UNEASY PARTNERS:

BRITISH DISSENT AND
THE AMERICAN CHURCHES, 1783-1865

By J. F. Maclear
Explanatory Note

The memorial tribute to James F. Maclear, which appears on the following page, was published in the winter 2001 issue of the *University of Minnesota Duluth Bridge*. When the article was published, I was hopeful that Maclear’s book-length manuscript would be finished by a scholar who possessed the requisite knowledge of American and British religious history. It is now clear that the research needed to write the five missing chapters and the challenge of dealing with missing and fragmentary footnotes is too formidable. I have decided to make Maclear’s incomplete but valuable history of "British Dissent and the American Churches, 1783-1865" available. Following the *Bridge* article is a brief description of how the manuscript was assembled, the Table of Contents, and Maclear’s manuscript.

Neil Storch
February 8, 2003
Jim Maclear

He had a "monumental intelligence, possessed of a quiet (yet often delightfully wicked) sense of humor." Nygaard carries with her much of what she learned from Maclear, and teaches with the memory of his example. She writes "I am blessed to have had such a model to look up to, for I will never be without a goal to work towards and a sure standard against which to measure my promise."

Maclear, with his information packed lectures and his wit and humor, sparked the intellectual curiosity of students. In addition to his outstanding performance in the classroom, Maclear served on many important committees and projects and was known for his wisdom and good advice. His teaching and service was recognized (despite his profound reluctance to be a candidate for UMD awards) with the following: Outstanding Faculty Award (1975), the Albert Tezla Scholar-Teacher Award (1988) and the Chancellor's Award for Distinguished Service (1993).

Maclear was a distinguished scholar who did research for the sheer joy of discovery. He never made a show of his scholarly accomplishments, but those acquainted with the fields of church and intellectual history realize that his highly original articles appeared in such leading journals as Church History, William and Mary Quarterly, Mississippi Valley Historical Review, the Journal of the History of Ideas, and the New England Quarterly. It must be noted that Maclear's research on Puritanism was widely respected and that a survey of the historical literature done by Michael McGiffert, a scholar with an international reputation, devoted much attention to Maclear's significant contributions. In 1995 Oxford University Press published a major reference work that Maclear edited, Church and State in the Modern Age: A Documentary History. At the time of his death, he was completing an ambitious project on British Dissent and The American Churches, 1783-1865. This massive, path-breaking manuscript needs to be completed and made available to the scholarly community. It will add significantly to his already impressive legacy.

Maclear is missed by his many friends and colleagues. Outgoing, with a gift of conversation, he was a wonderful and caring friend. Given his contribution to the intellectual life of the Duluth campus, it is most appropriate to remember and honor this outstanding teacher and scholar with the J.F Maclear Memorial Lecture Series.

by Neil Storch, Professor of History. Storch was Maclear's longtime colleague and friend.
Explanatory Note

Unfortunately, J. F. Maclear’s extensive and meticulous research on British dissent and the American churches was ended by his untimely death on October 14, 1999. The following book-length manuscript was assembled from scattered chapters. In some cases, I found several drafts of the same chapter and carefully assessed each version to find the most recent. Chapter numbers were added in some cases by Professor Maclear and in others by me so that the chapter numbers would conform to the chapters listed in the index. The following chapters were never found or were so incomplete that they are not presented: I, IV, XII, XIII, and XV.

Neil Storch
University of Minnesota Duluth
UNEASY PARTNERS:

BRITISH DISSENT AND THE AMERICAN CHURCHES, 1783-1865

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CHAPTER II
FORGING THE EVANGELICAL ENTENTE AND THE TRANSATLANTIC MISSIONS,
1763-1836

"Oh England! how did I once love thee? how did I once glory in thee! . . .
In the rapturous anticipation of thine enlargement and reflourishing in this
western world, how have I been wont to glory in the future honour of having
thee for the head of the Britannico-American empire for the many ages until
the Millennium—when thy great national glory should have been advanced in
then becoming a member of the universal empire of the Prince of Peace . . . .
But now farewell!—a long farewell—to all this greatness!" So lamented Ezra
Stiles in 1783. Such emotion, widely shared among religious people in the new
republic, eloquently mirrored the impact of the Revolution on traditional
American ties to Britain. Doubtless, the century-old myth, previously honored
on both sides of the Atlantic, whereby British Protestantism was seen to
uphold a special responsibility in Christian history, perhaps culminating even
in the millennial promise, was now revised to allow central (and perhaps even
exclusive) place to the "American church." Civil freedom and spiritual
religion, in Stiles' classic definition, divided American from British
Christianity and prepared the United States for its messianic vocation.

This break in the Atlantic religious connection had special relevance for
the previous close association of the principal American churches with
Britain's Protestant Dissenters. New England especially had been intimately
tied to English Dissent since the Glorious Revolution in 1688. Earlier,
during the Interregnum, the province had been viewed in more partisan terms.
As an Independent bastion, it had been reviled by Presbyterians, Baptists, and
Quakers. But with the Restoration this factional identity tended to recede,
and New England could nurture a growing sense of unity with all the distressed
churches of a persecuted English Nonconformity. Indeed, by the 1688
Revolution New England society, culture, and religious situation had changed
to become much more like that of Dissent in England, a transformation
resulting not only from its greater wealth and sophistication, but also
from the decay of the primitive Congregational order, the appeal of Presbyterianizing practices, the growth of its denominational diversity, and the more aggressive and troubling presence of Anglican authority. English Dissent, for its part, had learned to consider New England, not as a citadel of partisan Independency, but as the refuge and hope of a persevering Puritan impulse in providential history. Daniel Neal’s History of New England (1720), a Whiggish reinterpretation of the Puritan epic, had celebrated the province as the culmination and potential perfection of the Puritan genius.²

Throughout the eighteenth century this transatlantic connection had also developed its practical bonds. The political skills of Nonconformist statesmen, clerical and lay, and their defensive organizations had frequently been pressed into service by colonials experiencing friction with British authority. The London Body of the Three Denominations after 1727 and the more effective Dissenting Deputies after 1732 repeatedly interceded for New England with Whig politicians, ministers, and parliament men. With the increasing missionary aggression of the Anglican Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the ever recurrent threat of the appointment of an Anglican bishop for America, such representation became a treasured advantage frequently and routinely invoked. For their part, English Dissenters had sometimes found it necessary to intervene in New England, especially to arbitrate denominational controversy. Embarrassed, shamed, and weakened at home by tales of Congregational severity in Massachusetts and Connecticut, they urgently pressed New England’s Standing Orders toward greater religious freedom for all colonial dissenters. Consequently, New England Baptists as well as Congregationalists sometimes found recourse to London brethren a necessary and advantageous action.³

Outside New England where the mythic bonds of a common Puritan ancestry had less meaning, the relation of the colonial churches to British Nonconformity had often been only slightly less influential and less organized. Colonial Methodists, it is true, had no tie with the Old Dissent. Instead they had been closely supervised from England by Wesley himself. But American Methodists were still very few, and on neither side of the ocean
could Wesleyans yet be considered to have separated from the Anglican Establishment. With Presbyterians of the middle colonies and the South the case was different. Fraternal relations with the Church of Scotland and Irish Presbyterians were maintained, but through much of the colonial era Presbyterian business was most effectively advanced through the London Dissenters. Early in the eighteenth century ministers and funds had been procured from that source, and later the Dissenting Deputies were applied to for protection against Anglican "oppression" in New York and Virginia. Placed at the center of imperial power and knowledgeable about the possibilities and limits of intervention, London Dissent was the logical resource for securing the interests of all the non-Anglican churches of America. In the struggle against an American bishop the Dissenting Deputies served as the efficient instrument of the campaign.

Certainly, the American Revolution delivered a huge blow to this transatlantic religious connection. The three chief American denominations—Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist—had consistently supplied pulpit and pamphlet rhetoric and even political leadership to the struggle for independence, often attaching sweeping religious meaning to its ultimate success. Throughout the new nation a bitter and often passionate rejection of British roots and tradition militated against retention of any Atlantic religious bond, as Stiles' 1783 dirge over England suggests. On the practical level, the political menace of an Anglican episcopate was now banished and with it the dependence of American Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists on British Nonconformity and its Whig allies. No longer would the Dissenting Deputies represent the American churches in the political arena.

Moreover, during and after the war the several denominations completed their national organization and independence. For Congregationalists and Baptists the task was not great. American nationhood largely confirmed their historic polity of safeguarding congregational autonomy, sometimes moderated by voluntary associations of their churches. They had no structural ties overseas to dissolve. For Presbyterians something more was required. They too had no official or subordinate relation to any European church. Indeed,
colonial Presbyterians had maintained warmer and more productive ties to the London Independents than to the Church of Scotland. But after the war Presbyterians sought to establish a complete national structure. By 1788 the denomination had met in synod, adopted an amended Westminster Confession, formulated a government and discipline, and provided for four synods and a General Assembly, the first of which convened in 1789. Even the small Associate Reformed Church, the American branch of the Scottish Seceders, freed itself from Scottish controls, and (declining to join the Presbyterians) under the leadership of John Mitchell Mason established their own national synod and eventually a seminary.

The new national orientation of all these denominations naturally involved devitalization of their erstwhile relations with the Dissenting interest in Britain. Gigantic domestic problems of maintaining and expanding the religious character and mission of the new republic demanded premier attention. Of course, national organization also affected churches which had maintained no tie with Dissent, such as the Episcopalians, the Dutch Reformed, the Lutherans and others. One of these religious groups, however, requires mention because it was later to play a significant part in transatlantic religious exchanges with Nonconformity. British Wesleyans, after a slow evolution, were eventually to be numbered among the Victorian Nonconformist denominations. But in America at the end of the Revolutionary War Methodists were still only a small fellowship of Anglican evangelicals located primarily in Maryland and Virginia. Nonetheless, they accomplished a genuine separation from British Wesleyan control at this time. Meeting in Baltimore in 1784, they threw off the tutelage of Wesley and the English Conference, organized an independent American denomination on the centralized conference and circuit plan, and quickly turned their attention to a rapid expansion throughout the nation. By the 1830s Methodists were to begin to play an increasingly important role in the relations between the American churches and Nonconformists.

But in the 1780s the ties between the American churches and British brethren were probably at low ebb. In both countries war, political tensions,
and the lingering influences of the Enlightenment had tended to divert public attention from religion. Brethren could join only in mutual laments. In America, Samuel Hopkins wrote to Scotland in 1789, "Infidelity, universalism, irreligion, and worldliness generally prevail." Five years later Ashbel Green's judgment, appearing in the London Evangelical Magazine, was that American popular enthusiasm for the French had "reached from their political to their religious, or rather irreligious, sentiments." From England Edward Williams reported a similarly pessimistic appraisal of Dissenters, of whom he said one-sixth were "Socinian." English Presbyterians especially, the wealthiest and most influential of the dissenting bodies, had turned toward Arminianism, Arianism, and a nascent Unitarianism. Dissent's most famous theologians--Joseph Priestley, Richard Price, Samuel Chandler, and others--had transformed the Puritan inheritance with the values of the Age of Reason. Accordingly, American evangelicals in the Second Awakening deplored the supposed rationalist apostasy of British Dissent and looked with some suspicion on too close a tie to the English churches. In 1794 the Presbyterian Synod of New York provided for tests of the fitness of English ministers seeking pastorates in America.

But the overseas religious connection was by no means ended.

The Revolutionary shock to the old system had indeed taken place, but in the opening years of the nineteenth century an "Atlantic Protestantism" was to revive in altered form. It was to play a large role in American and British church history until the American Civil War.

When the Revolutionary War ended a basis for this continued fellowship was present at both the political and theological levels. In their political views Dissenters and their American brethren had often shared a common outlook. Suffering from legal disabilities at home and regarding liberty's defense as their own historic mission, Dissenters had left Americans in no doubt of their support. "Were I General Washington," declared the Northampton Baptist, John Collett Ryland, "I would ... swear by Him that sitteth on the Throne and liveth for ever and ever not to sheath the consecrated blade till the freedom of [my] country was achieved." And President James Manning of
Rhode Island College learned from an English correspondent in 1784 that "all our Baptist ministers in town, except two, and most of our brethren in the country, were on the side of the Americans in the late dispute." Similar views colored much of the Old Dissent, while in Scotland and Ireland Presbyterians were also generally committed to the colonial cause. After the war the Virginia statute on religious freedom and the American example were repeatedly cited in the unsuccessful Nonconformist campaigns for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1786 and 1787. In the repressive and hostile environment created by the violent British reaction to the French Revolution Nonconformists idealized America. Writing from Newgate prison in 1795 the simple Plymouth tradesman and Baptist preacher, William Winterbotham, rhapsodized about "the glorious struggle which the United States sustained" that raised "mankind from that state of abject slavery and degradation to which despotism, aided by superstition, had sunk them." Indeed, the American victory overseas appears to have ministered strongly to the political revitalization of nineteenth-century Nonconformity. "The American war," noted an unfriendly observer, "made the Dissenters feel once more as a political party in the state. New England was more the country of their hearts than the England wherein they had been born and bred."

Even more binding was the common theological tradition which persisted well into the nineteenth century. The transatlantic intellectual community of earlier Puritanism had not greatly diminished in the eighteenth century. Local controversy often distracted, but the great issues—Antinomianism, the Revival, rationalism, Arminian and Socinian tendencies, the menace of Anglican pressures—were common concerns. John Taylor of Norwich had deeply troubled Massachusetts divinity just as Jonathan Edwards had comforted orthodox Dissenters. Basic to this unity was the shared reverence for the inherited Puritan divinity. Again and again the honored names recur on both sides of the ocean—Sibbes, Goodwin, Flavel, Baxter, Owen, Howe, Bunyan, Alleine, and later Watts, Doddridge, and Fuller. Such masters continued to dominate Dissenting academies and American colleges at the end of the century. President Heman Humphrey of Amherst recalled how in his youth these books
"stood upon conspicuous shelves in the bookstores or lay nearer at hand upon the counter." But they were meant for more than scholars. The *Panoplist* began publication in 1805 with a long recommendation of these "Old Divines," and later many of them were reprinted by the American Tract Society. A British visitor in 1834, stopping at a crude inn in the Pennsylvania wilderness, discovered Owen, Bunyan, Doddridge, and other "reprints of our standard works" in the landlord's parlor.

This common theological heritage had been itself revitalized and transformed by the intercontinental revivals which occurred before and after the American Revolution. From the start Wesley and Whitefield had made the revivals both Old and New World phenomena. Then from America came Edwards' *Narrative*, frequently reprinted by English Dissenters, while David Brainerd's *Diary* helped inspire religious renewal especially among British Congregationalists. Though less studied, international aspects of the nineteenth-century awakening were also significant. As evangelical growth and vitality eclipsed "reasonable religion" in both countries, British and American brethren discovered new interest in one another and even began to glimpse the promise of a grand world crusade in the nineteenth century. More immediately, religious leaders in both countries looked overseas for guidance in their shared theological perplexities. As is well known, the rise of English Unitarianism was scrutinized in America by friend and foe. It is also true that the central issue of reconciling evangelism with Reformed orthodoxy had its international dimension as well. Timothy Dwight's apologetic for the Awakening, New England's anxieties over revival methods, and the emergence of the New Haven theology were all discussed in Dissenter publications. For their part, Americans showed interest in Edward Williams' theological studies mitigating the rigors of "high Calvinism", and at least one American testified that he had moved away from "Old Calvinism" partly under the instruction of Andrew Fuller's *Gospel Worthy of All Acceptation*.

Consequently, it is not surprising that the overseas religious connection was again invoked following the Revolutionary War. Two links in that transatlantic chain were traditional: as in colonial era correspondence and
appeals for aid quickly resumed. A fresh link was supplied by the florescence of new evangelical periodicals.

Leading Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Baptists lost no time in restoring their overseas correspondence. The history of James Manning's British relations may have been typical. Before the war Manning kept up a wide exchange with many English Baptists, including Samuel Stennett and Benjamin Wallin of London, John Ryland of Bristol, the eccentric Caleb Evans, and the venerable Abraham Booth. The flow of letters apparently eased during hostilities, though a present of books from Wallin reached Providence in 1780. Then in 1783 it resumed with undiminished volume, and Manning announced plans for a begging mission to London to benefit Rhode Island College. A similar pattern seems to have prevailed in other denominations. At the end of the 1780s Samuel Miller of Princeton maintained a huge correspondence with celebrated religious leaders in both British Establishments and in Nonconformity—an exchange which included John Erskine of Linlaethen, the exegete Thomas Scott, the Congregationalist George Burder, the Baptists Andrew Fuller and John Ryland, and the great William Wilberforce. Ten years later John Mitchell Mason's correspondence with British evangelicals was just as large and equally comprehensive. Samuel Hopkins at Newport, Leonard Woods at Andover, and Ashbel Green at Princeton had similar contacts. In Britain Edward Williams, George Burder, and Ralph Wardlaw of Glasgow among others had many American correspondents. Typically, letters passed from the original recipient to interested colleagues and eventually to publication in religious journals. Undoubtedly, correspondence with Dissenters was encouraged by a new American appreciation of Nonconformist recovery and vigor. Thus in 1794 Williams informed Ashbel Green that orthodox Dissenters were now increasing and enjoyed greater political trust "because they confine themselves more to religion" and "meddle less with the turbulent politics of the day." Green in reply emphasized his astonishment and delight at the decline of "Socinianism" and the spread of evangelical spirit among Dissenters.

The colonial habit of enlisting aid from British religious leaders also returned. Paralleling Manning's Baptist appeals, John Witherspoon scarcely
awaited the return of peace before seeking English and Scottish money for the College of New Jersey. His visit to London in 1784 was not a financial success, but he met with no hostility during his sojourn from British evangelicals. While a few Americans, as in the past, resorted to Britain for theological education, greater attention was directed to securing clergy by persuading them to emigrate to America. Anticipating service by English ministers in Presbyterian churches, the Synod of New York sought to establish regular certification procedures with British Congregationalists. Perhaps the most spectacular success in mobilizing British help for theological education was won by John Mitchell Mason when he made his second visit to Europe in 1801-1802. While much of his appeal was directed to his coreligionists, the Scottish and Irish Burgher Seceders, he also enlisted help from Anglicans, Methodists, and the Old Dissent, resulting in a purse of almost £1000. Consequently, he was able to bring home a respectable library, sufficient money to launch an Associate Reformed seminary, six immigrant clergy, and a promise of more ministers in the future. Surprisingly, in this post-Revolutionary era even the traditional intervention of Dissenters for American religious liberty was not neglected, for Isaac Backus asked Richard Price to express his displeasure at Congregational "repression" in New England.

Nothing displays the swift resumption of overseas ties so clearly as the transatlantic orientation of the new evangelical journals which began to flourish in both countries. Among British journals the outstanding example of interest in America was John Ripon's Baptist Annual Register which began in 1790. In his first number Ripon announced his aim to represent Baptists everywhere, and in fact about one-third of each subsequent issue was devoted to the American churches. Letters from Backus, Manning, and other Baptist celebrities, missionary histories, conference reports, and descriptions of College of Rhode Island commencements were all routinely included in the Register. The periodical ceased publication in 1803 but its place was taken by the long-lived (1809-1904) Baptist Magazine which also reported American news. Wesley's Arminian Magazine, founded in 1778, was even earlier than the Baptist periodicals, but it showed slight interest in America until after its
reorganization in 1798 as the Methodist Magazine, when its attention gradually increased.

The Congregational Magazine was not founded until 1818, but the denomination was earlier represented by the most influential, prestigious, and comprehensive of Dissenter periodicals, the Evangelical Magazine, begun in 1793 and under Congregational control after 1802. Although it favored news of New England and American Presbyterians, the Magazine also printed first-hand accounts of Kentucky revivals, letters from Southern ministers, and testimony about the disastrous impact of the frontier on religion and culture. Often it provided British readers with reports of Bible, missionary, and tract societies, sketches of American religious leaders, and news of Congregational general associations and the Presbyterian General Assembly. Its influence in the United States extended beyond its numerous subscribers. Chandler Robbins, the minister at Plymouth, on at least one occasion read a conversion narrative from the Evangelical Magazine which "deeply affected" his congregation, and often its entire articles were reprinted in American religious periodicals.

Somewhat later in 1805 Nonconformists founded their ambitious critical and literary organ, the Eclectic Review, which regularly noted American literary and religious publications as well as relations of travel and exploration in the United States. Not surprisingly, in its first issue the New England Panoplist warmly recommended these Dissenter publications together with the Edinburgh Religious Monitor and the Anglican evangelical Christian Observer, though it especially stressed the Evangelical Magazine as "well known and highly approved by the friends of vital religion in the United States."27

Before the 1820s American evangelicals possessed no periodicals of comparable significance, but such early missionary journals as the Connecticut Evangelical Magazine (1800), the New York Missionary Magazine (1800), and the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Magazine (1803) copied extensively from British publications and reported Dissenters' activities. After 1805 the Panoplist more successfully represented Northern evangelicalism, but it also depended heavily on overseas inspiration. For example, the first three issues contained discussions of Restoration Puritan divines, extracts from
Doddridge’s lectures at the Northampton academy, elaborate reviews of English Congregational theology, and a letter from Edinburgh on the death of John Erskine.\textsuperscript{29} (The more standard denominational organs were not to appear until after the War of 1812—the \textit{Methodist Magazine} in 1818, the Congregational \textit{Boston Recorder} in 1816 and the New Haven \textit{Christian Spectator} in 1819, and the \textit{Presbyterian Magazine} in 1821.) American periodicals may have had some circulation in Britain. Mason claimed that his short-lived \textit{Christian’s Magazine} (1807–1811) had a hundred subscribers in Edinburgh, and in any case excerpts especially from the \textit{Panoplist} appeared in the \textit{Evangelical Magazine}.\textsuperscript{30}

Throughout this growing interaction between the two Anglo-American wars of 1775 and 1812 the British contribution seems to have been the more important. It is true that American religious experiment with voluntaryism and revivalism already fascinated Dissent, but both traits were still evolving and clouded with controversy, and Americans were not yet ready to assert a special religious identity in their name. British Nonconformists, on the other hand, proved helpful to American coreligionists in at least three respects.

First, their theological and pietistic literature possessed prestige and popularity in America throughout the early nineteenth century. Of contemporary Baptists, Ryland and Fuller continued to be important, but the intellectual primacy was universally attributed to Robert Hall. In 1801 Hall’s writings began appearing in American editions, though his greatest vogue developed three decades later. By the Civil War fifteen editions of the complete works, two editions of the abridged \textit{ Beauties of Robert Hall}, and many individual titles had been printed in the United States.\textsuperscript{31} Of English Congregational writers, David Bogue, William Jay, and George Burder may have been the most popular in the early republic. Bogue, a Scotsman who spent his career in English Independency and kept an academy for missionaries at Gosport, produced popular American editions on Christian apologetics and world-wide missions.\textsuperscript{32} Jay, a preacher whose eloquence drew even Anglican evangelicals at fashionable Bath, was to make his greatest impression with \textit{Evening Exercises for the Closet} after 1831, but numerous editions of earlier \textit{Sermons} and \textit{Discourses} were appearing in the United States after 1805.\textsuperscript{33}
London colleague, Burder, though now forgotten, may have had an influence on American piety of major proportions. His *Closet Companion* passed through thirteen American editions between 1798 and 1825, including a 1821 printing on the Kentucky frontier, but even this record was surpassed by his *Village Sermons* which appeared in almost forty editions between 1802 and 1885. Burder reciprocated American interest, publishing a speculation on *The Welch Indians* and an English edition of Cotton Mather's *Essays to Do Good*, and maintaining a broad correspondence and wide personal contacts with Americans.  

The expanding Methodist constituency supported American editions of John Wesley's *Sermons* and Charles Wesley's *Hymns*, but other British Methodists were not often printed. Surprisingly, Scottish evangelical influence was less evident. John Erskine's counsel to the bereaved appeared in Boston in 1810, but the great Thomas Chalmers did not receive American imprint until 1816. Though of respected Presbyterian tradition, neither author belonged to Scottish Nonconformity. However, works of Ralph and Ebenezer Erskine, leaders of the Secession who had died in the 1720s, continued to be reprinted in America between the two wars.  

American works of piety had no comparable place in the Dissenting community. It is true that David Brainerd received new publication and Jonathan Edwards had unrivaled prestige. But Edwards was often considered to be too intellectually demanding to support a successful discipline of piety. Job Orton in 1776 had confessed that he found Edwards incomprehensible, and Fuller complained to Samuel Hopkins in 1799 that New Englanders relied on Edwards to the point of becoming "metaphysic mad." He feared "lest by such a spirit the simplicity of the gospel should be lost and truth amongst you stand more in the wisdom of man than in the power of God." Of contemporary Americans, only Timothy Dwight, Stiles' successor as president of Yale from 1795 to 1817, appears to have possessed great stature. As early as 1799 his *Nature and Danger of Infidel Philosophy* was given an English Baptist edition, and the five volumes of *Theology Explained and Defended* were republished at both London and Glasgow.  

Second, evangelical Dissent's contest with Unitarianism, developing
earlier than the comparable American controversy, gave American Protestants the opportunity to study and exploit English argument against the "Socinians." Joseph Priestley's arrival in Pennsylvania in 1794 advertised the widening schism in Dissent, and in the following decade American laments over English Presbyterians' "apostasy" and encouragements to their orthodox opponents were commonplace. After the eruption of the Unitarian controversy in Massachusetts in 1805 conservative Congregationalists publicly mobilized the British Dissenting experience for their cause. As early as 1807 Yale honored the English Congregationalist, John Pye Smith, with a D.D. degree and shortly after his Letters to the Rev. Thomas Belsham (Boston, 1809) was reprinted in America. In the ensuing decades other British polemical works were made to do service in the American contest: probably the most prominent was Ralph Wardlaw's Discourses on the Principal Points of the Socinian Controversy (1814). Wardlaw, Glasgow's leading Congregationalist and later an important force in Victorian reforms, was also friend and correspondent of Leonard Woods of Andover. Woods published fifteen hundred copies of the Discourses in 1815, the Panoplist spread a laudatory review over two issues, Jedediah Morse commended the book as of great value to New England, and Wardlaw won his Yale D.D. in 1818.

Finally, British Dissenters were prominent in the development of the great evangelical societies that American religious leaders of the Second Awakening admired and sought to imitate. The societies themselves were the common labor of all British evangelicals, and their chief vindication, William Wilberforce's Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System (reprinted twenty-five times in America), was the work of an Anglican. But Nonconformists were disproportionately numerous and influential in the societies; Congregational and Baptist secretaries dominated the early history of both the missionary and Bible associations. Of the many societies, the most important were the London Missionary Society (1795), the Religious Tract Society (1799), the Sunday School Union (1802), and the British and Foreign Bible Society (1804).

At first, the LMS, led by Congregationalists, made the greatest
impression on Americans, evident in the flood of transatlantic correspondence to George Burder, the secretary. The New York (1796), Massachusetts (1799), and Connecticut (1796?), and Massachusetts Baptist (1802) Missionary Societies were certainly inspired and possibly funded by the LMS, and even more modest mission enterprises were linked to London. Thus in 1800 Thomas Allen of Pittsfield, having just witnessed the formation of the Berkshire Missionary Society, hastened to apprise Burder of the event. A year earlier Samuel Hopkins had testified to Andrew Fuller, "I believe all the missionary societies lately formed in America owe their rise to those formed in England and their extraordinary exertions." Occasionally, the LMS enlisted American help as when Robert Morrison, preparing to go as a missionary to the Far East in 1807, was supplied with letters to American merchants in Canton and India. More often Americans sought British support, especially in training for the foreign field. In this preparation David Bogue's mission academy at Gosport was preeminent. Accordingly, when the first American impulse for foreign missions emerged at Williams and Andover, the students applied for admission to Gosport. In 1811 Adoniram Judson visited England and studied with Bogue before going out to India where his permission to work had been arranged by the LMS. Financial support for Judson, originally planned as a responsibility of the LMS, was rendered unnecessary by the formation of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1810.

Though developing later and less dominated by Dissenters, the Religious Tract Society published classics of the Puritan-Dissenter tradition such as Baxter, Bunyan, Doddridge, Burder, and Jay. The Society itself was the model for the organization of the New York (1812) and New England (1814) Tract Societies which purchased their initial stock from the London organization. The Society's most successful tract was the spectacularly popular Dairyman's Daughter (1812), a narrative of the selfless benevolence and pious death of a Methodist child on the Isle of Wight. The tract was republished repeatedly in America, and subsequently most visiting American evangelicals endeavored to include a pilgrimage to Wight in their British sojourns. Similarly, the American Sunday School Unions followed the London society even to the point of
Finally, the British and Foreign Bible Society exerted an equally important influence in the United States. Not only were the various American Bible societies created in the British image, but repeatedly the London society sent subsidies overseas, even during the War of 1812. Among the recipients were Philadelphia, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New York, Maine, South Carolina, Georgia, and the students at [Nassau Hall]. Upon its founding in 1815 the new American Bible Society received £1500, and in the following year it sent John Mitchell Mason to London to study the London society and to bring home all its reports and publications.

Consequently, the resulting "evangelical empire" was transatlantic and indebted to British example. As the first report of the ABCFM declared in 1810: "We are accustomed to hear many encomiums on the liberality of Christians in England; let it be remembered that these very encomiums will condemn us, unless we go and do likewise."

As a consequence of these developments, by 1812 a sense of Anglo-American evangelical identity had largely overcome any animosity created by the Revolutionary War. Led by Timothy Dwight, many American religious leaders condemned French infidelity and revolution, applauded British piety and reform, and bitterly opposed the drift toward a second war with England. Mason's confession in 1810 that his mind had "undergone in the course of fifteen years an absolute revolution in its feelings toward Great Britain" was typical. Formerly he had "disliked her almost to hatred," but now "her unexampled efforts to diffuse the light of life among the dying nations" had drawn his love. "Eternal blessings on the abode of sober and gallant liberty! on the spot where the tabernacle of God condescends, in a peculiar manner, to dwell with men!"

The coming of the 1812 war brought no resumption of ill will. Evangelicals on both sides of the ocean deplored hostilities, continued correspondence and even personal visits, and maintained an undiminished sense of religious unity. Thus when an American privateer seized five hundred Bibles destined by the British Bible Society for Canada, the Panoplist angrily
protested and reminded readers of British generosity to American organizations. The war's end brought not only rejoicing but a renewed conviction that the main task was to mobilize British and American Protestantism to remake the world. "May the Lord grant," wrote Ryland to an American friend when he heard the news of peace, "that Britons, and the descendants of Britons, may fight with each other no more; but may our two countries enter now on a most loving contest of rivalry, who shall do the most to spread pure and undefiled religion all over the globe; and let each side rejoice to see themselves outdone by the other."
About thirty years earlier, wrote the Scottish Mary Lundie Duncan in 1852, the Americans began to come—some ministers, some students, some men of religion traveling for their health, but all of them noble and pious men. It is true that after the War of 1812 the connections between American evangelicals and British Dissenters became more common and more solid. In part, this intensification of transatlantic fellowship was due to improvements in communication and transport. In the 1820s regular sailings between New York, Boston, and Liverpool were being completed in only a fortnight, easing the overseas delivery of news, publications, and travelers. Partly also, the intensification was a natural product of the gathering momentum of the crusade for evangelical culture and moral reform in both countries. But to the earlier relationship several new elements were now being introduced.

On the one hand, Dissenters by the later 1820s were shedding their earlier reserve and complacency and, conscious of their growth and appeal to the advancing middle classes, were becoming more confident, resolute, and assertive. They were ready to link their new vitality to the comparable American drive for religious renewal and reform. On the other hand, many American denominational leaders were now prepared to proclaim a unique quality to American Protestantism, notably its cultivation of religious revivals and promotion of the voluntary church. Consequently, American visitors were no longer simply overseas brethren acknowledging British religious celebrities and enjoying the thrill of a more expansive fellowship; now they also contributed a new and sometimes unsettling extremism to that common evangelical culture. With their exciting experiment in organizing a Christian society in a free republic—with their publicized mass conversions, self-supporting churches, and promotion of daring reforms—they often seemed to express a bold realization of ideas that had been more discreetly examined in late eighteenth-century Nonconformity. By the 1830s, an anonymous "Dissenting man" declared, Dissenters had come to regard the United States as
"the ne plus ultra of political perfection" and believe that they had more in common with American values than with the established institutions and culture of British society.

Exchanges of letters and transatlantic religious information had indeed grown steadily since the end of the War of 1812. Of the sources of intelligence about America the published travel accounts were probably least satisfactory. The most popular narratives in England, those of Captain Basil Hall (1829) and Frances Trollope (1832), were Anglican, unsympathetic, and often highly critical of American religion. More satisfactory were the earlier surveys, John Bristed's Thoughts on the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches (1823), and especially Adam Hodgson’s Remarks during a Journey Through North America in the Years 1819, 1820, and 1821 (1823). Hodgson, an evangelical Liverpool merchant, took the opportunity to consult with Jedediah Morse and other American apologists while in the United States, and his estimate of American religion was friendly. The Evangelical Magazine gave the work a favorable review. Several American travel diaries, Timothy Dwight’s Travels in New England and New York (1821) and Timothy Flint’s western account, Recollections of the Last Ten years Passed in Occasional Residences and Journeyings in the Valley of the Mississippi (1826), were known in England and later provided arguments for controversialists about American Protestantism.

Few Dissenters themselves attempted accounts of America. As far back as 1799 the Baptist William Winterbotham had produced his naive encomium on the republic, even though he had never visited the country. Most of his book was plagiarized from Jeremy Belknap. Occasionally ministers, having emigrated to America, wrote letters describing local experiences which were published in the Evangelical Magazine, though these accounts were always brief and fragmentary. Consequently, the first expensive eyewitness narrative from a Dissenter appeared only three decades later in Stephen Davis’ Notes of a Tour in America in 1832 and 1833 (Edinburgh, 1833).

But prior to Davis’ work a careful Dissenter analysis did in fact appear
in the encyclopedic two-volume folio *History and Topography of the United States* (1830-1832), edited by John Howard Hinton, of the celebrated Oxford Baptist family. Hinton's father, James, an adherer of America, had received a degree from "Nassau Hall," and his brother, Isaac Taylor Hinton, emigrated to serve pastorates in Virginia, Illinois, Missouri, and Louisiana. Hinton himself had never seen America, but he studied early histories, the papers of Washington and other patriots, benevolent society reports, such periodicals as the *North American*, *Spirit of the Pilgrims*, and the *American Quarterly*, and information supplied by the American embassy in London and "by several literary gentlemen in America and England." The volumes were handsomely published with many engravings of American scenes, and the book was frequently republished in both Britain and America. Hinton claimed to be impartial—the work was "not written with the enamoured fondness which characterizes many productions of their native press"—but it was decidedly friendly. His strictures on slavery later angered Southern readers, but at this time he was still sympathetic to the Colonization Society. His chapter on religion discussed all the major denominations, and he was knowledgeable about Lyman Beecher and "the new Calvinism of New England," which he ascribed partly to the influence of Andrew Fuller. Like all observers, he was intrigued by revival phenomena and what he regarded as the test of "unlegislated" religion in a "savage environment." In conclusion he applauded the republic's church-state separation and insisted that the result was not godlessness but a vigorous piety.

American evangelical and Nonconformist periodicals also expanded their transatlantic news. The older American publications such as the *American Baptist Magazine*, the *Presbyterian Magazine*, and the *Panoplist* (only until 1820) continued to supply news of Calvinist Nonconformity, while the *Methodist Magazine* relayed accounts of British and world-wide Wesleyan expansion. To their number were added the more recently founded Methodist *Zion's Herald* (1823) of Boston, the Congregational *Boston Recorder* (1815), *Christian Spectator* (1819) of New Haven, the *Spirit of the Pilgrims* (1828) of
Boston, and the Presbyterian *Biblical Repertory* (1825) of Princeton. While the last gave special attention to Scottish theology and church developments, the Congregational organs provided copious information about the Old Dissent. For instance, the *Spectator* routinely carried reports of the London benevolent societies and reviews of Nonconformist classics, past and contemporary—of Owen, Fuller, and Matthew Henry, of Robert Hall, Burder, Jay, Rowland Hill, James, Hinton, and others. In 1826 it assured its readers that Nonconformist pastors received an education like that in American colleges, and that while Dissent still suffered from legal disabilities, it now comprised, not one-fifth, but one-half of England’s population.  

Dissent’s periodicals also increased their American coverage. Edwards and Dwight still received close attention, but contemporary theology, including the controversy centering about Yale’s Nathaniel William Taylor, was not neglected. The *Congregational Magazine*, founded in 1818, established an "American Monthly Record" in 1829 with articles on denominations, colleges and seminaries, revivals, voluntary societies, sketches of leading pastors and writers, and the like. In the same year the Dissenter Society for Promoting Ecclesiastical Knowledge issued a call for original tracts on "The History of Christianity in North America."  

Finally, the founding of evangelical newspapers on both sides of the Atlantic—the Congregational *Patriot* in London (1832) and the Old School *Observer* (1827) and New School *Evangelist* (1830) in New York permitted detailed reportage of religious news. The publications network reached to the most remote communities. In 1833 John Russell of Bluffdale, Greene County, Illinois informed the London *Baptist Magazine* about frontier religion, offered to help pastors willing to come out, and expressed his admiration for English Baptists: "Although I live in a secluded and obscure settlement, almost on the remotest confines of the American republic, I am often cheered with the news of what is doing for the cause of God in your country."  

Perhaps the most important new development in forging this transatlantic entente was personal rather than literary—the fact that by the close of the
1820s significant face-to-face contacts had also been established. Even during the war in 1814 John Romeyn of the Dutch Reformed church had visited London on the business of the Bible Society, and in 1815 Thomas Gallaudet hastened to England to seek training for his work in educating the deaf. Gallaudet was disappointed with his reception and quickly passed over to Paris, but John Mitchell Mason of New York in 1816 and John Codman of Dorchester in 1824 made long visits and plentiful contacts with British evangelicals. Mason's student, Matthias Bruen of New Jersey, studied in England, received ordination there in 1818, and served congregations in England and Paris before coming back to America. Shortly before his death he returned to Britain again in 1821. Usually American visitors sought out all the famous expositors and institutions of British evangelical culture, but their natural home was in the Dissenting community. As far back as 1808 Joseph Buckminster, arriving from Massachusetts and distressed by the "religious indifference and public contempt for Christianity" in British society, found solace in an Independent chapel in Old Jewry where "the forms of service reminded me more of New England than any thing I have yet seen in England."  

Beginning about 1828 the transatlantic visits became even more common. Of the personal links formed at this time a special importance attaches to those of the New York Presbyterians, William Buell Sprague and William Patton. In 1828 both men separately made long visits to Britain, attending the benevolent societies, seeking out famous evangelical Dissenters, and occasionally preaching in Nonconformist pulpits. Sprague, the minister at Albany, had already won some attention as the author of published sermons and tracts and was then achieving more notice as a pioneer in the new cause of temperance. Later he was to be remembered for his monumental *Annals of the American Pulpit* and his fierce pursuit of the autographs of famous men.  

Patton, the thirty-year old founder and minister of the Central Presbyterian Church in New York, was less well known in 1828. He published little original work during his career, but for over thirty years he was a moderate urban
revivalist, an able participant in denominational and American church politics, and one of the founders of Union Theological Seminary. He frequently travelled to Britain--twenty-four times in thirty years--and virtually no American maintained a more consistent Atlantic perspective on religious causes.

Both men used the 1828 visit to establish a network of British correspondents, particularly among the Congregationalists, and pre-eminently with Birmingham's John Angell James. James was already fascinated with America which he thought was "destined to do more for Christianity than any other nation." "For a few months residence in America," he told Patton, "I would forego most willingly the pleasure of a visit to the classic scenes of Greece and Rome." Excited over the prospect of introducing American revivals to his Carr's Lane chapel, he rhapsodized to Sprague, "Oh that God would indeed come and bless us, and grant us if it were only the skirts of the shower which is falling so plentifully in your highly-favoured land!" James never visited America, but he regularly exchanged news, ideas, sermons, books, and gifts with Sprague and Patton, while the latter oversaw publication of his works in New York and secured him a Princeton D.D. in 1831. The link between these two Americans and James produced over three decades of close transatlantic collaboration until James' death on the eve of the American Civil War. Sprague also developed a similar close association with Dublin's William Urwick which persisted into the post-Civil War era.

In 1831 and 1832 these fraternal overtures of Sprague and Patton were repeated by a foursome of New England Congregationalists travelling together: Samuel Green, Joel Hawes, Nathaniel Hewitt, and Asahel Nettleton. Green, perhaps the least distinguished, was a Boston minister of some reputation for a popular guide to scripture and an enthusiastic oration on the coming of the Pilgrims. Hawes and Hewitt, both products of Andover, were Connecticut ministers. Hawes, at the First Church at Hartford since 1818, was already well launched on a career in popular religious literature. Hewitt's place as minister at Bridgeport was currently eclipsed by his crusade against the evils
of drink. In 1827 he had been given a three-year mission by the recently founded American Temperance Society, and his visit to England was designed to further this cause. But it was Nettleton who made the greatest impression in Britain. He had written on temperance and produced Village Hymns, a popular supplement to Isaac Watts, but he was best known as the greatest contemporary revivalist in New England. His English hosts had read of his American successes, and they were well informed about his objections to the "new measures" associated with Charles Grandison Finney. Everywhere they besieged him with questions about "respectable" American revivals.

Of comparable importance with these American contacts (though very different in ultimate outcome) was the long London stay begun in 1831 by Calvin Colton, formerly a Presbyterian pastor in Rochester, New York. Colton was settled in London to collect funds, books, and "apparatus" for the new Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati which was expected to secure the Protestant conversion of the West. At the same time he began his prolific writing career, sending long dispatches to the New York Observer on English affairs, and—more importantly—educating the British public on American religion. His History and Character of American Revivals (1832) was quickly followed by The Americans (1833), Church and State in America (1834), and Four Years in Great Britain (1835). In 1836 he turned against American revivalism and reformism and converted to the Episcopal church, but until then he was much favored by Dissenters as a trustworthy witness to American religious successes and an antidote to the slanders of unsympathetic Anglican travelers.

The itineraries of these Americans abroad display their interests and the associations they considered important. Upon landing they almost always made themselves known to Thomas Raffles, the prominent Congregational minister at Liverpool. Subsequently, they visited the venerable Dissenters of great reputation—such men as William Jay, George Burder, Alexander Waugh, Matthew Wilks, and Robert Hall. They sought out younger, more active leaders—James John Pye Smith, George Redford, Andrew Reed, Ralph Wardlaw and Hugh Heugh of
Glasgow, and Henry Cooke and John Edgar of Belfast. Nor were evangelical Anglicans and Methodists neglected. All American visitors wished to meet William Wilberforce, Baptist Noel, Daniel Wilson, and Hannah More, and also Wesleyans like Jabez Bunting and Robert Newton. They attended the London anniversaries—the Tract Society, the London Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the Sabbath School Society, and they helped launch the new Temperance Society. They received compliments about Edwards and Dwight, answered queries about revivals and voluntary churches, and were gratified with sentiments such as those of Matthew Wikes who "manifested a deep interest in the political and religious condition of our country, and remarked that he had no doubt that she was destined to be the mistress of the world."  

Usually American visitors were Congregational or Presbyterian divines from the Northeast. They traveled as delegates to the London anniversaries, or went on their own initiative and enthusiastically sought to create lasting relationships with English "heirs of the Puritans." Travelers of other denominations were more rare. Conference sent John Emory of Baltimore to London in 1820 to settle a dispute with British Wesleyans about responsibility for Methodist missions in Canada. But as a Methodist he felt no kinship with the Old Dissent, made no effort to establish fellowship outside the Welsleyan community, and left no record of his travels. The English sojourn of James Milnor, Episcopal rector of St. George's, New York, in 1830 was less exclusive. A fervent evangelical, Milnor spoke before the Bible and Tract Societies, recommended American revivals, and visited James in Birmingham and Wardlaw and Heugh in Glasgow. But even Milnor had limited ties to Dissenters; most of his relations were with noted Anglican evangelicals like Edward Bickersteth, Daniel Wilson, Baptist Noel, and Hugh McNeile. In contrast, the common Puritan ancestry and the shared free church ideal gave the more common Congregational and Presbyterian visitors easy welcome and fellowship in Nonconformity. Most travelers publicized their experiences at home, either in accounts to home churches, letters to newspapers and journals, or published
travel narratives. By the early 1830s many of the American religious public--especially adherents of the middle-class churches in New England and New York--could not have been ignorant of the rising importance of British Nonconformity and of the major personalities in its community.

Sympathetic transatlantic visits in the opposite direction were much rarer. British Dissenters came to America as immigrants, of course. Every major American denomination--especially the Presbyterians, Baptists and Methodists--possessed leaders of British birth and Dissenter rearing. Occasionally such men sent letters home that were printed in religious reviews or they provided advice to those contemplating emigration. But usually they came to stay and were soon absorbed in American religious life. They did not tour the United States to survey religion, meet its chief spokesmen, or publish their impressions and conclusions upon returning home. Consequently the personal association of Americans with prominent Dissenters normally took place in Britain--at least until the official religious delegations to America began in 1834.

Yet even here there were two notable exceptions. First, in 1830 and 1831 the youthful Scottish evangelical, David Nasmith, toured the cities of the Atlantic seaboard. Nasmith, a product of Glasgow Congregationalism, had a limited education and was rejected as a candidate for ordination. Instead, he found other work for his missionary zeal. From the age of twenty-two he served as secretary of some twenty-three benevolent societies in Glasgow, but his chief fame rested on his creative urban evangelism. In 1826 he had founded the Glasgow City Mission. His later life was devoted to setting up similar institutions in Dublin, Paris, London, and America. His tour of the United States was extensive, from Portland to New Orleans (a city which shocked him profoundly). He also established cordial relations with leading American churchmen--urban Congregationalists and Presbyterians and "respectable" Baptists like Francis Wayland and Baron Stow. He delighted in Beecher's "most powerful sermon upon the wickedness of cities, and the means to be used for their purification." With the help of Arthur Tappan and
William Patton he set up a New York City Mission, and similar organizations were formed in Philadelphia and Baltimore. But Nasmith’s American foundations were short-lived, and he published no account of his travels when he returned home. Nonetheless, his visit further contributed to the growth in the transatlantic traffic in religious reforms. 60

Only a year after Nasmith’s visit occurred the first of the several begging missions that Dissenters were to send to America after 1830. (Hitherto solicitation had been in the opposite direction.) In 1832 and 1833 Stephen Davis canvassed the Northern states to raise funds for the Baptist Irish Society and the conversion of Catholic Ireland. He justified his appeal overseas since “as the tide of emigration runs with peculiar strength from Ireland to America, and the Baptists are particularly numerous there,” Americans should “assist their brethren at home in purifying the fountain, that so the streams which flow to themselves might be made more wholesome.” In Boston an Irish Society auxiliary was formed where Lyman Beecher urged Bible instruction in the Irish language, and in Providence Francis Wayland promoted the cause. Davis eventually returned home with $5040.34, the gifts coming about equally from Baptists and “Presbyterians.” They included a contribution from Andrew Jackson who, despite his absorption in the South Carolina crisis, gave Davis a half-hour interview and five dollars. Davis published a narrative of his American experience in Edinburgh in 1833. 61

All this heightened transatlantic activity prepared the way for the official embassies that followed in the mid-1830s. Congregationalists led the way. In 1833 the Congregational Union of England and Wales prepared to send the first comprehensive and official fraternal delegation to the American churches. Indeed, on both sides of the Atlantic the visit was viewed as a long overdue undertaking. The tour which followed in 1834 inaugurated the exchange of the three famous deputations which crossed the ocean in both directions during 1834 and 1835 and even raised the enthusiastic hope of regular and frequent overseas “embassies” in the future. In 1835 the Methodists also strengthened their overseas ties by sending fraternal
delegates to both the English and American conferences.

The transatlantic missions of 1834 and 1835 were both to advance and complicate the relations of Dissent with the American churches.

2. Evolution of New England after 1688


4. Wesley's control


 Pres Humphrey, *Nationalism*


6. Pres -- national organization


8. Meth org -- Baltimore conference


 Pres to Unitarian


14. Heman Humphrey, _Great Britain, France and Belgium: A Short Tour in 1835_ (New York, 1838), on books???

15. _Panoplist_, on Divines
Reed, _Narrative_, II, 441.

16. Edwards, _Narrative_ in UK

Brainard _Diary_ in UK

Williams' Modern Calvinism

conversion from Fuller

17. Guild, _Manning_, passim.


19. Mason correspondence in Van Vechten, _Mason_.

Hopkins

Woods

Green

20. Edward Williams correspondence

Burder

Wardlaw


24. An appeal was prepared for the Evangelical Magazine in 1803. Van Vechten, Mason, pp. 84-120. Mason received L 639, 16s., 8 and 1/2d. from London alone. He reported that he could have obtained more if he had been able to stay longer in the metropolis.

25. Backus to Price


28. The Eclectic Review's first issue discussed Mason's Oration Commemorative of the Late Major-General Alexander Hamilton, and all subsequent issues were attentive to American writing, especially religious, social and travel literature. Panoplist, Vol. I, No. 1 (June 1805), pp.37-38.


30. Mason's Christian's Magazine, a monthly, was published from 1806 to 1811. Mason stated that the magazine had many subscribers in Britain and over one hundred in Edinburgh alone. Van Vechten, Mason, p. 294.


33. Jay's Sermons passed through four editions, his Short Discourses through five editions, and the Evening Exercises won over twenty editions in the United States. Another work, The Christian Contemplated, received seven editions between 1826 and 1832.

34. Burder's Closet Companion or an Help to Serious Persons in the Important Duty of Self-Examination was also published by the American Tract Society. Its 1821 Kentucky publication was at Louisville. John Angell James later destined to be the most popular of English Congregational writers with
Americans did not win attention until 1829 with his Christian Fellowship; or the Church Members's Guide (Boston, 1829) and the Family Monitor (New York, 1829).

35. Meth lit in US

36. Note, for instance, Ebenezer Erskine, Sermons upon the Most Important and Interesting Subjects (Philadelphia, 1792). His The Stone Rejected by the Builders was published in Wiscasset, Maine in 1800.

Pres lit. Seceder

37. Brainard publication

Edwards publication


38. London, 1819; Glasgow, 1831.


40. Wardlaw's Yale D.D. was dated Sept. 19, 1818. Alexander, Wardlaw, p. 151. His Discourses was reviewed in the Panoplist, Vol. IX, No. 9 (Sept., 1815) 419-425; and No. 10 (Oct., 1815) 463-467. Wardlaw's Unitarianism Incapable of Vindication (London, 1816) was published at Andover, 1817.


Pres & Baptist in missionary, Bible societies


43. Samuel Hopkins to Andrew Fuller, Oct. 15, 1799, in Waddington, Congregational History, III, 708.


The New York Tract Society was founded in 1812, the New England Tract Society in 1814. They merged in 1825 to produce the American Tract Society, led prominently by S.V.S. Wilder who had been converted to tract distribution in a Dissenter chapel in London in 1816. Records from the Life of S.V.S. Wilder (New York, 1865), pp. 75-114. Annual Reports,
Foster, **Errand**, p. 72. See account in *Evan. Mag.*, 1815, 377, of founding of Massachusetts Tract Society 1815 and purchase of tracts by Doddridge, Jay, Baxter,. etc. Legh Richmond, *The Dairyman’s Daughter* (London, 1800) was published in Boston in 1813 and frequently thereafter.


48. ABCFM on UK


53. Ship passages to Europe

54. U.S. ne plus ultra


57. Belknap’s reverence for English Dissent was evident in his *Memoirs of the Lives, Characters, and Writings of Those Two Eminently Pious and Useful Ministers of Jesus Christ, Dr. Isaac Watts and Dr. Philip Doddridge* (Boston, n.d.) which depended, however, on Andrew Kippis and Samuel Palmer.

60. John Howard Hinton, The History and Topography of the United States (London, 1830), preface. Religion was treated in Vol II, chapter II, pp. 360-392. For examples of favorable reviews, see Evan. Mag., N.S. II (July, 1832), 302-303; Cong. Mag., N.S. IX (Jan., 1833), 42-46. Davis, passing through Washington, praised the engravings in a letter to Joseph Ivimey: "There are good views of [the Capitol], and the president's house . . . and the purchasers of that respectable work may depend upon the general faithfulness of its numerous well-finished engravings, which are a complete refutation of Mrs. Trollope's libel that the enlightened citizens of the States are destitute of refinement." Davis to Ivimey, Jan. 24, 1833, in Bapt. Mag., March, 1833, 136.

61. Christian Spectator, 1819-1833, passim. Ibid., 1826, 243-244.


63. John Russell to Joseph Ivimey in Bapt. Mag., 1833, 460-471.


67. DAB, Vol. IX, s.v. "Sprague, William Buell." Sprague's European journeys were related in Letters from Europe in 1828; First Published in the New York Observer (New York, 1828) and Visits to European Celebrities (Boston, 1855), the latter based on his 1836 visit.

68. DAB, Vol. VII, s.v. "Patton, William." Patton left no account of his many European visits, though his name frequently appears in correspondence and newspaper stories.


71. Richard S. Storrs, *Memoir of the Rev. Samuel Green Late Pastor of Union Church, Boston* (Boston, 1836), pp. 224 ff. Green sent an “enclosed leaf” to a friend which he had carried away from Wight (p. 233). “In my late visit to the isle of Wight, I found it in the Bible of the Dairyman’s Daughter. No book ever appeared more precious in my eyes than her worn Bible.”


73. Hewitt, Nathaniel.


76. See, for instance, travel account of Sprague Humphrey

Sprague, *Visits*, p. 29.


79. Evan. Mag. on immigration
