who unite in her cause above all such low-minded infirmities. The Swiss cantons furnish a memorable proof of this truth. Their union is composed of Roman Catholic and Protestant states, living in the utmost concord and peace with one another, and thereby enabled, ever since they bravely vindicated their freedom, to defy and defeat every tyrant that has invaded them.55

At first the invading force was well received, but its behaviour quickly offended the inhabitants. There is small wonder, indeed, that the Canadian reception became comparable in chill to their St. Lawrence River basin winter. Canadians were not unanimous in rejecting Colonial America’s call to fight against England, although the vast majority desired to maintain a position of neutrality.

In a letter to Colonel Benedict Arnold, sent from his camp at Cambridge on September 14, 1775, George Washington directed him as follows.

I also give it in Charge to you to avoid all Disrespect to or Contempt of the Religion of the Country and its Ceremonies. Prudence, Policy, and a true Christian Spirit, will lead us to look with Compassion upon their Errors without insulting them.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
While we are contending for our own Liberty, we should be very cautious of violating the Rights of Conscience in others, ever considering that God alone is the Judge of the Hearts of Men, and to him only in this Case, they are answerable.56

Specific instructions were also enumerated. The 14th item is of importance to our study.

As the Contempt of the Religion of a Country by ridiculing any of its Ceremonies or affronting its Ministers or Votaries has ever been deeply resented, you are to be particularly careful to restrain every Officer and Soldier from such Imprudence and Folly and to punish every Instance of it. On the other hand, as far as lays in your power, you are to protect and support the free Exercise of the Religion of the Country and the undisturbed Enjoyment of the rights of Conscience in religious Matters, with your utmost Influence and Authority.57

Assembling at Newburyport, Arnold's expedition had an opportunity to hear its chaplain, Rev. Samuel Spring, lead in Divine worship on September 17. The diary of Caleb Haskell records his attendance at this service, although without comment. Chaplain Spring described the service in his own words:

On the Sabbath morning the officers and as many of the soldiers as could be crowded on to the floor of the house, were marched into the Presbyterian Church in Federal street. They marched in with colors flying, and drums beating, and formed two lines, through which I passed—they presenting arms and the drums rolling until I was seated in the pulpit. Then the soldiers stacked their arms all over the aisles, and I preached to the army and to the citizens, who crowded the galleries, from this text: “If thy spirit go not with us, carry us not up hence.” 58

Present were Arnold and Morgan. Following the service the unit officers visited George Whitefield's crypt, opened it, and finding his collar and wristbands intact, cut them in pieces for treasured relics.59

Anchoring at Georgetown after a day's sailing, the soon-to-be invaders of Canada were given the blessings of the village pastor. The Rev. Ezekiel Emerson visited Colonel Arnold, and being so overwhelmed with both the perils and potentials inherent in his mission, offered to lead the soldiers in prayer. “His invocation was continued (so tradition asserts) for an hour and three-quarters, with what effect on the officers and crew is not recorded.” 60

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
interminable length of the pastor's prayer was just the first trial of many which Arnold's people were called on to endure. His eleven transports were left at Fort Western—opposite the site of present day Augusta,—and the overland trek through the dense wilderness began. Enroute they passed the remnants of a church where Father Ralle, a Jesuit missionary to the Abenaki Indians led his flock in worship. He died and was scalped by colonial hands in 1724; also killed were 30 of his Indians. 61 Food ran out, and Arnold's men faced starvation. Dr. Senter, the expedition's surgeon, and close traveling companion to Chaplain Spring, recorded their plight. They ate as "our greatest luxuries" water and flour, nicknamed Lillipu, with disastrous results to their bowels. The unit dog was devoured "without leaving any vestige of the sacrifice. Nor did the shaving soap, pomatum, and even lip salve, leather of their shoes, cartridge boxes, &., share any better fate; . . ." 59 Chaplain Spring marched on, dressed in his "black canonicals," hardly the attire for such a toilsome venture. 62 By Christmas they were in the vicinity of Quebec, where he preached a sermon from "2nd Chronicles, elaborating on the strength of the Assyrians being 'an arm of flesh' while God fought for the people of Hezekiah of Judah." 63 Hardly a traditional Christmas theme, but war and Dissenter standards make harsh demands! Earlier he had preached to his unit regularly in the wilderness, standing on a stack of knapsacks for a pulpit. 64

The attack on Quebec was abortive, Colonel Arnold being wounded as he charged into a cul-de-sac. He was dragged to safety. Chaplain Spring examined the wounded leg, his hands covered with his commander's blood. Throughout the remainder of this action, Arnold, brave if nothing else, insisted on standing lest his men become discouraged by having their commander ineffective. So throughout the battle he stood, supported by his chaplain. Following the battle, it was Spring who helped him to the rear. 65

Concurrently, while Arnold invaded Canada, General Montgomery's force drove northward. Accompanying this advance were Chaplains Benjamin Trumbull, Daniel McCalla, and Hezekiah Ripley. The latter had for one of his congregants on Easter Day, 1776, Sgt. Bayze Wells. This noncommissioned officer recorded his fascination at attending a Roman Catholic Mass that Easter, which in contrast to the Dissenters' tradition, "is A Great Day Amongst Papists." He spent the day observing this strange and

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unfamiliar form of worship, “then Left that Church and Attended Worship at the South Church where we had a Sermon Preached from these words the Proud Man Shall be Brought Lough Delvd (delivered) By Ripley.” Obviously, the chaplain did not follow the church calendar in his sermon topics any more than did Chaplain Spring. Eight days later, he preached again from Luke 12:20.  

Chaplain McCalla’s experience in Montgomery’s force proved to be less than happy. Chaplain to General Thompson’s command, he was in the forefront of the Battle of Three Rivers. It was complete confusion! The American force arrived late, after sunrise, losing the element of surprise; British troops outflanked the attackers who became hopelessly entangled in a swamp. Finally the Americans did mount an attack, only to be cut to pieces. Chaplain McCalla charged gloriously at the side of his commander, and they were ingloriously captured together. Their next step was a prison ship, foul and loathsome. Ultimately, the chaplain was paroled, and for him the war was over as a participant.

Nothing could have been in greater contrast than the experiences of Chaplain Trumbull, three of whose diaries have survived. During the expedition to Canada, his references show a clergyman given to noting exact military details, but totally discouraged in his role as chaplain. He had not been prepared for life in camp and the field, and the rough and ready ways of soldiers shocked this sensitive village parson. Inserted among his most precise military observations is a groan of frustration, recorded on November 6, 1775:

These Things all Show the Wonderful Goodness of God and the most Conspicuous Interposition of a Divine hand. And what has rendered this Good of God Still more remarkable, and proclaimed his Patience and Longsuffering even to Astonishment, has been its Triumphant and reigning over the greatest Wickedness. Perhaps there never was a more ill governed Profane and Wicked army among a People of Such Advantages, on Earth.

Thursday, November 16, was Thanksgiving Day. Again he complains to his notebook: “There is no Disposition here to religious Duties. We have not had one Day of Thanksgiving or one publick Prayer ordered for all the victories of this Season. I hate such Company and ardently wish for the Return of Seasons of Domestick and publick Worship.”

See footnotes at end of chapter.
The capture of St. John and Chambly did elicit from General Washington's General Orders on November 14, 1775, a call to "shew their Gratitude to providence, for thus favoring the Cause of Freedom and America; and by their thankfulness to God, their zeal and perseverance in this righteous Cause, continue to deserve his future blessings." 70

Throughout the campaigns of 1776, Chaplain Trumbull's diary reflects a considerably greater joy in his service, even though it entailed heavy combat—which nearly cost him his life—and much suffering. Leaving the service, he was elected commander of a volunteer unit on January 10, 1777, leading them in the campaign in Westchester County, New York. 71 His deep dedication to Christian doctrine and practice did not change, but his attitude respecting soldiers certainly was greatly altered. 72 Nor ought he to be too harshly judged for his early raining of anathemas on his military flock. In addition to the cultural shock concomitant with uprooting a quiet pastor from his closet of prayer and meditation to a noisy camp, Private Barber suggests other reasons for any new and inexperienced chaplain being upset. Speaking about not keeping the Sabbath-holy, and this is indicative only of many other expressions of soldierly mis-behaviour, he writes: "...the habits of a soldier, soon effected a degree of relaxation in most of us. In process of time, many once pious, at least in form and appearance, came into the practice of treating all days nearly alike; yet there were some who kept up the practice of reading Watts' Psalms and Hymns, as a book of devotion." 73

Of great importance to this study is the raising of two Canadian regiments for the American army, under the command of Colonels Hazen and Livingston, respectively. The Rev. Adrian H. Germain writes, "Bishop Briand forbade his flock to aid the Americans, and threatened any who should join the Continental Army with the severest ecclesiastical censures." 74 This was done in spite of the efforts of a commission sent to Canada by Congress comprised of Samuel Chase, Benjamin Franklin, and Charles Carroll, and his cousin, Father—later Bishop—John Carroll. The Rev. Pierre Rene Floquet, S. J. defied the Bishop. Colonel Hazen wrote: "Indeed, in all appearance, it has been in all difficulty that I have prevailed on them thus far to their duty, in which 'Sier Floquette' has assisted by giving them absolution when every Priest in the

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country refused. He has now the name of My Chaplain." 75 His appointment, as a chaplain, however, was never confirmed; probably by his own desire since he did not seem to be ardent in the American cause. Rev. Floquet’s letter to Bishop Briand, dated June 15, 1776, states that he served the Americans “considerably from human respect.” He elucidates: he feared that should he not minister to their needs, “I should have caused the persecution of our missionaries in Pennsylvania and Maryland.” Further, he writes:

... In truth, in conscience, and before God, am I, or have I been a BOSTONNAIS rebel? No, my lord. . . . I have told those who consulted me, that they did well to offer themselves for service of the King, and that those who rebelled against orders did wrong. I have always had the Domini Salvum sung at our Benedictions and have offered the prayer for the King. . . . I have never said, written or done anything in behalf of Congress or of the United Colonies, nor have I received anything from them except our dilapidated house.” 76

He did inform Bishop Jean Olivier Briand that “Being asked to confess them, I consented to receive them if they could assure me that they would not go to the siege of Quebec, but merely do peaceful duty. . . .”

Father Louis Eustace Lotbiniere elected to join with the American cause, being appointed Chaplain to Colonel Livingston’s Regiment on January 26, 1776, and confirmed by Congress on August 10, 1776. He would serve until the end of the war in an excommunicated status from his church with the bulk of his service being given in the Philadelphia area. Lotbiniere was the first Roman Catholic to serve as a chaplain in the American Army, and the only one of his Church during the Revolution.77

Another priest, Father de la Valiniere, a Sulpician, was an outspoken pro-American. While not involved with the military forces of Montgomery and Arnold, he was vociferous to the extent that Bishop Briand saw fit to remove him. Ultimately, for the peace of the diocese if not for the good of his soul, he was shipped back to France. 78

With the Siege of Boston ending in victory and the Canadian venture ending in failure, the war spread to new and wider theaters throughout the colonies. Militia units and their chaplains served when required for short durations in limited sectors, while the

See footnotes at end of chapter.
chaplain of the Continental Army campaigned far and wide, and for long periods of time. One hundred and eleven chaplains are known definitely to have served in the Continental Army during the course of its eight years duration.\(^7^9\)

New England was not the only place where patriotism and religion met for the furtherance of American Independence. In September, 1775, Colonel William Moultrie began fortifying Charlestown harbour. Numbered among his officers was Captain Barnard Elliot, thankfully the keeper of a diary. Later, this patriot—by then a Major—had the pleasure of reading to the people of Charlestown the newly arrived Declaration of Independence: August 5, 1776. The ceremony was opened with prayer, and closed with an address by the Reverend William Percy, an Anglican.\(^8^0\) Captain Elliot’s efforts to minister to the religious needs of the men in his command are worthy of careful note. He did not stint them, as his diary gives evidence, in theology or practical piety. Probably there were others before him, but this is the earliest known record of a unit commander during the Revolution who, in the absence of a chaplain, conducted Divine services for the men in his command. (See Appendix IX.)

During this troublous period when loyalties were being examined and decisions being weighed as to their logical ramifications in reference to personal commitment, the pastor of the Lutheran congregation at Woodstock, Virginia made a grave choice; namely, how best to serve God and country. Selecting Ecclesiastes 3:1 for his text, his sermon on that cold Sunday morning in January, 1776, had a shocking effect on his worshippers.

The church was crowded with the German farmers, their wives and children, from far and near. The pastor implored his people to support the struggle for liberty. ‘Dear brethren and sisters,’ he exclaimed, ‘I feel truly grieved to announce that this is my farewell sermon, but if it is God’s will I shall soon return to you. It is a sacred duty that calls me from you and I feel I must submit to it. The endangered fatherland, to which we owe wealth and blood, needs our arms—it calls on its sons to drive off the oppressors. You know how much we have suffered for years—that all our petitions for help have been in vain—and that the King of England shut his ears to our complaints. The Holy Scripture says: ‘There is a time for everything in this world: a time to talk, a time to be silent, a time to preach and to pray—but also a time to fight—and this time has come! There-
fore, whoever loves freedom and his new fatherland, he may follow me!" 81

Then followed an unprecedented scene. John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, their thirty-five year old pastor, removed his black clerical robes in their presence, and was found fully clothed in the uniform of a military officer. He had been commissioned, through the efforts of George Washington and Patrick Henry, a colonel with orders to raise and command the 8th Virginia Regiment. For his action, he had the precedents of the fighting bishops of the 8th—14th centuries. A number of his Presbyterian and Anglican contemporaries, who were pastors, followed the same tack, serving as line-officers throughout the conflict. Apparently their congregants saw nothing in serving God as a commander to be in violation of the expectations of a minister. Rising to their feet, the congregation burst into a song which spoke of loyalty in an earlier period of revolution, and of trust in their God; "Eine feste Burg ist unser Gott." Rallying around their parson-turned-soldier, 162 men from his congregation enlisted in less than thirty minutes. 82

Muhlenberg was no novice to arms. His father had sent him as an unruly youngster to Germany to study and learn discipline, but the gentleman into whose care he was sent, Gotthilf August Francke, finding him restless and reckless, apprenticed him to a grocer after an attempt at educating him at Waisenhaus. He had been expelled for thrashing a professor. Without consent, he joined a German cavalry unit where he developed a reputation for hard charging audacity. Somehow he next became a member of the 60th Regiment of Foot, known as the Royal American, and, as secretary to an officer, returned to the Colonies, being discharged in 1767. The reputation he had made in the Hanover Dragoons and other German circles was too striking to be soon forgotten, and when the Hessians at Brandywine ran up against his columns, and recognized their former comrade mounted on a horse, they cast terrified glances at one another, exclaiming, "hier kommt teufel Pete"—"here comes Devil Pete!" 83 Indeed Muhlenberg was a fighter: Charlestown, Georgia, Brandywine, Germantown, Monmouth, Virginia, and Yorktown are but a few of his actions. Unlike other clergymen who served as commanders, Muhlenberg—sometimes referred to by his contemporaries as "the Parson-

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General"—never returned to the ministry following his wartime service.  

An incident in Peter Muhlenberg's life is indicative of the times. The son of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, "the Father of American Lutheranism," he studied theology under Carl Magnus von Wrangel, and served Lutheran congregations at Bedminster and New Germantown, New Jersey, prior to his call to Woodstock, Virginia in 1771. But, in order to be considered a clergyman by the Established Church in Virginia, and obtain the privileges thereof, he had to go to England where he was ordained an Anglican Church clergyman on April 23, 1772! It was this type of requirement to which the powerful Presbyterians and less influential Baptist bodies of Virginia objected, leading ultimately to their strong stand for separation of church and state. Muhlenberg never pastored an Anglican congregation!  

Chaplain to the unit which the Reverend Muhlenberg commanded was Christian Streit. The commander's father, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, noted in his journal for March 20, 1776:  

Had a visit from Mag. Christian Streit... about a call to an army chaplaincy in Virginia. He seemed favorably disposed to accept the service if his four congregations in Easton, Greenwich, Wilhelms Town, and Trucken Land were willing to release him and another preacher could be put in his place at once by our ministerium. We thought... that Mr. Streit should put the proposal to his congregations next Sunday, etc., and then report to me next week..."  

Writing under the date of July 19, 1776, Rev. Christian Streit informed H. M. Muhlenberg "that he intends to accept service as an army chaplain in Virginia and the request that his congregations be cared for by a minister from our Ministerium."  

Calling upon the old patriarch again, on August 23, 1776, Streit requested some type of letter to help him on his way, traveling being difficult and dangerous in those uncertain times. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg kept in his Journal a copy of the letter which he provided the novice chaplain:  

August 23, Friday. Whereas Bearer of these the Revd Mr. Christian Streit has received and accepted a call to be Chaplain for the 8th Regiment of Regulars of the State of Virginia, and on his Journey to move there; these are therefore to certify, that the...  

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said Revd Gentle man is a regularly ordained Minister of the Gospel, sound in Protestant Principles and sober in life, desirous and virtuous to promote the Glory of God and Welfare of the State, and therefore recommended to all Friends and Wellwishers of Religion and State:

p HMB, (Heinrich Muhlenberg)
Senior Minister and P (President)
of the German Lutheran Ministry in
the State of Pennsylvania.
Philadelphia, August 23, 1776.88

This letter constitutes the first denominational endorsement known to have been given a clergyman in his process of changing from civilian to military status! It differs from voted approval by a single congregation as has been noted earlier, in that, while predicated on the approval of the congregations served and by the Ministerium to supply a pastor in his absence, it had the official approval of the Lutheran Ministry's president. It is also worthy of careful consideration that in this endorsement, the chaplain was directed to serve for "the Glory of God and Welfare of the State." These dual debts to God and Caesar during the Revolution were not considered antithetical by patriots, but synonymous. Of course, as we have already seen, chaplains did not, nor could not, in conscience condone sinful behavior either in the command itself or in individual lives, be they officers or enlisted men. These early chaplains had, indeed, a pastoral and prophetic ministry, and the tensions which it aroused produced numerous challenges as their diaries reflect.

Prior to the Reverend—then Colonel—Muhlenberg's efforts in raising the 8th Virginia Regiment, the Baptists of that colony appealed to the revolutionary government in the state for the right and privilege of dissenters to serve as clergymen in its military forces. Not being recognized by the Established Church except for persecution, their appeal is touching. Knowing that they could not serve officially as chaplains, they helped pave the way for a multi-denominational chaplaincy. It is a landmark request, and deserves consideration as leading to a broad based pluralism in the religious life of the American Armed Forces' chaplaincies.

August 16, 1775

An address from the Baptists in this colony was presented to the convention, and read: setting forth, that however distinguished

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from the body of their countrymen, by appellatives and sentiments of a religious nature, they nevertheless consider themselves as members of the same community in respect to matters of a civil nature, and embarked in the same common cause; that, alarmed at the oppression which hangs over America, they had considered what part it would be proper to take in the unhappy contest, and had determined that in some cases it was lawful to go to war, and that they ought to make a military resistance against Great Britain in her unjust invasion, tyrannical oppressions, and repeated hostilities; that their brethren were left at discretion to enlist, without incurring the censure of their religious community; and, under these circumstances, many of them had enlisted as soldiers, and many more were ready to do so, who had an earnest desire their ministers should preach to them during the campaign; that they had therefore appointed four of their brethren to make application to this convention for the liberty of preaching to the troops at convenient times, without molestation or abuse, and praying the same may be granted them.

Resolved, That it be an instruction to the commanding officers of the regiments or troops to be raised, that they permit dissenting clergymen to celebrate Divine worship, and to preach to the soldiers, or exhort, from time to time, as the various operations of the military service may permit, for the ease of such scrupulous consciences as may not choose to attend Divine service as celebrated by the chaplain. 89

A new day of religious tolerance for dissenters was approached by this resolution of the revolutionary government, and the response by Virginia Baptists was hearty. It is unrecorded whether any of these “Dissenters” did conduct services for troops of the Baptist faith. Certainly in Virginia, they were not permitted to serve as chaplains. In a “Memorandum concerning Military Service of Baptists” found among Jefferson’s papers—“In an unidentified hand. Endorsed by T. J: ‘BAPTISTS’,” officers and enlisted men are named. The memorandum concludes:

There is but one single Young Man in the Neighborhood who is a Baptist and in a single state, that has not enlisted, and he is so much an Invalid that he is not on the Militia List.

Had the Baptists been backward as is alleged, no doubt but they would have smarted for it, by the late Act for pitching upon Men to fill up the last 6 Regiments, but there were no Baptists or Baptist’s Sons pitched upon in the counties of Amelia and Orange, where we reside, nor for ought we know any thing else. 90

See footnotes at end of chapter.
It is at this period, that the Continental Congress took a historic and monumental step of great significance. On Tuesday, July 9, 1776: "Resolved, that the Rev. Mr. Duche be appointed chaplain to Congress, and that he be desired to attend every morning at 9 o'clock."  

Congress was neither opposed to religion nor to a governmental chaplaincy, but only to the domination of one denomination to the exclusion or detriment of others. Our Founding Fathers made the military chaplaincy a vital part of the Army, and a chaplaincy for Congress an equally vital part of that body. Because of the delegates' varied religious beliefs any slight hint of a national state-church relationship was unacceptable. They were not advocates of freedom from religion, as their actions give evidence, but certainly demanded and practiced freedom of religion in their official assemblies.

John Adams wrote to his wife, Abigail, on September 16, 1774, concerning the "call" of the Rev. Duche. It is of vital importance to this study because for the first time the subject of a clergyman's fitness to serve as a chaplain to a governmental body was questioned on the basis of his denominational affiliation. Amazingly, Congress never raised this question concerning the appointment of chaplains in the Continental Army. Perhaps Samuel Adams provided the only sensible answer for both the Congress and the Army, and on this premise the matter was felt to be resolved. Later in the war when Washington raised this question, as we shall see, Congress blithely ignored it.

When the Congress met, Mr. Cushing made a motion that it should be opened with prayer. It was opposed by Mr. Jay, of New York, and Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, because we were so divided in religious sentiments—some Episcopalians, some Quakers, some Anabaptists, some Presbyterians, and some Congregationalists—that we could not join in the same act of worship. Mr. Samuel Adams arose, and said 'that he was no bigot, and could hear a prayer from any gentleman of piety and virtue who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duche (Dushay they pronounce it) deserved that character, and therefore he moved that Mr. Duche, an Episcopal clergyman, might be desired to read prayers before the Congress to-morrow morning.' The motion was seconded, and passed in the affirmative. Mr. Randolph, our president, waited on Mr. Duche, and received

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for answer that, if his health would permit, he certainly would. Accordingly, next morning, he appeared with his clerk, and in pontificals, and read several prayers in the Established form, and then read the Psalter for the seventh day of September, a part of which was the 35th Psalm. You must remember this was the next morning after we had heard the rumor of the horrible cannonade of Boston. It seemed as if Heaven had ordained that Psalm to be read on that morning.

After this, Mr. Duche, unexpectedly to every body, struck out into an extemporary prayer, which filled the bosom of every man present. I must confess, I never heard a better prayer, or one so well pronounced. Episcopalian as he is, Dr. Cooper himself never prayed with such fervor, such ardor, such correctness, such pathos, and in language so elegant and sublime, for Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, especially the town of Boston. It had an excellent effect upon every body here. I must beg you to read that Psalm. If there is any faith in the Sortes Virgillianae, or Sortes Homericae, or especially the Sortes Biblicae, it would be thought providential.92

The tale of Congress' first chaplain is not a happy one, as events unfold; he will be seen in the role of a traitor during the dark days of 1777.

With the actual signing of the Declaration of Independence, the question raised along the siege line at Boston—should prayer be offered for King George?—was solved at state level.

Reporting events in Virginia, the New York Gazette, July 29, 1776, announced:

This day, the Virginia Convention resolved, that the following sentences in the morning and evening church service shall be omitted:—'O Lord, save the king, and mercifully hear us when we call upon thee.' That the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth sentences in the Litany, for the king's majesty, and the Royal Family, &c., shall be omitted. That the two prayers for the king's majesty, and the Royal Family, in the morning and evening services, shall be omitted. That the prayers in the communion service, which acknowledge the authority of the king, and so much of the prayer for the church militant as declares the same authority, shall be omitted, and this alteration made in one of the above prayers in communion service: 'Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of all rulers are in thy governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy goodly wisdom; we humbly beseech thee to dispose and

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
govern the hearts of the magistrates of this commonwealth, that in all their thoughts, words, and works, they may evermore seek thy honor and glory, and study to preserve thy people committed to their charge in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O Merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ, our Lord, Amen.'

That the following prayer shall be used instead of the prayer for the king's majesty, in the morning and evening service: 'O, Lord, our heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of the universe, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth, most heartily we beseech thee with thy favor to behold the magistrates of this commonwealth, and to replenish them with the grace of thy Holy Spirit, that they may always incline to thy will, and walk in thy way; endue them plenteously with heavenly gifts; strengthen them, that they may vanquish and overcome all their enemies; and finally, after this life, they may obtain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.'

In the twenty-sixth sentence of the Litany use these words: 'That it may please thee to endue the magistrates of this commonwealth with grace, wisdom, and understanding. In the succeeding one, use these words: 'That it may please thee to bless and keep them, giving them grace to execute justice and maintain truth.' Let every other sentence of the Litany be retained, without any alteration, except the above sentences recited.93

And in religiously broad-minded Rhode Island, the following action, reported without comment in the Constitutional Gazette, July 31, 1776, issue, is recorded:

The representatives of the State of Rhode Island and Providence plantations have passed a resolve, That if any person within that state shall, under pretense of preaching or praying, or in any other way or manner whatever, acknowledge or declare their late King to be their rightful lord or sovereign, or shall pray for the success of his arms, or that he may vanquish or overcome all his enemies, shall be deemed guilty of high misdemeanor, and therfore be presented by the grand jury of the county, where the offence shall be committed, to the superior court of the same county; and upon conviction thereof, shall forfeit and pay, as a fine, to and for the use of that state, the sum of one hundred thousand pounds lawful money, and pay all costs of prosecution, and shall stand committed to goal until the same be satisfied.94

Previously, Congress had called for days of fasting and prayer

See footnotes at end of chapter.
for the reconciliation of the difficulties facing the Colonies and the Mother Country. By now, however, the fateful step toward Independence had been taken, and the hand of the Almighty was implored to lead throughout the approaching dark and bloody days. Restrictions placed on prayers in public for King George isolated those who by conscience felt this religious duty imperative, causing grave sorrow and persecution to follow in its wake. In the midst of a revolution there is no neutrality, and “he that is not against us is for us” becomes a working principle.\(^95\) The persecution of Tories who selected their politics because of religious allegiances is a sad blot on the luster of our Revolutionary conflict.

**FOOTNOTES**

**Chapter V**

7. *Ibid.*, 62. “The warrants varied somewhat in the different Colonies, but the following form adopted in Connecticut, will answer as a sample of all.”

See footnotes at end of chapter.


38 Ibid., 401-402.


41 Ibid., 412.


47 Ibid., 282.

48 Ibid., 225.


50 Ibid., 164.


53 Ibid., 70.

54 Ibid., 71.


57 Ibid., 495-496.


63 Ibid., 192.


69 Ibid., 167.
fitzpatrick, op. cit., iv, 87.
71 collections, chs, op. cit., vii, 219-220.
72 ibid., 218.
73 barber, op. cit., 1, 14.
74 adrian h. germain, catholic military and naval chaplains, 1776-1917. (washington, d.c.: 1929), 2.
75 american catholic historical researches, v, 148.
76 ibid., 65-67.
77 francis b. heitman, historical register of officers of the continental army, april, 1775 to december, 1783. (washington, d.c.: the rare book shop publishing company, inc., 1914), 357.
78 germain, op. cit., 2-10.
"a canadian priest of the eighteenth century," records of the american catholic historical society of philadelphia, xv.
for a less favorable view of chaplain lotbiniere, see:
"in january, arnold found the man he needed in the person of the abbe louis de lotbiniere, the n'er-do-well son of a noble family. this former recollect and franciscan had been interdicted by mgr. de pontbriand. he had declared himself an apostate and had tried to discredit mgr. briand, then vicar-general, with the british authorities. moved by compassion for the enemy who had slandered him, the new bishop had readmitted him to the secular clergy, and this was the man who, on january 26, 1776, received arnold's commission as chaplain to livingston's regiment with a salary of sixty dollars a month and the promise of a bishop's mitre after the conquest of the country."
"lotbiniere," new catholic encyclopedia, op. cit., viii, 1003. although there is some discrepancies between this article and the above reference, there is enough coinciding materials to identify its subject with the earlier career of chaplain lotbiniere.
79 heitman, op. cit., lists 117 chaplains in the continental army. charles h. metzger questions six of heitman's entries. see: "chaplains in the american revolution," the catholic historical review, xxxi, no. 1 (april, 1941), 51.
80 losing, op. cit., ii, 551.
81 "the germans of the valley," the virginia magazine of history and biography, x, (june, 1903), 128.
82 ibid., 129.
83 ibid., 129-130
85 through the generosity of philip h. snyder of new york city, muhlenberg's certificate of ordination to the church of england's diaconate was presented to the us army chaplaincy's museum and archives.
86 theodore g. tappert and john w. doberstein (translators), the journals of henry melchior muhlenberg. (philadelphia: the muhlenberg press, 1958), ii, 718.
87 ibid., ii, 725.
88 ibid., ii, 736.
89 hezekiah niles (ed.), republication of the principles and acts of the revolution in america. (n.y.: a. s. barnes and company, 1876), 285-286.
90 boyd, op. cit., i, 662.
91 ford, op. cit., 1, 129.
92 charles francis adams (ed.), the works of john adams (boston: little, brown and co., 1866), ii, 368-369.
93 moore, op. cit., 1, 266-267.
94 ibid., 278.
95 luke 9:50.
New York City, the seat of war following the American defeat at Quebec and General Howe's evacuation of Boston, proved to be an amazement to the troops of the Continental Army stationed there. For men whose lives were lived on isolated farms and in tiny villages, or on the lonely frontier, a city numbering 20,000 souls and a square mile of buildings was nearly overwhelming. Chaplain Philip Fithian reporting there for duty to General Nathaniel Heard on July 13, 1776, noted that he "showed him my Appointment which he approved." ¹ Two events immediately captured the young chaplain's attention. First, the ruins of the equestrian statue of King George which a mob, upon receiving news of the signing of the Declaration of Independence, had pulled down, carrying pieces of it in a parade while fifes and drums played the "Rogues March." It would be soon melted down to make bullets for use against His Majesty's Army. Secondly, Fithian recorded: "Sunday here seems like common Time." ² Comparable comments are in almost every diary of this era. Religiously, the colonists, especially in New England and the Middle Colonies, were Sabbatarians, keeping Sunday—often called "the Lord's Day"—sacred from Saturday sunset until Sunday twilight. During the French and Indian War, Chaplain Cleaveland found Army life not conducive to New England's style of sanctity, and so "cautioned ye Regiment in ye morning to remember the Sabbath day, to keep it holy—and they did behave quite civilly in general. But I never saw just such a Sabbath before." ³ It was a day when all work, play, and social activities,
even the most harmless, ceased and were replaced by private meditation, prayer and Bible reading. Not surprisingly, church attendance was the only authorized public gathering, and even this could be forsaken for personal devotions. Rev. Daniel Barber remembered: "It was then common to hear the saying, 'Though I did not attend the meeting on Sunday, I staid home and read my Bible.'" While he was a young soldier, the breaking of the Sabbath was so extraordinary as to be noted in his records:

Now, for the first time, we traveled on the Lord's day, under arms, and past meeting-houses in the time of public worship, with drums and fifes playing martial music; all which was calculated to afford to a New England man some doubts and serious reflection, whether God would be as well pleased with such parades and military performance as if we had staid at home to read our Bible, or went to meeting to hear the minister.⁴

It is doubtful that the Puritanical respect for Sunday as the Christian Sabbath ever fully recovered from the effects caused by military operations during the Revolutionary War.

Philip Fithian was a young Presbyterian chaplain assigned to Colonel Silas Newcomb's battalion of militia from New Jersey. Newly married, he left his bride for duty in New York; a duty from which he never returned. His pre-war Journal, kept while he served as a tutor for the children of Robert Carter at Nomini Hall, Virginia, is a classic, providing authoritative insight into the lifestyle of Virginia's James River society. During the New York campaign, he preached, prayed with his unit, visited the sick, accompanied his troops on marches, associated with other chaplains, and caught a glimpse—all too short—of a world far greater than his previous limited experience allowed. When ill for the first time in the campaign, he was visited by Chaplain Obadiah Noble; chaplains in the Revolution took care of one another!⁵ Among his several duties, that which he found most painful was caring for the wounded, the sick, and the dying in hospitals. His Journal recalls poignantly his anguish:

After Evening Prayers I walked to the Hospitals of three Regiments; to ours; & the two New England Battalions.—A Sight that Forces Compassion—An unfeeling Heart here is brutal . . . & here I must daily Visit . . . my whole Frame revolts against it—! But I am not discouraged, nor dispirited; I am willing to

See footnotes at end of chapter.
hazard & suffer equally with my Countrymen since I have a firm
Conviction that I am in my Duty.\textsuperscript{6}

These words, written two centuries ago, are as fresh as if they
had been jotted down recently in a contemporary chaplain’s diary,
or letter home. This sense of revolt, of helplessness in the presence
of pain and inevitable death has caused many a chaplain’s heart to
cry out, “I believe; help thou mine unbelief.” \textsuperscript{7} It will motivate
Ebenezer David, another young chaplain in our story, to leave the
chaplaincy at Valley Forge to become a medical officer. He, too,
would never return home, but found a grave far from his dear
ones.

Divine services were held in civilian churches, when possible,
during the campaign in New York City and Long Island. Sunday,
July 28, 1776, found Fithian, who meticulously prepared and
memorized his sermons, preaching in the “large Dutch Church” to
three battalions. “I endeavored to persuade them to put their Trust
in God, & secure his Friendship.” Dining with Chaplain Noble at
the Colonel’s mess, the topic of discussion at lunch centered on
“religious subjects.” In the afternoon Noble preached, and Fithian
noted, “our Worship is sollemn.” In the evening after prayers,
Fithian made his rounds at the hospital, and “prayed with the
distressed youth.” The following day all his patients were recovering
except one. He “has been light and ungodly, by his own ready
Acknowledgement, in past Life. He seems now however, in the
sober hours of Death, to have different Notions of present & future
things, & deeply, I hope properly, impressed with a Sense of
Eternity.” On July 31, Fithian comments: “One young Man lies at
the Door of Death. . . . I prayed with him & recommended him to
the Good & kind Jesus. O what a blessed Privilege have we that we
may in all Troubles go to our common Father.” Occasioned by the
first man to die in his unit, the chaplain prayed: “The first Breach
that has been made on our Battalion. May our God sanctify the
Stroke to the Remainder.” \textsuperscript{8}

Orders for movement to Long Island found the New Jersey
militia fearful and grumbling. Chaplain Fithian responded by
marching with his men; “Gave them a short Address on the Expect-
tation of an Attack in the morning, prayed, & retired. . . .” Au-
gust 22, 1776 found him and his unit installed in Fort Box, “the
westernmost of five forts in the American main line of defenses.”

\textsuperscript{6} See footnotes at end of chapter.
records, "I equipt myself for Action. With my Gun, Canteen, Knapsack, Blanket, . . . ." Following a night of light firing, he left the fort to walk 2 1/2 miles to where the major contest was going on. The Battle of Long Island, August 27, elicited from him the amazed comment: "O doleful! doleful! doleful!—Blood! Carnage! Fire! . . . such a Din my Ears never before heard!—And the distressed wounded, came crying into the Lines!" Then came the retreat.9

Traveling by sloop, Chaplain Fithian next found himself in the vicinity of Fort Washington. Life was rough: "Since Tuesday Evening we have had only Bread & raw Meat. . . ." Billeted in a tent, he tries to get things organized. Daily prayers with his battalion continue, even though, "our men looked blue with the cold." Soaked by cold rains, and sleeping on the ground with all of his clothes over him for warmth, Chaplain Fithian takes ill. Heavy action continues, and though sick, he responds to fulfill his duties. He is learning to enjoy the war, but there lingers in his serious nature too much spiritual sensitivity to prevent him from becoming an outright crusader. Confessing secretly to his Journal, he reveals:

There is something forceably grand in the Sound of Drums & Fifes when they are calling such an Army as ours to contend with another of perhaps equal Force! Whenever they come together the Death of many must be the Consequence—And this thought with all its Pomp of serious Grandeur, is ever associated with the Call to Arms when the two Armies lie so near each other, & daily expect an Action!10

News of the fall of New York evoked from Chaplain Fithian a response of repentance. "We are a sinful Nation, O Lord. But is it written in thy Book concerning us that we must always fly before the Enemies? . . . We pray, good Lord for thy interposing Mercy; O spare us, & spare our Land." Meeting Chaplain Israel Evans who had been on the attack and withdrawal from Canada, he said with compassion, "poor Boy, he will grow used to retreating." 11

Nearly the last entry in Chaplain Fithian's Journal makes reference to breakfasting with Dr. Timothy Elmer, Captain of the Cumberland County Militia. "The Battalion to which he belongs," wrote the chaplain, "is Militia raised for one Month." 12 This points up one of the major problems facing the American military during the entire Revolution. Robert G. Albion wrote: "There were more

See footnotes at end of chapter.
than 525,000 separate enlistments in the American forces. Making
deductions for the men who reenlisted, it is estimated that more
than 400,000 different men served in the army at one time or
another. Yet Washington never had 20,000 under his command at
once. Large numbers of green men were in every battle.—No
wonder Washington exclaimed ‘What we need is a good army, not a
large one.’ " 13

Dysentery, that scourge of early armies, struck Chaplain Fith-
ian on September 23, 1776. His old school mate, Chaplain Andrew
Hunter, visited him regularly in his fatal illness. “Were I in his
situation,” he wrote to the young bride, “should wish to see so near
a Friend as a wife.” Mrs. Fithian did not arrive, but Hunter con-
tinued to nurse him to the end. 14

Chaplain William Hollingshead, who had been a member of
the committee which licensed Fithian to preach, reported the tragic
scene.

... visited Mr. Fithian who has been dangerously ill these some
weeks. I found him lying upon a thin bed raised from the floor
only by a little straw covered with a blanket or two; with no other
shelter from the inclemency of the season than a small Marque
that with 3 other persons to lodge in it besides himself, 2 of
whom was also sick; He is reduced to the lowest state one would
imagine possible for human nature to support under, besides
which, he has no physician to attend him but an unskilful quack
of a Surgeons mate, & no nurse but an unknowing country lad.
Alas! how unhappy a Situation is this. 15

Death eventually came, and the faithful Chaplain Hunter re-
corded for October 9, 1776: “About 10 O’Clock Mr. Fithian was
buried—His Funeral was attended by several Clergymen and
Officers and Soldiers of Col. Newcomb’s Regt. with as much dec-
cency as the nature of the case would allow. ...” 16

Hunter and Fithian had been the closest friends. While the one
died for his country, the other was to live a long life of dedicated
service for her. Hunter served throughout the war with distinction,
and late in life entered the United States Navy, as a chaplain in
1811. Having been a pastor and college professor in civilian life, his
appointment was ideal for the task to which he was assigned;
namely, to be the Navy’s schoolmaster. “The Secretary of the Navy
ordered Chaplain Hunter to prepare a curriculum for the young
midshipmen stationed at the Washington Naval Yard and so he

See footnotes at end of chapter.
became the organizer and, for a time, the whole faculty, of what was to be the Naval Academy at Annapolis." 17 Actually, this work was begun by Chaplain Robert Thompson, and carried on after his death in 1810 by Hunter. It is safe to assert that the beginning of the United States Naval Academy began with the work of these two Navy chaplains—one a veteran Army chaplain of the Revolution.18

In addition to Evans, Fithian, Hollingshead, Hunter and Noble, other chaplains serving in the New York campaign were: Avery, Benedict, Carnes, Ebenezer and John Cleaveland, David, Ellis, Gano, Pomeroy and Strong. Benjamin Pomeroy is worthy of special notice. A veteran chaplain of the French and Indian War, he volunteered at the age of 71 years for service in the Revolution. Having served with a militia unit, he was enrolled in the Continental Army as the Chaplain of the 3rd Connecticut during the period January 1, 1777 to July 1, 1778. Leaving the service at age 74, he lived to see the peace which brought Independence to his country.19

From the diary of Lieutenant Jabez Fitch, a veteran of the French and Indian War, who was taken prisoner at the Battle of Long Island, we hear a distressing note. Concerning events on Saturday, August 24, 1776, he complains: "At about 6 o’Clock, the Revd. Mr. Ellis, who set off with us from Camp with great Zeal, but when we pass’d the Lines of Genll: Greens encampment, he somehow seemed to Disappear, & had not been hear’d of again in the Regt: untill now; but he now Attend’ with Regt: in the Church." 20 Obviously the Lieutenant was disappointed that the chaplain did not accompany his unit to the place of danger. Without excusing Ellis’ absence, it is questionable if the chaplain did in fact avoid hazardous duty. His service record would indicate otherwise. He joined the Revolutionary army before Boston on July 6, 1775, serving until October 31, 1783 at such places as Valley Forge along the way. He and Israel Evans had the longest periods of military service in the Revolution; 7 years and 11 months. During the New York campaign Ellis was the chaplain of the 17th Continental Regiment, but provided coverage for the 22nd Continental Regiment as well. Apparently Congressional approval of one chaplain per regiment, announced by Washington on July 9, had not been implemented during this campaign. It is conceivable that Ellis was out of sight to Lt. Fitch, but not out of the action. Nonetheless,

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Fitch's disappointment in not finding his chaplain with the troops during the time of danger is indicative of the need for better chaplain distribution, and marks the universal desire of American fighting men to have with them in their periods of crisis the chaplain who leads them in worship and ministers to them at quieter times. This point ought never to be lost!

Lt. Fitch was a devout man, whose private devotions give insight to the type of congregants with whom chaplains dealt, and symbolizes a particular life-style, “in season, and out of season.” 21 Captured on Long Island and confined to a prison ship, he repeatedly “Read two leaves of an old Bible containing Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians, which I had put into my Pocket at the House where Capt. Jewett Died.” 22 Obtaining a Bible later, he devoured it during the course of his captivity, reading entire books at a time. “I this Day Read the Book of Exodus throughout” is his diary entry on Monday, September 23, 1776.23 The Word of God was his food, literally. He continues, “This has been a very hungry Day to us, having drawn no provisions at all. . . .” 24 Due to the severity of his treatment while a prisoner, Fitch was disabled for much of his life. Yet his Bible continued to sustain him throughout his imprisonment and later life as well. Perhaps his experience as a POW on British prison ships motivated him to become a social activist. W. H. W. Sabine writes of him: “He was early engaged, also, in the abolition of the African slavery, and a zealous advocate of religious and civil liberty, which principles he retained till his death.” 25 And no doubt his deep study of the Scriptures—his was no foxhole conversion—showed him the way. Late in life, this combat veteran of two wars wrote:

Feb. 26, 1807, arrived to 70 years of age—having during my 70th year, read the Bible through in course 8 times, and the New Testament the 9th time.26

Fort Washington's surrender on November 16, 1776 was a major catastrophe for the American Army, and brought the New York campaign to its dismal close. Following heavy fighting, the forces of Colonel Magaw capitulated. Two thousand members of the Continental Army and six hundred militiamen went into captivity; among them, Chaplain Samuel Wood of the Fifth Connecticut

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Regiment. Prisoners were removed to confinement aboard British prison ships in New York Harbor. Little is known of either Chaplain Wood’s personal history or his ministry aboard the infamous Asia. He died in captivity in 1777.27

Preceding him in death was Chaplain Noah Welles, whose demise was attributed to jail fever while he ministered to the spiritual needs of British prisoners of war. The date of his death: December 31, 1776. Records are scant, but the indication is that this was a rare type of ministry for chaplains, and the first of its kind in the American Army.28

The loss of New York City followed by the pathetic surrender of Forts Washington and Lee, left the military forces of the United Provinces in disastrous conditions. Washington split his forces three ways: General Charles Lee with less than 6,000 troops was positioned at North Castle to block a possible British drive into New England. General William Heath and some 3,200 troops was at Peekskill to try and keep the enemy from penetrating the upper Hudson, while Washington with his remaining force retreated through New Jersey. Enlistments were terminating, provisions were short, morale was down. Behind Washington lay a series of defeats, excepting only the indecisive Battle of White Plains. In this action several chaplains distinguished themselves. Taking a break from his theological studies at Yale, Joel Barlow—whose distinguished career outside of the ministry will be noted later—served with Washington’s army during his vacations. School must have been very rigorous! “At White Plains he distinguished himself by his bravery,” says the historian, J. T. Headley. In this action he was not serving as a chaplain.29

John Gano was a fighting chaplain with a keen eye toward example and morale. In the fierce fighting at Chatterton’s Hill he was in advance of his unit. Perhaps with tongue in cheek he wrote: “My station in time of action I knew to be among the surgeons; but in this battle I somehow got in front of the regiment, yet I durst not quit my place for fear of dampening the spirits of the soldiers, or of bringing on me an imputation of cowardice. Rather than do either, I chose to risk my fate.” This is the earliest reference that a chaplain’s battle station was thought to be or was directed to be with the medics!30 On what authority Gano “knew” his place was not given by him, and records of a chaplain’s duties are nowhere referred to

See footnotes at end of chapter.
in any extant document. Perhaps he was so directed by his commander, but this at best is conjecture only.

Worthy of note are diary notations from that firebrand chaplain, Thomas Allen. While hungering for combat, he does not neglect caring for the evacuation of wounded under fire. Throughout the history of the chaplaincy, this type of behavior has been taken for granted. Here is an early example of pastoral concern for the wounded in a combat situation.

Lord's day, Oct. 27.—Arrived at break of day at White Plains, having performed a march of above twelve miles in the night. Lay down after daylight for sleep on the ground. . . . Encamped on White Plains in our tent, having been marvellously preserved in our retreat. —Dr. Wright, of New Marlborough, was buried this day—such a confused Sabbath I never saw.

Oct. 28—About 9 o'clock, A.M., the enemy and our out parties were engaged; about 10, they appeared in plain sight, falling off towards our right wing. A strong cannonade ensued from both armies. A great part of the enemy's strength seemed bent towards our right wing, but no additional force of ours was as yet directed, that way.

At length the enemy came up with our right wing, and a most furious engagement ensued by cannonade and small arms, which lasted towards two hours. Our wing was situated on a hill, and consisted of, perhaps, something more than a brigade of Maryland forces. The cannonades and small arms played most furiously without cessation—I judge more than twenty-three cannon in a minute.

At length a reenforcement of Gen. Bells' brigade was ordered from an adjacent hill, where I was. I had an inclination to go with them to the hill, that I might more distinctly see the battle, and perhaps contribute my mite to our success. Just as we began to ascend the hill, we found our men had given way, and were moving off the hill in some confusion, at which some elevated shots from the enemy came into the valley where we were very thick—one of which took off the fore part of a man's foot in about three rods of me. I saw the ball strike, and the man fall; as none appeared for his help, I desired five or six of those who had been in battle to carry him off. Others I saw carrying off wounded in different directions. With the rest I retreated to the main body. Our men fought with great bravery; they were sore galled by the enemy's field-pieces.81

During this period, Chaplain David Jones was located at Fort Ticonderoga with General St. Clair's Brigade. A British attack was

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81 See footnotes at end of chapter.
expected hourly, and morale was shaken by recent military disasters. The Chaplain, a Baptist from Pennsylvania, knew his men well, and stepped before them to steady their flagging spirits. His sermon, which was delivered on October 20, is reminiscent of an Old Testament prophet's, and is a splendid example of how a chaplain visualized his role in whipping up the fighting spirit of his unit in an effort to strengthen its combat power. Recognizing that the individual soldier is, in the final analysis, "the ultimate weapon," he delivered a rousing message of blessings and curses. A battle ensued, and some of Jones' auditors died before the sun set. (See Appendix VIII.)

In the Middle Colonies, Washington's retreat through New Jersey culminated in a badly needed victory, perhaps the only event which saved both the Army and the Revolution from collapse. At the scene was a long time patriot, Chaplain Alexander MacWhorter. Appointed by the Continental Congress in 1775 to win people of loyalist sympathies to the Revolutionary cause, he and Elihu Spencer toured North Carolina while his former teacher, William Tennent, toured South Carolina. Regrettably the only extant writing of MacWhorter is a sermon not germaine to our study, entitled, "Historical Discourses," Relationing to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark." Tennent, however, did leave a Journal of his efforts "to induce the Tories to sign an Association to support the cause of the Colonists." 32

MacWhorter was intimately acquainted with the central New Jersey area. No doubt it was this knowledge which brought him into the meeting where the operations plan for the Battle of Trenton was developed. Washington, realizing that in their civilian capacities chaplains knew the geography of their locations extremely well from making pastoral visits, was not averse to using chaplains as scouts and guides for his army's maneuverings. May it be conjectured that Chaplain MacWhorter, familiar with the area, helped in laying out the avenues of approach to this famous battle? Regrettably no records exist to clarify his role in this meeting other than that he "took part." 33

Crossing the Delaware on Christmas night, the American force of 2400 men and 20 pieces of artillery took the partying Hessians by total surprise, routing them utterly. Among Colonial Protestants in New England and the Middle Colonies, the only religious holi-
day was Thanksgiving Day: special days for thanksgiving in light of particular blessings, and days of fasting and humiliation because of "the frown of Providence" were kept, and of course, the Sabbath. The Church calendar was anathema to them; they celebrated those days only which the Bible designated as sacred. Christmas was not one of them for most Americans, except in the South, as we have seen before in this history.

Having crossed the Delaware River and marched those twelve snow filled miles to Trenton, the now seasoned combat chaplains, John Gano and David Avery, took their places in the line of battle. With active service at the siege of Boston, Bunker Hill, the Canadian expedition, Long Island, and the retreat through Jersey behind him, Chaplain Avery may have developed that sense of tough invulnerability so commonly found in old combat soldiers. In his case it would be inappropriate to call it a devil-may-care spirit! If such were the case, he was wrong. A questionable legend says that his concept of a military pastor's duty took him to the top of a rum cask, armed with the musket of a fallen soldier, firing Christmas greetings into the fleeing Hessians. But he was not invulnerable! A bullet found his right hip, leaving him incapacitated for weeks following. He would add Valley Forge, Ticonderoga, and Burgoyne's surrender to his lengthening list of notable services to his nation a-borning.

The famous Christmas night battle at Trenton was not the only action of that period, 25 December 1776—3 January 1777 being the time frame of the operations running from the Battle of Trenton to the Battle of Princeton. January 2, 1777 is the date of the death of the first American chaplain killed during the Revolution. John Rosbrugh, whose name appears in records under four other spellings, was a native of Scotland who emigrated to the colonies by way of northern Ireland. He "belonged to that sturdy class known as the Scotch-Irish, who have furnished so large a proportion of the brains, backbone, and muscle which have been indispensable in shaping and maintaining our nationality," states John C. Clyde, his biographer. Born in 1714, he did not begin his formal education for the Presbyterian ministry until 1761, at which time his name appears on a list as one receiving financial assistance from a fund raised for students at the College of New Jersey. This donation was provided for students exhibiting the following attributes: "as are

See footnotes at end of chapter.
unable to defray the expenses of their education, who upon examination, to be of promising genius, Calvanistic principles, and in the judgement of charity, experimentally acquainted with a work of saving grace, and have a distinguished zeal for the glory of God, and salvation of men." 36 The Presbytery of New Brunswick ordained Amos Thompson and Nathan Kerr—both would become Revolutionary chaplains—and licensed "John Roxburrow" to the work of the ministry. 37 He was ordained on December 11, 1764 at the Greenwich Presbyterian Church in Warren County, New Jersey. Colonel Robert Magaw's surrender at Fort Washington brought the war home to Rosbrugh; many of his neighbors and relatives in that debacle came from Allen Township, Pennsylvania, where he was the pastor. The Presbyterians had long since taken their stand, as is reflected in a pastoral letter sent out from the Synod of New York and Philadelphia at its meeting on May 20, 1775. It reads:

Suffer us then to lay hold of your present temper of mind, and to exhort especially the young and vigorous, by assuring them that there is no soldier so undaunted as the pious man; no army so formidable as those who are superior to the fear of death. There is nothing more awful to think of, than that those whose trade is war, should be despisers of the name of the Lord of hosts, and that they should expose themselves to the imminent danger of being immediately sent from cursing and cruelty on earth, to the blaspheming rage and despairing horror of the infernal pit. Let therefore, every one, who from generosity of spirit, or benevolence of heart, offer himself as a champion in his country's cause, be persuaded to reverence the name, and walk in the fear of the Prince of the kings of the earth, and then he may, with the most unshaken firmness, expect the issue either in victory or death.

Be careful to maintain the union which at present subsides through all the colonies. Nothing can be more manifest than that the success of every measure depends on its being inviolably preserved, and therefore, we hope that you will leave nothing undone which can promote that end. In particular, as the Continental Congress, now sitting at Philadelphia, consists of delegates chosen in the most free and unbiased manner, by the body of the people, let them not only be treated with respect, and encouraged in their difficult service, not only let your prayers be offered up to God for his direction in their proceedings, but adhere firmly to their resolutions, and let it be seen that they are

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able to bring out the whole strength of this vast country to carry
them into effect. 38

Following Fort Washington's capitulation, and while Wash-
ton's force retreated south through New Jersey, the Pennsyl-
vania militia was ordered to the field. It is noteworthy that the only
reasons deemed sufficient for anyone not going to reinforce the
Continental Army are "sickness, infirmity of Body, age, religious
scruples or an absolute order from authority of this state." 39

Rev. Rosbrugh assembled his congregation, reading them the
following letter from General Washington to Colonel John Sieg-
fried of Allen Township:

Sir:
The Council of Safety of this State, by their resolves of the
17th inst., empowered me to call out the militia of Northamp-
ton county, to the assistance of the Continental army, that by
our joint endeavors, we may put a stop to the progress of the
enemy, who are making preparations to advance to Philadelphia
as soon as they cross the Delaware, either by boats or on the ice.
As I am unacquainted with the names of the Colonels of your
militia, I have taken the liberty to enclose you six letters, in
which you will please insert the names of the proper officers,
and send them immediately to them by persons in whom you
can confide for their delivery. If there are not as many Colonels
as letters you may destory the balance not wanted. I earnestly
entreat those who are so far lost to a love of country as to refuse
to lend a hand to its support at this time, they depend upon
being treated as their baseness and want of public spirit will most
justly deserve.

I Am, Sir, Your Most Obedient Servant:
GEORGE WASHINGTON.40

Following this presentation, the pastor, now 63 years of age,
preached a sermon using Judges 5:23 for his text: "Curse ye
Meroz, saith the angel of the Lord; curse ye bitterly the inhabitants
thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord against the
mighty." It was a carefully selected and appropriate choice of
Scriptural admonition. The discourse finished, Rosbrugh's congre-
gants heard him say that he planned to go with the militia as a
chaplain. Startling him, they responded by saying that they would
go willingly if he would be their commander. Discussing this
change of events with his wife, she concurred with the wishes of the
flock. With the die cast, John Rosbrugh wrote his Last Will and

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Testament on December 18, 1776. Assembling at the church the next morning, the preacher-commander kissed his son farewell, and shouldering his musket and unfamiliar duties, marched away to Philadelphia. He was never to return. With a sense of relief, on December 26 he was able to turn the command of his company over to Captain John Hays, receiving on that same day his commission as chaplain “to 3d battalion of Northampton militia” from the Council of Safety.41

Writing to his wife on December 27th, Chaplain Rosbrugh’s last communication home was received and tenderly preserved, though badly torn in places.

Friday morning, 10 o’clock at Bristol Ferry, December 27th, 1776. I am still yours but I haven’t a minute to tell you that by God’s grace our company, are all well. We are going over to New Jersey. You would think strange to see your Husband, an old man, riding with a French fusee slung at his back. This may be ye last letter ye shall receive from your Husband. I have counted myself yours, and have been enlarged of our mutual love to God. As I am out of doors I cannot at present write more. I send my compliments to you, my dear, and children.

Friends, pray for us.

From your loving Husband,

JNO, ROSBRUGH42

Rosbrugh and his battalion arrived in time to play a role in the second battle of Trenton, the Battle of the Assunpink. It is appropriate to linger over the events leading to the death of this first of many soldier-saints in the American Army. Evident is the British hatred for the patriotic clergy of the colonies in the following tale. Rosbrugh’s biographer relates having carefully studied existing records and traditions:

The most trustworthy account however, is that which was given by Captain Hays, who buried the body, and which has been preserved in Mr. Rosbrugh’s family. It was substantially as follows. We have seen that there was some confusion in the haste with which General Washington withdrew his army to the south side of the Assunpink, when Cornwallis marched into the town. In the haste and confusion it seems he lingered behind the rest of his comrades. Seemingly not fully conscious of the dangers which surrounded him, he remained too long in the town ere he
sought a place of greater safety with the army beyond the As-
sunpink. He came to a public house which stood upon the site
now occupied by the Mechanics National Bank, corner of State
and Warren street, in the city of Trenton. As night was drawing
on, he tied his horse under a shed and entered the house to
obtain some refreshments. Whilst at the table he was alarmed by
hearing the cry “The Hessians are coming.” Hastening out, he
found that his horse had been stolen. Hurrying to make his
escape by the bridge on Green street, he found, as we have
pointed out, that cannon had been posted to sweep it and the
guard was instructed to allow no one to pass; beside, those in
charge of it were fast breaking it up. He turned his steps down
the stream toward the ford where Warren street now crosses.
On arriving there he found it impossible to make his escape. He
then turned back into a grove of trees, where he was met by a
small company of Hessians under the command of a British
officer. Seeing that further attempt at escape was useless, he
surrendered himself a prisoner of war. Having done so, he
offered to his captors his gold watch and money if they would
spare his life for his family’s sake. Notwithstanding these were
taken, they immediately prepared to put him to death. Seeing
this, he knelt down at the foot of a tree and, it is said, prayed for
his enemies. Now seventeen bayonet thrusts were made at his
body, and one bayonet was left broken off in his quivering
frame. Sabre slashes were made at his devoted head, three of
which penetrated through the horsehair wig which he wore. So
died the “CLERICAL MARTYR OF THE REVOLUTION,” at
the age of sixty-three, upon a spot now trodden by the busy
multitude, and forgotten amid the hum and bustle of commer-
cial life in the heart of Trenton. As the shades of that cold and
dreary winter evening settled down upon the sad scene, his
lifeless body became rigid in the icy embrace of death. The
British officer at whose command he had been put to death,
repaired to the house which Mr. Rosbrugh had so recently left,
and there exhibited the dead Chaplain’s watch, and boasted that
he had killed a rebel parson. The woman of the house having
known Mr. Rosbrugh and recognizing the watch, said: “You
have killed that good man, and what a wretched thing you have
done for his helpless family this day.” The enraged officer,
threatening to kill her if she continued her reproaches, ran away
as if afraid of pursuit.

It was not long until Captain Hays was apprised of the death of
his pastor, upon which he hastily wrapped the body in a cloak and
buried it where it lay, being under necessity to hurry forward with
the rest of the troops in the night march which precipitated the
battle of Princeton the next morning. Sometime afterward, Mr.
Duffield, subsequently Dr. Duffield, pastor of the Old Pinestreet
Presbyterian church, Philadelphia, who was a brother Chaplain in the Continental army, took up the body and reburied it. 43

Several areas claim the honor of being the final resting place of Chaplain Rosbrugh, although the most likely spot is in the grave yard surrounding the First Presbyterian Church of Trenton. His widow survived him by 32 years, dying on March 27, 1809.

Pastoral care had its bitter moments, then as now. Care for the dying in a field hospital is heart-rending, offending our sensitivities and reminding us of our own mortality. In battle emotions run high, however, offering some relief from the horrors which accompany the mass diffusion of blood. But how soul searing must have been the experience of Chaplain John Rogers, as reported on March 8, 1777, in the Pennsylvania Evening Post.

March 8.—This day, between the hours of twelve and one o'clock, Brint Debadee, a soldier belonging to the tenth Pennsylvania regiment, was shot upon the commons in Philadelphia, pursuant to the sentence of a general court-martial. This unhappy man was in his twenty-fourth year, in the vigor of life, and it is hoped that his untimely and dreadful end will be a warning to others, who, when they desert, not only defraud their officer and abuse their country, but are also guilty of the dreadful and heinous crime of perjury. Of his past misconduct he appeared very sensible, and behaved in his last moments with great resignation and calmness, declaring that he sincerely forgave all his enemies, and hoped that his example would be serviceable to some of his thoughtless brother soldiers. He was attended by the Rev. Mr. Coombe, and the Rev. Mr. Rogers. The last gentleman, being a chaplain in the service, delivered to the soldiers present a pathetic address, suitable to the melancholy occasion. 44

Diaries in general—chaplains, other officers, and enlisted men—as well as General Orders make frequent references to the punishment of military malfactors. Chaplains Boardman, Avery, Trumbull, Rogers and Robbins provide information, usually merely a statement of fact, in reference to flogging. Interestly, comments are not found to suggest that this in any way offended their sensitivities. Chaplain Robbins only referred to this form of military discipline with any degree of sympathy: "After prayers attended the execution of a court martial upon three poor Pennsylvania soldiers, who received thirty-nine lashes each." 45 Perhaps the reason is that this punishment was so much milder than that prac-

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ticed in the British army, and among colonial troops when under British command in the earlier wars. Indicative of this, Teamster Daniel Morgan—in the Revolution a General Officer—had received 499 lashes at one time for striking a subaltern. Doctor Hill, an eyewitness, reported “that the flesh on his back hung down in tags”; he carried these scars to his grave.\textsuperscript{46} The maximum number of stripes awarded in the American Army early in the war were generally limited to the Biblical thirty-nine.\textsuperscript{47} As the war wore on, punishments became more severe, reflected in Washington’s orders, and “kangaroo courts” as in the case of a captured Tory who had deserted and fought against his former comrades. The Journal of Oliver Boardman, an enlisted man “in Capt. Blaques company Militia” reports the occurrence which took place on Thursday, October 16, 1777, in frank detail.

Our Scout took a Tory that Deserted from us at Ti. (Ticonderoga) & has been with them ever since the Retreat till now he see how it was Like to Turn with them he Began to make his way off. But fell asleep & was taken, & without any trial they put a Rope round his Neck & tied it to a Staddle & told him they would hang him, he Beg’d & pray’d they wou’d Shoot him, then they tied him to a Tree & gave him a Hundred lashes, then he Beg’d they wou’d Hang him. Now he is to receive two Hundred more which two Morning’s will Complete & then to be Tried by a Court-Martial for his life.\textsuperscript{48}

Desertion, that moral malady which so plagued Washington’s army, was on occasion cast in a theological framework. Chaplain Trumbull includes in his Journal a paper posted by General Lee’s tent. It is addressed to “Publicans and other Housekeepers” warning them to give no succour to deserters, who were to be considered “as reprobates to virtue, honor, God, and their country, for in these lights they may justly be considered, . . . .”\textsuperscript{49}

During the autumn of 1777, the British were pressing hard in their operations. Burgoyne was driving south along the Hudson River Valley, while General Howe, who was expected to support him, switched plans in an ill conceived venture to capture the rebel capital at Philadelphia. His objective was gained, but at a terrible cost. General Burgoyne’s unsupported army was forced to surrender at Saratoga, the event which decided France to come into the war! Howe approached Philadelphia on two avenues: overland from Maryland, having sailed up the Chesapeake, and by a naval

\textsuperscript{46} See footnotes at end of chapter.
force driving up the Delaware River. Enroute from Maryland to Philadelphia, a battle was fought at Brandywine on September 11, 1777, the British being the victors. On the night preceding this engagement, Chaplain Joab Trout preached a sermon, memorable to his auditors. After nearly two centuries have elapsed, the emotions of "a dying man to dying men" can still be felt when reading his sermon (See Appendix VIII.)

Fortifications had long been built by the American Army along the Delaware River; it was a natural and anticipated avenue of approach to their capital. In the dark days of early 1777, when the national hope was flickering, men garrisoning those forts, far from home, were kept steady on their course by the combination of rum and religion. Before the temperance movements of the nineteenth century, this combination would have startled no one. An extant letter from Captain Nathan Alden, at Bristol, dated January 19, tells of camp life. Addressed to his wife, he indicates that his company is well except for colds. The weather was bitter and frustrating, being so frigid that the Brigade having fallen out at sunrise, they were dismissed until 2 o'clock P.M. when it had warmed up somewhat. Other than a dram to keep body temperature up, religion was their mainstay. "We paraded marched to the meeting hous & we had general orders read to us. Mr. Brigs who is our chaplain prayed with us we sung a Psalm as we do night and morning. . . Mr. Brigs preached two Sermons in the forenoon Job 7:16. In the afternoon from 118 Psalm 8 vers." 50

To reinforce these forces, General Washington ordered two Rhode Island regiments from the Hudson River Highlands to the Delaware defense line. Marching with these units was Chaplain Ebenezer David, a Seventh Day Baptist. These Rhode Islanders took long strides, in one instance covering 70 miles within a single two day period. 51 Twenty of David's letters have been preserved, and their reading reveals a deeply spiritual and sensitive soul. It is especially evident that his development of military knowledge progressed to the point where he had neither difficulty in perceiving nor hesitancy in pointing out tactical errors committed by officers of the line. Having replaced the sickly and unorthodox Chaplain Murray, he served at Boston's siege, Long Island, Ticonderoga, Fort Montgomery, and along the Hudson River; he was very much a soldier. Keen was his disappointment upon going to

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the British lines under a flag of truce, following the slaughter of attacking Hessians at Fort Mercer, only to be refused admittance. He had gone with Major Thayer, "bearing Letters from their wounded officers & also carrying a supply to Cpt Clarke . . . who fell into their hands as he was reconnoitering their Body." 52 Throughout his service his deep faith in God is demonstrated in his letters, as well as the gradual transition which he made from utter astonishment at the spiritual carelessness of the sick and dying to his decision to leave the chaplaincy to become a medical officer. His choice is the first branch transfer by a chaplain recorded, becoming effective by his resignation on January 20, and appointment to the medical service on February 3, 1778.53

Many military details fill Chaplain David's letter from Red Bank on November 5, 1777. Unknown to him, however, was that during the operation of forcing the forts along the Delaware, a British chaplain made his ultimate offering. Captain John Montresor, Engineer for the Royal Army, recorded on October 23, "Before the Explosion of the Augusta Powder Magazine which was at 1/2 past 10 a.m. many of the seamen jumped overboard apprehending it, some were taken up by our ships boats, but the Chaplain, one Lieutenant and 60 men perished in the water." 54 The Augusta, 64 guns, had run aground. Being attacked by fire from American gallies and floating batteries, she was set afame.

The fall of Fort Mercer brought Chaplain John Cordell, Anglican Chaplain of the 11th Virginia Regiment, into captivity. Upon his exchange he continued to serve as a chaplain to a militia regiment from Virginia during the period May 1779 to February 1781.55

Philadelphia fell: Congress removed itself hurriedly to York, Pennsylvania, and Washington's army, after the Battle of Germantown, went into winter quarters at Valley Forge. Militarily, politically, and weather-wise, things were distressing for the Army. Writing on this subject, David tells Mr. Brown the hard facts: "For our whole Force to be exposed for the winter as they have been we should have no Army in the Spring—Had we retired to any of the towns we should have found them crowded with Refugees." 56

The agony of Valley Forge, its hunger, sickness, loneliness, sense of defeat, hopeless shortages of bare essentials, and penetrating cold, is deeply etched into the American mind, and hardly

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requires comment. Enduring these miseries with their fellow soldiers were, among other chaplains, Avery, David, Ellis, Gano, William Rogers, Hezekiah Smith, and Charles Thompson. Huts were built: 14 x 16 feet, 6 1/2 feet high, with twelve soldiers per building. When the camp was laid out, Chaplain David turned carpenter: "to Morrow I expect to take the ax..." Life goes on, and the cry of the flesh, if not of the spirit, overcomes the caprices of nature and the cruelties of war. Chaplain David performed a wedding on February 3, 1778, and Chaplain William Rogers officiated at another. Interestingly, David married the happy pair "by vertue of Majr. Gen. Sullevan's Lisence." 58

Writing to Nicolas Brown earlier, from Prospect Hill on January 29, 1776, Chaplain David had said:

What GOD is about to bring to pass in the Kingdome of His Providence is known by him alone. It behoves us to view his hand discharge our Duty & Leave the event with Him. We are to wait upon him in the way of his judgments. There is nothing dispirits me so much as the wickedness of our land—the Prophanety of our Camps is very great—the stupidity of our sick amazing, and I could wish that those of us who officiate as Chaplins were not lacking in Faithfulness—We have a large field for Action I am astonished that I am no more affected by what I see—I was very happy in my mind to day while visiting the sick—I am not sorry that I came down to the Camps though I forego many priveleges which I much esteem—there is great need of some persons who dare oppose vice & mentain the Doctrine of Dependency upon GOD—I was grieved to hear a preacher mention our connection with the Tories as the great Sin of the day like that of Israels entering into Covenant with the Cannenites &c. I need not tell you that such low turns are popular But I must close that all Bliss may attend you & yours is the desire of

EBENEZER DAVID 59

His reference to Tories was a slander cast at New England Baptists, an outgrowth of the Ashfield affair of 1770. Because Baptists refused to support financially the established Congregational Churches in Massachusetts, their property was seized and sold for taxes. Isaac Backus, having first hand knowledge of this event, relates:

On April 4, the assessors of Ashfield met, and sold three hundred and ninety-eight acres of the Baptists' lands to support

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the worship of the opposite party. For a demand upon the Baptist minister of one pound, two shillings, they sold ten acres of his home lot. His father had one of the best orchards in the town, which is of special service in a new place; yet twenty acres of improved land, containing the main of his orchard, with a burying-yard, and a small dwelling-house, were struck off to Elijah Wells, for thirty-five shillings; who, on May 4, came and forcibly entered upon it, and measured it off; and the next day came and pulled up a number of the smaller apple trees, and carried them away, and offered to sell the house. These facts were proved by a number of witnesses before authority, though, to shift off the odium they were exposed to, by a new survey, they left out the house and burying-yard, and then accused the Baptists of falsehood in the first account. Accounts were accordingly brought to a meeting of fifteen churches at Bellingham, September 11, which unanimously resolved to apply to the King in Council for relief, if it could not be obtained here; . . .

Having appealed to the Crown for redress, and the Privy Council in London granting their petition, New England Baptist were stigmatized by some of the Congregational Establishment as Loyalists and Tories. It was by their patriotic service throughout the war that they were redeemed from calumniation and their voice—crying in the wilderness for the separation of church and state—was finally heard. Chaplain David was particularly pricked by this insult to his patriotism, as were others. Among Chaplain Hezekiah Smith's papers is a list of the 21 Brigade Chaplains—he called them "Brigadier Chaplains"—in the Continental Army on August 17, 1778. Among them were the names of six Baptists.

The dedicated spirit of those patriotic clergymen of the Revolution who found their place in the Army is exemplified by the Rev. Joseph Thaxter. Out of service because of wounds, he wrote General Lincoln from Boston on June 19, 1777:

. . . my Business at Boston was to wait on Col. Greaton who had desired me to go in his Battalion. I had determined to go but upon my coming to Town, found that the Hon. Congress had made a New Establishment respecting Chaplains, that there is but one allowed to a Brigade. I find that I cannot enjoy myself in Retirement, so well as in Camp. I therefore should be glad of an Appointment as I have not the Happiness to be acquainted with the Brigadiers who are to act in the Jersies or that part of the Country. Should esteem it a Favour, should you think it consistent, that I might have an Appointment Should such a Thing

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take Place, it would be with the greatest Cheerfulness that I should obey the Call.62

Indeed there were modifications in the Table of Organization for chaplains, as for the Continental Army in general, reflecting the change of concept from using the brigade rather than the regiment as the principle component of the army organization. In April 1777, pay for chaplains was increased to $40 per month. June 8, found Washington calling for “a return to be made to morrow of the Chaplains in each brigade, specifying where they are.” 63 That same day he wrote to the President of Congress a lengthy paragraph in which he obviously disapproved assigning chaplains at brigade rather than regimental level. His reasoning is pragmatic and provides us a clearer understanding of the command’s concern for avoiding religious dissention in an Army beset already by sufficient problems.

I shall order a return to be made of the Chaplains in Service, which shall be transmitted, as soon as it is obtained. At present, as the Regiments are greatly dispersed, part in one place and part in another, and accurate States of them have not been made, it will not be in my power to forward it immediately. I shall here take occasion to mention, that I communicated the Resolution, appointing a Brigade Chaplain in the place of all others, to the several Brigadiers; they are all of opinion, that it will be impossible for them to discharge the duty; that many inconveniences and much dissatisfaction will be the result, and that no Establishment appears so good in this instance as the Old One. Among many other weighty objections to the Measure, it has been suggested, that it has a tendency to introduce religious disputes into the Army, which above all things should be avoided, and in many instances would compel men to a mode of Worship which they do not profess. The old Establishment gives every Regiment an Opportunity of having a Chaplain of their own religious Sentiments, it is founded on a plan of a more generous toleration, and the choice of the Chaplains to officiate, has been generally in the Regiments. Supposing one Chaplain could do the duties of a Brigade, (which supposition However is inadmissible, when we view things in practice) that being composed of four or five, perhaps in some instances, Six Regiments, there might be so many different modes of Worship. I have mentioned the Opinion of the Officers and these hints to Congress upon this Subject; from a principle of duty and because I am well assured, it is most foreign to their wishes or intention to

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excite by any act, the smallest uneasiness and jealousy among the Troops.  

Washington's counsel was not heeded by Congress with its constant concern about increasing costs should more chaplains be appointed. It was so far removed from the practical problems daily faced in the Continental Army, both of organization and the individual soldier's morale. The General wrote to Major General William Heath on July 19, 1777: "Since the Congress passed the Resolve that there should be but one Chaplain to three Regiments, nothing has been done towards reducing them, and I have my doubts whether the Resolve will ever be carried into execution." On this Washington was wrong; the Brigade concept was implemented, causing no religious crisis as he feared. Perhaps a greater toleration than he thought had come into being. Certainly Congress had earlier handled the problem of a chaplain's religion in serving their own pluralistic needs, and placed no credence in his concerns on that matter.

In the same letter, he shows a rare annoyance at a chaplain, but surely one that was justified. The person involved is John Allen, not to be confused with Chaplain Thomas Allen the hero or his brother, Moses, who died in trying to escape from a British prison ship. He wrote: "Inclosed is a letter which is one of many I have received upon the same subject from the Revd. Mr. Allen. I refer the matter to you, and if you find that he has the least shadow of right to his claim, pray pay him his demand, or he will write me, and travel himself to death." Allen had been corresponding to Washington since April 20, 1776 concerning payment for his service.

An army actively engaged in the field cannot keep regularly scheduled opportunities for worship services. Washington directed on October 7, 1777 that chaplains resolve this problem themselves. General Orders for that date state: "The situation of the army, frequently not admitting, on the regular performance of divine service, on Sundays, the Chaplains of the army are forthwith to meet together, and agree on some method of performing it, at other times, which method they will make known to the Commander in Chief." General Washington continued to rebuke the army for its propensity for foul language, demanded regular attendance at

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divine services, and reiterated in a letter to General William Smallwood his strong feelings. "Let Vice, and Immorality of every kind, be discouraged, as much as possible, in your Brigade; . . . see that the Men regularly attend divine Worship. Gaming of every kind is expressly forbid, as the foundation of evil, and the cause of many Gallant and Brave Officer's ruin. Games of exercise, for amusement, may not only be permitted but encouraged." 68

Whether in humor—Washington is not known as a comic—or in sarcasm, the Commander wrote Colonel George Baylor on May 23, 1777, concerning the appointment of a chaplain to the mounted service.

A Chaplain is part of the Establishment of a Corps of Cavalry, and I see no Objection to your having One, Unless you suppose yours will be too virtuous and moral to require instruction. Let him be a Man of Character and good conversation, and who will influence the manners of the Corps both by precept and example. 69

Leaving behind the General's battles with the Crown and Congress, events of momentous import were developing in the northern department. General John Burgoyne was marching south from Canada in a well planned maneuver to sever New England from the remainder of the rebellious colonies. Alarm spread across the states, militia units appeared to reinforce the Continental Army, and with them, their chaplains. Taking his place with the men intended to block the enemy advance at Fort Ticonderoga was fiery Chaplain Thomas Allen, whose nose quickly picked up the scent of blood and gunpowder. With American outposts along Lake George rapidly folding, he delivered to the troops a thundering harangue filled with piety and patriotism. Certainly, they are not mutually exclusive. (See Appendix VIII.)

Chaplain Allen's chagrin can be imagined when to his utter confusion the incredible order to evacuate the fort was given. Appended to the above mentioned sermon is a note, written several weeks later, in Allen's hand. His concern for America and his shock at the cowardice displayed by those electing to retreat rather than baptize the ramparts in blood is clear. It reads:

"In about five hours afterwards," he scornfully writes, "the garrison was evacuated, and our vast army fleeing before their enemies with the utmost precipitation and irregularity, leaving

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behind, for the use of the enemy, an immense amount of baggage, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and every warlike necessary. 'How are the mighty fallen, and the weapons of war perished!' A short time will decide the fate of America. It must depend on the treatment of those five general officers who gave up Ticonderoga, and those one hundred and seventy-five tory traitors, taken in the militia battle near Bennington. If these can not be brought to justice, then am I ready to pronounce what is, in my opinion, the sad doom of these states—the end is come. 'Your end is come, your destruction draweth nigh.'

Waiting furiously at home in Pittsfield, Massachusetts for further events, Allen was called out with the men of the Berkshire Militia. Never one to be backward in the defense of his country, he bluntly told John Stark: "General, the people of Berkshire have often been summoned to the field without being allowed to fight; and if you do not now give them a chance, they have resolved never to turn out again." No doubt this was an approach pleasing to General Stark's fierce heart; he had found a kindred spirit. He had been held captive by Indians, had risen to the rank of captain in Roger's Rangers in the French and Indian War, and listed Bunker Hill, the Canadian invasion, and Trenton to his record in the current conflict. It takes a fighter to appreciate a fighting chaplain. His promise given to Allen was shortly fulfilled: "if the Lord shall once more give us sunshine,"—they were talking at night—"and I do not give you fighting enough, I'll never ask you to come out again." The next day witnessed the British and Hessians sustaining 934 casualties at the Battle of Bennington, to the American losses of about 100 each in killed and wounded.

The role played by Chaplain Allen shows his humanitarianism, as well as his bellicosity where the wellbeing of America was concerned. The New York Journal under dateline of September 22, 1777, carried the following item of news.

Among the many brave militia who were in the action yesterday, at Bennington, the Reverend Mr. Allen of Pittsfield, ought not to be omitted. At the commencement of the action, he marched up within a few yards of the enemy's breastworks, and demanded a surrender of the same in the name of the Congress, on which he received a shower of balls, accompanied with the epithet of a "damn'd bold Yankee." Mr. Allen, however, soon returned at the head of the Pittsfield militia, and was one of the first over the breastwork.
Mr. Moore, an ardent collector of news items of the Revolution states in an addenda to the above article:

The above account reminds the printer of another he received from a private gentleman immediately after the battle of Bennington, which places Mr. Allen's conduct in a different point of view, and shows it to have arisen solely from a sudden impulse of humanity, which hurried him, contrary to the opinion and advice of his friends, into a total disregard of his own personal safety. On finding the superiority of our troops, and that the enemy had no probable means of escape, just before the onset he threw himself between the two armies, called to the enemy, reminded them of their situation, pathetically exhorted them, from a regard to justice to their country, and to their own safety, to surrender, and prevent the effusion of blood. While he was speaking, with his hat in his hand, a number of balls were fired at him, several of which went through his hat; on which he retired, joined in the attack of the enemy, and was among the foremost to enter their intrenchments.73

A contemporary of Chaplain Allen in the Northern Army was Chaplain Hezekiah Smith of Nixon's Brigade. By this time he was a seasoned campaigner on whose capabilities his commander readily leaned. Following the retreat from Long Island, Chaplain Smith was placed in command of the sick and wounded. Around Stillwater in this period he served, as an additional duty, as aide-de-camp for General Nixon. Morale and esprit de corps flourished as attested by his letter to his wife, Hephzibah, on September 13, 1777. "We are now on our march up the river to meet Mr. Burgoyne with his boasted strength. Expect soon to engage him, unless he should retreat. Our army is in good spirits; we have a good commander, Gen. Gates, and a large body of troops, so that I don't doubt of success, unless we should put our trust in the arm of flesh, which is forever attended with a curse. With the blessing of Heaven I expect our army will soon do something good for the salvation of our country." 74

Chaplain Hezekiah Smith joined the American forces in front of Boston, serving until the cessation of hostilities through numerous campaigns, battles, and expeditions. Like soldiers and chaplains of other ages, he was deeply concerned that his wife not misunderstand his motivation for forsaking her to chase after "a new mistress in the field." How many soldiers through the years have quoted Lovelace's words to little effect!

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Writing to Hephzibah on March 20, 1776, he explained: "Dont' think hard of me for not coming to you again before I set out for New York. You may be assured it is not for want of regard for you, but from several other reasons, which will be satisfactory when you hear them at the end of the campaign from my own mouth. . . . let us meet daily at the throne of grace." ⁷⁵ In an earlier letter, dated March 11, he told her of the insistence of officers and others in the units he served that he continue on as their chaplain; the "cause of our country, joined with that of usefulness to souls, inclines me to yield to their request. And since my people as a body have not manifested their disapprobation of my being in the army, during the present campaign, I think they cannot justly blame me in struggling with others for the salvation of America, especially the UNITED COLONIES in America." ⁷⁶

An extant copy of Chaplain Smith's commission to be a chaplain in the Continental Army is the only known example of such documents to exist. It reads:

IN CONGRESS


We, reposing especial trust and confidence in your patriotism, valor, conduct, and fidelity, do by these presents, constitute and appoint you to the Chaplain of a Battalion, whereof John Nixon, Esq., is Colonel, in the Army of the United States, raised for the defence of American liberty, and for repelling every hostile invasion thereof. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the duty of a Chaplain, by doing and performing all manner of things hereunto belonging. And we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders as their Chaplain. And you are to observe and follow such orders and direction from time to time, as you shall receive from this or a future Congress of the United States, or Committee of Congress, for that purpose appointed, or Commander in Chief of the Army of the United States, or any other your superior officer, according to the rules and discipline of war, in pursuance of the trust reposed in you. This Commission to continue in force until revoked by this or a future Congress. Dated at Boston, January 1, 1777.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
By order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President

Attest: CHARLES THOMSON, Secretary.

As the above commission attests, chaplains in the Continental Army were officers, but without rank. Of particular interest are the words, “we do strictly charge and require all officers and soldiers under your command, to be obedient to your orders as their Chaplain.” Concerning what officers would have been under a chaplain’s command, or in what instances, there exists no clarification either in orders or in examples left in diaries.

FOOTNOTES

Chapter VI

1 Albion and Dodson, Op. Cit., 186.
2 Ibid., 188.
3 Cleaveland, Op. Cit., XII, 100.
6 Ibid., 196–197.
7 Mark 9:24 (KJV).
10 Ibid., 225, 226, 232.
11 Ibid., 234.
12 Ibid., 240.
14 Ibid., 242.
15 Ibid., 242.
16 Ibid., 243.
21 II Timothy (KJV).
23 Ibid., 49.
24 Ibid., 50.
25 Ibid., 261.
26 Ibid., 261.

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Baptist Publishing Society, 1885), 186–187. Portions of the Biographical Memoirs of the Late Rev. John Gano of Frankfurt (Kentucky), Formerly of the City of New York are included in Guild’s book. Even in the last century, Gano’s Memoirs were referred to as being “a very rare book now.”


32 “Fragment of A Journal Kept by the Rev. William Tennent Describing his Journey, in 1775, to Upper South Carolina at the request of the Council of Safety, To induce Tories to sign an Association to support the cause of the Colonists.” City Year Book of 1894, City of Charleston, South Carolina.

33 “Alexander McWhorter,” Dictionary of American Biography, Op. Cit., VI, 175. William R. Stryker, The Battle of Trenton and Princeton (N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin, and Company, 1898), 84–85. Describing the meeting, Stryker states: “The following officers were present: Major-Generals John Sullivan and Nathanael Greene; Brigadier-Generals Lord Sterling, Roche de Fermoy, Hugh Mercer, Adam Stephen and Arthur St. Clair; Colonels Paul D. Sargent, John Stark, John Glover and Henry Knox. The Reverend Dr. Alexander MacWhorter, the patriotic pastor of the Presbyterian Church of Newark, New Jersey, who had followed the army on the retreat through that State, was also present, and took part in the deliberations of the council of war. At this meeting the plan of recrossing the Delaware and making an attack upon the enemy’s post was discussed, and finally agreed upon.”

34 Headley, Op. Cit., 297. David Avery recorded in his diary that he “got across the Delaware by 3 o’c. in the morning, when we proceeded to Trenton & arrived just before the action was over.” He makes no mention of being wounded, although on December 7, he complained “a blister on each little toe, & a corn on the great toe of my right foot, made it very tedious for me to march.” December 20, finds him recording that he has a cough. That he participated in the Battle of Princeton several days later suggests that the legend of the wounding of Chaplain Avery is unfounded. The most serious injury seems to have occurred on December 11: “Had ye misfortune to bruise my left great toe & foot by my Pone’s falling through a Pole Bridge.” See: “From the Unpublished Diary of Rev. David Avery, Chaplain in Colonial John Peterson’s Regiment,” Avery, Op. Cit., XIX, 151, 152, 153, 260–262.


36 Ibid., 5.

37 Ibid., 7.


39 Ibid., 35.

40 Ibid., 37–38.

41 Ibid., 45.

42 Ibid., 55.

43 Ibid., 58–60.


47 Deuteronomy 25:3; II Corinthians 11:24 (KJV).


49 Ibid., CHS, VII, 133–134.


52 Ibid., 55.

53 Ibid., XXVI–XXVIII.


57 Ibid., 73.

58 Ibid., 75. John Joseph Stoudt (compiler), Ordeal at Valley Forge, A Day-by-Day Chronicle From December 17, 1777 to June 18, 1778, Compiled From The Sources (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 259.
FROM HOWE IN NEW YORK TO BURGOYNE AT SARATOGA, 1776–1777

59 Ibid., Letter IV, 10–11.
62 Unpublished Letter: Chaplain Joseph Thaxter to General Lincoln, Boston, June 19, 1777.
US Army Chaplaincy’s Museum and Archives.
64 Ibid., VIII, 203–204.
65 Ibid., VIII, 438.
66 Ibid., VIII, 439.
67 Ibid., IX, 329.
68 Ibid., VIII, 13.
69 Ibid., VIII, 109.
72 Moore, Op. Cit., I, 482.
73 Ibid., I, 482.
76 Ibid., 170–171.
77 Ibid., 189.
CHAPTER VII
“The LORD Wrought A Great Victory”
From Valley Forge To The New Windsor Cantonment, 1777–1783

General John Burgoyne’s surrender of his army at Saratoga on October 17, 1777, proved to be the turning point of the Revolution. While the details of military maneuvering are outside of the scope of this history, their effects are certainly germane. In England, the approaching destruction of Burgoyne’s army, composed of British and German troops and Indian warriors, produced a furor throughout the halls of Parliament. Although the news of the actual surrender did not arrive until sometime later, on December 3, Lord Chatham lambasted his colleagues with powerful and passionate oratory. “You can not, I venture to say it, you can not conquer America. . . . If I were an American, as I am an Englishman, while a foreign troop was landed in my country, I never would lay down my arms—never, never, never.”

Speaking on behalf of the government’s use of Indians against the colonists, Lord Suffolk stated: “It is perfectly justifiable to use all the means that God and nature have put into our hands.” This brought Chatham bounding once again to the floor. Indignantly he roared:

That God and nature put into our hands! I know not what idea that lord may entertain of God and nature, but I know that such abominable principles are equally abhorrent to religion and humanity. What! Attribute the sacred sanction of God and nature to the massacres of the Indian scalping-knife, to the cannibal and savage, torturing, murdering, roasting, and eating—literally, my lords, eating—the mangled victims of his barbarous battles. . . . These abominable principles, and this most abomina-

See footnotes at end of chapter.
ble avowal of them, demand most decisive indignation. I call upon that reverend bench (pointing to the bishops), those ministers of the Gospel and pious pastors of the Church—I conjure them to join in the holy work, and to vindicate the religion of their God. 3

This was more than Parliamentary oratory. Extant diaries are loaded with first hand accounts of Indian atrocities and brutalities beyond description. One of many instances is noted in Chaplain Enos Hitchcock’s diary, under date of Sunday, July 29, 1777. It states: “...Van Vechten, was killed, scalped & cut his Hands off—and otherwise mangled—the two Women, Mrs. Jenny McCray & Widow Campbell were going to meet the Enemy for protection, when they came up to them were shot & scalped & most inhumanly boochered.—.” William B. Weeden, the editor of the Hitchcock Diary says: “The murder of Miss Jane MacCrea was like many other Indian atrocities, but it shocked the whole civilized world. Burke used the story with thrilling effect in the House of Commons, when he arraigned the government for employing savages.” 4 Burgoyne had gone so far as to use Indians to control potential deserters from his army, and offered payment for scalps removed from deserters who were killed while evading capture. This is stated in his General Order, dated August 21, 1777.

Throughout Europe, sentiment flowed toward the United Colonies. Patently this was not out of love for America, and most certainly not from approval of the concept of a republican government—so despised by monarchists,—but out of an attempt to capitalize on Great Britain’s problems. Benjamin Franklin, Silas Dean, and Arthur Lee representing the interests of the colonies at Paris were accorded a substantially stronger position following this victory. Its full effect will be seen shortly.

Meanwhile in America, spirits rose and morale soared. Chaplain Hitchcock, who was no stranger to Councils of War, was present at the surrender ceremony; his presence there being preserved in John Trumbull’s famous painting which decorates the rotunda of the Capitol Building in Washington, D. C. A diary entry for October 17, 1777 reads:

This is the important Day in Burgoyne & his Army marched out of their Camp with fife & Drum at half past ten, on the flat near the old Fort at Saratoga, the British Troops locked their Arms,

See footnotes at end of chapter.
the Germans grounded theirs—Gen: Burgoyne came over at twelve—they began to pass the River about two & continued till near Sunset, our Army paraded by the Road—I went over their Camp, find Lines very Slender, find much mischief done to Guns, Drums &c—counted Cannon Howitzers Mortars a vast number of fine Guns Baggage & Ammunition Waggons, some Tents, Horses & Cattle & many other things—The number of the Enemy who marched out, besides women and Children, five thousand two hundred—the whole was conducted with great Order & decency & out to inspire every Soul with Sincere Gratitude! 5

Three days later, Chaplain Hitchcock noted:

20. This morning Mr. Smith, Evans & myself applied to Gen: Gates to have a Sermon on the occasion of the great Success of the Troops—appointed Service to be on Wednesday at 3 oClock P. M.—obtained an Account of the number of Prisoners taken by Capitulation the 17th Inst

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<td>2198</td>
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besides Women & Children which were many—visited the Hospital with Mr. Plumb found it in good order, but Scarcity of Surgeons.

Among the prisoners of war were five British chaplains: Andrew Browne, Edward Brudenell, Charles R. Higginbotham, Richard M. Money, and Charles Morgan. Additionally, Hessian Chaplains Kohle, Milius, Theobald, and Voegel surrendered with their units. Earlier in the campaign, Chaplain Frederick V. Melsheimer, of the Duke of Brunswick’s Dragoons, was wounded and captured at Bennington. He would later be exchanged for an American POW chaplain, John Cordell, 11th Virginia Regiment, who was captured at Fort Mercer.

Far off to the south, Washington’s army received the thrilling tidings of Saratoga. “The General has his happiness completed relative to the success of our northern Army,” reads General Orders dated October 18, 1777. “Let every face brighten, and every heart expand with grateful Joy and praise to the supreme disposer of all events, who has granted us this signal success. The Chaplains

See footnotes at end of chapter.
of the army are to prepare short discourses, suited to the joyful occasion to deliver to their several corps and brigades at 5 O'clock this afternoon. . . .”

We have no sermon or prayer left from a chaplain of Gate's army immediately following the victory. A discourse delivered on a public day of thanksgiving on December 18, 1777, by Chaplain Israel Evans remains. Chaplain Timothy Dwight of General Putnam's command, upon learning of this momentus victory, chose for his text, Joel 2:20—“I will remove far off from you the northern army. . . .”

On the second anniversary of Burgoyne's Surrender, October 17, 1779, Chaplain Hezekiah Smith delivered a commemorative sermon, that date being the Lord's Day. It is worth noting that his discourse, which reflects the spiritual attitude of the time in reference to the victory by an actual participant in that campaign, was written under field conditions at “Caleb Sutton's, near Pine's Bridge, on the north side of Croton River.” No doubt chaplains of that era, as this and other sermons give proof, were extremely meticulous in their homiletical preparations. (See Appendix VIII)

September 18, 1777, was the date of Congressional legislation marking the beginning of the hospital chaplaincy. Chaplain William Plumb was appointed the Hospital Chaplain for the Northern Department and Chaplain James Sproat in the Middle Department. The latter area had military hospitals “located in Philadelphia, Northampton, Berks, Lancaster, and Chester Counties.” Two other chaplains assigned to this distinctive duty were Noah Cooke, Jr., also appointed on September 18, 1777, after having served with the 8th Continental Infantry, and Robert Smith of South Carolina. Smith served faithfully in that capacity until General Clinton besieged Charleston in 1780. Although he had earlier been sympathetic to the Crown, his allegiance to the American cause, at this juncture, propelled him into the lines to fight along side of the infantry. Captured at the surrender, he is listed as a prisoner of war, and was subsequently shipped to Philadelphia for internment. It was not until May, 1783, that he returned to Charleston, respected and revered by his Anglican congregants and others alike. In 1795, he was elected to be an Episcopal bishop, and was consecrated to that office on September 13, 1795, in Christ Church, Philadelphia—the city of his captivity.11

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1 See footnotes at end of chapter.
Chaplains repeatedly mentioned in their journals visiting the sick and wounded which, naturally, was a part of any chaplain's pastoral care of his men. The work of the hospital chaplains was specifically the care of patients who were separated from their units over periods of long duration. Chaplain Sproat left a journal revealing the activities of a Hospital Chaplain for the period April 1 to October 14, 1778. Essentially he rode circuit to his several hospitals, preaching regularly and often. Under various dates are notations typical of those throughout the entire record.

April 2.—To Bethlehem, traveling very bad; ... In the afternoon discoursed and prayed with the sick in their different wards, that were unable to attend sermon.

April 17.—At Dunkertown; visited and prayed with all the sick; preached in the Hospital. . . .

April 18.—Rode 12 miles to Schaefferstown; visited the Hospital. Preached in the Dutch Church, where all that were able were paraded and attended in good order.—

April 27.—. . . According to my usual custom, first visited and then conversed with the sick and wounded in the wards, in the forenoon; in the afternoon preached to them all in the Church.

June 12.—Rode to Yellow Springs, lit at Dr. Kennedy's, who, poor gentleman is very sick. Visited Dr. Otto. . . . afterwards preached in the Hospital, which is new and airy, but not finished. Smoked a pipe, and then preached to a number in an adjacent barn. Many sick here, though clean and airy. In the evening returned to Dr. Kennedy's who is no better.

June 13. . . Genteely treated by Dr. Otto and the matron, Mrs. Adams. Preached in a barn before dinner. After dinner preached in another barn. In these barns there are 182 patients. Took a little spirits and rode to a third barn and preached again. The barns clean and airy, and in good order. . . .

Numerous references to dining and conversing with doctors give the impression that Chaplain Sproat was welcomed by them, both professionally and personally. On August 4, he was temporarily ill. It was not the danger of working with the sick, however, which was so much greater than being wounded or killed in battle, that caused hospital chaplains to receive $60 per month, but rather because Hospital Chaplains were considered to have far greater job-related expenses. This was considerably more money than their comrades in line units drew from the paymaster.

Washington's correspondence indicates that church buildings were used as temporary hospitals when needed, and Chaplain

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Sproat mentions the use of a Quaker meeting house for that worthy purpose.\textsuperscript{14} Shocking though it may be, such use was occasionally ill received by civilian pastors, and one even complained about a hospital being in his village. With consummate courtesy the Commander-in-Chief answered these complaints where a lesser man would have given them the biting answer to which they were richly entitled. Writing to the Reverend John Ettwein, Moravian minister at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania on March 28, 1778, he said:

Sir: I have received your letter of the 25th instant by the hands of Mr. Hasse, setting forth the Injury which will be done to the inhabitants of Letiz, by establishing a general Hospital there. I need not explain to you, how necessary establishments of this kind are to the welfare of the Army, and you must be sensible that they can be placed no where, without occasioning inconvenience to some set of people or other; at the same time, it is ever my wish and aim to effect the public good, with as little sacrifice as possible of individual interests. Doctor Shippen is intrusted with the arrangement and distribution of all Hospitals. I am persuaded he will not exert the powers vested in him, unnecessarily to the prejudice of your Society; however, it will be proper to acquaint him with the circumstances of the People in whose favour you remonstrate, and you may, if you please, communicate to him the contents of this letter. I am etc.\textsuperscript{15}

Again, on July 31, 1779, the General was called to answer the onerous whining of the Trustees of the church at New Windsor, New York, which was being used as a hospital. His polite firmness was a stinging rebuke.\textsuperscript{16}

Chaplain David Jones, assigned to General Anthony Wayne’s Brigade, found himself during this period frequently in action. In the vicinity of Brandywine Creek, an area which he knew intimately since his childhood, armed with a brace of pistols and provided with a detachment of cavalrmen, he lead a reconnaissance force in the search for intelligence. This led to an abortive attempt to capture a mounted Hessian patrol, and to the capture of a British dragoon personally by him at pistol point. The news of this feat spread rapidly throughout the army, and it is recorded that Mad Anthony laughed “immoderately.” Later at Staunton, Virginia the warrior-chaplain passed a group of British POW’s. One, upon recognizing him, doffed his hat and bowed. It was his captive! During the Battle of Brandywine, Jones escaped injury, but his horse received a leg wound.\textsuperscript{17}

\textsuperscript{See footnotes at end of chapter.}
It was the British action at Paoli that was forever seared into Jones' memory. Under the command of General Grey, they stealthily on the night of September 20, 1777, attacked the position held by Wayne's Brigade. Using their bayonets only, they swept over the defenders, butchering prisoners to whom they offered no quarter. Chaplain Jones told his diary that he had been impressed with an ominous sense of foreboding, and consequently slept in his clothing and had his horse saddled, ready for a hasty exit if necessary. It was this preparation which saved his life! Serving throughout the war, he subsequently would join the Regular Army in 1794, seeing active duty with Wayne in an Indian campaign in the Northwest Territory, and the War of 1812.

One other chaplain from the Revolutionary Army was to campaign actively in our second war with Great Britain. Aaron Bogue, during the course of the Revolution, served as both an enlisted minuteman and chaplain in the militia. Under the command of Andrew Jackson, he participated in the Creek Campaign of 1814.

Congress fled Philadelphia when the army of Lord Howe approached, convening its sessions in the safety of York, Pennsylvania on September 30, 1777. During an earlier flight of the Continental Congress to Baltimore in 1776, the Rev. Patrick Allison of that city and the Rev. William White of Philadelphia had been elected Congressional chaplains on December 23. There is some question whether Allison ever officiated in that capacity. In York, a former Army chaplain, who was forced to leave the service as a result of fatigue from hard campaigning during the retreat through New Jersey, was elected to replace Allison. He was George Duffield of the Pennsylvania Militia, whom we met earlier giving a decent burial to the murdered Chaplain Rosbrugh in Trenton. Duffield became the center of Tory scorn because of his throbbing patriotism, ultimately becoming the literary target of the Loyalist poet-chaplain, Jonathan Odell. His satire of Duffield's forceful influence and ringing oratory is memorable.

A saint of old, as learned monks have said,
Preached to the fish—the fish his voice obeyed.
The same good man convened the grunting herd—
Who bowed obedient to this pow'rful word.
Such energy had truth, in days of yore;
Falsehood and nonsense, in our days, have more.
Duffield avows them to be all in all,

See footnotes at end of chapter.
And mounts or quits the pulpit, at their call.
In vain attract him oracles divine:
Chaplain of Congress give him to become,
Light may be dark, and oracles dumb.
It pleased Saint Anthony to preach to brutes—
To preach to devils best with Duffield suits.  

The winter of 1777–1778 has been immortalized by the anguish of the Continental Army at Valley Forge. Darkness was expelled, however, by the General's—and others'-faith. December 17, 1777, reads in the General Orders: “Altho' in some instances we unfortunately failed, yet upon the whole Heaven hath smiled on our Arms and crowned them with signal success . . . we shall finally obtain the end of our Warfare, Independence, Liberty and Peace. These are blessings worth contending for at every hazard.” The next day was celebrated as a day for “public Thanksgiving and Praise” and chaplains were directed to “perform divine service.” Faith in God sustained the Revolutionary Army when all else was gone.

During the period at Valley Forge, General Washington issued a strong, positive statement which presumably expressed his philosophy of religion for the life of the Army in general, but especially for the members of the Officers Corps whose life style is always a pattern for their men to emulate, be it for good or evil.

Headquarters, V. Forge, Saturday, May 2, 1778

. . . The Commander in Chief directs that divine Service be performed every Sunday at 11 o’Clock in those Brigades to which there are Chaplains; those which have none to attend the places of worship nearest to them. It is expected that Officers of all Ranks will by their attendance set an Example to their men.

While we are zealously performing the duties of good Citizens and soldiers we certainly ought not to be inattentive to the higher duties of Religion. To the distinguished Character of Patriot, it should be our highest Glory to add the more distinguished Character of Christian. The signal Instances of providential Goodness which we have experienced and which have now almost crowned our labours with complete Success, demand from us in a peculiar manner the warmest returns of Gratitude and Piety to the Supreme Author of all Good.  

As has been previously noted, General Washington frequently in General Orders and private correspondence called his army to repentance, thanksgiving, and regular worship while abhorring
vice, gambling, drunkenness, swearing and profane language. The above statement by the Commander, however, leaves no room for equivocation or doubt. We will see later that to him, neither an individual's life nor a nation's life could have reality or meaning apart from dedication to the Supreme Being.

Several matters concerning individual chaplains came to Washington's attention at this general period. He thanked Israel Evans for a sermon which he forwarded to the Commander; he encouraged Timothy Dwight in his efforts to produce a grand epic on the history of America; he urged Congress to use the influence of Chaplain Kirkland with the northern Indian tribes where he had labored so long as a missionary; and, he gave particular concern to the needs of former Chaplain John Peter Tetard. This clergyman had served with New York troops from July 6, 1775 until January 1776, and later with the 4th New York Regiment. During the Canadian campaign he was General Schuyler’s interpreter and chaplain to a French-Canadian unit. When the Continental Congress established the office of Foreign Secretary and filled that position with Mr. Robert Livingston of New York, the sole translator for our embryonic State Department and Diplomatic Corps was Rev. Tetard. At a later period it was he who translated the Articles of Confederation for distribution throughout Europe. Tetard’s home had been in what is now the Bronx, New York City; and Tetard’s Hill was a prominent terrain feature during the skirmishes in a constantly fought over no-man’s-land. Whether he lost his home and possessions in the fighting we do not know, but he certainly lost all his possessions when Washington's army evacuated the city. The General wrote sympathetically to the President of Congress on September 4, 1778, stating:

I take the liberty of transmitting to Congress, a Memorial I received from the Reverend Mr. Tetard. From the certificates annexed to it, he appears to be a Man of great merit and from every account he has suffered in the extreme, in the present contest. His attachment, services, and misfortunes seem to give him a claim to a generous notice; but according to the now establishment of the Army, it is not in my power to make any provision for him. I therefore recommend his case to the attention and consideration of Congress.

Apparently Congress did acquiesce to Washington's recom-

See footnotes at end of chapter.
mendation by making former Chaplain Tetard an initial member of our budding foreign service establishment, its first translator.

Valley Forge's night ended in a burst of joyous light with the advent of French entrance into our War for Independence. Never losing sight of his faith in the will and purpose of a personal God, Washington announced:

> It having pleased the Almighty ruler of the Universe propitiously to defend the Cause of the United American-States and finally by raising us up a powerful Friend among the Princes of the Earth to establish our liberty and Independence upon last- ing foundations, it becomes us to set apart a day for gratefully acknowledging the divine Goodness and celebrating the important Event which we owe to his benign Interposition.

Chaplains were directed to communicate this information to their units, offer up appropriate expressions of thanksgiving to God, "and deliver a discourse suitable to the Occasion." 27

Happily, an example from this high moment in the course of the Revolution has been preserved in a short sermon by Chaplain John Hurt, Anglican chaplain of the 1st and 2nd Virginia Brigades. Delivered at 9 a.m., on May 6, 1778, it provides us with an insight into the sentiments of this period, and a homiletical style of the era. Noteworthy is the format. While the sermons of Presbyterian, Congregational, and Baptist chaplains were clearly outlined giving an exegetical study of the context of the verse used, its theological ramifications, and finally its immediate application in the practicalities of the existential situation, sermons extant from Anglican chaplains border more on the style of highly refined homilies, but lacking contextual explanations. As will be noted in this sermon, no text is used. Actually, it is more of an address than a sermon. (See Appendix VIII.)

The French Alliance offered American Tories an undreamed of opportunity for propaganda, which was capitalized on thoroughly, and with much justification. Until this hour, the only genuine spirit of appreciation for the Roman Catholic Church came from the religiously tolerant Washington, and even that had some qualifications which seemed to smack quite clearly of expediency. General Orders for November 5, 1775, is an example of political and military necessities forcing a wider than normal spirit of acceptance.

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27 See footnotes at end of chapter.
As the Commander in Chief has been apprized of a design form'd for the observance of that ridiculous and childish custom of burning the Effigy of the pope—He cannot help expressing his surprise that there should be Officers and Soldiers in this army so void of common sense, as not to see the impropriety of such a step at this Juncture; at a Time when we are solliciting, and have really obtain'd, the friendship and alliance of the people of Canada whom we ought to consider as Brethren embarked in the same Cause. The defence of the general Liberty of America: At such a juncture, and in such Circumstances, to be insulting their Religion, is so monstrous, as not to be suffered or excused; indeed instead of offering the most remote insult, it is our duty to address public thanks to these our Brethren, as to them we are so much indebted for every late happy Success over the common Enemy in Canada. 28

Many Canadians had at first been friendly toward the objectives of the colonies, but excesses by American soldiers in reference to their Catholic religion hastily offended them, throwing them into a closer relationship with Great Britain. Colonel Moses Hazen wrote to General Schuyler stating the case: “You are not unacquainted with the friendly disposition of the Canadians when General Montgomery first penetrated into the country; the ready assistance which they gave on all occasions, by men, carriages, or provisions, was most remarkable.” He attributes their change in attitude to the Roman Catholic clergy who were “neglected, perhaps in some instances ill-used.” So complete was the popular disapproval of the American army’s conduct—stimulated largely by a disrespect for their religion, although certainly not the only cause—that “with respect to the better sort of people, both French and English, seven eighths are Tories, who would wish to see our throats cut, and perhaps would readily assist in doing it.” 29

Loyalist newspapers hastily and pointedly displayed American hypocrisy in accepting aid from the Roman Catholic King of France, while simultaneously making great efforts to elevate the ever present fears of that Church in the minds of American colonists. An article entitled “An American Freeman” in the August 22, 1778, issue of the Riverton’s Gazette related that many rebels were now apprehensive “that their country is sold to the French king, and that all their boasted struggles for liberty, will end in wretched submission to French despotism and Popish superstition, should Great Britain give up her colonies.” 30

See footnotes at end of chapter.
That the French Alliance did harden some Protestants in the allegiance to Britain is true. But remarkably, the desire for Independence had taken on such force with the majority of colonists after four years of war that they blithely ignored in public their former stance on religion, without hesitation or qualm. William C. Stinchcombe, author of *The American Revolution and the French Alliance*, states: “After the alliance was signed, there were almost no public objections by clergy of any Dissenting sect, although it must have troubled them privately.”

The rationale offered by America’s Protestant clergy for endorsing the alliance was expressed in an Election Sermon. The Rev. Phillips Payson, veteran chaplain of Concord, compared Louis XVI to Cyrus, the Persian king whose aid to the Jews was instrumental in God’s plan for returning them to their homeland, but whose paganism they rejected out-of-hand. He said before the Massachusetts legislature on May 27, 1778:

> We must be infidels, the worst of infidels, to disown, or disregard the hand that has raised us up such benevolent and powerful assistants, in times of great distress. How wonderful, that God, who in ancient times, “girded Cyrus with his might,” should dispose his most Christian Majesty, the King of France, to enter into the most open, and generous alliance, with these independent states, an event in providence, which like the beams of the morning, cheer and enliven this great continent. We must cherish the feelings of gratitude, to such friends in our distresses; we must hold our treaties sacred and binding.

The French Alliance went far to broaden religious toleration in America, its effect being seen in the invitation extended by the Minister Plenipotentiary of Louis XVI to the members of the Continental Congress, other civil, and military leaders, and their ladies for a celebration to be held in the Roman Catholic Chapel in Philadelphia. A Te Deum was sung, and his Excellency’s chaplain addressed that distinguished body in an eloquent sermon. His auditors must have had their hearts warmed by his inspiring and carefully selected thoughts and words. (See Appendix VIII.)

Changes in the religious attitude held by the American populace certainly did not imply any loss of faith in their God. Their vibrant commitment to the God of the Bible is demonstrated by a tacit but lasting symbolism. Early in the war Congress had designated that the uniform of American soldiers should be brown

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
in color. This instruction was never fully implemented. Many militia units came with their own distinctive dress, blue seeming to have been the color preferred by most officers and men. Blue became the official uniform color in 1778. William Walton wrote in The Army and Navy of the United States, Volume I, “The gradual adoption of blue as the prescribed color for coats in the American Army has been attributed to the fact that it was borrowed from the English Whigs, the Covenanters having adopted that color from the ancient Israelites who were enjoined to put upon the fringe of their garments a ribbon of blue.”

This Biblical reference is Numbers 15:37–41, and its ready application to “the New Israel” as the colonials commonly called themselves is apparent.

Chaplains were not authorized uniforms, the clerical dress commonly worn by parsons in this era being quite distinctive in itself. Previously we have seen Chaplain William Emerson being desirous of having a coat in the style and blue color of his fellow officers, and Chaplain Samuel Spring plodding through the dense wilderness of Maine in his impractical clerical black. Seasoned chaplains quickly learned to dress in a way they felt appropriate and comfortable to their situations. David Jones is remembered upon his return from Cornwallis’ surrender as such: “his coat was of a dark color, mixed black and white, trimmed with cord—and he wore an officer’s hat.”

Chaplain Enos Hitchcock related that he spent thirty minutes “amidst flying ball in getting some of my baggage on board a boat...which with difficulty I effected. . . .” Resupply was an immense problem at best, and obviously the chaplain felt it was worth his life to save his small store of clothing and goodies. He noted that on October 1, 1777, he received “from the Continental Store 5 yds of Black Broad Cloth at 7 & ¼ Dollars pr yd,” and 3 yards of Serget, 2 Sticks Mohair, and 2 ounces of thread. His “uniform” is not described, but it can be deduced that he wore the black clothing customarily worn by contemporaries of his calling. On the 29th of October, he drew from the State Store 2 shirts, and from the Continental Store, “one pair of fullled Stockings. . . .” A notation, dated May 31, 1779, says: “I put on board Colo. Littlefield’s chest, my blue coat—three pair stockings—one of silk, 1 black, 1 blue worstered—my box of note—one pair shoes, & plated spurs—1 pair leather breeches, folded in my narrow sheet—.”

See footnotes at end of chapter.
for the army in 1778, he changed from his previously professional
dress into the dress for military personnel, although unauthorized,
or at least, not required by regulation.

Chaplain equipment was minimal. In addition to his clothing,
other items of personal and professional use were foodstuffs,
weapons, and a few books. Ecclesiastical items for chaplains were
quite limited, not only by the exigencies of their service in the field,
but by their theology. With the exception of Chaplain Lotbiniere,
the entire body of chaplains in the Revolutionary Army were Protes-
tant, and the greatest percentage of them by far were Calvintists.
To officiate at religious services, and otherwise conduct their minis-
tries, they needed only their Bible and hymn or Psalm book. There
is not a single reference extant indicating that chaplains in the
American army ever conducted a Service of Holy Communion
throughout the war. Their peacetime journals make mention of
such services, and Chaplain Trumbull records taking the Sacra-
ment upon returning home from a campaign. It was in their
theological framework that the Lord’s Supper was reserved for
believers only, and then within the bounds of their local congrega-
tions. Chaplain Hitchcock lists the articles which he lost, occasioned
by the retreat from Fort Ticonderoga. It reveals what items, per-
sonal and professional, he carried with him. Essentially they were
basic items of clothing, food-stuffs, and “1 Bible & Psalm Book, &
several small volumes.”

Muhlenberg’s Brigade Chaplain, Alexander Balmaine (also
spelled Belmaine) purchased from the Virginia Store in Philadel-
phia “3 1/4 yards fine cloth, twist and silk to make it up, 32 large
and 24 small buttons, 1/4 yard of cambrick and a pair of black silk
stockings.” It appears from this and earlier statements, chaplains
not issued standard uniforms had to have their distinctive clothing
tailored according to their individual tastes and materials available.

The Journal of the Council of the State of Virginia records on
September 21, 1776, the following entry: “Ordered, that a Warrant
issue to the Reverend William Bland Chaplain to the first Regiment
for Four pounds Ten shillings for a Tent.”

To complete a survey of chaplain equipment, it is needful to
mention transportation. Although many chaplains walked, a horse
was not infrequently his means of transportation. Beyond his an-
imal and the items mentioned above, he carried nothing, and—

See footnotes at end of chapter.
from silence on the subject in diaries and letters—no sense of lack, or desire for anything else is indicated.

Throughout the War for Independence, chaplains appear to have functioned without enlisted aid in the form of assistants. Chaplain David Avery, Patterson's Massachusett's Regiment and, later, the 15th Continental Infantry, is the only diarist who mentions having the service of an enlisted man. Casually he mentioned on January 6, 1777, "My Waiter is quite sick," and twelve days later, "Robert—my Waiter arrived from New-Town, in good health, & put up with me at Mr. Jhone’s." 44 It must be assumed that Robert's duties were those of a striker or batman, and in no way those of an enlisted assistant to assist the chaplain in his clerical responsibilities.

Lord Howe's evacuation and retreat from Philadelphia in the summer of 1778 brought Washington's hardened and newly trained army roaring out of Valley Forge in panting pursuit. Monmouth became the scene of their first bloody meeting, a battle in which both Chaplains Andrew Hunter and David Griffith received honors from the General for their heroic conduct. Years later, Colonel Nicolas of Virginia related to Washington's stepson, George Washington Parke Custis, that Chaplain Griffith of the Virginia Line, "came to Washington's tent near midnight and warned him against trusting Lee with command in the next day's battle." 45 This obviously is not reliable history, hence inadmissible, being hearsay only. (John R. Alden, in Charles Lee, Traitor or Patriot, deals thoroughly with Griffith's accusation, feeling it is utterly unreliable.) Yet, it is an often told tale, and ought not to be too lightly dismissed. At Valley Forge, according to David Jones' diary, the General said to him: "Doctor if you ever have anything private to communicate, never do it before my family." 46 Of course he used a term common in that period—"family"—meaning his staff. Perhaps he suspected disloyalty in their midst.

Treachery abounds in a civil war or revolution, and everyone can become suspect. When writing to the Board of War on May 22, 1779, Washington forwarded a copy of a letter from Elias Boudinot, concerning the conduct of a former Major, Hallet—then Chaplain—serving aboard the Continental frigate Confederacy. He had been accused by two people of being in the service of the enemy. The General wrote: "If the facts are true which it contains, the Chaplain on board the Confederacy appears to be a very im-

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
proper person for such a Trust. . . . " 47 There was no question concerning another chaplain's disloyalty. Leaving the service on February 20, 1778, John Elliot defected to the British. Again he had a change of heart; after nearly two years, he returned to the American army, throwing himself on the mercy of the State of Connecticut. The cause of his appalling behaviour is unknown. 48

Not all campaigns in the Revolution were fought along the Atlantic Seaboard. Early in the war, the British planned, under the direction of Lieutenant Governor Henry Hamilton, to gain control of the lands west of the Allegheny Mountains through use of their Indian allies. With that area secured, their savage forces could sweep east, or at least pin down large segments of the Revolutionary Army guarding against that possibility. The October 21, 1776, entry in the Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, complains, "That Kirkland, the Presbyterian Preacher, had been tampering with the Six Nations of Indians; but that Col. Butler of Niagara had had a previous meeting with their Sachems, & had prevailed on them to continue in their allegiance, except the Oneidas." 49 Samuel Kirkland had been ordained in June 1766, and commissioned to go as a missionary to the Indians. He struggled in vain to keep the Six Nations from joining the British force, or at least to remain neutral, having success with the Oneidas only. Their choice spelled doom to the five tribes. Few men paid a higher price for their calling than Kirkland. With trouble arising as early as 1772, he found it expedient to locate his family in the safety of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Excepting a few short visits from his duties as a missionary, and then chaplain, he would not be reunited with them until the return of peace, ten years later!

Lieutenant Colonel George Rogers Clark was commissioned by Virginia to conquer the Illinois country. Leaving Fort Massac—near modern day Louisville, Kentucky—he led his force of 175 men to Kaskaskia, which he surprised and captured on July 4, 1778. It was here that he met a Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. Pierre Gibault, Vicar-General of the Illinois country. In addition to caring for the souls of his French and Indian congregants throughout this enormous territory, he also communicated those members of his Church who belonged to the 18th (Royal Irish) Foot. 50 It is interesting to note that by British law units were prohibited from enlisting any Catholics (and especially Irish

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
Catholics) throughout the eighteenth century, but occasionally manpower crises led to violations in practice.

Joyous surprise replaced the worse apprehensions of Father Gibault and his parishioners of Kaskaskia when Clark enunciated his policy of the free exercise of religion. Immediately he gained the support of this frontier priest in whose knowledge the dispersal of the Arcadians by their English Protestant conquerors was fresh and vivid. Marching with Clark’s force of Americans and newly gained French volunteers to capture Vincennes was Father Gibault. Dom Adrian H. Germain states: “Whether General Clark appointed and commissioned him as chaplain on this occasion may never be known, but the fact is outstanding that Father Gibault was a chaplain and more, indeed, to his boys that marched away.” 51 Another author writes: “Father Gibault was there, to absolve the troops and address them in the glowing words the occasion naturally inspired.” 52 In the absence of all records, it must be assumed that this dedicated priest, like many Protestant clergymen on the Boston Siege Line and elsewhere, served the Revolutionary cause as a chaplain without formal or official credentials. This ought not to be surprising, nor detract from his service, when the time-distance factor is considered. The seat of Virginia’s government, Williamsburg, was a long way off. For his invaluable aid in recruiting men for Clark, as well as other vital services rendered, Father Gibault did receive the stated appreciation of the Governor and Assembly of Virginia. 53

There is a problem, however. Bishop Briand of Quebec, as we have seen, was ardently pro-British. The record of his ecclesiastical rule is one of trial and torment; a man less dedicated to his cause, or of lesser strength, would have surely failed. He had severe problems with the people of Quebec, the Catholic Indians of his diocese, the Capuchins in far off Louisiana, and pro-American sympathizers. Father Gibault’s active participation in the advancement of the Revolutionary cause did not assist in soothing the temper of this hard pressed prelate. On June 29, 1780, Gibault was suspended by his Bishop! 54 Further, when he was ordered to Quebec to stand charges for treason, demanded by British officials, he disclaimed any responsibility for the fall of Vincennes to the Americans, claiming that he was merely a spiritual advisor seeking to prevent the effusion of blood. Whether this satisfied either the

See footnotes at end of chapter.
British or Bishop Briand history does not record. Nor is it recorded how this disavowal of his part in the American cause affected his newly won friends. Reinstated in 1783, he sought land from the American government for ecclesiastical use.55 This once more cast him into a church conflict, Bishop Carroll of Baltimore being a strong opponent of having church property granted to any individual. Ultimately, Father Gibault crossed the Mississippi into Spanish territory where he lived out his remaining years in obscurity, as a parish priest in New Madrid. He died "unwept, unhonour’d, and unsuing" in 1804, and lies in an unmarked grave. Hopefully, great is his "reward in heaven;" it certainly was not on earth. It is fitting that he be honored for his part in our history, both as an unofficial chaplain and as a great factor in shaping the borders of our emerging country. Again, Dom Germain: "Without the aid of this priest the fate of the Clark expedition would be a doubtful one, nor is it probable that the United States would even now, extend beyond the territory of the thirteen colonies."56 This encomium is probably overstated.

Campaigns against hostile Indian activities in the South engaged units from the Continental Army and states' militia. Chaplains involved in these forays were Alexander Balmaine and John Lyth, both of Virginia.57 The former spent much of his earlier service on the frontier with the 13th Virginia, garrisoning Fort Pitts and Fort Chriswell. Chaplain Lyth, a native of England, is credited with being the first clergyman to enter Kentucky, locating at the stockade at Harrodburg during April, 1775. Elected to the Transylvania Legislature, he was invited to preach to that body on May 28 and June 4, 1775. He was a participant in the campaign against the Cherokees in 1776–1777, and again in 1778, being killed on January 15. Like chaplains, David Avery, David Griffith, David Jones, John Martin, and Joseph Thaxter, he served as a surgeon as well as a chaplain. With the means of evacuating and caring for wounded personnel extremely limited, and chaplains being involved with those who suffered injury in battle by the very nature of their ministerial calling, it is not surprising to find these two professions overlaying in this early period.58 David Jones, who had studied medicine under Doctors Moore and Tolman of Bordentown, New Jersey, in order to enhance his capabilities, was left at Valley Forge when the army moved out.59 Presumably he was

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caring for the sick who were in no condition to march against Lord Howe’s command as it raced from Philadelphia to New York City.

General Sullivan’s expedition against the Six Nations in 1779 was planned to eliminate their continuous operations against American settlements along the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna Rivers. For years the Indians, urged on by British and Loyalist officers, rampaged through western New York with torch and knife, turning that area, so physically beautiful and fruitful, into a fiery hell. The Battle of Oriskany, and General Herkimer’s fortitude following his wounding have become legendary. It was a grim but spiritually glorious scene, that 16th day of August 1777; a victory of spirit over flesh. Dying from the effects of the amputation of his leg, Herkimer calmly and cheerfully smoked his pipe. Laying it aside, he called for his German Bible, reading Psalm 38; “and when he had finished the penitential verses,” says author Hoffman Nickerson, “he closed the book and died.” 60

Five chaplains’ names are registered on the rosters of Sullivan’s campaign in 1779: Samuel Kirkland, assigned to General Sullivan’s Staff; Israel Evans, with Poor’s Brigade; Andrew Hunter, Maxwell’s Brigade; William Rogers, Hand’s Brigade; John Gano, Clinton’s Brigade. 61

Chaplain Rogers’ Journal relates that he met Kirkland for the first time while this “secret expedition” was being organized. These chaplains were old soldiers by now, hardened to combat and inured to the elements. They got along well in a fellowship of mutual respect, appreciation, and support. Enjoying each other’s company, they travelled together. 62

Kirkland was the most knowledgeable concerning Indian matters, having served for years among them as a missionary and chaplain. His Journal records the gigantic proportions of the Indian problem as early as October 25, 1776. On that date at Fort Schuyler, he had the terrifying information to pass on to General Schuyler of a possible Indian coalition. He writes:

Of a large black belt sent from the Cherokees to ye back Nations & on its return, by way of Niagara to the Six Nations—Monday 21st brought to ye Oneidas by two Onondago’s.

The intention of this belt so far as it is known is to request the aid of ye remote Tribes of Indians together with ye Six Nations—to distress and destroy the Virginians—who have fell upon the Cherokees without provocation (as they report). 63

See footnotes at end of chapter.
Had a major Indian alliance been formed and their efforts coordinated, in addition to the British and Hessian forces the Americans were already contending with, the likelihood of victory and Independence would have been remote, if not impossible.

Early in the campaign, June 24, Chaplain Rogers was called upon to officiate at a Masonic gathering. He noted: "Being Saint John's day, a number of Free-masons met at Colonel Proctor's marquee; at his request (though not one of the fraternity myself) read for them the Rev. Dr. Smith's excellent sermon on Masonry." Masons played an enormous role in the Revolutionary War, and following.

Pastoral concerns engaged the attention of Chaplains Kirkland the Rogers, a Congregationalist and a Baptist, respectively. Lawrence Miller and Michael Rosebury were condemned to be executed for the crime of "enticing soldiers of the American army to desert to the enemy." Rogers transcribed the contents of their several meetings with the prisoners, providing us a clear view of how they ministered to those before whom swung the hangman's noose. Referring to their first visit, he wrote:

Our endeavors were upon this occasion to open unto them the nature of man's fall, and the dreadful situation of those who died in a state of impenitency and unbelief.

Wednesday, June 30. We went to see the prisoners; Miller appeared much softened, distressed, and anxious about his future state; Rosebury said but little; I enlarged particularly at this time on their awful condition by nature and practice, their amazing guilt in the sight of an holy God; the spirituality of the divine law; the necessity of an interest in Jesus Christ; their own inability to obtain salvation, and the great importance of a due preparation for another world.

Thursday, July 1. Before breakfast visited the convicts; spoke to them on the realities of heaven and hell, and the justice and mercy of God; Miller appeared still more penitent, and freely confessed the sentence of death passed against him to be just. The other excused himself and insisted much on the innocence of his life. Mr. Kirkland and myself waited on the Commander-in-chief, in order to recommend Miller to mercy. His Excellency was so obliging as to inform us that it was his purpose, upon account of Miller's wife and numerous family, his decent behavior on trial, the recommendation of the court and former good character, to pardon him under the gallows, fifteen minutes after the execution of Rosebury; and requested that it

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might remain a secret with us until it was publicly known. P.M.—At the hour appointed the prisoners were taken under guard to the place of execution, attended by Messrs. Kirkland, Hunter and myself. In walking to the gallows we of course conversed with them on the most serious subjects. Upon arriving there, the military being under arms, and a number of the inhabitants present, it fell to my lot to address the spectators, after which Mr. Kirkland prayed. Rosebury was then turned off; he died to all appearance the same stupid man he was at the first of our visiting him. Poor Miller was much agitated at the sight, expecting every moment the same punishment. He was employed in commending himself to God—upon hearing his pardon from the commander-in-chief read, he was greatly affected. On recovering himself he expressed the utmost thankfulness for his great deliverance. The scene throughout was very affecting. 85

Preaching to Hand’s Brigade and the accompanying artillery regiment on the third anniversary of American Independence, Chaplain Rogers’ sermon was based on the text, Psalm 32:10; “But he that trusteth in the Lord, mercy shall encompass him about.” He concluded his message with words calculated to inspire the patriot and the believer. Undoubtedly to him religion and patriotism were themes blended together by the Creator, and ought not—at least in this case—be separated.

“Politically as a nation are we exhorted to trust in the Lord. God hath hitherto blessed our arms and smiled on our infant rising states. Recollect, my brethren, the commencement of our bloody contest; pursue in your minds the difficulties we already have had to encounter. Be not ye afraid of the insolent foe. ‘Remember Jehovah, who is great and terrible and fight for your brethren, sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses.’ Provided we fear God and are publicly as well as individually honest; what have we now to alarm us? American exertions have hitherto been crowned with success; let us still under the banners of liberty, and with a Washington for our head, go on from conquering to conquer. Hark! what voice is that which I hear? It is the voice of encouragement; permit me for your animation to repeat it distinctly; ‘Our fathers trusted and the Lord did deliver them; they cried unto Him and were delivered; they trusted in Him and were not confounded.’ Even so may it be with us, for the sake of Christ Jesus, who came to give Freedom to the world.” 86

See footnotes at end of chapter.
On the same day, Chaplain Gano preached to the men from Pennsylvania from Exodus 4:12.67

Notwithstanding Washington’s repeated directives to officers and men of all ranks to attend divine services regularly, there were many who avoided those opportunities when they were afforded. Lieutenant Samuel M. Shute could not restrain his humor at finally seeing his commander at church. His mischievous grin crosses two centuries: “July 25. Attended divine service and had the pleasure to inform the public that Colo. DeHart attended.” 68 This must have been a red letter day for the Second New Jersey!

It may be assumed that in an era when pulpit oratory was considered the primary function of a clergyman, sermons were carefully prepared and well delivered. Reference to the reactions of worshippers appearing in extant diaries indicates that most sermons were received with some interest and enthusiasm. There were failures, however, resulting from the chaplain himself, or from the unfulfilled expectations of the person attending the worship service. These unmet needs likely grew out of cultural differences, and unfamiliarity with different formats in worship and sermonic delivery. Everything seemed strange and unacceptable to one southern rifleman named Jesse Lukens. Writing about his impression of military service in the north, he complained bitterly: “Such sermons, such Negroes, such Colonels, such Boys, & such Great Great Grandfathers!” 69

The majesty of God in nature and the Scriptures elicited from the campaigning Chaplain Rogers numerous prayers in the notes he kept, probably never intended for eyes other than his own to see. In them we feel the heartbeat of this early military pastor. He confides: “In casting my eyes upon hills and mountains . . . my thoughts were agreeably led from nature’s works to contemplate on nature’s God. May it be my constant wish and aim to devote myself to the service of Him whose wisdom, power and goodness shine so conspicuously amidst all created objects.” Again, “This being the anniversary of my nativity, grant O God, that as my moments fly apace, I may by the assistance of thy Holy Spirit double my diligence to make my calling and election sure.” 70

Indian warfare was not for the thin skinned. Supplies were short, and snakes, in great abundance, supplemented non existant rations. Lieutenant Colonel—later Major General—Henry Dear-
born observed: “I eat part of a fryed Rattle Snake to day which would have tasted very well had it not been snake.” 71 Adding to this the horrors inflicted on captives, and one is not surprised that Chaplain Rogers scorned their royal employer “who bears the title of the ‘Defender of the Faith.’” 72 Several diaries mention the barbarous death suffered by Lieutenant Boyd and Sargeant Parke, captured while on patrol. Lieutenant Colonel Dearborn recalled: “... it seems they ware tyed to two trees near which they lay & first severely whipp’d them—their tongues were cut out their finger nails plucked off their eyes plucked out then speer’d & cut in many places & after they had vented their hellish spite & rage cut off their heads and left them. This was a most horrible spectacle . . . .” 73 Thomas Grant called it: “the most shocking site my Eys Ever saw.”

Sullivan’s army swept through the lands of the Six Nations, burning villages and destroying their crops. These savage warriors of King George experienced the wrath of an enraged army, and never afterwards regained strength or power.

An international event transpired during the period Sullivan’s force was leveling the strongholds and lands of the Six Nations. Or, at least, the information reached the American Army at that time. Spain had come into the war as an American ally! In celebration “of Spain Declaring war against Great Britain and the late generous Resolution of Congress of raising the Subsistence of Officers & soldiers of the Army,” General Sullivan ordered a Feu de Joy, and in each Brigade’s officers mess, an ox and five gallons of spirits to be utilized. Among the lengthy list of toasts drunk by the Pennsylvanians were two of significance to this history: “... The Allies of America & the United House of Bourbon ... May the Kingdom of Ireland merit a Stripe on our Standard ... .” 75 Among New York officers, a mere three toasts were offered: “1st Congress. 2nd The United States. 3d The King of Spain, and three cheers for each throughout the whole army.” 76 Evidently American Protestants had learned that politically, if not theologically, they could live with Roman Catholics. First, France. Then Spain and, amazingly, the desire for Ireland to become the fourteenth stripe on our flag! Toleration of different religious beliefs was developing, not from commonality of central theological truths, but out of sheer political need! As with Baptists, winning their acceptance in America by

See footnotes at end of chapter.
dedication to the cause of Independence through military service, support from France and Spain to that same cause opened the door slightly for adherents of the Roman Catholic Church to live freely and unmolested in this new nation.

Inflation ran so rampant throughout the newly formed United States that a proverbial expression entered our language: "Not worth a continental." The Rev. Manasseh Cutler, whom we will meet shortly as a chaplain, wrote concerning near worthless money: "In 1777 money had depreciated as much, at least, as five for one, but in 1779 it was nearer twenty to one. I have spent considerable of an estate in the support of my family, and now am driven to the practice of physic." 77 This malady of the government's currency reflected so severely that Chaplain Enos Hitchcock noted in his diary on August 30, 1779, the following information from the Continental Congress: "Resolved, Augt 18.—That until the further order of congress, the Officers of the Army be entitled to receive monthly for their subsistence money the sums following—V12—each Colo. & brigde Chapn (brigade chaplain) 500 dollars & all others in proportion—each Soldier 10 dollars per month in lieu of those articles of food originally intended for them & not furnished—. . . ." 78 That was a huge step from 1775, when chaplains and captains received $20 per month! Chaplain John Nevelling, a native of Westphalia, Germany, in order to relieve the financial pressures on Congress, sold his estate, loaning the entire amount—some $25,000—to the government. In the course of the war his receipt was lost, and he was never repaid. This early clergyman of the German Reformed Church lived until 1844 in unrelieved poverty and continuously failing health.79

So grievous had the problem of inflation become that it wrung from the stolid Washington a statement of amazing proportions. Writing to President Joseph Reed from West Point, on July 29, 1779, concerning personnel problems, he said:

Discouraging as this is, I feel more from the state of our currency, and the little attention which hitherto, appears to have been paid to our finances than from the smallness of our Army. And yet (Providence having so often taken us up when bereft of every other hope) I trust we shall not fail even in this.80

No doubt the General was familiar with Psalm 118:9: "It is better to trust in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes"; and Congress

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
was as near to “princes” as the nascent republic could afford! The motto, “In God We Trust” takes on a new meaning in the light of the first Commander-in-Chief’s blunt statement to the President of the Continental Congress.

Illustrative of how low the value of money minted by the United States had become, during Sullivan’s Expedition of 1779, General Edward Hand writing to his friend Yeates told him: “my Chaplain has 5102 dollars of mine in Charge, & my own pay is due since 25th Decr. 1778 inclusive.” One would not likely carry that amount of currency on a campaign for out-of-hand expenses unless its value was enormously inflated. As a by product of this currency condition, we learn that Hand apparently left his money with Chaplain Rogers for safekeeping should something happen to him during an action.

Manasseh Cutler, mentioned above, had been involved briefly in the confused days of the Boston Siege, and was commissioned a chaplain in the Massachusetts Militia on September 5, 1776. His commission reads:

STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

The Major part of the Council to Manasseh Cutler, Gentleman,
Greeting:
(SEAL.)

     Jer. Powell.     We, being informed of your Exemplary Life
     W. Sever.        and Manners, and reposing 'special Trust
     Caleb Cushing.  and Confidence in your Abilities and good
     Artemus Ward.   Conduct, Do, by these Presence, constitute
     J. Winthrop.    and appoint you, the said Manasseh Cutler
     B. Lincoln.     to be Chaplain of the Regiment drafted out
     B. Chadbourn.  of the Militia of this State on the Continental
     S. Holten.      Establishment for the defence and security
     Jabez Fisher.  of the Town and Harbour of Boston,
     John Taylor.   whereof Ebenezer Francis, Esq., is Colonel.
     Wm. Phillips.  You are therefore carefully and diligently
     Benj. Austin.   to inculcate in the minds of the Soldiers of
     Dan'l Davis.    said Regiment, as well by Example as Pre-
     D. Sewall.      cept, the Duties of Religion and Morality, &
     F. M. Dana.     a fervent Love of their Country, and in all
                      respects discharge the Duty of a Chaplain in
                      said Regiment—Observing, from time to time, such Orders and Instructions as you

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shall receive from your Superior Officers, according to Military Rules and Discipline Established by the American Congress. In pursuance if the Trust reposed in you, for which this shall be your Sufficient Warrant.

Given under our Hands and the Seal of said State, at Watertown, the fifth day of Sept' r, In the Year of our Lord, One Thousand seven Hundred & seventy-six. By Command of the Major part of the Council,

JOHN AVERY, Dp.y Secy.82

Called out to support Sullivan's unsuccessful campaign to drive the British out of Newport, Rhode Island, his Journal is carefully detailed. Leaving for duty on short notice, he obtained the services of the Rev. Steward, who, he recorded for August 9, 1778, "preached for me, and administered the Sacrament, which I had before appointed and could not well put by." 83 He had a standing invitation to dine with his commander, as did most chaplains through the Revolution.84 Combat conditions prevailed, and his ministry had to be fitted into that framework. Cutler's entry for August 20, reveals this situation: "A steady fire through the day. Attended prayers this evening with the brigade for the first time, our situation not admitting of it before." 85 Failure of the French fleet to arrive in force—a vital part of the planned operation—aborted the campaign. The chaplain wrote without comment: "Our most sanguine hopes were chopped in the bud, . . . ." 86

During this campaign Cutler found himself in action far heavier and different from that which he experienced in the relatively quiet days before Boston. Yanked from civilian life, and immediately thrown into combat, his Journal shows that he had not become seasoned to war as were the long term chaplains in the Continental Army. Candidly he writes on August 17:

Had a fine view of the enemy's lines from the top of a house, about a quarter of a mile distant, and little advanced of our picket. The enemy had fired for some time in the morning, but had ceased for some hours. While we were on the house they begun their fire again from the redoubts. Several shot passed us on each side and fell beyond us. Made a shocking whistling. Soon after we left the house a shot came through it. Found our

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situation not very safe or agreeable. Stood by the Marquis when a cannon ball just passed us. Was pleased with his firmness, but found I had nothing to boast of my own, and as I had no business in danger concluded to stay no longer lest I should happen to pay too dear for my curiosity.  

A crisis far different from that faced in battle by Chaplain Cutler confronted the chaplains serving in the Hudson Valley. General Orders, dated Tuesday, September 26, 1780, contains the bitter words: “Treason of the blackest dye was yesterday discovered! General Arnold who commanded at Westpoint, lost to every sentiment of honor, of public and private obligation, was about to deliver up that important Post into the hands of the Enemy. . . . Mr. André, the Adjutant General of the British Army . . . is our Prisoner.”  

The depth of both Washington’s sentiment and faith is revealed when he wrote Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens on the following 13th of October. His letter states: “In no instance since the commencement of the War has the interposition of Providence appeared more conspicuous than in the rescue of the Post and Garrison of West Point from Arnolds villainous perfidy . . . . André has met his fate, and with that fortitude which was to be expected from an accomplished man, and gallant Officer.”  

Stationed at West Point throughout this period were Chaplains Hitchcock and Joel Barlow, the theological student who campaigned as a private during his vacations from school. On Sunday, September 24, this pair of chaplains preached: Hitchcock from Hebrews 3:12-13, and Barlow on the theme, “worshiping God in Spirit.”  

Little did they imagine their fate was being planned by the traitor. News arrived on the 26th of September, and Hitchcock wrote in surprise: “it seems the Post was to be given up to the Enemy this very night.”  

Sermons on the following Sunday reflected the events. Hitchcock preached from Psalm 122:6-7,—“Peace be within thy walls,” while Barlow selected Haggai 2:9 for his discourse: “The glory of this latter house shall be greater than of the former, saith the Lord of hosts; and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.”  

Chaplain Hitchcock noted the proceedings throughout the days of André’s trial, and he and his companion, Barlow, witnessed the execution. His account, written on October 2, is as follows:

See footnotes at end of chapter.
At twelve o’Clock this day was Executed Major André—He received his fate with greater apparent fortitude than others saw it—he appeared a most Genteel young fellow—handsomely drest in his regimentals—when he came to the Gallows, he said he well knew his fate but was disappointed in the mode—He ascended the wagggon cheerfully fixed the halter round his own neck & bound his Eyes—said, smiling, a few moments would settle the whole—was asked if he had anything to offer—lifting up the handkerchief that covered his Eyes, said, Gentlemen, you will all bear witness that I met my fate like a brave man.

Behold the end of humane greatness! a young fellow cut off in the midst of the highest prospects, by the hand of a common hangman—

Tragic events in New Jersey indicate the viciousness of the war, dragging on and on, with brutality and treachery becoming commonplace. For our history it focalizes in the life and death of Chaplain James Caldwell. This Presbyterian clergyman served in dual capacities—as a chaplain and as a Deputy Quartermaster and Assistant Commissary General. This was not unique, nor did it scandalize the laity of that period when religion and patriotism were looked upon as mutually supporting virtues. It was Chaplain Samuel West who broke the cipher used by Dr. Benjamin Church, first head of the Medical Department, showing him to be in the pay and service of the Royal Army. Chaplain Abner Benedict worked on the development of a primitive torpedo, a number doubled for surgeons, as we have seen, and quite a few led units in combat. Several clergymen elected to serve as commanders—such as Muhlenberg—and hold their pastoral duties in abeyance until the sword was sheathed in peace and honor. This attitude appeared especially strong among the Scotch Presbyterians of central and western Pennsylvania, and the Anglicans of Virginia.

Caldwell frequently corresponded with Washington on purely military matters, forwarding to him information and intelligence. The British ire was raised at this patriot, and he became a marked man. At first it was innocent enough, the polished Major André himself making pointed fun of him in a poem entitled, Cow Chase. A notorious Tory, Cornelius Hetfield, burned Caldwell’s church to the ground on January 25, 1780, announcing with sorrow that the “black-coated rebel” was not consumed with it. As General Knyphausen’s force swept through villages of Connecticut

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Farms, New Jersey—where the Caldwell family had gone for safety—a soldier shot through the window of her house, killing Mrs. Hannah Caldwell instantly. Nearly a year later, November 24, 1781, Chaplain Caldwell was shot to death by an off duty sentry named Morgan. He was tried for murder, and executed on the 29th of January, 1782. His motive was never determined, but it was strongly held that he was in the pay of the British. Before his hanging, he was preached a sermon by the Rev. Jonathan Elmer from the text in Jeremiah 44:4: “O, do not this abominable thing which I hate.” It is questionable how comforting that sermon was to the condemned prisoner. Washington contributed to the support of the nine Caldwell orphans, and LaFayette sent the third oldest child to the Marquise to be educated. 99

Prior to his murder, Chaplain Caldwell secured his place in the history of the Revolution by his dramatic action at the Battle of Springfield. Finding that fire was slackening along the American line because of the shortage of wadding—an essential ingredient for loading muskets used in that period—he hurried into the local Presbyterian church building, gathering as many Watts hymn books as he could carry. Hastily he distributed them, intending that their pages be put to a purpose for which their sacred words were never designed. His admonition has come down through the centuries—“Give them Watts, boys, give them Watts!”—and has been immortalized by Bret Harte’s poem about “the rebel high priest.” 100

This is not the first occasion when items designed for spiritual purposes were used for purposes far different. A participant in the Revolution recalled:

When the American army reached Philadelphia in June, 1778, after the evacuation by the British troops, we were hard pressed for ammunition. We caused the whole city to be ransacked in search of cartridge-paper. At length I thought of the garretts, &c., of old printing offices. In that once occupied as a lumber-room by Dr. Franklin, when a printer, a vast collection was discovered. Among the mass was more than a cart-body load of sermons on defensive war, preached by a famous Gilbert Tennant, during the old British and French war, to rouse the colonies to indispensable exertion. These appropriate manifestoes were instantly employed as cases for musket-cartridges, rapidly sent to the army, came most opportunely, and were fired away at the battle of Monmouth against our retiring foe. 101

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During the latter years of the Revolutionary War, the northern army spent the bulk of its time blocking potential British advances down the Hudson River Valley, while to the south major operations flamed. From Virginia to Georgia armies maneuvered, and new battles added their names to our history: Kings Mountain, Cowpens, Guilford Court House, and finally Yorktown. Military activities in New England were limited to raids from British and Loyalist units. In an attack on New Haven in 1779, the Rev. Dr. Naphthali Daggett participated as a combatant—though quite elderly—dying from the effects of exhaustion and maltreatment received while he was a POW. The Rev. Thomas Brockway, veteran Chaplain of Colonel Selden’s State Regiment, Wadsworth’s Brigade, went with his neighbors to repel the British landing at New London in 1781. All in all, however, the war had wound down in the North.\(^\text{102}\)

In the South, Chaplain Charles Cummings, an old time Indian fighter, was with the first army to penetrate Tennessee in a campaign against the Cherokees, and is listed among the heroes of Kings Mountain.\(^\text{103}\)

The Rev. James Hall of Iredell County, North Carolina challenged his parishioners to arm themselves and go to the defense of their country and neighboring South Carolina now that the British forces were in the south. Elected captain of a cavalry unit, he led that unit so ably in campaigns in 1779 and 1781 that, upon the death of General Davidson on the banks of the Catawba, General Nathanael Greene chose him for immediate promotion to the grade of Brigadier General. It was predictable: Hall turned down this honor, saying that he was bound by his prior obligation of ordination to be a clergyman, and that his work as a military leader was strictly a temporary expedient resulting from the existing conditions. Throughout his service, Hall served as his own chaplain, leading his organization in prayer, and Divine services. Having preached the first sermon in a hitherto Indian controlled area, a county in Georgia was named Hall in his remembrance. Following the war, he began the first mission work attempted along the lower Mississippi. Here was a man who labored all his life for the fulfillment of John’s prophesy: “The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Christ, and he shall reign for ever and ever.”\(^\text{104}\) To that end, neither promotion to the grade of
general officer nor the comforts of a settled, peaceful community could deter him.  

A Methodist clergyman's appearance during the southern campaigns is worthy of note. Jesse Lee, a newly ordained preacher under the guidance of the Reverend Francis Asbury, was called to serve with the local militia. Apparently he had been engaged in farming and itinerant preaching, but was not the pastor of a congregation. With the Anglican Church being the only Established body, his credentials were not sufficient to be considered as a clergyman. His feelings are expressed in the following extract from his memoirs.

I weighed the matter over and over again, but my mind was settled; as a Christian and as a preacher of the gospel I could not fight. I could not reconcile it to myself to bear arms, or to kill one of my fellow creatures; however I determined to go, and to trust in the Lord; and accordingly prepared for my journey.

Joining the army on July 29, 1780, Lee met his first anticipated problem when "orders were given for all soldiers to be furnished with guns." Following this, he relates: "I then lifted up my heart to God and besought him to take my cause in his hands, and support me in the hour of trial."

The sergeant soon came round with the guns, and offered one to me, but I would not take it. Then the lieutenant brought me one, but I refused to take it. He said I should go under guard. He then went to the colonel, and coming back, brought a gun and set it down against me. I told him he had as well take it away or it would fall. He then took me with him and delivered me to the guard.

After a while the colonel come, and taking me out a little way from the guard, he began to converse with me, and to assign many reasons why I should bear arms; but his reasons were not sufficiently cogent to make any alteration in my mind. He then told the guard to take care of me, and so left me.

As a prisoner he prayed with his guard, and on Sunday, July 30, he led his fellow soldiers in prayer, and then, by invitation, preached to them from the text, Luke 13:5: "Except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish." It was at the close of this service, "some of the gentlemen went about with their hats to make a collection of money for me, at which I was very uneasy, and ran among the people and begged them to desist. I could not at that time feel

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willing to receive any compensation for preaching." The colonel was greatly affected by Lee's sincerity, and love for his country. As a consequence, he inquired if he would serve as a wagon driver, an offer which Lee readily accepted. 109

Throughout his army service, Lee served first as a driver, then a pioneer, or engineer, ultimately being promoted to the rank of sergeant. Unofficially he acted as the unit chaplain, preaching and praying as opportunity allowed. When a near fatal illness overtook him, he writes, "... I had no doubt of my salvation; for I believed that should the Lord see fit to remove me from this world, I should be called to join the armies of Heaven." 110

Pastoral cares consumed Lee's time and energies. His entry for October 13, 1780, is indicative of his extra duties.

... colonel Morgan jointed us with a part of his regiment—some of our soldiers were very sick—I went among them where they lay in barns, at the point of death, and talked to them about their souls; and begged them to prepare to meet their God. When convenient, I attended the funeral of those who died, and prayed at the grave." 111

Upon receiving his discharge, Sergeant—"Chaplain"—Lee resumed his ministry in the civilian community. 112

Regarding chaplains, the southern phase of the Revolution presented one sad event. Moses Allen, brother of Thomas whom we have met previously, was captured at the surrender of Savannah. Confined aboard a British prison ship off Cockspur, he languished in filth and foul treatment. Indications are that he was dealt with in an especially calloused fashion because of the influence he had previously exercised in the American cause. Unnoticed he slipped overboard, attempting to swim to freedom. Malnutrition having taken its toll, he drowned. Even a decent burial was denied him by the authorities, his body being buried in the mud of an unmarked grave. On February 24, 1784, the State of Georgia granted his only surviving son, Moses, 500 acres of land "as compensation for his father's services." 113

There is a dearth of materials concerning chaplains' participation in the southern campaigns. Unlike New Englanders at the Siege of Boston and throughout the earlier days of the Revolution, who kept diaries and journals, the Southern militia chaplains left few and scant records. Even among the chaplains of the Continen-

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tal Army, by now seasoned to camp and battles, their records are all but non existent. One reference which survives from this period, however, is intriguing to say the least. Chaplain Lotbiniere, the only Roman Catholic chaplain, somehow arrived in Paris. His letter dated March 6, 1781, suggests that he was involved in a strategic scheme of momentous proportions. It proposed that within fourteen or fifteen months, a joint American-French force would invade Canada. The presence of French troops, it was anticipated would revive old loyalties among the bulk of the inhabitants, causing them to cast their lot against the British. Why this excommunicated American chaplain was in France is not clear. Whether he was on official business or striving for personal achievement in the context of political-military operations is a question to which records give no help. Irrespective, the proposal came to nothing, for there was no implementation of so grand a design.  

The year 1781 opened with Washington's force of some 3500 men opposing Clinton's army of 10,000 in New York. Throughout the southern states the war was fluid, culminating at Yorktown on September 28, 1781. Siege operations began, with the capitulation of His Majesty's forces on October 19. Effectively, Cornwallis' surrender brought military operations to a close, although the war officially continued until April 19, 1783.

At Yorktown Chaplain Israel Evans nearly paid with his life for his readiness to be in the center of combat. He and Ellis were the two chaplains with the longest continuous tenure of service, dating back to 1775. Dr. James Thacher, M.D., relates the incident in his Journal for October:

3d and 4th.—A considerable cannonading from the enemy; one shot killed three men, and mortally wounded another. While the Rev. Mr. Evans, our chaplain, was standing near the commander-in-chief, a shot struck the ground so near as to cover his hat with sand. Being much agitated, he took off his hat, and said, "See here, General." "Mr. Evans," replied his excellency, with his usual composure, "you had better carry that home, and show it to your wife and children."  

Evans' diary for those days makes no mention of this incident. Concerning the surrender, he writes:

17th.—General Washington informed them what terms he would give them, and has allowed them only two hours to

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consider them, and to give an answer. This day four years, Burgoyne and his whole army surrendered to the United States; that signal instance of the smiles of heaven, and what we now have in prospect, should make us very thankful to Almighty God. 18th. This day the enemy have agreed to surrender themselves prisoners of war to the combined arms of France and America. Hallelujah! 116

On October 21st, Chaplain Evans preached a victory sermon from the text, I Samuel 7:12: "Then Samuel took a stone, and set it between Mizpeh and Shen, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, Hitherto hath the Lord helped us." 117

At the Battle of Yorktown, chaplains serving four armies—American, British and Loyalists, French, and Hessians—were engaged. As may be expected, the Hessian chaplains in America were largely Lutheran and Reformed Church, although one Roman Catholic, Becker or Backer, was numbered in their ranks; the French were entirely Roman Catholic; the British, Church of England and Church of Scotland; and the Loyalists being predominantly, but not exclusively, Anglican.

The role played by British chaplains is, to a great degree, unknown. Plagued by the regimental chaplain system and absenteeism, several observations only can be made. Chaplains served on the staff of their respective commanders, and accompanied their units into combat. How many, however, actually came with their units to America is unknown. Five were captured with Burgoyne, as noted; and Edward Brudnell conducted himself with steady bravery at the funeral, conducted under artillery fire, of General Fraser, and in bringing Mrs. Ackland to her wounded and captured husband within the American lines during Burgoyne's expedition. So ambiguous is the British chaplains' role in the Revolution, that the official history of the Royal Chaplains Department, In This Sign Conquer, is utterly silent on the subject. 118 That the Royal Army was short of chaplains in America may be concluded from the pressure put upon the Rev. Michael Schlatter to join their forces. During the French and Indian War, this German Reformed clergyman had been the chaplain of the Royal American Regiment (1757–1759), and saw combat duty at Louisburg. When he steadfastly refused to join the British, for he was a staunch patriot, he was imprisoned. 119

In contrast to British chaplains, Hessian chaplains are noted

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frequently in officers' diaries, two chaplains left journals of note, and several of their letters are extant. Again, we find no formal chaplains' organizational structure. Chaplains were appointed by the rulers of the principalities from which the units were recruited, and served on their respective commanders' staffs. Although they were listed as officers, none seemed to possess military rank other than that of being a chaplain, which, in an aristocratic society, was a rank in itself.

Of the twenty-five Hessian chaplains who served in America, the best known is Frederick V. Melsheimer, author of a military diary, who was wounded and captured at Bennington, while serving with Prince Ludwig's Dragoons. After he was paroled, he became the pastor of a Lutheran congregation, and remained in the United States until his death. To a degree, his story is typical of so many Hessian soldiers. On February 6, 1776, the Brunswick troops "were mustered in the court of the castle of Wolfenbuettel so that it might be ascertained whether the ranks were full and the equipment in good condition. After the field-chaplain had delivered a sermon and the auditor had read aloud the articles of war, the regiments took the oath of allegiance." Going to America to conquer, they were conquered by the freedoms they came to fight against. "Of the thirty thousand Germans coming with the Hessian forces, hardly half returned, and the large portion of those who remained did so voluntarily, . . ." In his new fatherland, Melsheimer served faithfully as a highly respected pastor, and pursued his interests in science, becoming an entomologist of worldwide renown.

Field-chaplain Philipp Waldeck, of the Third Waldeck Regiment, participated in the New York Campaign, in New Jersey and along the Hudson, and accompanied his unit to Pensacola, Florida, and along the Gulf Coast to the Mississippi River. His ministerial duties are carefully recorded, and appear to be very comparable to those performed by chaplains in the American army. The New World never ceased to amaze him. He was astonished at Indians, "the savages of Long Island," and his observations on their way of life, stamina, and tracking ability were published in Germany in June, 1777. He was appalled at the isolation of Florida, writing, "just nothing but white sand," and equally appalled at the Floridians' total lack of a church or preacher. His detailed journal

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reveals that he was a highly sophisticated man, given to keen observations; everything seems to have interested him. It was he who recorded the only Communion Service held for Protestant soldiers in any of the armies involved throughout the war. This interestingly was in response to a request by a Hessian regiment stationed in New York City on January 16, 1778.124

Indicative of the courage and self sacrifice of the German chaplains is an experience of Chaplain Oliva, who remained with the terribly ill Captain von Bockum even though capture was inevitable.125 Likewise Chaplain Kohle of the Second Brunswick division, taken prisoner at Burgoyne’s surrender, volunteered for service in America thereby “giving up a comfortable position in the church.” 126 Of particular interest is that two Protestant chaplains, Schrecker and Beck, and the force’s only Roman Catholic chaplain, Becker or Backer, were assigned as Hospital Chaplains in 1782.127

Religion seems to have been deeply woven into the life of Hessian soldiers. Even without a chaplain present, daily devotions were celebrated. Each soldier from Hesse was given a personal hymn book by his Prince as a vital part of his equipment. Captain Georg Pausch, Chief of the Hanau Artillery, recorded concerning his gunners, “They never fail, after reveille and tatoo, to make their offerings due their God by singing morning and evening hymns for one hour.” 128 And as prisoners, they hastily built themselves a suitable chapel for worship, along with the other necessities and amenities of life.129 But even when separated from their pastors, they were not apart from their hearts. Writing on September 7, 1776, an anonymous Hessian chaplain reveals his feelings for his soldiers: “I remember them in my sermons, and in my prayers during the still hours of the night, while on my bed, that they may be strong in Christian courage.” And concerning German casualties “mostly hacked and shot all to pieces,” he exposes his soul’s “greater agony.” 130

While a great bibliography remains of German participation in the war, little survives to record the services of French chaplains in our Revolution. Providing for the religious needs of the French soldiers, were eleven Roman Catholic chaplains, and at sea, nearly one hundred with the Navy. Abbe Claude C. Robin bore the title “chaplain-in-chief,” but nothing indicates that he was a command chaplain, nor the existence of a chaplain organization within the
military structure. Presumably his position was defined because of his assignment on Rochambeau's staff. His observations of the United States are interestingly recorded in My Travels Through America and Campaigns of the Army of Count De Rochambeau. Following their service in the New World, all of the French chaplains returned to Europe, except two navy and one army chaplain, John Rossiter, who fulfilled his priestly role in Philadelphia. Solomon Southwick, not a Roman Catholic, paid an enormous compliment to the discipline of the French troops, and perhaps the noble influence of their chaplains, writing: "I saw the whole French army under Rochambeau go to a grand Mass in a body; and never did I behold a more sublime spectacle. There is indeed one fact that deserves to be recorded to the eternal honor of that Catholic army. It marched through the United States, it camped in almost every State, . . . but everywhere they marched was a track of morality, . . . ."

Twenty-eight Loyalist Army chaplains are known to have participated in the Revolutionary War, several whose careers are well known. Jonathan Odell, a poet of some standing in Tory circles, was secretary of Major André throughout the period of his negotiations with Benedict Arnold concerning the latter's defection. Samuel Seabury, chaplain to the King's American Regiment, became the first bishop of the Episcopal Church in the United States. Thomas Price heartily opposed the British stance toward the colonies—on May 29, 1774, he signed the Association against the Crown for closing Boston Harbour—but he could not violate his ordination vows to George III as head of the Anglican Church. He joined Cornwallis' forces in 1781 in his native Virginia. A number of Loyalist chaplains were captured: John Bethune at the Battle of Croos Creek, William Andrews and William Harrison at Yorktown. Comparably to their British counterparts, Loyalist chaplains were appointed to serve as unit chaplains on the regimental system. Chaplain Benjamin Moore was unique, being the only hospital chaplain known to have served in that capacity. His duties were confined to New York City, a British stronghold throughout a large portion of the conflict. In addition to chaplains, civilian clergymen officiated at religious services for Loyalist units when they were in the vicinity of a parson's church. Extant is a sermon by the Rev.

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Charles Inglis to “the troops at Bridge Head, New York,” delivered in September, 1777.\textsuperscript{136}

Meanwhile, in the quiet Northern sector, there was an amazing group of chaplains serving in the Continental Army: John Mason, Abraham Baldwin, his brother-in-law, Joel Barlow, Timothy Dwight, and Enos Hitchcock to name a few.\textsuperscript{137} Actually when Timothy Dwight left the service, he was replaced by Abraham Baldwin. What a pair of chaplains they were to have served one Brigade! Dwight went on to become the President of Yale, and America’s first epic poet, writing “The Conquest of Canaan,” a poem in eleven books. His hymn, “I Love Thy Kingdom, Lord,” is said to be “the only American hymn to survive of all those written between 1620 and 1824.”\textsuperscript{138} Baldwin, following the war, moved south, where he became the Father of the University of Georgia, and as a delegate from that state, signed the Constitution in 1789.\textsuperscript{139}

Joel Barlow left the ministry—he never had been ordained—entering the diplomatic field. A poet of towering stature, his most famous work is “The Vision of Columbus.” He represented the United States as Consul at Algiers during our war with the Barbary pirates, and died at Zarnowica, a village near Crakow, Poland, while on a mission to confer with Napoleon: the date, December 22, 1812.\textsuperscript{140}

Congress reduced the number of Brigades in consonance with the failure of enlistments to fill them; consequently the number of chaplains was lessened. It was resolved May 8, 1781, that the commanders of the northern and southern armies “retain in service no more chaplains of each line than are equal to the number of brigades.” Those discharged in this reduction in force were “entitled to have their depreciation made good, and to the half-pay of captains for life.”\textsuperscript{141} Additionally, the chaplain’s slot was considered “unnecessary” in the corps of light dragoons. This decision was predicated on it being “impracticable for their brigade chaplains to perform the duties of his office,” the dragoons generally operating with wide dispersion.\textsuperscript{142}

The question of a chaplain’s status, when captured, was finally determined, in 1782: “Chaplains, Surgeons, or Hospital Officers who shall be captured in the future may not be considered prisoners of War.”\textsuperscript{143} Earlier Lord Guy Carleton had written to Washing-
ton on this question, seeking some concord. What the problems were which necessitated this exchange of correspondence is not clear, except that a previous agreement was not being implemented at the action level. On July 9, 1781, when writing to the Board of War, Washington instructed the release of “two Chaplains of the German Regts” to be released, on the basis of an agreement in 1780, and stipulated “that all Gentlemen of that Function should be mutually released and that they should not be subjects of capture in the future.” In answer to a letter from Chaplain John Hurt, a POW, Washington said on September 25, 1781:

I have received your Letter of Yesterday. It is a fact, that, by particular agreement with Sir Hry Clinton, the Chaplains both of the American and British Armies, are exempted from Detention by Capture or Parole; pleading therefore that Stipulation I know no reason the Enemy can have for detaining you a Prisoner of War, or holding you under Parole; but should supposed you at your Liberty; several of their Chaplains have been released without any Compensation.

As early as June 4, 1780, Washington refers to the agreement to release all chaplain prisoners. In a letter to Abraham Skinner, he said: “I lately received a letter from a Mr. Frazier at Rutland, a Chaplain to the 71 Regt. As it was mutually agreed at the last meeting of the Commissioners to release all Gentlemen of his Cloth, you will be pleased to take the first opportunity of giving the necessary orders to that effect.”

The last encampment of the Revolutionary Army was at West Point, Newburgh, and New Windsor Cantonment. Its purpose was to provide protection should the British try once more to force the Hudson. They had no staging area apart from Canada; and, protected by the French fleet, an English invasion by water was not anticipated by the American command.

Christmas Day in the year 1782 was a memorable occasion for chaplains! General Orders read:

Headquarters, Newburgh, Dec. 25, 1782
The General highly approves of the proposal made by the Rev. Dr. Evans for erecting a Public Building and consents to the general and field officers meeting to determine on the situation and plan for it. The Dr. therefore requests that those who are desirous of promoting so useful a scheme will be pleased to meet

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at Major General Gates' quarters tomorrow morning at ten o'clock.\textsuperscript{148}

Two descriptions of the Temple of Virtue, as it was called, survive. Major Burnet's account reads:

It was a structure of rough hewn logs, oblong square in form, one story in height, a door in the middle, many windows and a broad roof. The windows were square, unglazed and about the size of ordinary port holes in a man of war. There was a small gallery or raised platform at one end for speakers and presiding officers.\textsuperscript{149}

General Heath remembers the Temple in the following words:

Upon an eminence the troops erected a building handsomely finished, with a spacious hall, sufficient to contain a brigade of troops on Lord's Day, for public worship, with an orchestra at one end, the vault of the hall was arched; at each end of the hall were two rooms, conveniently situated for the issuing of the general orders, for the sitting of the Boards of Officers, Courts Martial, etc., and an office and store for the Quartermaster's and Commissary's departments. On the top was a cupola and flag-staff on which a flag was hoisted occasionally for signals, etc.\textsuperscript{150}

The building was erected under the supervision of Colonel Tupper, Major Rochefontaine having computed the estimates of materials required. By Friday, February 15, 1783, Washington's General Order stated: "The New Building being so far finished as to admit the troops to attend public worship therein, after tomorrow it is directed that divine services should be performed therein every Sunday by the several chaplains of the New Windsor cantonment in rotation."\textsuperscript{151}

At the time when all seemed to be going well for chaplains, they allowed themselves to get slipshod, earning a rare, but deserved, rebuke from the General. Washington's remarks are illuminating for what they imply. There existed no chaplains organization to coordinate their activities, each being responsive to his own commander only. Further, their duties having been nowhere stated, even hospital visitation (normally a pastor's task) had to be called to their attention as an expected function.

The General has been surprised to find in Winter Qtrs. that the Chaplains have frequently been almost all absent, at the same time, under an idea their presence could not be of any utility at that season; he thinks it is proper, he should be allowed to judge

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See footnotes at end of chapter.
of that matter himself, and therefore in future no furloughs will be granted to Chaplains except in consequence of permission from Head quarters and any who may be now absent without such permission are to be ordered by the Commanding officers of their Brigades to join immediately, after which not more than one third of the whole number will be indulged with leave of absence at a time. They are requested to agree among themselves upon the time and length of their furloughs before any application shall be made to Head quarters on the subject. The Commander in Chief also desires and expects the Chaplains in addition to their public functions will in turn constantly attend the Hospitals and visit the sick, and while they are thus publicly and privately engaged in performing the sacred duties of their office they may depend upon his utmost encouragement and support on all occasions, and that they will be considered in a very respectable point of light by the whole Army.  

The usage of the Temple was for more than Divine services. One party is known to have been held there, and other meetings of foremost importance. It was there that Sergeant Elijah Churchill was selected as the recipient of the Badge of Military Merit, a medal of honor, and the forerunner of the design, but not the purpose, of our current Purple Heart. It was in the Temple that Washington quelled an officers' mutiny, thereby establishing in effect the principle that the military forces of the United States must be subordinate to authorized civilian authority, in this case, the Continental Congress. And it was in the doorway of the Temple that Chaplain John Gano, under orders from General Washington, announced on April 19, 1783, that the war was over, and the United States of America was free and independent. Gano then led the assembled officers and enlisted men—veterans from the battles of '75 on—in a prayer of thanksgiving for victory and peace. It was eight years exactly from when the shots were fired on Lexington Green and at Concord; April 19, 1775!  

A discharged chaplain, Abner Benedict, had born to him that day a daughter. Like all chaplains of that era, he was a scholar of the Greek New Testament. Knowing that the origin of the name meant "peace," he named her appropriately: Irene.  

See footnotes at end of chapter.
FOOTNOTES
Chapter VII

2 Ibid., I, 84.
3 Ibid., I, 84-85.
5 Ibid., VII, 159.
8 Timothy Dwight, "A Thanksgiving Sermon preached at Stamford, Conn. by Dr. Dwight, December 18, 1777." Israel Evans, "Discourse delivered on the 18th day of December, 1777, the day of public thanksgiving appointed by the Honourable Continental Congress."
16 Ibid., XVI, 25.
18 Ibid., 18.
22 Ibid., X, 168.
23 Ibid., XI, 42-343.
24 Ibid., X, 400; XI, 78, 105-106; XII, 401.
29 Ibid., IV, 495.
35 William Watson, The Army and Navy of The United States (Philadelphia: Published by George Barrie and Son, with the official approval of the War, Navy, and State Departments, 1891). I, 3.
38 "It is not possible to give positively the reason for the selection of blue. A number of ingenious explanations have been advanced, one of them going back through the Cromwellian Wars even to
Biblical authority; but perhaps as good a guess as any is that we find blue predominantly as a colonial uniform color in King George's and the French and Indian Wars, because the King's regulars frowned upon, if they did not actually forbid the provincials to adopt the sacred red coat of the British grenadier."

The strongest statement on this subject is found in: Asa B. Gardner, "Uniforms of the American Army," The Magazine of American History, I, August 1877, 464:

"Eventually, after the Revolutionary War had progressed for several hears, blue became the prescribed color for the coats of the American Army. That it became the distinctive color of the American Army was undoubtedly due to the fact that it had always been the insignia of the Whigs, the Covenanters having adopted that color from the history of the ancient Israelites, who were enjoined to put upon the fringe of their garments a ribbon of blue. (Numbers XV, v. 8. 2d Laing, p. 105. Highmore's Hist. London Artillery, p. 108)."


36 Ibid., 152.
37 Ibid., 162.
38 Ibid., 172.
39 The only reference extant indicating that a Protestant Service of Holy Communion was held throughout the period of the Revolution for military personnel is found in the diary of a Hessian chaplain, Philipp Waldeck. "Ich war ersucht bey den hessischen Regimentern zu Neujork die Communion zu halten." entry for January 16, 1778. Found in: Marion D. Learned (ed.), Americana Germanica, Philipp Waldeck's Diary of The American Revolution (Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1907), 55.
42 Company of Military Historians, Plate 282.
54 American Catholic Historical Researches, XXXI, 171.
58 For an interesting hook on contemporary medicine for the layman, see: William H. Paynter (ed.), Primitive Physic, John Wesley's Book of Old Fashioned Cures and Remedies. (Plymouth: Parade Printing Works, Ltd., 1958). Originally printed in 1747, it shows the primitive state of medicine. Two remedies, pertinent to soldiers, may suffice. "Lice (To Kill) Sprinkle Spanish Snuff over the head; . . . p. 5.
Bleeding of a wound
Take ripe Puff-Balls. Break them warily and save the powder. Strew this on the wound and bind it on. This will absolutely stop the bleeding of an amputated limb without any cautery." . . . p. 45.

64 Sullivan, *Op. Cit.*, 248-249. Concerning the role played by Freemasons in the Revolution, see Davidson, *Op. Cit.*, 101. He states: "From the Ancient lodges come some of the most radical leaders of the Whig party. Fifty-two of the fifty-six signers of the Declaration of Independence were Masons, as were many of the lesser politicians."
84 *Ibid.*, 1, 70.
85 *Ibid.*, 1, 70.
89 *Ibid.*, XX, 173.
94 Jared Sparks (ed.), *The Writings of George Washington: Being his Correspondence, Addresses, Messages, and Other Papers, Official and Private, etc.* (Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf, and Hilliard, Gray, and Company, 1834), 70, 111, 502-506.
212 THE U.S. ARMY CHAPLAINCY—FROM EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS TO 1791


103 Ibid., Headley, 275. Lyman C. Draper, King’s Mountains and Its Heroes (N.Y.: Danber and Pine Bookshops, Inc., 1929), 242. See page 176, reference the prayer offered for the success of the expedition by Chaplain Samuel Doak.

104 Revelation 11:15 (KJV).


107 Ibid., 26.

108 Ibid., 26-27.

109 Ibid., 28-29.

110 Ibid., 31.

111 Ibid., 33.

112 Ibid., 28-29. It is interesting to note that under the ministry of “Chaplain” Lee, the earliest reference is found of any monetary collection being made during a worship service in the American Army. “At the close of the meeting, some of the gentlemen went about with their hats to make a collection of money for me, at which I was very uneasy, and ran among the people and begged them to desist.”


117 Ibid., MHS, IX, 107. A discourse delivered near York in Virginia, on the memorable occasion of the surrenders of the British Army to the allied forces of America and France. ... Philadelphia: Israel Evans, A.M., Chaplains of the troops of New Hampshire. Printed by Francis Bailey, 1782.


123 Frederick Valentine Melsheimer, Hessian Chaplain’s Journal, February—August, 1776, from Wolfenbuetel to Quebec, Literary Historical Society of Quebec, Transaction No. 20, 1891.


125 Ibid., 2.

126 William L. Stone (Tr.), Letters of Brunswick and Hessian Officers During The American Revolution (Albany: Joel Munson’s Sons, 1891), 140.


128 Learned, Op. Cit., 55. (See Footnote #39.)


130 Ibid., 94.

131 Ibid., 287.
128 Ibid., 24.
129 Ibid., 23–24.
131 See Appendix VI.
133 Brace, Op. Cit., 9–10; Heitman, Op. Cit., 82, 87, 383; Mason’s sermon manuscripts from this period are located in the Manuscript Collection, United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y.
135 Max Farrand, The Framing of The Constitution of The United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1922), 26–27. See Henry Clay White, Abraham Baldwin, one of the founders of the republic, and father of the University of Georgia, the first of the American state universities. (Athens, Georgia: The McGregor Company, 1926.)
138 Ibid., XXI, 901–902.
140 Ibid., XXV, 38.
141 Ibid., XXII, 344.
142 Ibid., XXIII, 140.
143 Ibid., XVIII, 475.
145 “Temple Hill and Vicinity,” Historical Society of Newburgh Bay and the Highlands, XIX (1924), 23. For two drawings of the Temple, see pages 20 and 22.
148 Ibid., XXVI, 136.
EPILOGUE
“Balm in Gilead”

Peace, 1783–1791

December 7, 1783, found former Chaplain David Griffith officiating at a service of thanksgiving at the Anglican Church in Alexandria, Virginia. News had arrived that the last Briton had left the shores of this now free and independent nation. The church, at his request, was festive in its decoration. Laurel and evergreen and house plants turned the sanctuary into a scene of living beauty not made with hands. Suspended above the pulpit was the figure of a white dove, an olive branch in its mouth. Peace and reconciliation had come by the Spirit of God! On either side of the chancel were the words of Psalms 29 and 85: “The Lord will give strength unto his people; the Lord will bless his people with peace,” and “Mercy and truth are met together; righteousness and peace have kissed each other.” The solemnity of worship began with the singing of a hymn, especially composed for the occasion by the choir master, from Psalm 68: “Let the righteous be glad; let them rejoice before God; yea, let them exceedingly rejoice. Sing unto God; sing praises unto his name; extol him that rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH, and rejoice before him.” The rector’s text, Psalm 128:6: “Yea, thou shalt see thy children’s children, and peace upon Israel.” Behind him lay Valley Forge and Monmouth’s carnage; before him, the future of a new nation.¹

Like Reverend Griffith, the majority of chaplains returned to their homes and congregations, living out their lives in quiet, pastoral duties. Victory meant work, and peace was not merely the absence of war, but the task of building a nation among whom the Lord would be pleased to dwell. Several chaplains greatly influenced education: Abraham Baldwin, Jeremy Belknap, Timothy Dwight, Andrew Hunter, Andrew Lee, John Mason, Benjamin Pomeroy, William Rogers, Elías Smith, Hezekiah Smith. The roster

¹ See footnotes at end of epilogue.
of schools where they served is impressive: the University of Georgia, Harvard, Yale, what is now the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Princeton, Dartmouth, Phillips Andover Academy, the University of Pennsylvania, and Brown University. It is not surprising, education in that era being largely under the aegis of the churches.

In community activities, Enos Hitchcock was one of the founders of the Order of the Cincinnati; Thomas Prentiss built the public library in Medfield, Massachusetts; Nicholas Cox was heavily involved in the work of the Masonic Lodge; Jeremy Belknap helped found the Massachusetts Historical Society; Ezra Sampson founded a newspaper.

Several found an outlet for their energies in mission societies and work, among them Gano, Hall, and Spring. Griffith and Robert Smith each assisted in the founding of the Protestant Episcopal Church, becoming bishops in Virginia and South Carolina respectively. Edmund Botsford authored the theological work, The Spiritual Voyage. Thomas Davis had the high distinction of officiating at President Washington’s funeral.

Sadly, there were failures, too. Augustine Hibbard left both his calling and his country, living out his days as a minor governmental official in Canada. Joseph Swain lapsed into a chronic alcoholism following the death of his wife. William Bland was defrocked.

Governmental service captured either the full or part-time services of several former chaplains. Robert Andrews assisted in the surveying which extended the original Mason-Dixon Line, thereby clarifying the boundary between Virginia and Pennsylvania. Abraham Baldwin represented Georgia at the Federal Constitutional Convention and was a signatory of that instrument; later he represented his state for years in the U. S. Senate. Joel Barlow entered the practice of law, as did William Plumb, and as a diplomat served his nation well in Europe and during the naval war with the Barbary pirates. John Carnes became a Massachusetts State Congressman, and assisted in the ratification of the national Constitution at that state’s convention, as did Gad Hitchcock. William Linn became the first chaplain to the U. S. House of Representatives, and John Reed represented Connecticut in that body. John Peter Tetard, as we have seen, was the early translator for the embryonic State Department. Among his achievements was rendering the Articles of Confederation into French for world-wide dissemination. Samuel West applied his talents to shaping
Massachusetts' state constitution, and William Rogers served in Pennsylvania's Assembly.

The arts, too, found supports in the poetry of Timothy Dwight and Joel Barlow. America is richer for the "Conquest of Canaan," "The Vision of Columbus" and "The Anarchiad."

Particular attention must be given to Manassah Cutler. What a Renaissance Man he was: theologian, scholar, educator, scientist, politician, physician, astronomer, botanist, lawyer, writer, and explorer. In addition to being a faithful and active pastor, he and Rufus Putnam formed the Ohio Company in 1787 for the purpose of colonizing the territory west of the Allegheny Mountains and north of the Ohio River. Back in Massachusetts, he served in the State House of Representatives in 1800, and in the Seventh and Eighth Congress. In 1937—the 150th anniversary of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787—he was honored by having his portrait on a U. S. Postal Stamp.

Two Revolutionary enlisted men are worthy of particular consideration. John Pittman, who guarded the bodies of those slain in the Boston Massacre, served as a private during the war. His post-war career found him a Baptist clergyman of exceptional ability and note. And, Lemuel Haynes, a Black soldier of 1775, served throughout the conflict. Becoming a Congregational minister of towering stature, he was called to become the pastor of an all white congregation in Torrington, Connecticut, in 1785.²

One major contribution made by the pluralistic military chaplaincy during the colonial wars and particularly during the Revolution to the life-style of the new nation was in the area of religious toleration, and the early budding of ecumenicity. Through the pressures of living and serving with men of different church affiliations, under the pressures of military operations, they embraced—perhaps grudgingly and slowly—a toleration in matters of religion which has become the rich fruit of our national life.

A veteran of King George's War and the Siege Line of Boston, Samuel Langdon preached a remarkable sermon in 1791, entitled "A Discourse on The Unity of The Church." It is doubtful if he could have composed such words prior to 1745. The former chaplain and President of Harvard proclaimed:

"It is no where said in the new testament whether baptism shall be administered by dipping, or sprinkling; whether precom-

² See footnotes at end of epilogue.
posed prayers shall be used in church, or such as are more unconfined, and express the desires of the church according to present varying circumstances; whether we must pray or receive the LORD'S supper kneeling; whether the churches shall be formed into dioceses, presbyteries, or associations, or ministers distinguished by gradations of honor according to their different gifts and qualifications. Therefore no wonder if christian professors have a diversity of sentiments and customs in all these respects, arising from different national habits and ideas of civil society. But so long as the grand doctrine of salvation only by JESUS CHRIST is continued, the true worship of the living GOD maintained according to his written word, and godliness and virtue practiced agreeably to CHRIST'S commands, and no decrees or rules made which in their nature or direct tendency subvert the express doctrines or laws of CHRIST, or exclude from christian charity and fellowship any whom CHRIST receives as his disciples, all the different parties and denominations of christians constitute but one church of the living GOD."

While veterans of the Revolution grew elderly surrounded by admiring families and enjoying the fruits of victory, while former chaplains witnessed a phenomenal growth in their churches and a nation, which they helped bring into being, on the far frontier, there were still men fighting battles and standing guard wearing the uniform of the United States Army. And with them, of course, were chaplains. It is not inappropriate to briefly recount the struggles of nearly eight years to get a military force into being, and the chaplain's place in those frustrated efforts.

With the cessation of hostilities and independence anticipated daily in the Spring of 1783, Congress appointed a committee to develop a concept for a peacetime military establishment. Logically they sought Washington's recommendations. Before replying, he in turn asked input from his trusted advisors. During the month of April, replies were received from Steuben, Gouvin, Huntington, Knox, Heath, Clinton, Pickering, and Putnam; Edward Hand's report is undated. As may be expected, these papers show original thinking, and range far and wide. Several contained ideas with slowly implemented but far reaching effects, such as the establishment of a national military academy, the organization of a reserve officers corps, and the awarding of college degrees in military science from state schools. Rufus Putnam counseled that the army

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See footnotes at end of epilogue.
should consist of four regiments—three of infantry and one of artillery—and that each regiment should have its own chaplain. Further, with an eye to standardizing the militia organization’s of several states, he offered a plan having one chaplain’s slot for every 1,175 officers and men.¹

On May 2, 1783, Washington’s proposal was drafted. He envisioned a national or continental force numbering 2,631 officers and men organized into four regiments of infantry (477 officers and men each) and an artillery regiment comprised of the remaining 723 personnel. There were to be five chaplains, one to be assigned to each regiment. Other than the artillery at West Point, the infantry units would be strategically stationed along the frontiers at Lake Champlain, Niagara, the Scioto-Sandusky area, and one in “the Southern and Western Boundaries of the Carolinas and Georgia.” No doubt with the reality of distance to be reckoned with, he wrote: “The above establishment differs from the present one, in the following instances Vizt: The exclusion of the light Company and reducing a sergeant and 18 Privates from each of the Battalion Companies, and giving a Chaplain to each Regiment instead of a Brigade.” ⁵ Listing in diagram form the structure of each regiment’s personnel, he lists the “Officers” in two categories: from colonel to ensigns in the infantry, and colonel to second lieutenants in the artillery by order of rank under the heading of “Commissioned.” Under the designation “Staff” he lists—presumably in priority of position—“Chaplain, Adjutant, P. Master, Qr. Master, Surgeon, Mate.” The assumption may be drawn that a chaplain in Washington’s proposed army was an officer without rank, serving on the commander’s staff, in the position of “first among equals.” ⁶

With some modifications, the Congressional committee—Ellsworth, Holten, Hamilton, Madison, and Wilson—proffered to Congress Washington’s proposal. Regarding chaplains, they accepted his direction completely. Nothing, however, was done in Congress to bring this military force into being.⁷

Congressional action, or lack thereof, was predicated on the fear of a military establishment. Stating unequivocally its position, Congress reduced the once proud Continental Army to a housekeeping force, while looking to the several states for protection. The legislation of June 2, 1784, is appalling.

See footnotes at end of epilogue.
And whereas, standing armies in time of peace are inconsistent with the principles of republican governments, dangerous to the liberties of a free people, and generally converted into destructive engines for establishing despotism;

It is therefore resolved, That recommendations in lieu of requisitions shall be sent to the several States for raising the troops which may be immediately necessary for garrisoning the Western posts and guarding the magazines of the United States, unless, Congress should think it expedient to employ the Continental troops now at West Point in the service aforesaid;

Resolved, that the commanding officer be and he is hereby directed to discharge the troops now in the service of the United States, except twenty-five privates to guard the stores at Fort Pitt and fifty-five to guard the stores at West Point and other magazines, with a proportionable number of officers, no officers to remain in service above the rank of captain. 8

Experience proved the Congressional plan to be utterly unworkable. Besides depredations from the Indians on the frontiers, the specter of British, French, and Spanish involvement in American affairs could not be dismissed. In April, 1785, the 700 man militia force, which had been raised had its term of service extended to three years, and by October, 1786, 1,340 additional enlisted men were authorized. The entire body was to be called a "legionary corps." Actually it was never fully implemented, remaining less than 1,000 men. Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786 shook Congress terribly with the realization that to hope for tranquillity does not bring that blessing into reality, that peace is not sustained by weakness. The 700 man force was voted the privilege of another three year enlistment. It was not until after the Constitution was adopted that a force of 1,216 enlisted men plus officers was authorized for a three year term of duty: April 30, 1790. 9

Kentucky and Ohio were being drenched in blood. Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory raised a militia force of 1,100 men. General Harmar led this body, supplemented with 320 regulars, in July, 1790, into the Maumee district where they suffered a crushing defeat. The general was exonerated from culpability "on account of the poor quality of his troops." 10

Six months prior to the defeat of General Harmer's makeshift army, Henry Knox, then Secretary of War, proposed a plan to build a badly needed and efficient military organization. With the President's concurrence, it was forwarded to Congress. This plan

See footnotes at end of epilogue.
called for self contained legions, each with a strength of 153 officers and 2,880 enlisted men. The commander of a legion was to hold the rank of major general, and on his staff were to be two aides, an inspector, and a chaplain. Knox then elaborated on his concept of a chaplain’s duties, stating explicitly what many had done without directive. He wrote:

Every legion must have a chaplain, of respectable talents and character, who, besides his religious functions, should impress on the minds of the youth, at stated periods, in concise discourses, the eminent advantages of free governments to the happiness of society, and that such governments can only be supported by the knowledge, spirit, and virtuous conduct of the youth—to be illustrated by the most conspicuous examples in history.11

On March 3, 1791, a second regiment of regulars was voted, and President Washington was authorized to send to the Senate his nominations. The following day, he responded by forwarding three names: Arthur St. Clair, to be a major general, Samuel Hodgdon, quartermaster, and John Hurt, chaplain.12

The latter, who has appeared earlier in these pages, was an Anglican from Virginia, a veteran chaplain with nearly seven years of service in the Revolution, and a former Prisoner of War. Interestingly, Hurt’s appointment did not mention the job description proposed by Knox, concerning patriotic talks.

The beginnings of the chaplaincy in the Regular Army of the United States dates from Hurt’s appointment: March 4, 1791.

FOOTNOTES

Epilogue

5 Ibid., Fitzpatrick, XXVI, 380.
6 Ibid., XXVI, 378-379, 381.
9 Ibid., 92-95.
10 Ibid., 97.

See footnotes at end of epilogue.

APPENDIX I
Chaplains: The Colonial Wars

Pequot War: 1636—1637
  Higginson, John
  Stone, Samuel
  Wilson, John

King Philip’s War: 1676—1677
  Atherton, Hope
  Bulkley, Gersham
  Chauncey, Israel
  Clark, Thomas
  Dudley, Joseph
  Nowell, Samuel
  Noyes, Nicholas
  Wise, John

King William’s War: 1689—1691
  Emerson, John
  Hale, John
  Rawson, Grindall
  Wade, John
  Wise, John

Queen Anne’s War: 1702—1713
  Allen, William
  Barclay, Thomas
  Barnard, John
  Bridge, Ebenezer
  Buckingham, Thomas
  Edwards, Timothy
  Epps, Daniel
  Gardner, Andrew
  Hubbard, Nathaniel
  Hunt, Samuel
  Moody, Samuel
  Sharp, John
  White, John
  William, John
King George's War: 1745—1748
Backus, Simon
Bidwell, Adonijah
Coffin, Moses
Emerson, Daniel
Emerson, Joseph
Fayerweather, Samuel
Griffith, Timothy
Hawley, Joseph
Langdon, Samuel
McClanahan, William
Moody, Samuel
Norton, John
Rutherford, Robert
Williams, Elisha
Williams, Stephen
Woodbridge, Ashbel

French and Indian War: 1755
Adams, Amos
Balch, Thomas
Baldwin, Ebenezer
Barnes, Nicolas
Barton, Thomas
Bay, Andrew
Beatty, Charles
Beckwith, George
Bird, Samuel
Brainard, John
Brown, John, Jr.
Brown, Thomas
Carpenter, Ezra
Cleaveland, Ebenezer
Cleaveland, John
Conant, Sylvanus
Crawford, William
Dunbar, Samuel
Elder, John
Eells, Edward
Emerson, Daniel
Forbes, Eli
Forbush
French and Indian War: 1755 (continued)

French, Jonathan
Graham, John, Jr.
Harding, Elisha
Hawley
Hinds, Ebenezer
Hitchcock, Gad
Ingersoll
Jewett, David
Johnson,
Kirkpatrick, (FNU)
Leavenworth, Mark
Lee, Jonathan
Little
Morrill, Issac
Newell, (FNU)
Norton, John
Ogilvie, John
Paine, Robert Treat
Pemberton, Ebenezer
Pomeroy, Benjamin
Saunders
Schlatter, Michael
Shute, Daniel
Smith, William
Spencer, Elihu
Spinner
Steel, John
Swain, Joseph
Taylor, Nathaniel
True, Henry
Weld, Habijah Savage
West, Samuel
Williams, Steven
Woodbridge, Timothy

Post Chaplains:
Barclay, Thomas     Fort at Albany, N. Y.—1708
Coffin, Enoch       Penny-Cook Plantation—1726
Coolidge, Samuel    Castle Island—1725
Dwight, Daniel      Fort Dummer, VT.—1725–1727
Gardner, Andrew, Jr. Surgeon & Chaplain, Fort Dummer—1748
Hibbard, Timothy Castle William—1768
Higginson, John Fort Saybrook, Conn. 1637—1638
Noyes, Paris
Pike, John Pemaquid, Maine—1694–1695
Rolfe, Benjamin Falmouth, Maine—1689
Rutherford, Robert St. George’s Fort and Pemaquid, Maine
Smith, Joseph Brookfield Garrison, Mass.—1702

Miscellaneous Campaigns:
Caldwell, David Battle of Allamance River, N. C.—May 16, 1771
Frye, Jonathan Abenaki Campaign, 1725

*British Chaplains in the French and Indian War*

Johnson (Johnston), Lauchlan
Murray, Gideon
Stewart, James

French Chaplains in New France (Canada) During the Era of the Colonial Wars

Chaplains at Fort St. Frederic:

- La Jus, Jean-Baptiste 1732, November
- Resche, Pierre-Baptiste 1733
- de Gannes, Bernardin 1735, March
- Crespel, Emmanuel 1735, November
- Verquailié, Pierre 1736, October
- Normandin, Daniel 1741, May
- du Buron, Alexis 1743, November
- Carpentier, Bonaventure 1746
- Collet, Hippolyte 1747, April
- Cliche, Didace 1754, November
- Maugé, Elzéar Nov. 4, 1755
- Deperet, Antoine 1758, July
- Baron, Denis October, 1758

Other Chaplains in New France:

- Berey, Felix de—Recollect: chaplain at Forts St. Jean and Chambly, 1759
- Bruyas, Jacques—Jesuit
- Chaumonot, Pierre-Marie-Joseph—Jesuit: chaplain with the troops on the Richelieu, 1665
- DeMontmolin, Chaplain to the Garrison, Quebec, 1775
- Du Bois-d’Esgriselles, Jean Baptiste—Chaplain of the regiment of Carignan-Salières: still in New France, 1671
- Celebration of the first mass at Fort Ste. Anne, 1666
- With M. de Tracy at Fort Ste. Anne, Sept 1666
- Du Perron, Francois—Jesuit: arrived at Quebec with M. de Tracy, 1665
Other Chaplains in New France (continued)

Frémin, Jacques—Jesuit: Missionary to the Iroquois: at Fort Ste. Anne, 1667

Laval, François de—Bishop of Petraea and Quebec: born, 1622; died Quebec, May 6, 1708: episcopal visit to Fort Ste. Anne, May 1668

Piquet, François—Jesuit: gave information which influenced the Governor of New France to order an attack on Saratoga, Nov. 1745.

Raffeix, Pierre—Jesuit: with expedition of M. de Courcelles, Jan. 1666
   With expedition of M. de Tracy at Fort Ste. Anne, Sept 1666

APPENDIX III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CHAPLAIN</th>
<th>RANK IN THE UNIT/ARMY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First Troop of Horse Guards</td>
<td>William Oreaves</td>
<td>25 Jan. 1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Troop of Horse Guards</td>
<td>George Marsh</td>
<td>12 Jul. 1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Troop of Horse Grenadier-Guards</td>
<td>Peter Peckard</td>
<td>7 Aug. 1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Troop of Horse Grenadier-Guards</td>
<td>Edward Fleet</td>
<td>26 Dec. 1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Regiment of Horse-Guards</td>
<td>Yorick Smythies</td>
<td>28 Jan. 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Regiment of Horse, Ireland</td>
<td>Walter Thomas</td>
<td>13 Jun. 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Regiment of Horse, Ireland</td>
<td>Stewart Blackett</td>
<td>12 Dec. 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Regiment of Horse, or Carabineers,</td>
<td>Charles Caulfield</td>
<td>3 Jul. 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>George Preston</td>
<td>20 Aug. 1751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Regiment of Horse, Ireland</td>
<td>Charles Powlett</td>
<td>11 Jun. 1766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First (or The King's) Regiment of Dragoon-Guards</td>
<td>Richard Davies</td>
<td>14 Apr. 1756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second (or The Queen's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards</td>
<td>Benjamin Blaney</td>
<td>27 Aug. 1759</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third (or The Prince of Wales's) Regiment of Dragoon Guards</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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(Note: The Officers who have no Date in the Column of Rank in the Army, take Rank in the Army by their Commissions in the Troop or Regiment)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CHAPLAIN</th>
<th>RANK IN THE UNIT/ARMY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First (or Royal) Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Richard Kendall</td>
<td>2 Dec. 1762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second (or Royal N. Britain) Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Walter Paterson</td>
<td>8 Jul. 1752</td>
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<tr>
<td>Third (or The King’s own) Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Samuel Cooper</td>
<td>3 Jul. 1770</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fourth Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>William Smythies</td>
<td>12 Feb. 1751</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth (or Royal Irish) Dragoons, Ireland</td>
<td>Jn. Clemt.</td>
<td>12 Mar. 1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaigneau</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Dale Lovett</td>
<td>22 Nov. 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh (or the Queen’s) Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Richard Bowser</td>
<td>6 Apr. 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth Regiment of Dragoons, Ireland</td>
<td>Stephen Lushington</td>
<td>17 Sep. 1750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth Regiment of Dragoons, Ireland</td>
<td>Anthony Armstrong</td>
<td>20 Feb. 1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Horace Hammond</td>
<td>3 Feb. 1742</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh Regiment of Dragoons</td>
<td>Francis Leighton</td>
<td>23 Nov. 1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelfth (or The Prince of Wales’s) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons, Ir.</td>
<td>John Farnham</td>
<td>12 Dec. 1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteenth Regiment of Dragoons, Ir.</td>
<td>Peter Pellisier</td>
<td>29 Mar. 1750</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fourteenth Regiment of Dragoons, Ireland</td>
<td>Peter Vatass</td>
<td>24 Dec. 1745</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteenth (or The King’s) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons</td>
<td>Joseph Fearon</td>
<td>21 Jun. 1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixteenth (or The Queen's) Regiment of (Light) Dragoons, Am.*</td>
<td>John Clement Ives</td>
<td>22 Apr. 1774</td>
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<tr>
<td>Seventeenth Regiment of (Light) Dragoons, Am.*</td>
<td>Richard Griffith</td>
<td>31 Dec. 1772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eighteenth Regiment of (Light) Dragoons, Ireland</td>
<td>Henry Blacker</td>
<td>7 Dec. 1759</td>
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<tr>
<td>First Regiment of Foot-Guards</td>
<td>John Fox</td>
<td>17 Mar. 1769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coldstream Regiment of Foot-Guards</td>
<td>Frederick Dodsworth</td>
<td>14 Aug. 1772</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Regiment of Foot-Guards</td>
<td>Robert Wright</td>
<td>30 Mar. 1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First (or Royal) Regiment of Foot, (1st Battalion)</td>
<td>William Church</td>
<td>12 May 1769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First (or Royal) Regiment of Foot, (2d Battalion)</td>
<td>Kaye Mawer</td>
<td>27 Mar. 1765</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second (or Queen's Royal) Regiment of Foot</td>
<td>John Brereton</td>
<td>4 Oct. 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Regiment of Foot (or the Buffs) Ireland*</td>
<td>Andrew Tucker</td>
<td>29 Aug. 1774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth (or The King's own) Regiment of Foot, Amer.*</td>
<td>James Burch</td>
<td>2 Dec. 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>John Russ</td>
<td>20 Jul. 1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>John Ogle</td>
<td>19 Apr. 1774</td>
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See notes at end of appendix.
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh Regiment of Foot (or Royal Fuzileers) America*</td>
<td>John Walker</td>
<td>5 May 1769</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eighth (or The King's) Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Philip Rosenhagen</td>
<td>18 Nov. 1767</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ninth Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>Anthony Freeman</td>
<td>25 Jul. 1771</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tenth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>James Montgomery</td>
<td>30 Jul. 1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleventh Regiment of Foot, Ireland</td>
<td>William Mence</td>
<td>16 Jul. 1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twelfth Regiment of Foot, Gibraltar</td>
<td>Robert English</td>
<td>1 Feb. 1775</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirteenth Regiment of Foot</td>
<td>Samuel Phipps</td>
<td>5 May 1747</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourteenth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Hugh Palmer</td>
<td>17 Dec. 1756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifteenth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Thomas Daliston</td>
<td>19 Oct. 1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixteenth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>John Edwards</td>
<td>14 Jan. 1767</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Thomas Rudd</td>
<td>6 Apr. 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighteenth (or Royal Irish) Regiment of Foot*</td>
<td>Robert Newburgh</td>
<td>18 Nov. 1772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nineteenth Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>Bacon Bedingfield</td>
<td>4 Oct. 1770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Twentieth Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>Thomas Dade</td>
<td>2 Aug. 1760</td>
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See notes at end of appendix.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21st Regiment of Foot (or Royal N. Brit. Fuzileers)*</td>
<td>James Gordon</td>
<td>12 Jan. 1757</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-second Regiment of Foot, Amer.*</td>
<td>John Wilson</td>
<td>1 May 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>23d Regiment of Foot (or Royal Welch Fuzileers) America*</td>
<td>Thomas Greet</td>
<td>30 Oct. 1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-fourth Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>John Malyn</td>
<td>12 Nov. 1767</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-fifth Regiment of Foot</td>
<td>Andrew Cheap</td>
<td>12 Jan. 1762</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-sixth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>John Preston</td>
<td>23 Feb. 1742</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-seventh (or Inniskilling) Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Edward Bromhead</td>
<td>22 Sep. 1769</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-eighth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Henry Brindley</td>
<td>18 Aug. 1760</td>
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<tr>
<td>Twenty-ninth Regiment of Foot*</td>
<td>George Turner</td>
<td>17 Mar. 1774</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirtieth Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>Edward Thomas</td>
<td>9 Aug. 1756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirty-First Regiment of Foot*</td>
<td>Edward Bromhead</td>
<td>9 Jan. 1763</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-Second Regiment of Foot, Ireland</td>
<td>Wm. Robert Jones</td>
<td>30 Nov. 1773</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-Third Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Benjamin Grisdale</td>
<td>22 Feb. 1768</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-Fourth Regiment of Foot,* Ireland</td>
<td>Fletcher Dixon</td>
<td>17 Sep. 1773</td>
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See notes at end of appendix.
<table>
<thead>
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<th>UNIT</th>
<th>CHAPLAIN</th>
<th>RANK IN THE UNIT/ARMY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thirty-Fifth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Hopkins Fox</td>
<td>24 Feb. 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirty-Sixth Regiment of Foot, Ir.</td>
<td>Samuel Griffiths</td>
<td>15 Jan. 1768</td>
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<td>Thirty-Seventh Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Philip Toosey</td>
<td>9 May 1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirty-Eighth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Cecil Willis</td>
<td>20 Dec. 1755</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thirty-Ninth Regiment of Foot, Gibraltar</td>
<td>John Morgan</td>
<td>12 Dec. 1772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fortieth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>George Thomson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-First Regiment of Foot--Invalids</td>
<td>Reginald Heber</td>
<td>3 May 1771</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Second (or Royal Highland) Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>James MacLagan</td>
<td>15 Jun. 1764</td>
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<td>Forty-Third Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Christopher Taylor</td>
<td>2 Oct. 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Fourth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Mid. Cornyn</td>
<td>28 Jul. 1768</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Middleton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Fifth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Robert Brereton</td>
<td>11 Jan. 1741</td>
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<td>Forty-Sixth Regiment of Foot, America*</td>
<td>Henry Williams</td>
<td>31 May 1774</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Seventh Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Irvine Whitty</td>
<td>9 Sep. 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Eighth Regiment of Foot</td>
<td>Charles Hewitt</td>
<td>12 Dec. 1770</td>
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<tr>
<td>Forty-Ninth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>James Dods</td>
<td>1 Sep. 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fiftieth Regiment of Foot*</td>
<td>Rowney Noel</td>
<td>23 Jun. 1773</td>
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See notes at end of appendix.
<table>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-First Regiment of Foot, Minorca</td>
<td>William Noble</td>
<td>18 Oct. 1764</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Second Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>George Carleton</td>
<td>1 May 1772</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Third Regiment of Foot, Ireland*</td>
<td>George Watkins</td>
<td>31 Jan. 1756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Fourth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>George Davis</td>
<td>12 Mar. 1774</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty Fifth Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Joseph Barnes</td>
<td>24 Feb. 1775</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Sixth Regiment of Foot, Gibraltar</td>
<td>Charles O'Niel</td>
<td>13 Jun. 1765</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Seventh Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Thomas Lumley</td>
<td>25 Feb. 1767</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fifty-Eighth Regiment of Foot, Gibraltar</td>
<td>Robert Wilmot</td>
<td>24 Aug. 1764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifty-Ninth Regiment of Foot*</td>
<td>James Miller</td>
<td>15 Jan. 1756</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixtieth, or Royal</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixtieth, or Royal</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Regiment of Foot, Second Battalion, Antigua</td>
<td>William Winder</td>
<td>4 Apr. 1765</td>
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<td>Sixtieth, or Royal</td>
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<tr>
<td>American Regiment of Foot, Third Battalion, West Indies*</td>
<td>Michael Schlaeter</td>
<td>1 Sep. 1775</td>
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<td>Sixty-First Regiment of Foot, Minorca</td>
<td>George Shaw</td>
<td>8 May 1758</td>
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<td>Sixty-Second Regiment of Foot,Ir.*</td>
<td>Henry St. George</td>
<td>18 Dec. 1766</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sixty-Third Regiment of Foot, Am.*</td>
<td>Edward Philips</td>
<td>1 Jun. 1769</td>
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See notes at end of appendix.
UNIT CHAPLAIN RANK IN THE UNIT/ARMY

Sixty-Fourth Regiment of Foot, Am.* Robert Bell 5 Aug. 1758
Sixty-Fifth Regiment of Foot, America* George Farren 4 May 1761
Sixty-Sixth Regiment of Foot, Ireland Nathaniel Bristed 11 Dec. 1759
Sixty-Seventh Regiment of Foot, Ireland James Wilson 14 Apr. 1767
Sixty-Eighth Regiment of Foot, Ireland William Ironside 23 Mar. 1775
Sixty-Ninth Regiment of Foot Samuel Gauntlett 1 Aug. 1770
Seventieth Regiment of Foot* Thomas Parslow 24 May 1758

GARRISON CHAPLAINS

In GREAT BRITAIN
Berwick Robert Thorp
Cinque Ports John Minet
Edinburgh Home
Gravesend and Tilbury John Currey
Guernsey John Le Marchant
Hall William Hemmington
Jafey John Duparcq
Landguard Fort Thomas Kirkbank
Plymouth John Corham Hoxham
Portsmouth Dr. Thomas Morell
Sheerness John Fox
Stirling Castle Gibson
Tower of London Thomas Cowper

EUROPE
Gibraltar John Chalmers
Minorca William Ralfe

See notes at end of appendix.
## APPENDIX III

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
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<tr>
<td>NORTH AMERICA</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nova Scotia—Annapolis</td>
<td>William Neyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal*</td>
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<td>Newfoundland</td>
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<tr>
<td>St. John’s*</td>
<td>Barfoot Colton</td>
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<td>Isl. of St. John*</td>
<td>Richard Grant</td>
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<td>Quebec*</td>
<td>John Brooke</td>
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<tr>
<td>Montreal*</td>
<td>Dav. Chabrand de L’Isle</td>
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<td>Florida—St. Augustine*</td>
<td>Ralph Church</td>
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<td>West Florida—Pensacola*</td>
<td>Carew Reynell</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mobile*</td>
<td>William Porter</td>
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</table>

### Officers of the Hospitals

For the Forces in North America*

- John Jones
- Grenada and the Grenadines*
  - James Mackenzie
- St. Vincent*
  - Michael Smith
- Tobago*
  - John Trotter
- Dominica*
  - George Watts

### Artillery

- Royal Regiment of Artillery, First Battalion: Montagu Barton, 24 Dec. 1763
- Royal Regiment of Artillery, Second Battalion, Gibraltar & Minorca: Dennis Martin, 30 Sep. 1763
- Royal Regiment of Artillery, Third Battalion: Jeremiah Ellis, 4 Jul. 1764

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See notes at end of appendix.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UNIT</th>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Regiment of Artillery, Fourth Battalion of America*</td>
<td>David Davies</td>
<td>1 Jan. 1771</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Regiment of Artillery in Ireland</td>
<td>Alexander Lamelliere</td>
<td>6 May 1760</td>
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Chaplains on Half Pay

Regiments, etc. Disbanded in 1745 and 1746
- 4th Troop
- Edward Darell

Regiments, etc. Disbanded or reduced in 1748 and 1749
- Ogelthorpe's Foot
- David Duval
- 60th Foot*
- John Ogilvie
- 71st Foot*
- Claudius Criggan
- 72d Foot
- Melmoth Skinner
- 74th Foot*
- Benjamin Gutteridge
- 75th Foot
- J. Dick
- 76th Foot*
- J. Peverill
- 77th Foot
- Henry Munro
- 78th Foot
- R. M'Pherson
- 79th Foot
- Caleb Colton
- 84th Foot*
- William Parry
- 85th Foot
- William Hollbrooke
- 86th Foot
- William Boon
- 87th Foot
- James Mylne
- 93d Foot
- Joseph Grave
- 105th Foot*
- James Stewart
- 120th Foot
- Joshua Nunn
- 121st Foot
- Francis Gisborne
- 122d Foot
- John Wardlow
- 123d Foot
- John Lucas
- 124th Foot
- Sterne Ball

See notes at end of appendix.
Units marked with an asterisk are known to have served in the American Revolution. Those with "Am" following their designation were in North America at the beginning of the war; those with the asterisk, but without the "Am", were sent during the years of hostility as reinforcements.

Additional units which served in America whose chaplains are unknown are the 80th Foot, 82d Foot, the Irish Artillery, and the 105th Foot, "1778–1783—Organized in Philadelphia as the Volunteers of Ireland. (Later taken in the Line as the 105th, 1782)." Leffert, Op. Cit., p. 174.

British Chaplains Surrendered at Saratoga, 1779

Browne, Andrew
Brudenell, Edward
Higginbotham, Charles R.
Money, Richard Montagne
Morgan, Charles

Other Known Chaplains

Frazier, Hugh
Lewis, Stephen C.

Sources:

APPENDIX IV
German Chaplains, the American Revolution
*German Army Chaplains (Hessian Corps)*
*In The American Revolution*
*On the Staff of*

*His Excellency the Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief*

Bingell, 1778—Reformed
Becker, 1779–81
Heller, 1778, '79, '80, '81—Lutheran

*Regiment Du Corps 1778–1783*
  Schrecker, 1778
  Wiedermann, 1777
  Crepon, 1782

*Regiment Landgrave, 1778–83*
  Stern, 1778, '79, '81–83

*Regiment hereditary Prince, 1778–1783*
  Hausknecht, 1778, '79, '81–83

*Regiment Prince Charles, 1778–1783*
  Hausknecht, 1782

*Regiment Losberg, Junior, 1782–1783*
  Virnau, 1782

*Regiment Mirbach, 1778–1781*
  Fernau, 1778, '79, '81

*Regiment Knoblauch, 1781–1783*
  Grimmel, 1779, '81–83

*Regiment Von Benning, 1782–1783*
  Kummel, 1778, '79, '81–83

1st Bn, Anspach, 1783
  Johann Christoph Wagner, 1781–83

2d Regiment of Brandenburg Auspach, 2d Bn Anspach, 1783
  Johann Georg Philipp Erb, 1781–83

*Yager Corps, 1778, 1779*
  Wagner, 1778, '79

*Regiment Donop, 1779–1783*
  Koester, 1779, '81–83

*Regiment Waldeck, 1782–1783*
  Philipp Waldeck, 1782, '83
Hessian Chaplains Surrendered at Saratoga, 1779
Kohle
Milius
Theobald
Voegel

Other German Chaplains
Information collected from miscellaneous sources
Backer Roman Catholic
Baunsdorf Lutheran
Oliva
Melsheimer, Frederick Valentine
Chaplain to the Duke of Brunswick Dragoons;
Wounded and captured at the Battle of Bennington.
Exchanged for an American Chaplain POW, John Cordell,
11th Virginia, who was captured at Fort Mercer.
Truman, Aletz
Wounded, August 16, 1777.
Marion Dexter Learned, editor, Philipp Waldeck’s Diary of the American Revolution.
Melsheimer, Frederick V., Diary (from Wolfenbuettel to Quebec).
Benson J. Lossing, Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution, II. Supplement XV.
APPENDIX V
French Army Chaplains, The American Revolution

Abbe, C. C. Robin—chaplain in chief.
Abbe Bertholet
Abbe Glasnon
Abbe Lacy
Abbe W. T. F. Raynal
Abbe Rignatz
Abbe John Rossiter
Abbe Colin de Sepvigny
Father Paul de St. Pierre, Carmelite
Father Charles Whelan, Franciscan
Father de la Motte, Capuchin

The following French infantry regiments of the Line served in America during the War for Independence.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number in the Line</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Division</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Auxerrois</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Bourbonnais</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Agénois</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Gâtinois</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>Touraine</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Soissonnais</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>Hainault</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Saintonge</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Foix</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


---

## APPENDIX VI
Loyalist Chaplains The American Revolution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agnew, John</td>
<td>Queens Rangers Captured, and sent to France</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Andrews, William</td>
<td>Garrison Chaplain at Yorktown, VA Captured</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badger, Moses</td>
<td>DeLancey's 2nd Battalion</td>
<td>New Hampshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bailey, Jacob</td>
<td>84th and 57th Regiments</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batwell, Daniel</td>
<td>3rd Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers</td>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beardsley, John</td>
<td>Loyal American Regiment</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bethune, John</td>
<td>84th RegimentPreviously, captured at the Battle of Croos Creek</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowden, Charles</td>
<td>De Lancey's 1st Battalion Chaplain of the Loyalist Provisional Congress</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Breynton, John</td>
<td>Royal Fensible American</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooke, Samuel</td>
<td>Unit Unknown</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doughty, John</td>
<td>King's Royal Regiment</td>
<td>North Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan, William</td>
<td>North Carolina Volunteers</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrison, William</td>
<td>Captured at Yorktown</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jenkins, John</td>
<td>South Carolina Royalists</td>
<td>South Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McKenna, John</td>
<td>Royal Yorkers; Royal Highland Emigrants</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milledge, Phineas</td>
<td>1st Bn. New Jersey Volunteers</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monden, Charles</td>
<td>Second Battalion, New Jersey Volunteers</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moore, Benjamin</td>
<td>Chaplain, Hospital, New York City</td>
<td>New York</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Odell, Jonathan</td>
<td>Unit Unknown: Secretary to Major Andre</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix VI, Loyalist Chaplains, The American Revolution (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Patterson, John</td>
<td>Maryland Loyalists</td>
<td>Maryland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Penton, George</td>
<td>Prince of Wales Volunteers</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price, Thomas</td>
<td>Chaplain to the House of Burgesses, 1773, 1774</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Signed Associations against the Crown for closing Boston Harbor, May 29, 1774.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chaplain, Virginia Convention, Dec. 1775—May 1776.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Joined Lord Cornwallis' force, 1781</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sayre, James</td>
<td>DeLancey’s Regiment (Battalion unknown)</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seabury, Samuel</td>
<td>King’s American Regiment</td>
<td>Connecticut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First Bishop of The Episcopal Church in the United States</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stewart, James</td>
<td>King’s Rangers</td>
<td>North or South Carolina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter, William</td>
<td>DeLancey’s 3rd Battalion</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeks, Wingate</td>
<td>King’s Orange Rangers</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wiswall, John</td>
<td>Unit Unknown: Later, served in the Royal Navy</td>
<td>Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See:

Lorenzo, Sabine, *The American Loyalists*.
APPENDIX VII
American Chaplains in the War for Independence, 1775—1783

ADAMS, AMOS
  Massachusetts
  Congregationalist
  David Brewer’s Massachusetts Regiment
  Died in service, 1775

AITKIN, JAMES
  North Carolina
  Denomination unknown
  4th North Carolina

ALLEN, MOSES
  Georgia
  Presbyterian
  Georgia Brigade; taken prisoner at Sunbury, Jan 9, 1779; drowned trying to escape.

ALLEN, THOMAS
  New Hampshire
  Congregationalist
  Warner’s Continental Regiment; conspicuous at Bennington.

AMES, SYLVANUS
  Massachusetts
  Denomination unknown
  Died at Valley Forge, 1778

ANDREWS, ROBERT
  Virginia
  Episcopal
  2d Virginia.

ARMSTRONG, JAMES
  New Jersey
  Presbyterian
  2nd Maryland Brigade.

AVERY, DAVID
  Massachusetts
  Congregationalist
  Patterson’s Massachusetts Regiment; 15th Continental Infantry; Sherburne’s Continental Regiment; Brigade Chaplain
BALCH, BENJAMIN
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Doolittle's Massachusetts Regiment; Chaplain in Navy.

BALDWIN, ABRAHAM
Connecticut
Congregationalist
2nd Connecticut; Brigade Chaplain
Later: Father of the University of Georgia, and signer of the Constitution of the United States.

BALDWIN, EBENEZER
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Died, 1776.

BALDWIN, SAMUEL
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.

BELMAINE (BALMAINE) ALEXANDER
Virginia
Anglican
13th Virginia Regiment.

BARLOW, JOEL
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Brigade Chaplain.

BARNETT, JOHN (BARNET)
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Brigade Chaplain.

BARTOLETT (BARTLETT), NATHANIEL
Connecticut
Denomination unknown.
General Putnam's Division, 1778–1779

BARUM, CALEB
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Died, 1776.

BARTON, WILLIAM
Connecticut
Denomination unknown.
Flower's Artillery Regiment
BELKNAP, JEREMY
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown.

BELLAMY, JOSEPH
Connecticut
Congregationalist.

BENEDICT, ABNER
Connecticut
Congregationalist.
New York Campaign; Harlem Heights, White Plains.

BIRD, SAMUEL
Connecticut
Congregationalist.
7th Connecticut

BLACKWELL, ROBERT
Pennsylvania
Episcopal
Wayne's Brigade; Acting Surgeon.

BLAIR, SAMUEL
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
Thompson's Pennsylvania Rifle Brigade; 1st Continental Infantry, 1st Pennsylvania; Artillery Brigade.

BLAND, WILLIAM
Virginia
Anglican
1st Virginia Regiment.

BLUMER, ABRAHAM
Pennsylvania
German Reformed
11th Lancaster Militia

BOARDMAN, BENJAMIN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
2d Connecticut; 20th Continental Infantry.

BOGUE, AARON
Connecticut
Denomination unknown
Served in the Creek Campaign under General Andrew Jackson during the War of 1812.
BOYD, ADAM
North Carolina
Presbyterian
2nd North Carolina; Brigade Chaplain.

BATSFORD (BOTSFORD), EDMUND
South Carolina or Georgia or Virginia
Baptist.

BRACKETRIDGE, HUGH HENRY
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
Pennsylvania Militia

BRADFUTE (BRAIDFOOTE), JOHN
Virginia
Episcopal
2nd Virginia State Regiment; possibly served as a Navy Chaplain, also.

BRADY, DAVID
Georgia
Denomination unknown
Hospital Chaplain, 1779–1781.

BRIDGE, MATTHEW
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Died, 1775.

BRIGS, (FNU)

BROCKWAY, THOMAS
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Selden’s Regular Connecticut Militia, Wadsworth’s Brigade.

BUCHER, JOHN CONRAD
Pennsylvania
German Reformed
German Regiment, 1776–1777.
Died during the Revolution, but following his military service: 1780.

BUCKMINISTER (BUCKMASTER), JOSEPH
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Webb’s Continental Regiment.

CALDWELL, JAMES
New Jersey
Presbyterian
3rd New Jersey; killed by a sentinel believed to be in the pay of the Crown.

CARNES, JOHN
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
18th Continental Infantry.

CHAMPION, JUDAH
Connectict
Congregationalist.

CHAPMAN, HEZEKIAH
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Read's Massachusetts Regiment.

CHAPMAN, JEDIDIAH
New Jersey
Congregationalist
Colonel Martin's New Jersey Regiment

CLEAVELAND, EBENEZAR
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Ward's Massachusetts Regiment; 21st Continental Infantry.
Veteran of the French and Indian War.

CLEAVELAND, JOHN
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Little's Massachusetts Regiment
Veterans of the French and Indian War.

COOKE, NOAH, JR.
New Hampshire
Denomination unknown
8th Continental Infantry; Hospital Chaplain.

COOPER, ROBERT
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian.

CORDELL, JOHN
Virginia
Episcopal
11th Virginia; taken prisoner; later Chaplain to a Virginia State Regiment.
COTTON, MANASSEH
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown.

COTTON, SAMUEL
New Hampshire
Congregationalist
1st New Hampshire.

COX, NICHOLAS
New Jersey
Baptist.

CUMMINGS, CHARLES
Virginia
Presbyterian.

CUTLER, MANASSAH
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Francis' Massachusetts Regiment; 11th Massachusetts.

DAVID, EBENEZAR
Rhode Island
Baptist
9th Continental Infantry; 2nd Rhode Island
Died in service, 1779.

DAVIS, THOMAS
Virginia
Episcopal
1st Continental Dragoons
Officiated at President George Washington's funeral.

DOAK, SAMUEL
North Carolina
Presbyterian.

DUFFIELD, GEORGE
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian.

DUNLAP, WILLIAM
Virginia
Episcopal
6th Virginia.

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Brigade Chaplain
President of Yale.

**EAKIN, SAMUEL**
Delaware
Presbyterian
Delaware Battalion of the Flying Camp.

**EELS, NATHANIEL**
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Connecticut Militia

**EELS, SAMUEL**
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Connecticut Militia

**ELIOT, JOHN**
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown.
Massachusetts Militia

**ELLIOT, JOHN**
Connecticut
Congregationalist
2nd Connecticut
Following his separation from the service, he defected to the British

**ELLIS, JOHN**
Connecticut
Congregationalist
8th Connecticut; 17th Continental Infantry; 1st Connecticut, Brigade Chaplain.

**EMERSON, WILLIAM**
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Colonel Reed's Regiment
Died in service, 1776.

**EVANS, ISRAEL**
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
1st New Hampshire; Brigade Chaplain.

**EVEREST, NOBLE**
Vermont.
Colonel Wolbridge's Regiment
FISH, ELISHA  
Massachusetts  
Congregationalist.

FITHIAN, PHILIP VICKERS  
New Jersey  
Presbyterian  
Colonel Newcomb's Battalion of the New Jersey Militia; died at Fort Washington, New York.

FOARD, HEZEKIAH  
North Carolina  
Episcopal  
5th North Carolina.

FOBES, PEREZ  
Massachusetts  
Congregationalist.

FOSTER, JACOB  
Massachusetts  
Congregationalist  
Scammon's Massachusetts Regiment; 18th Continental Infantry.

FOSTER, WILLIAM  
Pennsylvania  
Denomination unknown  
Died, 1780.

FULLER, DANIEL  
Massachusetts  
Congregationalist.

FULLER, JOHN  
Connecticut  
Congregationalist  
Douglas' Connecticut State Regiment.

GANO, JOHN  
New York  
Baptist  
19th Continental Infantry; 5th New York; Brigade Chaplain.  
Assigned to offer prayers on the occasion of the proclamation of the cessation of hostilities at Washington's headquarters, New Windsor Cantonment, April 19, 1783.

GORDON, WILLIAM  
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Author of A History of the Revolution.

Graham, William
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian

Grayson, Spence
Virginia
Episcopal
Grayson’s Additional Continental Regiment.

Green, Enoch
New Jersey
Presbyterian.

Griffith, David
Virginia
Anglican
3rd Virginia Regiment
Commended by Washington at the Battle of Monmouth.

Gros, Johann Daniel
New York
German Reformed
Colonel Mariuns Willet’s Regiment.

Hall, James
North Carolina
Presbyterian.

Hall, Samuel
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Died, 1776.

Heart (Hart), Samuel
South Carolina
Denomination unknown
1st South Carolina.

Hibbard, Augustine
New Hampshire
Congregationalist

Hibbard, Ithmar
Vermont.
State Militia
HITCHCOCK, ENOS
Massachusetts or Rhode Island
Congregationalist
3rd Continental Infantry; 10th Massachusetts; Patterson’s Massachusetts Brigade.

HITCHCOCK, GAD
Massachusetts.

HOLLINGSHEAD, WILLIAM
New Jersey
Presbyterian.
New York Flying Camp, New Jersey Militia

HOLMES, JOHN
Georgia
Episcopal
1st Georgia.

HUNTER, ANDREW
New Jersey
Presbyterian
3rd New Jersey; Brigade Chaplain. Received Washington’s personal thanks for his conduct at Monmouth. P.O.W.
Later: One of the founders of the present-day US Naval Academy, Annapolis, Maryland; served in the War of 1812.

HURT (HURST), JOHN
Virginia
Episcopal
6th Virginia; Brigade Chaplain
On March 4, 1791, he became the first chaplain in the Regular Army of the United States.

JOHNSON, DANIEL
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Died in 1776, following his service on the Boston Siege Line.

JOHNSON, STEPHEN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
6th Connecticut.

JOHNSTON, WILLIAM
New York
Denomination unknown
Died, 1783.
JONES, DAVID
Pennsylvania
Baptist
4th Pennsylvania; 3rd Pennsylvania; Brigade Chaplain.
Served in the campaign in the Northwest Territory under
General Wayne, and throughout the War of 1812.

JUDSON, DAVID
Connecticut
Denomination unknown
Died, 1776.

JUDSON, EPHRAIM
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Ward's Connecticut Regiment.

KEITH, ROBERT
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
Hart's Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp.

KENDALL, THOMAS
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Knox's Regiment of Continental Artillery.

KER (KERR), NATHAN
New Jersey
Presbyterian.

KING, JOHN
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian.

KIRKLAND, SAMUEL
New York
Congregationalist
Fort Schuyler; Sullivan's Expedition.

LANCASTER, THOMAS
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Mitchell's Regiment, Massachusetts Militia.

LANGDON, SAMUEL
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.
LATTA, JAMES
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian.

LEE, ANDREW
Connecticut
Congregationalist
4th Connecticut.

LEONARD, ABIEL
Connecticut
Congregationalist
3rd Connecticut; Knox's Regiment of Continental Artillery.
Died by suicide, 1778.

LEWIS, ICHABOD
New York
Congregationalist.

LEWIS, ISAAC
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Bradley's Connecticut State Regiment.

LEWIS, JOSHUA
Georgia
Anglican.

LINN, WILLIAM
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
5th Pennsylvania

LOCKWOOD, WILLIAM
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
General Nixon's Brigade.

LOTBINIERE, LOUIS EUSTACE
Canada
Roman Catholic
First Canadian (Livingston's Regiment)

LOVELACE, SAVAGE
Georgia
Anglican.
Chandler's Regiment

LYND, JOHN
Pennsylvania
Denomination unknown
5th Pennsylvania Battalion.

LYTH, JOHN
Virginia
Anglican
13th Virginia Regiment
Killed in the campaign against the Cherokee Indians, January 15, 1778. Believed to be the first clergyman to serve in Kentucky.

McALDEN, HUGH
North Carolina
Denomination unknown
Died, 1781.

McCALLA, DANIEL
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
2nd Pennsylvania; taken prisoner at Three Rivers, June 8, 1776.

McCLINTOCK, SAMUEL
New Hampshire
Congregationalist
2nd New Hampshire. He appears in Trumbull’s picture of Bunker Hill.

McCLURE, DAVID
Pennsylvania
Congregationalist
8th Pennsylvania.

McKAY, WILLIAM FITZHUGH
Virginia
Episcopal
15th Virginia; 11th Virginia.

McKINNEY, CHARLES
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.

McMORDIE (McMURDIE), ROBERT
Pennsylvania
Denomination unknown
11th Pennsylvania; Brigade Chaplain.

McWHORTER, ALEXANDER
New Jersey
Presbyterian
Knox's Artillery Brigade.

MANNING, JOSEPH
Rhode Island
Congregationalist.
Rhode Island Militia

MANSFIELD, ISAAC, JR.
Massachusetts
Presbyterian
Thomas' Massachusetts Regiment; 7th Continental Infantry;
27th Continental Infantry.

MASON, JOHN
New York
Presbyterian
3rd New York; Chaplain to the posts on the Hudson.

MATHER, MOSES
Connecticut
Denomination unknown
Died, 1782.

MERCER, SILAS
Georgia
Anglican.

MICHAEL, PHILIP JACOB
Pennsylvania
Berks County Militia
German Reformed
Veteran of the Battle of Brandywine.

MILLER, HENRY
Pennsylvania
Lutheran
Pennsylvania State Regiment; Chaplain to the Germans in the
Army.

MONTGOMERY, JOSEPH
Delaware
Presbyterian
Delaware Regiment; Brigade Chaplain.

MURDOCK, JAMES
Vermont
Denomination unknown.
Allen's Regiment
MURRAY, JOHN
Rhode Island
Universalist
2nd Rhode Island Regiment
“Father of Universalism.”

NEVELLING, JOHN WESLEY
New Jersey
Reformed.

NIXON, ROBERT
North Carolina
Denomination unknown.
North Carolina Militia

NOBLE, OBADIAH
New Hampshire
Congregationalist
Whipple’s Brigade.

NOBLE, OLIVER
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
11th Continental Infantry; 12th Continental Infantry.

OSGOOD, DAVID
New Hampshire
Congregationalist
1st New Hampshire

PAYNE, JOSHUA
New Hampshire
Denomination unknown
3rd Continental Infantry.

PEABODY, STEPHEN
New Hampshire
Congregationalist.

PERRY, JOSEPH
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Wolcott’s Connecticut Regiment.

PLUMB, WILLIAM
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Marshall’s Massachusetts Regiment; 10th Continental Infantry; Brigade Chaplain.
POMEROY, BENJAMIN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
3rd Connecticut. He served as chaplain at the age of 71, being a veteran of the French and Indian War.

POPE, JOSEPH
Connecticut
Congregationalist

PORTER, NATHANIAL
New Hampshire
Congregationalist
Wingate's Regiment; New Hampshire Militia; 3rd New Hampshire

POTTER, ISAIAH
Connecticut
Denomination unknown.
Ticonderoga, 1777.

PRENTISS, THOMAS
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.

PRIME, EBENEZER
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Died, 1779.

PURCELL, HENRY
South Carolina
Episcopal
2nd South Carolina; Brigade Chaplain.

REED, JOHN
Connecticut
Congregationalist.

REXFORD, ELISHA
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Elmore's Continental Regiment.

RHEA, JOSEPH
Maryland
Denomination unknown
Died, 1777.
RIPLEY, EZRA  
Massachusetts  
Denomination unknown.

RIPLEY, HEZEKIAH  
Connecticut or New York  
Congregationalist.  
Sillman's Brigade; 8th Continent Regiment

ROBBINS, AMMI RUHAMAH  
Connecticut  
Congregationalist  
Burrall's Connecticut State Regiment  
See: Hosea 2:1

ROE, AZEL  
North Carolina  
Presbyterian.

ROGERS, JOHN  
Connecticut  
Presbyterian.  
Heath's Brigade

ROGERS, WILLIAM  
Pennsylvania  
Baptist  
Mile's Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment; Patton's Continental Regiment; Brigade Chaplain.

ROSBRUGH, JOHN  
Pennsylvania  
Presbyterian  
Pennsylvania Militia. Killed at Trenton, January 2, 1777.

SAMPSON, EZRA  
Massachusetts  
Congregationalist.  
Siege of Boston

SANFORD, DAVID  
Connecticut  
Congregationalist.

SCOTT, ALEXANDER  
Georgia  
Baptist  
1st Georgia.

SERE, DANIEL  
Maryland
Denomination unknown
Smallwood's Maryland Regiment.

SEWARD, WILLIAM
Connecticut
Congregationalist.
Col. David Waterbury's Regiment

SHERMAN, JOSIAH
Connecticut
Congregationalist
7th Connecticut.

SMITH, COTTON M.
Connecticut
Congregationalist
4th Connecticut.

SMITH, ELIAS
Connecticut
Denomination unknown
19th Continental Infantry.

SMITH, HEZEKIAH
Massachusetts
Baptist
Nixon's Massachusetts Regiment; 4th Continental Infantry;
6th Massachusetts; Brigade Chaplain. Chaplain Smith
served occasionally as aide-de-camp.

SMITH, MANASSAH
Massachusetts
Denomination unknown
Whitcomb's Massachusetts Regiment.

SMITH, ROBERT
South Carolina
Episcopal
Hospital Department in South Carolina. Served in the siege of
Charleston. Became the first Episcopal Bishop of South
Carolina.

SPENCER, ELIHU
New Jersey
Presbyterian
Hospital Chaplain of Middle District.

SPRING, SAMUEL
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Fellow's Massachusetts Regiment.

SPROAT, JAMES
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
Hospital Chaplain of Middle District

STEWART, ALEXANDER
Massachusetts
Presbyterian
Knox's Regiment Continental Artillery.

STEEL (STEELE), JOHN
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian
Veteran of the French and Indian War; dual service as chaplain and commander of militia. Died, 1779.

STORRS (STOORS), JOHN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Gay's Connecticut State Regiment.

STREIT (STRAIGHT), CHRISTIAN
Virginia
Lutheran
8th Virginia

STRONG, JOSEPH
Connecticut
Congregationalist
20th Continental Infantry.

STRONG, NATHAN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
22nd Continental Infantry.

SWAIN, JOSEPH
Pennsylvania
Congregationalist.

SWEETLAND, ELEAZER
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
Sargent's Massachusetts Regiment; 17th Continental Infantry.

SWIFT, JOB
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.
TATE, JAMES
   North Carolina
   Denomination unknown
   1st North Carolina; Brigade Chaplain of North Carolina Troops.
TENNENT, WILLIAM
   South Carolina
   Presbyterian
   Died, 1777.
TENNENT, WILLIAM
   Connecticut
   Presbyterian
   Swift’s Connecticut State Regiment.
TETARD, JOHN PETER
   New York
   French Reformed
   4th New York.
   Became the first translator for the State Department.
THACHER, PETER
   Massachusetts
   Congregationalist.
THAXTER, JOSEPH
   Massachusetts
   Denomination unknown.
THAYER, JABEZ
   Massachusetts
   Denomination unknown
   14th Massachusetts.
THOMPSON, AMOS
   Maryland
   Presbyterian
   Stephenson’s Maryland and Virginia Riflemen.
THOMPSON, CHARLES
   Rhode Island
   Baptist
   1st Rhode Island; Brigade Chaplain. Taken prisoner in June, 1778.
TODD, SAMUEL
   Massachusetts
   Congregationalist.
TREAT (TRENT), JOSEPH
New York
Presbyterian
Malcolm’s New York Regiment.

TROOP, GEORGE
Rhode Island
Denomination unknown

TROUT, JOAB
State unknown
Denomination unknown
Served at the Battle of Brandywine.

TRUMBULL, BENJAMIN
Connecticut
Congregationalist
1st Connecticut; Douglas’ Connecticut State Regiment. Later at New Haven he was chosen captain of a company of sixty volunteers.

TUCK, JOHN, JR.
New Hampshire or New York
Congregationalist
Died, 1777.

VAN HORNE, WILLIAM
Pennsylvania
Baptist
Pennsylvania Brigade.

WALES, SAMUEL
Connecticut
Congregationalist.

WARREN, JOHN
Rhode Island
Congregationalist.

WAUGH, ABNER
Virginia
Anglican
2nd Virginia Regiment.

WEBSTER, SAMUEL
New Hampshire
Denomination unknown

WELCH, WHITMAN
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.
Died, 1776, on the Expedition to Quebec.

WELLES, NOAH
Connecticut
Congregationalist
Died in service, 1776, while serving as chaplain to British prisoners.

WEST, SAMUEL
Massachusetts
Congregationalist.
Siege of Boston

WILDMAN, BENJAMIN
Connecticut
Congregationalist

WILLARD, JOSEPH
Connecticut
Denomination unknown.

WILLIAMSON, SAMUEL
Connecticut
Denomination unknown
4th Continental Dragoons.

WINTER, FRANCIS
Massachusetts
Congregationalist
7th Massachusetts.

WOOD, SAMUEL
Connecticut
Congregationalist
5th Connecticut

WOODBRIDGE, SAMUEL
Connecticut
Congregationalist.

WOODHULL, JOHN
Pennsylvania
Presbyterian.
Colonel Crawford's Command (5th Battalion)

WOODSON, MATTHEW
Virginia
Denomination unknown.
1st Virginia Regiment
WORTH, WILLIAM
New Jersey
Baptist.
2nd Battalion, New Jersey Militia
Clergymen Who Served American Soldiers During the Revolution,
Whose Status as Chaplains Is Not Determined
Appleton
Bliss
Bowman
Bray
Breck
Cogwell
Curtiss
Daggett, Naphthali
Dean
Doyle
Emerson, Joseph
Marsh, John
Martin, John
Olcot
Paine
Pope
Clergymen At The Battles of Lexington and Concord
Balch, Benjamin
Brooks, Edward
Emerson, William
Foster, Edmund
Morrill, Isaac
Paysons, Phillips
Prentiss, Caleb
Thaxter, Joseph
APPENDIX VIII
Sermons and Prayers

A Prayer duly said morning and evening upon the Court of Guard, either by the Captaine of the watch himselfe, or by some one of his principall officers. Jamestown Colony.

"Merciful Father, and Lord of heaven and earth, we come before thy presence to worship thee . . . Yet we confess our hearts so dull and untoward, that unless thou be mercifull to us to teach us how to pray, we shall not please thee, nor profit ourselves in these duties . . . we have indeed sinned wonderously against thee through our blindnesse of mind, prophanesse of spirit, hardness of heart, selfe love, worldliness, carnall lusts, hyprocrisie, pride, vanitie, unthankfulnesse, indifilitie, and other native corruptions, which being bred in us, and with us, have defiled us from the wombe,. . . we do acknowledge thy patience to have been infinite and incomparable, in that thou hast been able to hold thy hands from revenging thy self upon us thus long, and yet pleastest to hold open the dore of grace, that we might come unto thee and be saved. . . we come to thee in thy Sons name not daring to come in our owne . . . our sins have not out bidden that bloud of thy holy Son which speaks for our pardon . . . encrease in us all godly knowledge, faith, patience, temperance, meeknesse, wisedome, godlinessse, love to thy Saints and service, zeal of thy glory . . . let all the vaine and transitory inticements of this poore life, appeare unto us as they are . . . let us not so crosse our praier for grace, as not to seeke that by diligence, which we make shew to seeke by prayer, least our owne waies condemne us of hyprocrisie . . . blesse with our praier the whole Church more specially our nation, and therein the kings Majectie our Soveraigne . . . furnish the Church with faithfull and fruitfull ministers . . . let them not deceive themselves with a formalitie of religion in steed of the power thereof . . . represse that rage of sinne, and prophanesse in all Christian states which breeds such Apostacy and defection . . . call in the Jewes together with the fulnesse of the gentiles, that thy name may be glorious in all the world, the dayes of iniquity may come to an end, and we with all thine elect people may come to see
APPENDIX VII

thy face in glorie... seeing thou hast honored us to choose us out to beare thy name unto the Gentiles; we therefore beseech thee to bless us, and this our plantation, which we and our nation have begun in thy feare, and for thy glory. We know O Lord, we have the divel and all the gates of hel against us, but if thou O Lord be on our side, we care not who be against us... confirm thy covenant of grace and mercy with us... the highest end of our plantation here, is to set up the standard, and display the banner of Jesus Christ, even here where satans throne is... let our labor be blessed in laboring the conversion of the heathen... and wheras we have by undertaking this plantation undergone the reproofs of the base world, insomuch as many of our brethren laugh us to scorn... let them mocke such as helpe to build up the wals of Jerusalem, and they that be filthy, let them be filthy still, and let such swine wallow in their mire... when the heathen do know thee to be their God, and Jesus Christ to be their salvation, they may say, blessed be the King and Prince of England, and blessed be the English nation, and blessed for ever be the most high God, possessor of heaven and earth, that sent them amongst us... thou hast moved our harts to undertake the performance of this blessed work, with the hazard of our person, and the hearts of so many hundreds of our nation to assist it with means and provision, and with they holy praiers... Lord blesse England our sweet native countrey, save it from Popery, this land from heathenisme, and both from Atheisme. And Lord heare their praiers for us, and us for them, and Christ Jesus our glorious Mediator for us all. Amen.”

William Smith, “An Earnest Address to the Colonies,” 1757.

... how different is the case among us! we enjoy an unprecarius Property; and every man may freely taste the fruits of his own labours, ‘under his Vine and under his Fig-tree, none making him afraid.’ If God has blessed us with the good things of life, we need not fear to make an appearance answerable to our condition; and what we do not spend ourselves, the laws will secure to our children after us. The king upon his throne, cannot exact a single Farthing of our estates, but what we have first freely consented to pay by laws of our own making. We cannot be dragged out, in violation of Justice and Right, to wade in seas of blood, for satiating the avarice or ambition of a haughty monarch. We need nor fear Racks, nor Stripes, nor Bonds, nor ARBITRARY IMPRISONMENTS, from any authority whatsoever; or could such prevail for a time above Law, yet, while the constitution remains sound, we
may be sure the very act would soon destroy itself, and terminate at
length in the utter ruin of the projectors.

Tis our happiness too that our Minds are as Free as our
Bodies. No man can impose his own Dogmas or notions upon our
Consciences. We may worship the God of our Fathers, the only
living and true God, in that manner which appears most agreeable
to our own understandings, and his revealed Will. The Bible is in
our hands; we are assisted by an orthodox gospel-ministry; we may
search and know the Words of eternal Life; and, what is equally
valuable, we may convey what we know to our children after us, no
man having it in his power to wrest their Education from us.

This, my dear countrymen, is happiness indeed! and what still
enhances it, is the consideration that we are not only called to enjoy
it ourselves, but perhaps to be the instruments of diffusing it over
this vast continent, to the nations that sit ‘in darkness and the
shadow of Death.’

Surely the thought of this ought to rouse every spark of virtue
in our bosoms. Could an ancient Spartan rush into the field of
death, upon the motives mentioned above; and is there any danger
which a Briton ought to decline for the sake of these inestimable
privileges? Or shall a French slave and popish bigot, at this day, do
more for the glory of his tyrannical Lord, than a Freeman and
Protestant for the best of Kings, and the Father of his people?

This land was given to us for propagating Freedom, establish-
ing useful Arts, and extending the kingdom of Jesus. Shall we,
then, be false to such a trust, or pusillanimous in such a divine
cause? We have hewn out habitations for ourselves in an unculti-
vated wildnerness; and shall we suffer them to fall a prey to the
most faithless of enemies? We have unfurled the Messiah’s banner
in the remotest parts of the earth; and shall we suffer the bloody
flag of Persecution to usurp its place? We have planted the blessed
Gospel here; and shall we suffer Heathen error to return where the
glad Tidings of Salvation have once been preached?

No, countrymen! I know your souls disdain the very thought
of such a conduct; and you would rather suffer ten thousand
deaths (were so many possible) than be guilty of that which would
entail infamy on your selves, and ruin on your latest posterity.

Your readiness to join in the measures concerted for your
safety, and to strike a decisive blow against the enemy, may much
determine your future happiness and safety as a people; and I may
well trust, when so much is at stake, you will not be backward in
offering your services for a few months, under a General of humanity, experience, and every amiable accomplishment. I hope even to hear that our Women will become advocates in such a cause, and entitle themselves to all the applauses so long ago paid to their Spartan predecessors!

I would not now wound you, with a disagreeable recapituation of our past misconduct and fatal indolence, especially in these Southern colonies. Many a time has it been in our power to crush out this dangerous war with a single tread of our foot, before it blazed up to its present height—But this we sadly neglected; and, perhaps, the all-wise disposer of events meant to shew us that, when our affairs were at the worst, he was Mighty to save.

Never was the Protestant Cause in a more desperate situation, than towards the close of last campaign. The great and heroic King of Prussia stood ready to be swallowed up of the multitude of his enemies. The British Nation was torn to pieces by intestine divisions; its helm continually shifting hands; too many bent on sordid views of self-interest; too few regarding the public good; Minorca lost; Hanover over-run; our secret expeditions ending in disgrace; our forts in America destroyed; our people captivated or inhumanly murdered, and our fleets dispersed and shattered before the winds—

Yet, even then, when no human eye could look for safety, the Lord interposed for the Protestant Religion. In the short space of two months, the king of Prussia extricated himself out of his difficulties, in a manner that astonished all Europe, and will continue to be the admiration of ages to come! And had we only done our parts in America at that time, the pride of France would have been effectually humbled, and we should probably now have been rejoicing in an honorable peace.

But as that was not the case, the nation, in concert with the king of Prussia and other Protestant powers, has been obliged to make one grand push more for the general in the present campaign; and if that is unsuccessful, God knows what will become of our liberties and properties. This we may lay down as a certain truth, that the expence of the present war is far too great to be born long by the powers concerned in it. The British nation is labouring under a heavy load of taxes. These colonies are likewise drained to the utmost, and sinking under the burthen, as we all feel. Peace, then, of some kind or other, must be a desirable event; and upon our success this campaign it may depend, whether we shall dictate a
peace to the French, or they to us. Should the latter be the case, (which God forbid!) it would be a fatal peace to us.

Rise then, my countrymen! as you value the blessings you enjoy, and dread the evils that hang over you, rise and shew yourselves worthy of the name of Britons! rise to secure to your posterity, peace, freedom, and a pure religion! rise to chastize a perfidious nation for their breach of treaties, their detestable cruelties, and their horrid murders! remember the cries of your captivated brethren, your orphan children, your helpless widows, and thousands of begger'd families! think of Monongahela, Fort-William Henry, and those scenes of savage death, where the mangled limbs of your fellow-citizens lie strewn upon the plain; calling upon you to retrieve the honour of the British name!

Thus animated and roused, and thus putting your confidence, where alone it can be put, let us go forth in humbe boldness; and the Lord do what seemeth him good!

A PRAYER,
COMPOSED
For the Benefit of the Soldiery,
in the
AMERICAN ARMY,
To assist them in their private Devotions; and
recommended to their particular Use:

By Abiel Leonard, A.M.
Chaplain to General Puthnam's Regiment, in said Army

A Prayer,

Most great and glorious God, thy name alone is Jehovah! Thou existest independent of all beings, and art possessed of eternal and absolute perfection! I adore thee as the supreme Governor and Judge among the nations of the earth; who hast in thy wise and good providence divided them, and settled the bounds of their habitations! Thou hast placed the inhabitants of Great-Britain, and of America, not only under the common laws of justice and equity,
but also under the most endearing bonds and obligations of brotherly love and kindness toward each other. Those sacred bonds have been violated; and that mutual confidence, harmony, and affection, that once subsisted to mutual advantage, in a great measure lost. The enemies of America have sent over a great multitude to cast thy people in this land, out of thy possession, even the good land which thou hast given them to inherit; and to deprive them of their liberties and properties: whereby, O Lord, they have been reduced to the dreadful alternative of submitting to arbitrary laws and despotic government; or of taking up arms in defence of those rights and privileges, which thou, in thy goodness, hast conferred upon them as men and as Christians.

I would adore and bless thy name, that thou hast given thy people a just sense of the value of their important privileges, civil and sacred; and that, that love of liberty and willingness to encounter every temporary difficulty and danger to enjoy it, which glowed in the breasts of their ancestors, and brought them over to settle this land is enkindled in their breasts: and that they are united in their counsels, and in their measures for their perfection, defence and security. O my God, wilt thou be graciously pleased to strengthen and establish the union of colonies; and favour the Congress with thy blessing and presence! Prosper the means of defence,—be the God of the American army,—bless all in general, and in particular command, and grant unto thy servant the Commander in Chief, wisdom and fortitude suited to his important military station, and crown him with prosperity, success and honor.

O my God, in obedience to the call of thy providence, I have engaged myself, and plighted my faith, to jeopard my life in the high places of the field in the defence of my dear country and the liberties of it, acknowledging thy people to be my people, their interest my interest, and their God to be my God. Thou knowest, O Lord, that it is not from a spirit of licentiousness,—lust of independence or delight in the effusion of human blood, but from a sense of that duty I owe to my country and posterity I have voluntarily engaged in this service.—And I desire now to make a solemn dedication of myself to thee in it through Jesus Christ; presenting myself to thy Divine Majesty to be disposed of by thee to thy glory and the good of America. Oh do thou, I most fervently intreat, wash away mine iniquities, blot them out of thy remembrance, purify and cleanse my soul in the blood of the great Captain of my salvation—accept of—own and bless me!
Teach, I pray thee, my hands to war, and my fingers to fight in the defence of America, and the rights and liberties of it! impress upon my mind a true sense of my duty, and the obligation I am under to my country! and enable me to pay a due and ready respect and obedience to all my officers. Grant unto me courage, zeal and resolution in the day of battle, that I may play the man for my people, and the cities of my God; chusing rather to lay down my life, than either through cowardice or desertion betray the glorious cause I am engaged in. And, O Lord, if it seem good in thy light, shield and protect me; cover my head in the day of battle; and suffer not the arrows of death that may fly around me, to wound or destroy me: but may I live to do further service to my country—to the church and people of God, and interest of Jesus Christ, and see peace and tranquility restored to this land.

Give me grace, that I may spend my time in my proper employment as a soldier, furnishing myself with such military skill as may qualify me to stand in a day of war, and to speak with the enemy in the gate; wisely filling up my spare hours in acts of religion. May I detest and abhor all sinful oaths, execrations and blasphemies; never using thy name, but on solemn occasions, and then with the most profound reverence! May I never so far lose my liberty, as to become a servant of meats and drinks; but teach me to use thy good creatures soberly and temperately: not enslaving myself to, nor losing my reason by indulging a brutal appetite! Enable me to flee all those vices of gaming, rioting, chambering and wantonness which have a destructive and fatal tendency: but as a stranger and pilgrim may I abstain from fleshly lusts which war against the soul! Enable me to put off all anger, wrath, malice and strife; and live in love with, and in the exercise of kindness to my fellow soldiers! Being content with my wages, may I never do violence to any man, nor seize upon his property through covetousness or greediness of spoil! And may I prove myself a faithful follower of Jesus Christ, whom all the armies of heaven follow; fight the good fight of faith; and have my present conflicts against the world, the flesh and the devil crowned with victory and triumph!

Now, O my God, from a mind deeply affected with a sense of thy wisdom, power, goodness and faithfulness, I desire to commit all my concerns to thee,—to depend upon thy help and protection, in all the difficulties and dangers; and upon thy care and provision, in all the wants and necessities that can befall me! And my family
and kindred, whom I have left behind, I recommend to thy care; to receive the blessings of God, the comforts and supports of thy providence and the sanctification of thy Spirit.

And, O Thou, who didst preserve the children of Israel from the hand of Pharaoh and his host,—didst protect and deliver them from all dangers,—didst redeem them out of all their troubles,—and broughtest them out of the land of bondage into a state of liberty,—deliver, I pray thee, thy distressed, afflicted and oppressed people in this land out of all their troubles! preserve them in truth and peace, in unity and safety, in all storms, and against all temptations and enemies! And by means of the present contest may the liberties of America be established upon a firmer foundation than ever; and she become the (blurred) of the whole earth, and the joy of many generations!

And grant, O Lord, that the inhabitants of Great-Britain may arise and vindicate their liberties; and a glorious reunion take place between them and thy people in this land, founded upon the principles of liberty and righteousness: that the Britons and the Americans may rejoice in the King as the minister of God to both for good.

Hear me, O my God, and accept of these my petitions through Jesus Christ, to whom with thee, O Father, and the Holy Spirit, one God, be glory, honor and praise, forever and ever.

AMEN.

*Captain Barnard Elliot's Prayer For His Unit*

"Diary of Captain Barnard Elliot", City Year Book for 1889, City of Charleston, South Carolina, 170–172.

"Orders: There being nothing issued by the commanding officer, and no notice taken of the Sabbath, I thought proper to call my company together and devote this day as much to my God, as the business of our discipline would admit. I therefore read them the ninth sermon of the Revd. Mr. Davies, A.M., and concluded with the following prayer.

O Lord God of Hosts! Who hast all the creatures in Heaven and in earth to fight Thy battles and execute Thy pleasure! Thou didst not sow any seeds of enmity in our nature, but didst create man endued with all the principles of love and dispositions to peace; 'tis from our lusts and sins that wars and fightings come
among us, first we fell out with our God and our own happiness, and ever since it is a quarrelsome, contentious world we live in, where restless men are jostling one another, and striving for that ease and content which the world has not for them. Now we are in a military station, O Lord instruct and enable us to behave ourselves therein as we ought, O make us the faithful soldiers of Jesus Christ in that spiritual warfare, wherein we are to combat with the enemies that war against our souls, and that we may have peace with our God, let us have no peace with our sins, nor any part of consent with the rebels against Heaven; nor be carried away with any ungodly example, into such wickedness, against which Thou O Most High God, hast declared Thy wrath from Heaven. O grant that we may never so strive with Our Maker, nor allow ourselves in such habits of mind and courses of lives, as are enmity against God, but ever dread more to fall under Thy displeasure, than into their hands, who can but kill the body; and shew ourselves the more zealous for Thee, the more we see others set themselves against Thee, O God Most Holy, as valiant for Thy Cause, as well as that for man, wherein we are now engaged; and preserve us O Our God, from the profaneness and blasphemy, the lewdness and debauchery, the rudeness and violence that are most incident to men of our profession, that we may not be infected with their contagion, but preserve our integrity amidst all the temptations wherewith we are surrounded; though the sword is in our hands let the pace of God rule in our hearts, and though we are soldiers, let us not be men delighting in blood and war, but ready servants for our country and faithful instruments for our common defence and safety. Our Strength and our Redeemer, strengthen our hearts and hands for the service to which we are called, and make us successful and victorious thro' Thy blessings and power from on high. 'Tis Thou Lord that makest us to dwell in safety; O cover our heads in the day of battle, and in all times of danger, be Thou our Shield and Buckler and either keep the evil from us, or arm us for it, that we may not be ruined by it, but gain good out of it and find bodily hurts making for the death of our souls, and even the temporal death, but a gate, (but a gate) opened to eternal life, and seeing we go with our lives in our hands, and are more exposed than other men to dangers and death, O make us more careful of our souls, more mindful of our latter ends and more diligent to put and keep ourselves in preparation and readiness to die, and whether we prosper or miscarry in the attempts and enterprises wherein we are
now concerned, O let our souls be ever precious in Thy sight and safe in Thy hands, help us our Supreme Commander, Thou Great Captain of our salvation, so to live, that we may find it the greatest gain to die; and let us go on (as Christ's faithful soldiers) so conquering and to conquer the enemies of Thy Glory, and the hindrances of our own and others salvation, that having overcome we may sit down in Thy Kingdom and triumph in Thy sweetest love and in Thy most heavenly joy, and Thy most glorious praises; O Most High Jehovah, these things we ask not for any merits of our own, but for the sake and thro' the merits of the dear Son of Thy love, Christ Jesus our Lord, in whose most blessed name and words, we humbly and affectionately address Thee as Our Father, which art in Heaven, for ever hallowed be Thy Most August Name, O let Thy Kingdom come on earth, Thy will be also done in this world as in Heaven, give us, Great Maker, our daily bread, and forgive us our trespasses as we ought to forgive them that trespass against us, suffer us not to run into temptation, but deliver us from evil, for unto Thee are kingdoms and powers and eternal Glory. Amen.

David Jones

"Address to General St. Clair's Brigade at Ticonderoga, when the Enemy were hourly expected, October 20, 1776"

MY COUNTRYMEN, FELLOW-SOLDIERS, AND FRIENDS,

I am sorry that during this campaign I have been favored with so few opportunities of addressing you on subjects of the greatest importance both with respect to this life and that which is to come; but what is past can not be recalled, and NOW time will not admit an enlargement, as we have the greatest reason to expect the advancement of our enemies as speedily as Heaven will permit. Therefore, at present, let it suffice to bring to your remembrance some necessary truths.

It is our common faith, and a very just one too, that all events on earth are under the notice of that God in whom we live, move, and have our being; therefore we must believe that, in this important struggle with the worst of enemies, he has assigned us our post here at Ticonderoga. Our situation is such that, if properly defended, we shall give our enemies a fatal blow, and in great measure prove the means of the salvation of North America.

Such is our present case, that we are fighting for all that is near and dear to us, while our enemies are engaged in the worst of
causes, their design being to subjugate, plunder, and enslave a free people that have done them no harm. Their tyrannical views are so glaring, their cause so horribly bad, that there still remain too much goodness and humanity in Great Britain to engage unanimously against us, therefore thy have been obliged (and at a most amazing expense, too) to hire the assistance of a barbarous, mercenary people, that would cut your throats for the small reward of sixpence. No doubt these have hopes of being our task-masters, and would rejoice at our calamities.

Look, oh! look, therefore, at your respective states, and anticipate the consequences if these vassals are suffered to enter! It would fail the most fruitful imagination to represent, in a proper light, what anguish, what horror, what distress would spread over the whole! See, oh! see the dear wives of your bosoms forced from their peaceful habitations, and perhaps used with such indecency that modesty would forbid the description. Behold the fair virgins of your land, whose benevolent souls are now filled with a thousand good wishes and hopes of seeing their admirers return home crowned with victory, would not only meet with a doleful disappointment, but also with such insults and abuses that would induce their tender hearts to pray for the shades of death. See your children exposed as vagabonds to all the calamities of this life! Then, oh! then adieu to all felicity this side the grave!

Now all these calamities may be prevented if our God be for us—and who can doubt of this who observes the point in which the wind now blows—if you will only acquit yourselves like men, and with firmness of mind go forth against your enemies, resolving either to return with victory or to die gloriously. Every one that may fall in this dispute will be justly esteemed a martyr to liberty, and his name will be had in precious memory while the love of freedom remains in the breasts of men. All whom God will favor to see a glorious victory, will return to their respective states with every mark of honor, and be received with joy and gladness of heart by all friends to liberty and lovers of mankind.

As our present case is singular, I hope, therefore, that the candid will excuse me, if I now conclude with an uncommon address, in substance principally extracted from the writings of the servants of God in the Old Testament; though, at the same time, it is freely acknowledged that I am not possessed of any similar power either of blessing or cursing.
1. Blessed be that man who is possessed of true love of liberty; and let all the people say, Amen.
2. Blessed be that man who is a friend to the common rights of mankind; and let all the people say, Amen.
3. Blessed be that man who is a friend to the United States of America; and let all the people say, Amen.
4. Blessed be that man who will use his utmost endeavor to oppose the tyranny of Great Britain, and to vanquish all her forces invading North America; and let all the people say, Amen.
5. Blessed be that man who is resolved never to submit to Great Britain; and let all the people say, Amen.
6. Blessed be that man who in the present dispute esteems not his life too good to fall a sacrifice in defense of his country; let his posterity, if any he has, be blessed with riches, honor, virtue, and true religion; and let all the people say, Amen.

Now, on the other hand, as far as is consistent with the Holy Scriptures, let all these blessings be turned into curses to him who deserts the noble cause in which we are engaged, and turns his back to the enemy before he receives proper orders to retreat; and let all the people say, Amen.

Let him be abhorred by all the United States of America.
Let faintness of heart and fear never forsake him on earth.
Let him be a magor missabile, a terror to himself and all around him.
Let him be accursed in his outgoing, and cursed in his incoming; cursed in lying down, and cursed in rising; cursed in basket, and cursed in store.
Let him be cursed in all his connections, till his wretched head with dishonor is laid low in the dust; and let all the soldiers say, Amen.

And may the God of all grace, in whom we live, enable us, in defense of our country, to acquit ourselves like men, to his honor and praise. Amen and Amen.

Joab Trout
Sermon delivered before The Battle of the Brandywine on September 10, 1777

"They that take the sword shall perish by the sword!"—Matt. xxvi. 52.

Soldiers and countrymen! We have met this evening, perhaps for the last time. We have shared the toil of the march, the peril of
the fight, the dismay of the retreat—alike we have endured cold
and hunger, the contumely of the infernal foe, and outrage of the
foreign oppressor. We have sat night after night, beside the same
camp fire, shared the same rough soldiers' fare;—we have together
heard the roll of the reveille which called us to duty, or the beat of
the tattoo which gave the signal for the hardy sleep of the soldier,
with the earth for his bed, and his knapsack for a pillow. And now
soldiers and brethren, we have met in the peaceful valley, on the
eve of the battle, while the sunlight is dying away behind yonder
heights, the sunlight that to-morrow morn will glimmer on scenes
of blood. We have met amid the whitening tents of our encamp-
ment; in times of terror and gloom have we gathered together. God
grant it may not be for the last time.

It is a solemn moment. Brethren, does not the solemn voice of
nature seem to echo the sympathies of the town? The flag of our
country droops heavily from yonder staff. The breeze has died
away along the green plain of Chadd's ford—the plain that spreads
before us glistening in sunlight—the heights of the Brandywine
arise dark and gloomy beyond the waters of yonder stream, and all
nature holds a pause of solemn silence on the eve of the uproad of
the bloodshed and strife of to-morrow.

'They that take the sword shall perish by the sword,' and have
they not taken the sword?

Let the blood-stained valley—the desolated homes—the
burned farm house—the murdered farmer—let the whitening
bones of our own countrymen answer! Let the starving mother
with the babe clinging to her withered breast, let her answer—with
the death rattle mingling with the murmuring tones that mark the
last struggle for life; let the dying mother and her babe answer!

It was but a day past, and our land slept in the light of peace.
War was not here, wrong was not here. Fraud, and woe, and misery
and want dwelt not among us. From the eternal solitude of the
green woods, arose the blue smoke of the settler's cabin; and
golden fields of corn looked forth from amid the waste of the
wilderness, and the glad music of human voices awoke the silence
of the forest.

Now! God of mercy! Behold the change. Under the shadow of
pretext, under the sanctity of the name of God—invoking the
Redeemer to their aid, do these foreign hirelings slay our people.
They throng our towns, they darken our plains, and now they
encompass our posts on the lonely plain of Chadd's Ford.
‘They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.’ Brethren! think me not unworthy of belief, when I tell you that the doom of the Britisher is near! Think me not vain when I tell you that beyond the cloud which now enshrouds us, I see gathering thick and fast, the darker cloud and the blacker storm of Divine Retribution! They may conquer us on the morrow!—might and wrong may prevail, and we may be driven from the field—but the hour of God’s vengeance will come! Aye, if in the vast solitudes of eternal space, if in the heart of the boundless universe, there throbs the being of an awful God, quick to revenge and sure to punish guilt, there will the man, George of Brunswick, called King, feel in his brain and in his heart the vengeance of the eternal Jehovah! a blight will be upon his life—a withered brain, an accursed intellect; a blight will be upon his children, and his people. Great God! how dread the punishment!

Soldiers! I look around upon your familiar faces with a strange interest. To-morrow we will all go forth to battle—for need I tell you that your unworthy minister will march with you, invoking God’s aid in the fight. We will march forth to battle. Need I exhort you to fight the good fight for your homesteads, your wives, and your children.

And in the hour of battle when all around is darkness, lit by the lurid cannon glare, and the piercing musket flash, when the wounded strew the ground and the dead litter your path. Then remember, soldiers, that God is with you. The eternal God is with you, and fights for you. God! the awful, the infinite, fights for you and you will triumph.

‘They that take the sword shall perish by the sword.’

You have taken the sword; but not in the spirit of wrong and revenge. You have taken the sword for your homes, for your wives, and for your little ones. You have taken the sword for truth, for justice, and for right, and to you the promise is, be of good cheer, for your foes have taken the sword in defiance of all man holds dear. They shall perish by the sword.

And now, brethren and soldiers, I bid you all farewell. Many of us may fall in the fight of to-morrow. God rest the souls of the fallen—many of us may live to tell the story of the fight of to-morrow, and in the memory of all will rest the quiet scenes of this autumnal night.

Solemn twilight advances over the valley; the woods on the opposite heights fling their long shadows over the green of the
meadow—around us are the tents of the continental host—the suppressed hustle of the camp, the hurried tread of the soldiers to and fro among the tents, the stillness that marks the eve of battle. When we meet again, may the long shadows of twilight be flung over a peaceful land. God in heaven grant it! Amen.

Thomas Allen
Sermon Delivered at Fort Ticonderoga
about June 27, 1777

Valiant soldiers! Yonder (pointing to the enemy that lay in sight) are the enemies of your country, who have come to lay waste, and destroy, and spread havoc and devastation through this pleasant land. They are enemies hired to do the work of death, and have no motive to animate them in their undertaking. You have every consideration to induce you to play the man, and act the part of valiant soldiers. Your country looks up to you for its defence. You are contending for your wives, whether you or they shall enjoy them. You are fighting for your children, whether they shall be yours or theirs—your houses and lands—for your flocks and herds, for your freedom, for future generations, for every thing that is great and noble, on account of which only life itself is worth a fig. You must, you will abide the day of trial. You can not give back, whilst animated by these considerations.

Suffer me, therefore, on this occasion to recommend to you, without delay, to break off your sins by righteousness, and your iniquity by turning unto the Lord. Turn ye, turn ye, ungodly sinners; for why will ye die? Repent, lest the Lord come and smite you with a curse. Our camp is fulled with blasphemers, and resounds with the language of the infernal regions. Oh! that officers and men might fear to take the holy and tremendous name of God in vain. Oh! that you would now return to the Lord, lest destruction should come upon you, lest vengeance overtake you. Oh! that you were wise, that you understood this your latter end.

I must recommend to you the strictest attention to your duty, and the most punctual obedience to your officers. Discipline, order and regularity are the strength of an army.

VALIANT SOLDIERS! should our enemy attack us, I exhort and conjure you to play the man. Let no danger appear too great—let no suffering appear too severe for you to encounter for your bleeding country. God's grace assisting me, I am determined
to fight and die by your side, rather than flee before our enemies, or resign myself to them.

Prefer death to captivity. Ever remember your unhappy brethren, made prisoners at Fort Washington, whose blood now crieth to heaven for vengeance, and shakes the pillars of the world, saying 'How long, O Lord holy and true, dost thou not charge our blood on them that dwell on the earth.'

Rather than quit this ground with infamy and disgrace, I should prefer leaving this body of mine a corpse on the spot.

I must finally recommend it to you, and urge it on you again and again, in time of action to keep silence. Let all be hushed and calm, serene and tranquil, that the word of command may be distinctly heard, and resolutely obeyed, and may the God of heaven take us all under his protection, and cover our heads in the day of battle, and grant unto us his salvation.

Hezekiah Smith

Commemorative Sermon preached on the second anniversary of Burgoyne's surrender, October 17, 1779. It was written under field conditions.

1. The anniversary of this day cannot fail to excite the most pleasing reflections upon the grand event which took place on the 17th of October, 1777, when at one view we beheld the most agreeable issue of the northern campaign; the effect of American bravery; the boasted glory of Britain fall; the basis laid for American importance amongst the powers of earth; an event scarcely paralleled in history, which exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the brave sons of freedom, and ensured future success to our military operations:—Since which our public affairs have afforded the most pleasing hopes of future wealth and greatness.

2. I feel myself happy to congratulate my hearers on the revolution of this day, a day which reminds us of that which was big with the fate of America, and which offers to view the grandest conquest ever gained since the creation of the world. Upon this day we have the pleasing or retrospective view of the surrender of one whose military character was great, whose zeal, with unremitting ardor, burst forth in all the forms of arms; in that pompous proclamation filled with bombast; designed to terrify, and spread consternation through the northern clime, and drive the timid inhabitants to a tame submission to British tyranny. But British pride and glory, having arrived to their summit, now begin visibly
to decline, which becomes evident in the surrender at Saratoga. Although this acquisition will adorn the historical pages of this new world, and transmit the names of the worthies to the latest ages, yet this day reminds us of another conquest, which so far exceeds the one now mentioned as scarcely to admit of comparison. A conquest more extensive in its influence; more interesting in its nature, and more beneficial to the world. A conquest celebrated by ages, and which will be transmitted to the latest period of time. It differs from all others in this: it was gained by the Conqueror’s passing through death.—“That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is the Devil.” It is a Conqueror who gained this victory in his own person, without the least assistance from any of the sons of men. Listen to his own declaration: “I looked and there was none to help; and I wondered that there was none to uphold; therefore mine own arm brought salvation unto me, and my fury it upheld me.” Isa. 65:5. He engaged all the powers and hosts of hell, with that arch prince of the infernal regions at their head, and so completely conquered them, that he rose triumphant from death, and with all the splendid trophies of victory, ascended with a shout, led captivity captive, and passed unmolested through the region and territories of Satan, to his own dominion and kingdom. Having gained universal empire through his kingdom and success, he is now seated on the exalted throne of his dignity, far beyond the utmost reach of his inveterate, irreconcilable and malicious foes, and is constantly enlarging his special kingdom, through the trophies of grace, in translating from the kingdom of darkness into the marvelous kingdom of light, truth, and liberty.

3. We may with the utmost propriety cordially unite in celebrating the two grand events but just mentioned; the one affording the happy prospect of early felicity, the other the most pleasing hope of celestial happiness.

4. Our rejoicings on this day should ever be kept within the limits prescribed by the laws of Christ’s kingdom, and be governed according to the spirit and rules thereof:—Then our eyes will be to him who giveth success; and teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight.

5. This chapter is calculated to excite confidence in God; to wait upon him in the way of his judgments; and to look unto him for blessing and success.
METHOD.

I. Consider some of the judgments in the way of which we have waited for the Lord.

I would premise, that the particular judgments the prophet has reference to, with which the Jews were exercised, and the judgments of God at large, I do not mean to consider:—Only some particular judgments which have taken place since our present troubles first began.

1. That which gave rise to the present war, may be conceived of as a sore judgment, which first discovered itself in laying a plan to subject these states to intolerable burdens and unjust taxation.

2. An infringement of our charter rights and privileges, was a judgment pregnant with the most alarming evils, which justly roused the dominant spirit of Americans, and excited them to wait upon the Lord in the use of means to remedy the impending calamity.

3. Lexington can witness to the tragical scene exhibited to view upon the Common, near the head of the town, when several of her brave sons bled and fell and died,—in the defence of their injured country,—whose death occasioned the martial flame, quick like a flash of lightning, to communicate itself from East to West, and to unite in one common cause, the several states, to oppose the horrid strides of despotism which then made their appearance under the tyrannic ensigns of fire and arms. The ever memorable Nineteenth of April, 1775, ushered in the bloody scene, marked with plunder and burning, the known characteristics of British cruelty and savage barbarity. Falmouth, Charlestown, Norfolk, East Haven, Fairfield, Norwalk, Crompond, and Bedford, are flagrant instances of the British rage, and their unprincipled conduct in the burning and plundering way.

4. The effusion of human blood might be accounted a grievous judgment, amidst which we have waited for the Lord. Many have been the bloody scenes since the 19th of April, 1775, in which great numbers of our fellow subjects have fallen, and left their bodies in the field of honor, whilst their spirits departed and went to him who made them. Their dying struggles have contributed to the happy prospect now before us, and their names with respect will be handed down to posterity. The two grand actions fought on the 19th of September and the 7th of October, 1777, at Bemis' Heights, are doubtless fresh in your minds, the success of which
laid the foundations for the happy event on the 17th. In the way of God's judgments we waited upon him.

5. I might mention that part which many of our fellow citizens and countrymen have acted, as traitors, thieves, plunderers, etc., joining the enemy to destroy and lay waste this beautiful land, as a sore judgment, amidst which we have waited upon the Lord.

6. What have increased the judgments have been the combined powers of nations in conjunction with the numerous savage tribes, who have exercised all the horrid tortures of inhuman barbaries, whose tender mercies are cruelty. The defenceless children, the helpless women, the superannuated men, are painful witnesses thereof. Should these prove insufficient testimonies, witness the prison ships,—witness the houses of confinement for our prisoners in New York, where hundreds of thousands were wasted by pinching hunger, prostrating colds, and inhuman neglects. Amidst the whole we have waited for the Lord.

II. Show that God is the proper object of the soul's desire.

I would premise, that the desires of a soul are very numerous, and often very pernicious; the objects are hurtful and ruinous. Hence to be deprived of their gratification is peculiarly advantageous and demands gratitude. The desires are not only numerous but vastly extensive, and could by no means be satisfied with sensual gratification or earthly enjoyments. This will hold good with those of different characters and possessions in life. The above observation accounts for the universal disquietudes in the breasts of those whose desires are not to God. That God is the proper object of the soul's desire will appear very evident from the following observations:

1. No other object can possibly satisfy the desires of the soul. The nature of the soul being spiritual and immortal cannot rest easy with an object merely natural and mortal. It is a maxim in Natural Philosophy, that a stream cannot run higher than its fountain. So the desires of a soul cannot rise higher than the soul. But experience teaches us that the desires of a soul often rise above and go far beyond all perishable objects; consequently the soul must be above them all; hence must be left destitute of complete happiness, unless God becomes the object of its desires.

2. The perfections of the Deity afford the most agreeable variety, harmony, and beauty for the entertainment of a rational soul. Each perfection displays new glories and opens up infinity to the mind, which absorbs all its desires, and presents to view immor-
tality, which the soul, with pleasing wonder, contemplates through endless ages of existence, in the full enjoyment of undisturbed felicity. A foretaste of which the regenerate are favored with in this life, which makes them cry out in the most elevating strains, saying: "The desire of our soul is to thy name, and to the remembrance of thee."

3. When we consider our dependence upon him, and our obligations to him, and the daily benefits received from him, it is most proper that our soul's desire should be unto him.

4. When we consider that the disposal of all nations, all providences, and all events is with him, surely it is highly proper that our desires should be to him for what we need. He sendeth war by stirring up one nation against another. He sendeth peace by disposing contending parties to an amicable settlement of differences. He causes a separation of nations, and humbles the pride of the great, and exalteth the lowly. Doubtless it was his will that these young rising states should assert their rights, contend for their freedom, and become independent of that nation, whose pride and luxury are like to be its ruin.

5. It is most proper that our desires should be to him who removeth judgments, correcteth gently, and discovereth the greatest benevolence to the moral world. This he has done, not only in his common providences, but by the special act of grace in the gift of his Son to the world.

III. Consider some things which the Lord hath done for us, which call for a grateful remembrance of him.

1. The gospel, and all its blessings, promises, etc., call for a grateful remembrance.

2. We should gratefully remember the Lord, for raising us up in our political infancy, and increasing our strength, when exceeding weak, destitute in a great measure of arms, accoutrements, ammunition, and discipline; without law, without order, without organization. From a mere state of artless nature, the Lord hath formed us in union, as a band of brothers, to devise rules and methods, salutary for our political good; and raised an army, great and respectable in the eyes of the world, brave, hardy, patient in sufferings, determined in action, well disciplined, and a terror to the most veteran troops in the world. To God who teacheth our hands to war and our fingers to fight, be all due praise ascribed, for inspiring the brave sons of America with martial zeal and courage. For this, witness Bunker's Hill; witness Bemis' Heights, and the
many other places where the intrepid Americans have been called to oppose the veteran troops of Great Britain.

3. The repeated successes with which we have been favored, by sea and land, call for our grateful remembrance of the Lord, particularly the one which took place at Saratoga, in the surrender of Gen. Burgoyne and his whole army. This was a sight which gladdened our hearts. This was a prelude of Britain falling before rising America; since which America has ascended in the scale of importance amongst the powers of the earth; and Great Britain has been descending so rapidly, that the surrounding nations at a distance stand amazed to see the lofty nation, which gave laws to the sea, and spread dread and terror all around, sinking into littleness.

4. We should gratefully remember the Lord for granting to us so powerful an ally, and giving us such an agreeable prospect of a happy end to the present contest.

IMPROVEMENT.

1. As we appealed to heaven in the beginning of this contest for the rectitude of our intentions and the justice of our case, so we ought to be obedient to the voice of God of heaven, who amidst judgment remembered mercy, and granted us repeated successes. In the way of his judgments we have waited for the Lord.

2. As God is the proposed object of our desires, we may learn how vain it is to seek any other object to perform that for us which God alone can perform or do.

3. Let us gratefully remember the name of the Lord for all the blessings of grace, and those of his providence. This day may we all be made glad in the Lord.

FINIS.

Sermon delivered at the Roman Catholic Church, Philadelphia, in celebration of the French-American alliance, by the chaplain of the Minister Plenipotentiary.

Permit me, my dear brethren, citizens of the United States, to address you on this occasion. It is that God—that all-powerful God who hath directed your steps, when you knew not where to apply for counsel—who, when you were without arms, fought for you with the sword of eternal justice—who, when you were in adversity, poured into your hearts the spirit of courage, of wisdom, and of fortitude, and who has at length raised up for your support a youthful sovereign whose virtues bless and adorn a sensible, a
faithful, and a generous nation. This nation has blended her interests with your interests, and her sentiments with yours. She participates in all your joys, and this day unites her voice to yours at the foot of the altars of the eternal God, to celebrate that glorious revolution which has placed the sons of America among the free and independent nations of the earth!

We have nothing to apprehend but the anger of Heaven, or that measure of our guilt should exceed the measure of his mercy. Let us then prostrate ourselves at the feet of the immortal God, who holds the fate of empires in his hands, and raises them up at his pleasure, or breaks them dust—let us conjure him to enlighten our enemies, and to dispose their hearts to enjoy that tranquillity and happiness which the revolution we now celebrate has established for a great part of the human race—let us implore him to conduct us by that way which his Providence has marked out for arriving at so desirable an end—let us offer unto him hearts inbued with sentiments of respect, consecrated by religion, by humanity and patriotism. Never is the august ministry of his altars more acceptable to his divine Majesty than when it lays at his feet homages, offerings, and vows so pure, so worthy the common parent of mankind. God will not reject our joy, for he is the author of it; nor will he reject our prayers, for they ask but the full accomplishment of the decrees he hath manifested. Filled with this spirit, let us in concert with each other, raise our hearts to the Eternal—let us implore his infinite mercy to be pleased to inspire the rulers of both nations with the wisdom and force necessary to perfect what it hath begun. Let us, in a word, unite our voices to beseech him to dispense his blessing upon the counsels and arms of the allies, that we may soon enjoy the sweets of a peace which will cement the Union, and establish the prosperity of the two empires. It is with this view that we shall cause that canticle to be performed which the custom of the Catholic Church hath consecrated, to be at once a testimonial of public joy, a thanksgiving for benefits received from Heaven, and a prayer for the continuance of its mercies.

John Hurt

Sermon delivered at Valley Forge on May 6, 1778, to members of the 1st and 2nd Virginia Brigade, in celebration of France's entry into the War.

Friends, Countrymen and Fellow-Soldiers.

By the wisdom of our councils, and the magnanimous perseve-
ance of our troops, during three campaigns, we have at length received the most manifest tokens of Divine approbation; and now, by the alliance of a great and warlike European power, we stand in a situation that bids defiance to our enemies—a situation which affords the fairest prospect—the blessings of PEACE, LIBERTY and SAFETY, the end of our warfare.—For these ye fought, for these ye bled—and not in vain!

But though from the goodness of our cause, the wisdom of our councils, the abilities of our Generals, the courage of our troops, the strength of our armies, as well as our foreign alliances, we now have the most reasonable hope of establishing American freedom; yet it is a truth which reason and experience, as well as religion, teach us, that the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong; that the event of all things is in the hand of God, and more especially the fate of nations is weighed and determined by him. And if, in the common occurrences of life, it is our wisdom and interest, as well as our duty, to look up to Heaven for a blessing on our labours, it certainly becomes a far more indispensable duty on so important an occasion. A presumptuous confidence in our own strength might mostiy provoke God to give us up to the tyranny of our enemies; while a pious trust in His mercy may be a powerful means to draw down His blessings in our favour. Let us then consider the present duty as a point on which the fate of nations is suspended; and let us, therefore, redouble our diligence, and endeavour to acquire the highest perfection in our several duties, whether religious, civil or military; for the more we do for ourselves the more reason have we to expect the smiles of Providence. In the name then of all that is sacred, and in defence of all that is dear to us, let us exert ourselves from the highest to the lowest, to deserve the great and wonderful deliverance which Providence hath manifested toward this infant land!—A few months steady perseverance in the cause of virtue and truth, will probably give a final and favourable issue to this important contest: Anticipate then, my fellow-soldiers, the joy of your kindred, and the blessings of your country, that will welcome your return to those beloved connexions, from whence you gallantly broke forth to repel the invading foe, and secure to yourselves and posterity the name and rights of freemen. Oppression thenceforward shall be banished from the land—Peace shall till the desolated soil, and commerce unfurl her sails to every quarter of the sea-encircled globe; while
the soldier, who has bravely stepped forth to establish these blessings, shall live revered, and die regretted, by this country.

Who is there that does not rejoice that his lot has fallen at this important period; that he has contributed his assistance, and will be enrolled hereafter in the pages of history among the gallant defenders of liberty? Who is there who would exchange the pleasures of such reflections for all the ill-gotten pelf of the miser, or the dastardly security of the coward? You, my fellow-soldiers, are the hope of your country; to your arms she looks for defence, and for your health and success her prayers are incessantly offered. Our God has heard them—The princes of the earth court our friendship—We have a name among nations—Victory and triumph attends us; and unless our sins forbid, our warmest wishes shall be most amply completed. Let us then join in one general acclamation to celebrate this important event; and while our voices proclaim our joy, let our hearts glow with gratitude to the God of nations, who is able to help us, and whose arm is mighty to save.

Thus shall we see, and triumph in the fight,
While malice frets, and fumes, and gnaws her chains,
AMERICA shall blast her fiercest foes!
Out-brave the dismal shocks of bloody war!
And in unrival'd pomp resplendid rise,
And shine sole empress of the Western World!

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