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THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION
IN COLONIAL AMERICA

By

Willard N. Harrison
A.B., Westmont College

A Thesis

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INTRODUCTION

THE PROGRESS OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

A. Statement of the Problem

One of the great heritages of America is religious toleration. Such toleration as Americans enjoy today has not always existed either in this country or in the world. Religious toleration has been a development through the past centuries. The purpose of this study is to consider the progress of religious toleration in Colonial America in order to arrive at a better understanding of the elements involved.

B. The Problem Delimited

This study includes three colonies in Colonial America, those which made the greatest progress in religious toleration. From each of the following groups of colonies, one colony is studied: of the New England, Rhode Island; of the Middle, Pennsylvania; and of the Southern, Maryland. This study of the progress includes Colonial America to the end of the period, 1763.

C. The Method of Procedure and Sources Used

The first chapter furnishes European background

for religious toleration in Colonial America. It is followed by the main body of the study, that of religious toleration in Colonial America, specifically the colonies of Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania. When the progress has been brought to light, then this study will bring out the elements involved in the progress of religious toleration. Finally the study will end with a summary and conclusion.

There is a vast volume of printed material which includes the subject of religious toleration in Colonial America. Only those authors who are authorities in their fields or are competent to write upon the subject have been used.

D. The Definition of Religious Toleration

In order that there be no confusion in this study as to the meaning of the term "religious toleration," it is fitting that an exact definition be given of it as it is here used. There must be a distinction between religious toleration and other terms often used synonymously. One of these, religious liberty or its related term, religious freedom, means that an individual possesses a right to adhere to the religious beliefs of his choice. In expressing one's religious belief, whether in a group or as an individual, there are to be no civil inhibitions because of one's choice. It is to be understood that a

person may not be permitted to put all his religious beliefs into practice.¹ The word toleration suggests the gift of a superior to one of lesser right. Thus, religious toleration involves the idea that a religion which has a superior right is willing to permit other religions which have not the same right of existence as the first. For all practical purposes in this study religious liberty or religious freedom will be used interchangeably with religious toleration.

Another distinction should be made with freedom of conscience. Logically that has to do with the inner thoughts of man which must forever be free, at least from external civil power. It is only when the conscience seeks to express itself and is forbidden that the question of religious toleration arises.

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1. Joseph Leon Blau: Cornerstone of Religious Freedom in America, 1949, p.6.

CHAPTER I
EUROPEAN BACKGROUND FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION
IN COLONIAL AMERICA

CHAPTER I

EUROPEAN BACKGROUND FOR RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN COLONIAL AMERICA

A. Introduction

The first chapter will attempt to bring to light the European background which led to and motivated the development of religious toleration in the American Colonial period. It would be beyond the purpose of this thesis to go into the numerous details and to exhaust the subject of European background; therefore, the subject will be broad and general.

B. The Existing Conditions in Medieval Europe

The medieval society was one in which the life of the people was static. The hierarchic characteristic of the society was determined from the serf, bound for life to the soil, to the monarch. The children from the rural manor lived and died without traveling but a few short miles from their place of birth. They lived without opportunity or hope of advancement, and the children received no schooling. The people in the market towns were busy buying and selling, and only occasionally were the district fairs visited by them.¹

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1. Henry Kallock Rowe: The History of Religion in the United States, 1924, p. 4.

The social structure was such that the people were not interested in large social relations. As a matter of fact their only interest in life besides their daily routine was religion. Since there was only one church and this church enveloped the whole society, it was able to control the minds of serfs and kings alike.¹ The iron grip held by the papacy during the medieval society not only held the minds, but the consciences of men as well, with its ecclesiastical despotism, ignorance and superstition.²

The society was so controlled that individualism was restricted because mobility and freedom which are needed for development were missing.³

C. Seeds of Religious Toleration

Religious toleration was present before the thirteenth century, but for this study it shall start at that time. According to Schaff, during the two centuries subsequent to the accession of Boniface VIII the medieval period gradually gave way to the modern times, from the ecclesiastical despotism in Western Europe to nationalism, and to intellectual and religious freedom of the

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1. Ibid.
2. Charles Lemuel Thompson: The Religious Foundations of America, 1917, p. 17.
3. Paul Van Dyke: The Age of the Renaissance, 1900, pp. 26-27.

individual.¹ The gradual change did not come about by the efforts of one individual, organization or institution but rather by the combined efforts of these.

1. Renaissance

The renaissance produced various results in different parts of Europe. In Italy the renaissance was classical and scientific, and in northwestern Europe the renaissance was religious and moral. It was a period of a great revival of learning and classical art in Europe, a period of intellectual and social reconstruction.²

German, Dutch and English adventurers were able, by taking the new thought, to unburden the people of the medieval load of philosophy, science and theology. These men were not just willing to unshackle the minds of men; but they awakened a new interest in the Bible, Greek, Hebrew, and a search for the true foundations of faith apart from the papacy.³

2. Nationalism

During the crusades, the spirit of nationalism began to be aroused in the hearts of individuals. Once this spirit was created in the human mind, it was fed and

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1. Philip S. Schaff: History of the Christian Church, Vol. VI, p. 1.
2. Van Dyke, op. cit., p. XI.
3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 8.

grew into a dynamic force which successfully resisted the ecclesiastical despotism.¹

The progress of nationalism according to Hayes had four factors: (1) decline of Latin and rise of vernaculars; (2) increased commercial intercourse; (3) rise of autocracy; (4) national consciousness further aroused by religion.²

Educated men started to write in the vernaculars; thus, the less educated could now read. For example, in the fourteenth century Dante wrote in Italian and Chaucer wrote in English.³ Writing in one's own language gave a sense of unity and self importance to particular peoples. The writings particularly stressed the inhabitants' interests in their country. One often has a great interest in one's home town newspaper because it contains items about oneself and one's own people.

Before the crusades commercial activities were static, but they were increased with the crusades. A larger percentage of people began to travel and at great distances. As travel broadened one's knowledge, the people became aware that a larger number of the people spoke their own language and that these other people were much like themselves. Competition between merchants of

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1. Schaff, op. cit., p. 2.
2. Carlton J. H. Hayes and Parker Thomas Moon: Modern History, 1931, pp. 129-133.
3. Ibid., p. 129.

other languages helped the cause of nationalism.¹

To aid men in traveling, especially on sea, the mariner's compass was invented by Flavio Giorgia's.² With the aid of this compass, Magellan in 1522, finished his voyage around the earth. The true picture of the universe was given by Copernicus, an astronomer. Men were then compelled to change their notions concerning the universe and their relationship to God.³

According to Hayes the rise of autocracy was one of the important factors in the development of nationalism. They tried and were successful in opposing the Catholic church and Holy Roman Empire. In order to gain authority for them, the feudal system had to go; so the kings of England, France and Spain reduced their feudal vassals: dukes, counts and barons. The kings now had greater authority because much of their delegated power, previously invested in their vassals, was now their own.⁴

Last, but not least, national consciousness furthered by religious views became varied resulting from religious leaders; so, nations were distinct from one another.⁵

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1. Ibid., p. 131.

2. Archer B. Bass: Protestantism in the United States, 1929, p. 4.

3. Ibid., p. 5.

4. Hayes, op. cit., p. 131.

5. Ibid., p. 133.

3. Inventing of Printing

The invention of the art of printing, at Mayence on the Rhine by Gutenberg in 1455, was an epoch in human advancement. Books could be printed from moveable types and with ease disseminated by the thousand. The first book printed was the Bible. Through the medium of the press the Scriptures came into common use, and led to their translation and circulation in all languages of Europe. The people who read the New Testament soon realized that the papal church was far from the New Testament ideal. The new teachings of the Reformers, as fast as they appeared, were set forth in books and pamphlets which were circulated by the million throughout Europe.¹

The Bible was not the only book which was printed and disseminated, but the product of human thought was printed as well.² A wide spread of literature in the hands of the people prepared the nations for the coming Reformation and independence of the human mind.³

Hungary is only one of many examples which could be given to show that the New Testament in the vernacular was used to lead to religious liberty. In 1541 the New Testament was printed in the vernacular and read throughout Hungary. After about a half century many of the

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1. Joseph A. Leighton: The Individual and the Social Order, 1927, p. 110.
2. Rowe, op. cit., p. 8.
3. Schaff, op. cit., p. 3.

followers were able to bring about complete religious liberty in the Vienna Peace of 1606.¹

4. Individualistic Social Thought

a. Niccolo Machiavelli (1469-1527)

Machiavelli, an Italian writer, went beyond the thought of his day in stating that it was not necessary to accept things on an authoritative, papal decree. He was not only a writer but traveled extensively and made a first-hand study of existing conditions. He was of the opinion that people should be taken as they are rather than according to false teachings concerning them. Machiavelli believed that people should not allow themselves to be guided by false teaching of abstract ethics or impracticable ideals.²

In his writing upon the subject of leadership and government he believed one of two forms of government should be used: autocratic or democratic.³ These forms of government reveal a thought of individualism over against the Holy Roman Empire which controlled and enslaved the human mind.

b. Francis Bacon

Through his efforts, Francis Bacon helped to throw off the bondage of dogma and superstition of peoples

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1. Bass, op. cit., p. 8.

2. Emory S. Bogardus: The Development of Social Thought, 1940, pp. 196-197.

3. Ibid., p. 197.

of this age. Upon freeing men, Bacon did not let them drift around in the dark; but he provided a means so they could possess a sense of individual freedom.¹

However, Bacon realized that complete personal freedom was a detriment to government and social order. He believed that there is to be some restriction placed upon people by the government if the government is to live, and if personal freedom is to be of any value to the individual. As to the outcome of this belief, a question was aroused concerning the relation of individually free persons to the society which they formed.²

c. Thomas Hobbes (1588-1679)

The above question took form in the social contract. Hobbes, an English social philosopher, believed that the individual was natively self-centered, egoistic and pleasure-loving. He used the mutual contract theory to supplant conflict between ruler and the people. Sovereignty was given to the ruler through the democratic means. Sovereignty was in the hands of the people not according to divine right.³

d. John Locke (1623-1704)

The social contract theory was strengthened by John Locke in that he stressed the view that sovereignty

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1. Ibid., p. 198.
2. Ibid., p. 199
3. Ibid., pp. 199-200.

is in the hand of the people wherever a king goes beyond his position and becomes a tyrant. He believed that the native state of a person is one of perfect freedom, that perfect freedom will be holy in its conduct towards others, and there is equality of all men; therefore, one should not cause harm to another individual's liberty or possessions. Instead of divine rights, the individual's natural rights are supreme was Locke's belief. He even went to the extreme of his day in teaching that the individuals were within their rights to put down the old government and install a new one.¹

5. Reformation

The renaissance was an ever growing and expanding force which led to the revival of Christianity, the Protestant Reformation.² The Reformation was a mighty force in shaping the subsequent history of Europe and the American Republics.

From the twelfth century on, institutions, including the church, were caught in the trend of the day, a wave of progressive change. Religion was one of the main factors which liberated the human mind in its medieval setting.³ The wave of progressive change was an extreme movement from the shackles of enslavement of the

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1. Ibid., pp. 201-202.
2. Thompson, op. cit., p. 18.
3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 6.

individual to the liberation of the human mind. The Reformation liberated the Christian principles of infinite value and dignity of all men.¹

The Reformation did not fall out of a clear sky; but according to Bates there were forerunners: Cathari, Waldenses, Lollard and Hussites which arose between the eleventh and fifteenth centuries. For the sake of brevity, the latter one only will be elaborated. John Huss was a reader of Wycliff's writings, and he preached his doctrines especially proclaiming freedom from papal authority. He was condemned and burned to death in 1416; but his fate aroused the reforming element in his native land, and has influenced Bohemia through all the centuries since his day. All of the forerunners suggested the revolt of the submerged classes in medieval society.²

With the above forerunners working for the revolt of the lower class as the beginning of the Reformation, it was not long before the new class of people, the bourgeoisie, took over the movement.³

Martin Luther, a monk and professor in the University of Wittenberg, led the revolt of the bourgeoisie one-fourth of a century after Columbus discovered America. Luther nailed to the oaken door of Wittenberg Cathedral a

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1. Leighton, op. cit., pp. 109-110.

2. Ernest Sutherland Bates: American Faith, 1940, p. 34.

3. Ibid.

parchment containing ninety-five thesis or statements which in their application were attacking the authority of the pope and the priesthood.¹

The Reformation broke the ecclesiasticism of the medieval society, and gave life and hope which led to religious liberty. With the Reformation came variety of doctrine which led to freedom of opinion. It can be easily understood therefore why there were differences of doctrines. Calvin and Luther, Zwingli and Melanchthon were in strong disagreement. The freedom of opinion which led to many doctrines also leads to individualism.²

6. England in the Sixteenth Century

Since the colonies in America which shall be considered in this thesis are English settlements, it is proper that some thought be given to England.

In the years 1529-1536 Henry VIII, king of England, was able to have the king recognized as the Supreme Head by persuading his parliament to supplant the authority of the pope.³ It was the start of progress in the right direction for future action against the Roman Catholic Church. Up to 1527, the Reformation in England was slow.

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1. William Warren Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, 1930, p. 11.
2. Thompson, op. cit., pp. 282-283.
3. C. A. Alington: Christianity in England, 1942, p. 79.

Henry realized that it was necessary to have the Bible in the vernacular for the church. The Bible was then soon placed at the disposal of England since each parish church possessed an English Bible. With prayers as well as their Bible in the English language, the English people were in a position for changes in individual religious freedom.¹

With the death of Henry, Edward VI (1547-1553) broke further from Rome, which was more than the average Englishman desired. The break with Rome was from the top rather than from the people which no doubt would have made the break more complete. The people of England were not ready for a wholesale cleavage.²

Under Edward the new parliament repealed the treason and heresy laws which were enacted under the reign of Henry VIII. The repeal was a crucial point in the history of the Church of England because there was freedom of thought and liberty of the press, although it was limited somewhat. As a result many religious books, pamphlets and new translations of the various reformers were disseminated to the public.³

By the end of the sixteenth century, England had

.

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p. 80.

3. Lars P. Qualben: A History of the Christian Church, 1933, p. 323.

barely the idea of toleration. When Queen Elizabeth died in 1603, religious groups were at each others throats. But the greatest gain was a sense of liberty of independent thinking in religious matters.¹

D. The Desire for Religious Toleration

Since religious toleration progressed slowly in England, the various existing religious groups were persecuted. At the beginning of the seventeenth century there were four distinct religious groups in England: Catholics, Conformists, Puritans or Reformists and the Separates, which includes Pilgrims and Quakers.²

1. Puritans

About 1654 a group of people in England who opposed the Anglican system under Queen Elizabeth became known as "Puritans". The Puritans were divided into two elements: those favoring the representative form of government, and the more radical movement seeking the independence of each local society, known as "Independents" or "Congregationalists". Their name implies intolerance according to McGuinn.³ As yet, however, all these parties remained as members of the English Church.

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1. Alington, op. cit., pp. 90-92.

2. Leonard Woolsey Bacon: A History of American Christianity, Vol. XIII of the American Church History Series, pp. 33-34.

3. Donald Joseph McGuinn: The Admonition Controversy, 1949, p. 122.

The aim of the Puritans was to cast off the arbitrary church and to reinterpret the common law so the society would consist of free individuals. Their aim was not revolutionary but evolutionary. They wanted to have the individual work and obtain freedom of religion both in thought and action.¹

Whether the arbitrary church was spiritual or secular, the Puritans desired to restrict its powers over them. These rebellious ones did not want to be ruled by church officials, but they wanted to be an independent church on a local self-ruling basis.²

The Puritans believed that the rights of an individual were very important. It was placed by them over against their opposing forces, the powers of the Church of England and the state. Through their efforts the way for toleration was being prepared. This toleration led to separation of Church and State.³ However, the toleration which the Puritans advocated was a limited toleration. Being like other dissenting minorities, they believed in complete toleration but limited it to their own group.⁴

The Puritans desired religious toleration at

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1. Harry Grant Plum: Restoration Puritanism, 1943, p. 10.
2. Vernon Louis Parrington: The Colonial Mind, Vol. I of the Main Currents in American Thought, p. 8.
3. Plum, op. cit., pp. 14-15.
4. McGuinn, op. cit., pp. 121-122.

least for themselves; therefore, they traveled to Holland where they were permitted to worship as their consciences led them. Holland welcomed the persecuted and promised the comers liberty of conscience. This country was the most liberal in the world; thus, it was with great anticipation that the Puritans went to Holland. Not being fully content with the existing circumstances in Holland, the Puritans made a voyage to America where they could be by themselves and have religious toleration.¹

2. Quakers

Of all the movements arising from the great Reformation, the one which swung the farthest away from prelacy and churchly rule was the Friends, commonly called "the Quakers". This society -- for it never took the name "church" -- arose from the teaching of George Fox (1624-1691) in England, beginning about 1647.²

Fox became conscious of an "inner light", and he was convinced that the only authority one needed was the inner light, even to the authority of the Bible. He taught that there was a union of spiritual liberty and spiritual equality.³

The people known as "Quakers" were called the "Society of Friends" at the organization of the group for

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1. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker: The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies, 1949, p. 84.

2. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p.24.

3. E. S. Bates, op. cit., pp. 178-179.

it was based upon the inward light which existed within an individual. The individual was responsible only to the light within himself,¹ and when an organized group possesses just such a belief, there would naturally emerge religious toleration within the group at least.

The teachings of George Fox were accepted by multitudes who were out of sympathy with the dogmatic, intolerant spirit at that time manifested by the Church of England. The women also accepted the teachings of George Fox. From the outset the women were welcomed as preachers along with the men. However, previously the women's only road away from domesticity was downward to a life of prostitution. Through the radical equalitarianism of George Fox, the women in Quakerism possessed religious equality.²

Not only did women receive equality, but there was a feeling of equality with all men. This was brought about by their being led away from war by God. They were true to Peter in that they not only believed, but they also lived their belief.³

3. William Penn

In 1644 William Penn was born near London of parents of high prestige. At the time of the Commonwealth

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1. Sidney Lucas: The Quaker Story, First Edition, p. 33.

2. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 179.

3. Lucas, op. cit., p. 61.

his father served in some of the highest maritime offices. His paternal care and a promising prospect of his son's advancement induced him to give his son a liberal education. His son was an excellent student genius who made such early improvements in literature that about the fifteenth year of his age he was entered as a student at Christ's Church College in Oxford. At Cambridge he studied law but in later years he gave up law for the ministry.¹

No one would look to the family of William Penn to find a leader of the Quakers to carry on the work started by George Fox. However, William Penn was to become the leader, and he did a splendid job in advancing the cause of Quakerism.²

Being an author, opportunity was offered to William Penn to write a form of government for Quakers in West New Jersey. Since this section of America was an uninhabited place, Penn wrote the Agreements, Laws and Concessions of 1671; and here he had opportunity to put into practice his democratic ideas of government. There was not a more democratic government in the world.³ William Penn laid a foundation to preserve freedom so that their freedom could only be limited by their consent. Within the document three aims were present: popular government, community prosperity and personal liberty

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1. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 99.
2. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 184.
3. Ibid., p. 186.

which included freedom of conscience and religious toleration.¹

William Penn was interested in giving religious toleration to those Quakers in West New Jersey. When the time came for the Holy Experiment he framed the government in April, 1682. Although being far too complicated for practical use, nevertheless, Penn clearly revealed his ambition to put into practice the principles of English liberty.²

One of the laws in The Frame of Government of Pennsylvania as written by William Penn reads as follows:

That all persons living in this province, who confess and acknowledge the one Almighty and Eternal God to be the creator, upholder, and ruler of the world, and that hold themselves obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly in civil society, shall in no wise be molested or prejudiced for their religious persuasion or practice in matters of faith and worship; nor shall they be compelled at any time to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever.³

4. Roger Williams

Little is known of the early life of Roger Williams, but recent investigations have definitely shown that he was the son of a London merchant, and was born about 1603.⁴

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1. Ibid., pp. 186-187.
2. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 145.
3. William Penn: The Peace of Europe: The Fruits of Solitude and Other Writings, p. xxvi.
4. J. E. Ernst: The Political Thought of Roger Williams, 1929, p. 53.

He was educated in the famous Charterhouse School in 1621, and two years later he became a student at Pembroke College, Cambridge. Shortly after his graduation, he took holy orders in 1628 or early 1629. By February, 1629, he was settled as a chaplain in the country home of Sir William Masham at Otes in Essex. He remained in this position of comparative ease and fine social life until he sailed for the shores of Massachusetts in December, 1630, where he landed in February, 1631, after a tempestuous sea voyage.

At the time of his graduation from college, he was a Puritan Anglican. During his ministry he became dissatisfied with the status quo in the English churches and by 1629, he was a Semi-Separatist. While he was ill in 1629, he became an extreme Separatist due to his own thinking and his deep religious experience. In England there could be no place for such a person, so he found himself in America the following year.

Although there is no apparent proof of his religious toleration tendencies while in Europe, yet the fact that in a period of two years he went from a Puritan Anglican to an extreme Separatist reveals that he wanted religious toleration at least for himself.

5. Lord Baltimore

Lord Baltimore is a title given to the Calvert family of Irish peerage. Sir George Calvert, first Lord

(1580-1632), was a British statesman. He was born at Kepling, Yorkshire, and graduated from Oxford in 1597. After becoming a Catholic, he resigned the position of Secretary of State. Being interested in the colonization of the new world, he was successful in obtaining a charter. Just before the grant of all the territory called Maryland was issued he died, so the grant was inherited by his son Cecil, the real founder of Maryland. Although he never had gone to the place he sent his younger brother Leonard, and Leonard became the first governor of Maryland.

Lord Baltimore wanted to create for the persecuted Catholics of England a place of refuge in America.¹ However, this idea was not original with him, but twenty-five years previously Sir Thomas Arundell, a relative of Lord Baltimore and Earl of Southampton, sponsored an expedition to America for the purpose of creating a colony.²

It was in the mind of Baltimore to reproduce in America a feudal Catholic palatinate as in the olden days in Europe. He was aware that undoubtedly the greatest percentage of the population would be Protestant, but they were only to receive freedom of worship.³

E. Summary

The existing conditions of the medieval period

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1. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 171.

2. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

3. Ibid., p. 173.

of Europe were static in nature and determinative from the serf to the king. The Catholic Church of this period ruled the minds and consciences by ecclesiastical despotism, ignorance and superstition. The society lacked the freedom and mobility needed to develop individuality. Under these conditions there were no hopes of religious toleration.

There were found various seeds of religious tolerations in Europe beginning with the thirteenth century which aided the change from ecclesiastical despotism to religious freedom of the individual. The Renaissance produced results which unshackled the minds of men and led them forward in the direction of freeing individuals. Once the spirit of nationalism had begun in the human mind, it grew and successfully resisted the ecclesiastical despotism. The progress of nationalism had four states: (1) decline of Latin and rise of vernaculars; (2) increased commercial intercourse; (3) rise of autocracy; (4) national consciousness further aroused by religion. According to Hayes the rise of autocracy was one of the important factors in the development of nationalism. Through the medium of the press and aided by the translators, the Scriptures were rapidly disseminated to the people. Besides the Scriptures, other books received like treatment. The printed page prepared the nations for the coming Reformation and independence of the human mind. The individualistic social thought of Niccolo Machiavelli,

Francis Bacon, Thomas Hobbes and John Locke aided in preparing the human mind for freedom. Like other institutions, the church was caught in the wave of progressive change. It was one of the main factors which liberated the human mind. The Reformation led to a variety of doctrines which expressed individualism. The seeds of religious toleration grew very slowly in England, but by 1603 she possessed a sense of liberty of independent thinking in religious matters.

Individual persons or groups of people possessed a desire for religious toleration. The Puritans wanted individuals to obtain freedom of religion; however, they advocated a limited toleration for their own group. They traveled to Holland where liberty of conscience was promised to comers. The Quakers believed in an Inward Light which guided an individual. Later William Penn took over the leadership of the Quakers and wrote a form of government for the Quakers of West New Jersey. This was the most democratic government in the world. Roger Williams possessed potential religious toleration since his extreme separatist views spoke of toleration for himself. Lord Baltimore desired a place in America for the persecuted Catholics in England.

These seeds of and desires for religious toleration reveal the preparation for religious toleration in America which shall be considered in the remainder of this thesis.

CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN THREE AMERICAN COLONIES

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RELIGIOUS TOLERATION IN THREE AMERICAN COLONIES

A. Introduction

The preceding chapter considered the European background of religious toleration in the form of seeds and desires which led to and motivated the development in Colonial America. This chapter will be a study of the religious toleration in three American colonies: Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania until the year 1763 because they made the greatest progress in religious toleration.

B. Religious Toleration in Maryland

1. Settlement

a. The Ark and the Dove

A Catholic by the name of Lord Baltimore was the founder of the proprietary colony of Maryland. He was a practical and hard-headed business man.¹ He sponsored the real spirit of religious toleration which first came to America with the "Ark" and the "Dove". The ships sailed from Europe on August 20, 1633, seventeen months after the charter was issued on April 13, 1632. The "Ark" and the "Dove" were sister ships which sailed together.

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1. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 114.

Strange as it may seem the sister ships were filled with Protestants and two Jesuit missionaries who arrived in the new world in 1633. These ships brought the real spirit of religious toleration to America. While the passengers were still aboard these ships, measures were taken to preserve unity and peace among all of them. From the very beginning Lord Baltimore showed evidence of religious toleration.¹ With a mixed population he was very careful that a situation would not be presented which would cause a scandal or give offence to any of the Protestants. All acts of the Roman Catholic religion and instruction in all discourse of matters concerning religion were to be done privately.² Therefore, the "Ark" and the "Dove" are historical landmarks of religious toleration in America.

b. Lord Baltimore's Attitude towards Religious Toleration

Lord Baltimore was broad-minded in his religious policies. He wanted a place of refuge in America for the persecuted Catholics of England. It was not his intention to establish a colony exclusively for Catholics,³ so he gave religious toleration to Protestants. He realized that the colony must tolerate Protestantism because of the

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1. Thompson, op. cit., p. 103.
2. Lyon Gardiner Tyler: England in America, (1580-1652), Vol. IV in the American Nation: A History Series, p. 126.
3. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 173.

limited number of Catholics available for Maryland.

2. Religious Toleration

In many cases that which is missing is more significant than that which is obvious. This was the case with religious toleration in Maryland; the early codes like the Royal Charter were remarkable for what they omitted.

a. The Lack of Records of Fines for Non-Attendance of Church

Historians have failed to find records of fines of any description being imposed for non-attendance of church service, nor was one punished for exercising any particular form of church worship.¹ In many of the colonies those of other faiths were fined for not attending church and severely punished in many forms for exercising their form of religious worship which was contrary to the established practice of the respected colony.

b. The Lack of Records of Provision of Support of Clergy

There were no records of provision for the support of the clergy. Many of the colonies had clergy supported by the state. If this were true in Maryland, records of such support would have been found.² In Maryland it was up to each denomination to support its own

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1. Moss Ives: The Ark and the Dove, 1936, p. 177.

2. Ibid.

minister which is contrary to the established state church. Furthermore, Lord Baltimore stated that all forms of Christian faith were tolerated in Maryland.

c. The Lack of Early Laws Concerning Religion

Morris claims that religious toleration in Maryland was not established by force of any law. He based this on the fact that there was no reference made to the subject of religion in any of the early laws of the colony with the exception of the simple Acts for Church Liberties.¹

3. Religious Toleration

a. Charter of Maryland

The charter granted to Lord Baltimore was plain in its declaration of religious toleration. Morris says:

. . . Baltimore was given 'the patronage and advowsons of all churches which, with the increasing worship and religion of Christ within the said region, hereafter shall happen to be built, together with the license and faculty of erecting and founding churches, chapels, and places of worship in convenient and suitable places within the primeses, and of causing the same to be dedicated and consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of England.'²

Although the charter permitted Baltimore to found Anglican Churches, it did not compel him to do so or to prohibit the forming of different kinds of churches.

b. Practice of Religious Toleration for Protestants and Catholics

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1. Charles Morris: The Great Republic, 1897, p. 140.

2. Tyler, op. cit., p. 125.

The first ten years in the colony were filled with peace and steady growth. The settlers worked together for the common cause without fear that their religious toleration would be hindered by law or suppressed by another religious group. Both Protestants and Catholics enjoyed the blessings of religious liberty. The governor and commissioners were to treat the Protestants with as much mildness and favor as justice would permit. These instructions were not limited to the land but were to be observed on sea as well.¹

Maryland was, for the time at least, the one place upon the earth where Protestant and Catholic could and did live peaceably side by side with mutual forbearance.² In 1650 Maryland was the only English colony in America where Roman Catholics were entitled to the rights of man. This religious toleration was an advance over the situation in Europe.

c. Acts of Church Liberties

In 1638 there is a record that a Catholic by the name of Lewis rebuked two servants for reading a Protestant book and spoke offensively to Protestant ministers. Lewis was tried by the governor and two assessors, and fined for his offensive speeches and his unreasonable disputations on points of religion.³

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1. Ives, op, cit., p. 16.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., p. 152.

Also in March 23, 1642, the Protestants complained against Thomas Gerard who had taken the key of the Protestant chapel and carried away the books out of the chapel. Tried, Gerard was found guilty of a misdemeanor. He had to return the books, the key, and pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco towards maintenance of the first minister who should arrive.¹

d. Oath of Lord Baltimore in 1636

The first official act recognizing and establishing religious toleration in Maryland colony was the first oath of Lord Baltimore in 1636.

I will not by myself or any other, directly or indirectly trouble, molest or discountenance any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ for or in respect to religion. I will make no difference of persons in conferring offices, favors or rewards for or in respect of religion, but merely as they shall be found faithful and well deserving and including with moral virtues and abilities; my aim shall be public unity and if any person or officer shall molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, on account of his religion, and I will protect the person and punish the offender.²

e. The Toleration Acts

The toleration acts in Maryland were three in number starting with the Maryland Act of Toleration in April 21, 1649. This act was the first complete recognition of the colony's policy.

. . . That (noe) person and persons whatsoever within this Province, or the Islands, Ports,

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1. Ibid., p. 153.

2. Ibid., p. 146.

Harbors, (Creekes), or havens thereunto belonging professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth (bee) any (waies) troubled, molested or discountenanced for or in respect of his or her religion nor in the free exercise thereof within this Province or the Islands thereunto belonging nor any way compelled to the (beliefe) or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent, (soe) as they be not unfaithful to the Lord proprietary. . . .¹

This act was a compromise which came up to Baltimore's idea of toleration. It was a great advance upon the principle and practice of the age. The charter was neutral since it neither enforced or forbade toleration. From the beginning no man was molested under Baltimore's rule because of religion.²

Six months later on October 16, 1649, the Act by Maryland Assembly was enacted. All people in Maryland who were from the Church of England, orthodox in judgment and living a clean life were to have full liberty to gather themselves into a church estate. The church was to have free liberty of its election and ordination of its officers providing the officers were able, pious and orthodox.³

The assembly repealed the Toleration Act of October 16, 1649, and a new one was enacted. The new act was entitled, An Act Concerning Religion; but it was toleration with a difference. Those of the popish religion

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1. Henry Steele Commager: Documents of American History, 1943, p. 31.
2. Charles M. Andrews: The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. II, p. 427.
3. Ibid.

could be restrained from the exercise thereof.¹ The act was for Protestants but it provided that no person professing faith in Christ was to be restrained from the exercise of his religion. It further provided that liberty should not be extended to popery nor prelacy.²

In brief the three toleration acts of Maryland were the toleration of the proprietaries which acts lasted fifty years. Under these acts all believers in Christ were equal before the law, and all support of the churches or ministers was voluntary.³

f. The Protestant Declaration

The signers of the Protestant Declaration consisted of Governor Stone, the Protestant councilors and burgesses, and thirty-eight Protestant freemen who had been loyal to Lord Baltimore. These men declared that they had enjoyed

all fitting and convenient freedom and liberty in the exercise of our religion under His Lordship's government and interest and that none of us in any way were troubled or molested for or by reason thereof.⁴

g. Promise of Religious Toleration to Outsiders

In 1643 Lord Baltimore offered land in Maryland to any one who would migrate. He promised religious toleration to the Puritans of New England and later to the

.

1. Ibid., p. 428.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Ives, op. cit., p. 234.

Puritans of Virginia with little, if any, success.¹

Maryland threw open her province to all settlers of the Christian faith. This made Maryland far beyond any other English colony of the time in religious toleration in that it was the home of the Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Labadists.²

4. Decline of Religious Toleration

During the years from 1655 to 1658 Lord Baltimore was deprived of his government; and not until Charles II of England came to power in 1660, was he able to regain control of the government. This was done through wise-handling of the delicate situation.³

Shortly after the Puritans took over in Maryland, it was not long before the Church of England was in control; thus, all citizens were required to pay taxes for its support. In 1688, when James II was overthrown, a revolt in Maryland against the Catholic proprietor broke out; and the province was transformed into a Royal Colony under the immediate control of the assembly made up of Protestants.⁴

A new disturbance between Protestantism and Catholicism occurred in England in 1689. During this period Lord Baltimore was deprived of his rights by the

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1. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 498.

2. Ibid., p. 313.

3. Ibid., p. 323.

4. William Warren Sweet: Religion in Colonial America, 1943, p. 34.

king in 1691. The Church of England was established as the state religion and religious toleration was abolished. Twenty years later Lord Baltimore came into power; then Maryland remained such until the Revolution.¹

In 1692 Maryland passed an act to make the Protestant and Episcopal Church the Established Church of the Province. At this time the ten countries were divided into parishes, and a yearly tax was collected for the purpose of building churches and maintaining the clergy. Only four years later a law for the establishment of the churches repealed all former enactments but contained also a clause that the colonists were entitled to enjoy their rights and liberties according to the laws and statutes of England.² In England this law was rejected, and the Established Church of Maryland was established no longer. A bill was presented with the clause that the service of the Church of England should be used in every place of worship in the Province and it was approved. In 1700 the English Parliament enacted a law for the restraint of popery, the proselyting by the popish priest, and this became a bothersome issue for several years.³ Two years later it was modified somewhat by a toleration clause: Protestants, dissenters and Quakers did not have to pay

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1. Morris, op. cit., p. 145.

2. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

3. Ibid.

penalties and disabilities, and they could have separate meetings-houses if they paid forty pounds per poll to support the Established Church. There was no exemption nor license for the papists; so by 1704 the non-Catholics were in the majority. The Catholics in Maryland were beginning to be treated as Catholics were in other colonies. Roman Catholics were regarded everywhere as a civil enemy and an ecclesiastical opponent.

5. Summary

Lord Baltimore, the founder of Maryland, sponsored the spirit of religious toleration which came to America on two sister ships, the Ark and The Dove. He desired Maryland to be a haven for the persecuted Catholics of England. While the ships were at sea, religious toleration prevailed since Lord Baltimore did not want the Protestants to have any cause for complaint.

It is significant that in Maryland there was a lack of records of fines for non-attendance of church, provision of support of clergy and early laws concerning religion. The charter declared religious toleration of all churches of Christ. During the early years in this colony both Protestants and Catholics lived together without fear that religious toleration would be hindered by law or suppressed by another religious group. There

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1. Ibid.

are records of individual Catholics who persecuted the Protestants, were tried and after being found guilty, were punished.

The oath of Lord Baltimore, as well as the three toleration acts, made all believers in Christ equal before the law. The Protestant Declaration gave testimony of the religious toleration enjoyed in Maryland; Maryland threw open her Province to all settlers of the Christian faith. Shortly after the Puritans possessed the controlling influence in the colony, religious toleration began to be curtailed. The Protestant and Episcopal Church became the Established Church of the Province, and the former enactments of religious toleration were repealed; thus, rights and liberties were according to laws and statutes of England. By 1704 the non-Catholics were in the majority and the Catholics were beginning to be treated as Catholics were in other colonies.

C. Religious Toleration in Rhode Island

1. Settlement

The story of Rhode Island is a story of a new experiment in toleration, and the story of the settlement of Rhode Island is largely the story of the life of its founder.

Roger Williams, while in Massachusetts Bay Colony in the year 1731, was a Puritan preacher and one of the colonial intolerants. He believed that the church

in Boston should repent of the sin of remaining in communion with the Church of England; he demanded this, but they refused, so Williams refused to join the church. He then moved to Plymouth and became an assistant pastor. On October 9, 1635, Massachusetts issued a decree of banishment for Roger Williams because he criticized the condition in which the land was held and because he declared that the principle of magistrates interfering with religion was wrong.¹

The sentence of banishment pronounced in the fall of 1635 had been suspended until the following spring in order that Williams might not be sent out into the cold winter. But when the authorities became aware of the fact that he was failing to live up to the condition that he would no more propagate his beliefs, a ship was sent to take him back to England; but before the men arrived he was warned by Winthrop and escaped just three days before he was to have been sent to England. By slipping into the New England wilderness, he and his family traveled southward to Narragansett where the ensuing fourteen weeks were spent among the Indians to whom he endeared himself. After the fourteen weeks of staying in the filthy smoke-hole wigwams, Williams moved on and settled near the Seacunk which land Williams purchased from the two chief Sachems

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1. Rowe, op. cit., p. 26.

of the Narragansett Indians.¹ At this place he founded the town of Providence; and, with the arrival of more settlers who were seeking refuge from the intolerance of the Bay Colony, a democratic form of government was set up.

2. Religious Toleration -- Positively

a. Charter of Rhode Island, 1663

The charter of Rhode Island of 1663 was an advancement upon Maryland's Act of Toleration.

(Noe) person within the (sayd) (colonye), at any (tyme) hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in (opinione) in matters of religion.²

For one hundred and eight years this charter served as the constitution of the colony.³

b. Separation of Church and State

In the deed of the land which he purchased from the Indians Williams gave his purpose in establishing Rhode Island: "I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience . . ."⁴ It became an asylum for the persecuted in Massachusetts, and from the first Williams kept civil and religious matters distinctively separated, that is: separation of Church and State.

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1. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 4-5.

2. M. Searle Bates: Religious Liberty: An Inquiry, p. 185.

3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 35.

4. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 102.

According to Sweet, Williams in establishing Rhode Island was a political philosopher with his views based upon the great principle of religious toleration and separation of Church and State.¹

In 1647, when the colony was organized, no church membership qualification was required for voters, while every man was to enjoy peaceful protection by lawful right and liberty regardless of his religious belief.²

To the neighbors of Rhode Island the concept was not sufficient basis for instituting a system of colonial organization. They believed that the concept was not positive, definite and reliable enough to warrant it being the corner stone.³ In Williams' reply to Cotton's letter of 1643 there is a clear statement of his belief as to the relationship of State and Church: "The state is an entity, in and of itself with its laws and ordinance which have nothing to do with religion."⁴

Williams denied that God had instituted a national Church or demanded a uniformity of worship in any state. "God requireth not a uniformity of religion to be enacted and enforced in any civil state."⁵ However

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1. Ibid., pp. 113-114.

2. Ibid., p. 105.

3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 34.

4. John M. Necklin: The Story of American Dissent, 1943, p. 85.

5. Roger Williams: The Bloudy Tenent of Persecution for the Cause of Conscience, etc., Edited and reprinted for the Hanserd Knollys Society, 1848, p. 2.

the Israelitish State combined the civil and the spiritual, but with the coming of Jesus the national Church of Israel was done away with and "all nations (are) now alike"¹ with none having the right to "follow that pattern of Israel."²

There could be no national Church or any interference in spiritual affairs on the part of the state because the state was essentially civil and entirely distinct from the church which had its work in the spiritual realm. Thus:

All civil states, with their officers of justice, in their respective constitutions and administrations, are proved essentially civil and therefore not judges, governors or defenders of the spiritual, or Christian, state and worship.³

and again:

Civil magistracy essentially civil and the same in all parts of the world, . . . both from, 1. The rise and fountain whence it springs, to wit, the people's choice and free consent. 2. The object of it, viz., the commonweal, or safety of such a people in their bodies and goods. . . .⁴

In civil matters the church is little different from an ordinary corporation as Roger Williams brings out in the following analogy:

The church or company of worshippers, whether true or false, is like unto a body or college of physicians in a city like unto a corporation . . . which companies may hold courts, keep their records, and in matters concerning their society may dissent, divide, break into factions. . . .⁵

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1. Ibid., p. 281.
2. Ibid., p. 283.
3. Ibid., p. 1.
4. Ibid., p. 304.
5. Ibid., p. 46.

But in spite of the mutually exclusive realm of the Church and State each has certain obligations toward the other. The civil magistrate owes three things to the church:

- 1) "Approbation and countenance . . .
- 2) "Personal submission of his own soul to the power of the Lord Jesus in that spiritual government and kingdom.
- 3) "Protection of such true professors of Christ, . . . as also of their estates from violence and injury."¹

It is the duty of the true church, in turn, to pray and work for the peace and welfare "of the State they live in: although pagan or papish."²

Cobb gives a complete expression of the difference in spheres and duties of Church and State in speaking of the American principle of independence of Church and State:

The independence here asserted is complete in respect to all matters of faith, worship, and ecclesiastical action. The grounds of this independence may be well stated in the words of Roger Williams. Despite the occasional quaintness of his language, the one hundred years of struggle after his day and the following century of experience and proof have not produced a better statement of the principle.³

In Roger Williams' later writings he considers the Church and the State not as integral parts. He wrote on political science as well as on theology. The church

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1. Ibid., p. 320.
2. Ibid., p. 202.
3. S. H. Cobb: The Rise of Religious Liberty in America, 1902, p. 4.

is one of many parts of the state and the state is bound to protect the church. It was only natural for him to arrive at the idea of separation of Church and State. Liberty in religious concernment was one of Williams' favorite expressions.

c. Liberty to Outsiders -- Even to Seducing Teachers

Rhode Island was not only a colony where religious toleration was practiced by the inhabitants, but they extended the principles of Roger Williams toward all newcomers regardless of their creed.¹ Williams would grant liberty to all who came to the colony, even to seducing teachers. He believed that whether they were pagan, Jewish, Quakers, Catholic or anti-Christian they might still be obedient to civil laws; thus, these peoples could be admitted into the colony. He believed that peace could be kept providing civil law was not broken. The General Assembly in 1657 took a stand so broad that even Quakers were able to find refuge and prosperity in Rhode Island which they were unable to find in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.² The outsiders came to Rhode Island so by 1680 the colony, which was chiefly Baptist, became under the dominant influence of the Quakers.³

The Quaker government in Rhode Island often

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1. Rowe, op. cit., p. 34.
2. M. Searle Bates, op. cit., p. 185.
3. E. S. Bates, op. cit., pp. 149-150.

averted hostilities and practiced patience, forbearance, and love. This they did by keeping in office during difficult times and yielding on some points of scruple. Nevertheless they stood for religious toleration, for enlightened government and for freedom of thought and expression; but according to some of the Dutch colonists in New York, Rhode Island was "the receptacle of all sort of riff-raff people and is nothing else than the sewer of New England."¹

d. Principle of Freedom of Conscience

In 1640 the settlers of Rhode Island agreed in writing that they would covenant to hold forth freedom of conscience.² Freedom of conscience as asserted by Roger Williams did not involve the abrogation of civil restraint. Therefore, when one William Harris disturbed the peace in 1656 by asserting this doctrine in a pamphlet, Williams, then governor, had a warrant issued for his apprehension.³

Roger Williams demanded absolute freedom of conscience, openly professed and practiced in any form of worship the individual might choose. It would be hard to find a clearer expression of one's belief in the right of liberty of conscience and worship than is contained in the following words of Williams:

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1. Lucas, op. cit., p. 86.
2. Ives, op. cit., p. 192.
3. Tyler, op. cit., pp. 238-239.

It is the will and command of God, that . . . a permission of the most Paganish, Jewish, Turkish, or Anti-christian conscience and worship, (bee) granted to all men in all Nations and Countries: and they are only to be fought against with the Sword which is only in (Soule) matters able to conquer, to wit, the Sword of God's Spirit, the Word of God.¹

Any restraint against a man worshipping as he chooses or any constraint forcing him to worship against his will or conscience amounted to persecution of conscience in Williams' opinion.

. . . To molest any person, Jew or Gantile, for either professing doctrine, or practicing worship merely religious or spiritual, it is to persecute him; and such a person whatever his doctrine or practice be, suffereth persecution for conscience . . . a man may also be persecuted because he dares not be constrained to yield obedience to such doctrines or worships as are by men invented and appointed.²

To those who might say that it was not against the liberty of conscience merely to insist on church attendance he would answer that "the civil state can no more lawfully compel the conscience of men to attend church to hear the word, than to receive the sacrament,"³ because to him the will to worship, if true, is like a free vote.

In America there was nothing to keep Roger Williams and his followers from organizing the first Baptist Church in America. Also there was nothing to keep him from moving beyond his companions to where he felt

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1. Williams, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
2. Ibid., pp. 37-38.
3. Ibid., p. 250.

dissatisfied with the baptism. He withdrew from the church and called himself a seeker, possessing complete freedom of action.¹

He went still further in idea of religious liberty by insisting that men were not only to be allowed to profess and practice whatever worship they chose, but they were also to be protected in this worship by the civil magistrate even though the magistrate considered their beliefs false.²

3. Summary

The story of religious toleration in Rhode Island is largely the story of its founder, namely Roger Williams. Having been banished from the Massachusetts Bay Colony, he escaped to Rhode Island where his views concerning religious toleration and the separation of Church and State were put into operation.

From the onset, the charter was an advancement upon Maryland's Act of Toleration. Roger Williams kept civil and religious matters distinctively separated, separation of Church and State. He did not believe that God had instituted a national Church; therefore, there could be no national Church or any interference in spiritual affairs. However, in spite of the mutually exclusive realms of the Church and State each has certain obligations toward the other. Even in his later writings he kept the

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1. Rowe, op. cit., p. 34.
2. Williams, op. cit., p. 320.

Church and State separated.

In freedom of conscience Williams demanded absolute freedom of conscience, openly professed and practiced. He believed that it is the will and command of God, and the only guide to men's consciences is the Word of God. He even went so far as to insist that the State is to protect the Church in its worship.

D. Religious Toleration in Pennsylvania

1. Settlement

As in Maryland and Rhode Island where there was a leading individual who became associated with the early years of the colony, so with Pennsylvania William Penn was its founder and early leader.

While still in Europe, William Penn received practical experience which prepared him for his future work in America. At the age of twenty-two his father sent him to Ireland to take care of his estate. There he received an insight into the work of a land agent. During the five years of this varied life he became influenced by John Locke, Algernon Sidney, Benjamin Coventry and Sir William Petty. He came in contact with the Quaker movement; and after it had passed its first stage of fanaticism, Penn entered into the religious movement.¹

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1. Charles M. Andrews: The Colonial Period of American History, Vol. III, p. 269.

Since becoming a Quaker, he realized that he could neither reform the world all at once nor could it be reformed entirely at any time. He possessed a practical outlook on religion and used a business-like way of handling controversial problems. He was more active than before to lay a stress upon major tenets, such as direct relation, liberty of conscience and pacifism with God and without the intermediation of priests or ministers.

a. Holy Experiment

Penn received his charter in 1681, and he was to be the sole proprietor. He received the grant of Pennsylvania colony in settlement of a debt which the king of England owed his father.¹ Now he was in a position to try out his "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania. The charter of October 28, 1701, was one of privilege:

Because no People can be truely happy though under the greatest Enjoyment of Civil Liberties, if Abridged of the Freedom of their Consciences, as to their Religious Profession and Worship: And Almighty God being the only Lord of Conscience, Father of Lights and Spirits; and the Author as well as Object of all divine Knowledge, Faith and Worship, who only doth enlighten the Minds, and persuade and convince the Understandings of People, I do hereby grant, declare, That no Person or Persons, inhabiting in this Province or Territories, who shall confess and acknowledge One almighty God, the Creator, Upholder and Ruler of the World; and Profess him or themselves obliged to live quietly under Civil Government, shall be in any Case molested or prejudiced, in his or their conscientious Persuasion or Practice, nor be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship,

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1. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 145.

Place or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind,
or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing,
contrary to their religious Persuasion.¹

The charter lasted until the overthrow of the proprietary government in 1776. The clause guaranteeing religious liberty was retained and was declared not subject to change, though any other part of the constitution could be amended by a vote of six-sevenths of the assembly and the consent of the governor.

William Penn desired to put the principles of Quakerism into operation in Pennsylvania; at least these principles were his chief guide. He wished not only to establish a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists but to make a Holy Experiment in applied Quakerism. He tried to give to the nations an example of a free democracy.² Penn's definition of a free government was:

Any government is free to the people under it, whatever be the frame, where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy or confusion.³

b. William Penn's Theses

To William Penn intolerance was unjust, and he was convinced that there must be religious toleration although ultimately the overthrow of the Quaker principles was inevitable.⁴ His intentions were to prove to the

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1. Wayland Fuller Dunaway: A History of Pennsylvania, 1935, p. 37.
2. Elbert Russell: The History of Quakerism, 1942, p. 117.
3. Ibid.
4. Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 188.

world that religious toleration was not only right, but that the other necessities of a civilization such as commerce, agriculture and all acts would flourish under the religious environment.¹

He had a picture in his thoughts of what Pennsylvania was to be and must be: "A state without armies or military power and a purpose to bring all citizens including Indians, to civilization and Christianity by justice, kindness and love."²

2. Religious Toleration -- Positively

a. From Personal Right with Control to a Planned Democratic Government

The Quaker colony of Pennsylvania, of all the proprietary colonies, was the only one which maintained a consistently liberal attitude towards its settlers.

William Penn surrendered his personal rights of control because he was unselfish, and he planned a democratic government for the territory over which he was proprietor.³

There was not only progress to a planned democratic government form of personal control but it was a planned colony from the beginning. This idea is expressed in the prayer of William Penn:

'My God that has given it me through many difficulties, will, I believe, bless and make it the

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1. Russell, op. cit., p. 117.
2. Thompson, op. cit., p. 213.
3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 39.

seed of a nation. . . . I have so obtained it and serve His Truth and people; that an example may be set up to the nations. There may be room there though not here for such an experiment.¹

Penn had been granted the right to the land but he purchased it from the Indians; thus, he gained the good will of these peoples. It was not all bought at once, but, as the needs increased and the area of cultivation developed, additional land was purchased.²

Penn spent much of his time in England in behalf of the colony. He was an absentee landlord; but his principles of truth, justice and liberty prevailed.³ While in England, he wrote a letter to the colony introducing his cousin, the Deputy Governor. He wrote:

You are now fixed at the mercy of no governor that comes to make his fortune great. You shall be governed by laws of your own making and live a free and, if you will, sober and industrious people.⁴

Within two years after the first colonists arrived in America, Penn called the assembly of the settlers and submitted the proposed plan of government and code of laws, which were speedily adopted. They guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship for all, but the right to hold office was restricted to Protestant Christians.⁵

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1. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 145.
2. Lucas, op. cit., p. 91.
3. Thompson, op. cit., p. 213.
4. Ibid., p. 214.
5. Russell, op. cit., p. 118.

b. Series of Laws -- Liberty of Religions

On December 4, 1782, the rules and regulations of the English Parliament were adopted and known as the Great Law of 1682, but it lasted only through the next year. It asserted liberty of conscience:

. . . No person now or at any time hereafter living in this province, who shall confess and acknowledge Almighty God to be the creator, upholder and ruler of the world, and that professeth him or herself obliged in conscience to live peaceably and justly under the civil government shall in any wise be molested or prejudiced in practice, nor shall he or she at any time be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious worship, place or ministry, whatever, contrary to his or her mind, but shall freely and fully enjoy his or her Christian liberty in that respect.¹

This law definitely established a restriction on absolute religious toleration by providing that all officeholders and voters should be professing Christians and believe in Jesus Christ to be the Son of God and Saviour of the world. Thus, the Jews, Unitarian, and atheists were excluded from any share in the government; otherwise it permitted liberty in religion.²

In August of the next year the two general assemblies had been held and passed at least seventy laws. These various laws included a strikingly liberal penal code but were Puritan in their attitude toward personal vices and public amusements. These laws forbade swearing,

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1. Rowe, op. cit., p. 41.
2. Commager, op. cit., p. 40.

duelling, drunkenness, cockfighting, lotteries and stage plays.¹

In Pennsylvania, rightly regarded as one of the most liberal and most diverse of the colonies, the law of 1700 granted religious freedom to all who believed in God.²

Although the series of laws of Pennsylvania included punishment for offenses against God and society, these laws stressed liberty of religion for all who believed in God. There was a long list of acts which were subject to punishment. Penn wanted to break the false delusion that prosperity and morals could be possible only under particular faiths established by law.³

c. Refuge for all the Persecuted

The first law against the Quakers in Massachusetts was passed in 1656. Between 1656 and 1660 four Quakers were hanged and others were punished by whipping and banishment. By 1658 the magistrate of Massachusetts introduced into the assembly a law which pronounced the punishment of death to all Quakers returning from banishment. Pennsylvania became a refuge for all the persecuted elsewhere in America except in Rhode Island. These refugees lived, segregated in their own communities; they maintained rigidly their religious convictions and preserved their peculiar customs. From generation to

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1. Russell, op. cit., p. 118.

2. Lucas, op. cit., p. 92.

3. Andrews, Vol. III, op. cit., p. 270.

generation they perpetuated their folkways and even now these characteristics are outstanding in certain sections of Pennsylvania.¹

Under Louis XIV of France German Protestants were persecuted in the Palatinate without mercy. Many of those who escaped came to Pennsylvania where they were welcomed and made a part of the population of the colony, although they did not become Quakers.²

3. Summary

William Penn was the founder and early leader of Pennsylvania. While in Europe, Penn received training which aided him in his future work. His Holy Experiment was one of putting the principles of Quakerism into practice in Pennsylvania. Penn was such an individual that he was willing to surrender his personal control of the proprietary colony to a planned democratic government. The settlers adopted the code of laws and proposed plan of government. These guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship. However, later the law passed by the assembly required that all officeholders and voters should be professing Christians, but otherwise they were permitted religious toleration. Pennsylvania was a place of refuge for those in America as well as in France who sought

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1. Rowe, op. cit., p. 27.

2. Sweet: Religion in Colonial America, op. cit., p. 326.

freedom from religious intolerance.

E. Summary

Religious toleration has been considered in three American colonies: Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania until the year 1763. The first spirit of religious toleration came to America with the two sister ships, the "Ark" and the "Dove". From the very beginning Lord Baltimore showed evidence of religious toleration which was expressed when the ships were still at sea. Although he intended to establish a colony exclusively for Catholics, yet it was necessary for him to give religious toleration to Protestants because of the limited number of Catholics available for the colony of Maryland.

In Maryland religious toleration was significant for that which was missing such as fines for non-attendance of church, provision of support of clergy and early laws concerning religion as well as what was clearly stated. Its charter declared religious toleration in permitting the formation of various kinds of churches. With such a type of charter and the ideas of Lord Baltimore, the early years of the colony were times of peace and steady growth although the settlers were both Catholics and Protestants. Catholic individuals who committed misdemeanors against Protestants were punished although the colony was ruled chiefly by Catholics.

The oath of Lord Baltimore as well as the three toleration acts reveal the spirit of the proprietaries toward religious toleration. Also the testimony of Protestants as stated in the Protestant Declaration gives evidence of religious toleration enjoyed in the colony. The promise of land and religious toleration in Maryland to anyone who would migrate there made the colony the home of Roman Catholics, Anglicans, Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Quakers and Labadists.¹

It has been shown that the decline in religious toleration in Maryland was brought about by the situation in England and the increase of non-Catholics' influence in the colony. By 1704 the Catholics were beginning to be treated as Roman Catholics were in other colonies -- as a civil enemy and an ecclesiastical.

The settlement of Rhode Island was due to the banishment of Roger Williams from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. With the arrival of more settlers seeking refuge from the intolerance of the Bay Colony, a democratic form of government was instituted. The charter of 1663 was an advancement over Maryland's Act of Toleration. The principle of separation of Church and State was put into practice from the very beginning in Rhode Island. The neighbors of Rhode Island did not believe that the importance of this concept warranted its being the

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1. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 498.

cornerstone for establishing a colony. Williams denied God's provision for a national Church or a uniformity of worship in any State; thus, there could be no national Church or interference in spiritual affairs on the part of the State. However, the Church and State have definite obligations toward each other.

Rhode Island welcomed newcomers regardless of their creed and gave them the religious toleration which others in the colony enjoyed. Freedom of conscience was openly professed and practiced in any form of worship the individual might choose.

William Penn was being prepared for his Holy Experiment while still in Europe. Upon receiving a charter of Pennsylvania which was in payment of a debt owed his father, Penn was able to try out his experiment in Pennsylvania. He desired the principles of Quakerism to be his chief guide in giving to the nations an example of democracy. Although the overthrow of Quaker principles was inevitable, there must be religious toleration. Penn surrendered his personal right of control to a planned democratic government for the territory over which he was proprietor. The settlers adopted the plan of government and code of laws which guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship for all. The series of laws stressed liberty of religion for all who believed in God. Pennsylvania became a refuge for all persecuted elsewhere in America

except in Rhode Island. These refugees were segregated in their own communities. The effects of this segregation can still be seen today in Eastern Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER III
THE ELEMENTS INVOLVED IN THE PROGRESS
OF RELIGIOUS TOLERATION

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A. Introduction

The preceding chapter considered religious toleration in Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania in Colonial America. These three colonies were selected because they made the greatest progress in religious toleration. With this study as background, the third chapter will now analyze the elements involved in the development of religious toleration. It will show that progress of religious toleration was dependent upon specific elements and that progress was made not only within a colony but within an individual.

B. Elements Involved in the Spread of the Principle of Toleration

1. The Character of Colonial Life

a. Social

Social environment is a vital factor in the religious toleration. Homogeneity of race is a prerequisite to religious establishment and the suppression of dissent; however, heterogeneity of race as in Maryland and Pennsylvania made it extremely difficult for establishments since they made religious toleration a

practical necessity.¹ From the very beginning Lord Baltimore showed evidence of religious toleration.² Maryland was a Catholic colony with a large percentage of Protestant citizens, and in order for the colony to succeed religious freedom was of necessity given to the Protestants.

b. Political

The wilderness of Rhode Island made religious toleration desirable.³ It was not chiefly a geographical necessity but rather a political one. While the sentence of banishment was hanging over Roger Williams' head, he saw that it was impossible to reform the existing establishments in New England and that in order to realize his dreams it would be absolutely necessary for him to launch out into the wilderness in virgin territory where religious toleration would not be hindered.⁴

The necessity of political life in the colonies was so great that religious differences were put in the background and religious toleration progressed with the cooperation of the people.⁵

Lord Baltimore realized that if he was to procure a charter in America for the persecuted Catholics

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1. Necklin, op. cit., p. 42.
2. Thompson, op. cit., p. 103.
3. Necklin, op. cit., p. 82.
4. Charles Smull Longacre: Roger Williams His Life, Work, and Ideals, 1939, p. 80.
5. Winfred Ernest Garrison: Intolerance, 1934, pp. 180-181.

of England it was necessary for him to offer religious toleration to Protestants. Furthermore, Bates believes the Maryland Act of Toleration in 1649 was adopted for the sake of the English homeland rather than for the sake of religious toleration.¹

c. Economic

Freedom cannot be had without a price.² Economics was a consideration when religious toleration made progress. The rivers facilitated ready access to the interior country which naturally attracted a varied population interested in trade; and these people were inclined to insist upon religious toleration as a practical necessity.³ There were many varieties of religions, none of which had a sufficient number, over a wide area; so the necessity of economic life overshadowed religious differences and developed religious toleration with the cooperation of the inhabitants.⁴

d. Religious

The main fact that determined the increase of religious toleration of the colonists towards the variety of religions was that there were so many varieties, none of which had a large majority over a very wide area; so they could counteract the political and economical

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1. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 174.
2. Everett Dean Martin: Liberty, 1930, p. 200.
3. Necklin, op. cit., p. 41.
4. Garrison, op. cit., pp. 180-181.

necessities.¹ However, religious toleration was a practical necessity since the various small groups must get along with another group with a difference in religious belief if either is to exist.

Religious toleration was a necessity in Maryland because its original settlers were either Catholics or Protestants. Since those in authority were Catholics, Protestants would not have settled in Maryland if religious toleration were not promised. During the early years in Maryland the Protestants received freedom of worship with no power in their hands.² Maryland promised religious toleration to Puritans of New England and Virginia, Rhode Island promised it to anyone regardless of creed and Pennsylvania became a refuge for all the persecuted except those from Rhode Island.

According to William Penn there must be religious toleration even if the religious principles which he advocated were to be ultimately overthrown.³

2. Determination

Lord Baltimore, Roger Williams and William Penn were leaders of religious toleration during the American Colonial period. As leaders, "they led their age, but they did not run away from it."⁴ These men possessed

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1. Ibid.

2. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 173.

3. Russell, op. cit., p. 117.

4. Garrison, op. cit., p. 171.

ambitions, firm convictions and a positive determination which motivated the cause of religious toleration in their respective colonies.

Lord Baltimore, being a Catholic, was able to obtain a charter for Maryland from a Protestant king of England because, although Baltimore's intention was to establish a colony exclusively for the persecuted Catholics of England, he gave religious toleration to Protestants from the very beginning.

Roger Williams had definite aims in founding Rhode Island. He stated that his first and chief aim was to make the colony "a shelter to persons distressed for conscience," and to establish "a civil government" which exercised authority "only in civil things."¹ His aim was a determination of a famous doctrine, separation of Church and State.

The determination of Roger Williams was an advance over the religious toleration of Lord Baltimore in that no one was excluded from the provision of religious toleration in Rhode Island,² whereas in Maryland religious toleration was granted only to those professing to believe in Jesus Christ.³

William Penn, a Quaker, was convinced that there must be religious toleration although ultimately the

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1. Longacre, op. cit., p. 69.
2. M. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 185.
3. Longacre, op. cit., p. 71.

overthrow of the Quaker principles was inevitable.¹ He not only wanted to establish a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists, but Penn wanted to make a Holy Experiment in applied Quakerism. In this Holy Experiment he was to prove to the world that religious toleration was not only right but that other necessities of a civilization such as commerce, agriculture and all acts would flourish in the religious environment.²

3. Experiment

The founding and early years of Maryland were not an experiment in the true sense of the word as both Rhode Island and Pennsylvania were, since Lord Baltimore's interest was to establish a colony exclusively for Catholics. It was an experiment when considered in the light of Catholics and Protestants living side by side as friends and fellow citizens. Throughout Europe there was no toleration for Protestants in Catholic territory and none for Catholics in Protestant territory.³ However, in Maryland for the first ten years the Catholics and Protestants lived without fear that their freedom would be hindered by law or suppressed by another religious group.

Rhode Island is a story of a new experiment in toleration because it gave liberty of conscience to

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1. Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 188.
2. Russell, op. cit., p. 117.
3. Garrison, op. cit., p. 179.

everyone and held the doctrine of complete separation of Church and State. With the arrival of a few settlers, a democratic form of government was put into operation.

In Pennsylvania's "Holy Experiment" William Penn endeavored to give to the nations an example of a free democracy¹ and to prove to the world that religious toleration was not only right but that the other necessities of a civilization flourish under the religious environment.²

4. Liberty of Conscience

The Act Concerning Religion of Maryland in 1649 states:

Whereas the inforcing of the conscience in matters of religion hath frequently fallen out to (bee) a dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it hath (beene) practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve (mutuall) love and unity amongst the inhabitants here. (Bee) it therefore also by the Lord proprietary with the advice and assent of this assembly ordained and enacted . . . that no person or persons whatsoever within this province . . . professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall from henceforth be any (waies) troubled, molested, or discountenance, for or in his or her religion, nor in the free exercise thereof . . . nor any way compelled to (beleefe) or exercise of any other religion against his or her consent.³

Maryland realized that the enslaving of conscience in religious matters was an unfruitful act. Thus, she attempted to grant liberty of conscience although

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1. Russell, op. cit., p. 117.
2. Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 188.
3. Bass, op. cit., pp. 33-34.

it was limited in that those of the popish religion could be restrained from the exercise thereof.¹

In Roger Williams' thinking liberty of conscience was very prominent. He believed that the "forcing of conscience is a soul-rape" and that "man hath no power to make laws to bind conscience."² Roger Williams demanded absolute freedom of conscience, openly professed and practiced in any form of worship the individual might choose. He extended freedom of conscience to men in all nations and countries regardless of religious beliefs.³ This was an advance over the limited freedom of conscience offered in Maryland. Williams went still further in his idea of freedom of conscience by insisting that men were to be protected in their worship by the civil magistrate.⁴

In Pennsylvania freedom of conscience was guaranteed for all, but the right to hold office was restricted to Protestant Christians.⁵ The Great Law of 1682, which was adopted by the English Parliament, asserted liberty of conscience. However, it also restricted officeholding and voting to professing Christians.⁶ The charter of October 28, 1701, states: " . . . No People can be truely happy though under the greatest Enjoyment of Civil Liberties,

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1. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 428
2. Longacre, op. cit., p. 27.
3. Williams, op. cit., pp. 103-104.
4. Ibid., p. 320.
5. Russell, op. cit., p. 118.
6. Commager, op. cit., p. 40.

if abridged of the Profession and Worship: . . ."¹

5. Personal Rights

The personal rights of the Protestants were respected in Maryland. The account of Thomas Gerard proves this point. He had taken the key of the Protestant chapel, carried away the books out of the chapel, and was punished for the misdemeanor which he had committed.

The Puritans of New England and Virginia were welcomed and promised religious toleration if they would migrate to Maryland.² This expresses the idea of respecting personal rights of the Puritans who migrated to Maryland.

The charter of Rhode Island embodies the protection of personal rights. "(Noe) person within the (sayd) (colonye), at any (tyme) hereafter, shall be anywise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in (opinione) in matters of religion."³ The settlers of Rhode Island agreed in writing that they would covenant to hold forth freedom of conscience.⁴ According to Roger Williams any restraint against a man worshipping as he chose or any constraint forcing him to worship against his will or conscience amounted to persecution of conscience.⁵ Williams believed very definitely in the personal rights

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1. Dunaway, op. cit., p. 37.
2. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., p. 498.
3. M. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 185.
4. Ives, op. cit., p. 192.
5. Williams, op. cit., pp. 103-104.

of the human being.

Being the sole proprietor of the grant of Pennsylvania, William Penn took into consideration the personal rights of the settlers and citizens of his colony. He surrendered his personal rights of control to a democratic form of government in which the personal rights of the people were exercised. The charter of October 28, 1701, states:

. . . No People can . . . be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious Worship, Place, or Ministry, contrary to his or their Mind, or to do or suffer any other Act or Thing, contrary to their religious Persuasion.¹

6. Laws

The law may specifically define what our several rights and proper occupations are, but behind the law must be a certain disposition of the people. If religious toleration is to exist, the individual must be zealous for the religious toleration of others; he must be willing that people differ from him. He must neither strive to make his own preferences theirs, nor be too easily shocked or scandalized when other tastes differ from his own. He must hold his own convictions rather tentatively, and remember that he may be wrong.²

According to Morris religious toleration in Maryland was not established by force of any law because

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1. Dunaway, op. cit., p. 37.

2. Martin, op. cit., p. 194.

there was no reference made to the subject of religion in any of the early laws of the colony with the exception of a simple Act for Church Liberties.¹ However, in Maryland there were three acts of toleration of the proprietaries which acts lasted fifty years.

Roger Williams was a dissenter and he believed that others had the same right to dissent from their views. He believed that the right of dissent for all should be sacredly protected by law so that all might stand on equality before the bar of justice.² All citizens of Rhode Island enjoyed equal privileges and immunities under the law.

A code of laws which the General Assembly of Rhode Island adopted in May, 1647, declared that "All men may walk as their consciences persuade them, without molestation -- every one in the name of his God."³

In the early years of Pennsylvania William Penn called the settlers together and submitted the proposed code of laws which the people speedily adopted.⁴ The code of laws guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship for all the settlers. Also the rules and regulations of the English Parliament were adopted as the Great Law of 1682 which gave religious toleration. Jews, Unitarian, and

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1. Morris, op. cit., p. 140
2. Longacre, op. cit., p. 83.
3. Ibid., p. 71.
4. Russell, op. cit., p. 213.

atheists were excluded from any share in the government; otherwise the law extended religious toleration.¹

7. Separation of Church and State

Roger Williams was the great champion of the doctrine of separation of Church and State. He advocated that democracy and human liberty cannot be maintained on any other basis than the complete separation of Church and State.² He taught that the urges prompted by religion which made social relations and duties possible are complete in themselves and not dependent upon one another.³

Penn only wanted as much government as the ill behavior of worldly citizens made necessary.⁴

C. Progress of Religious Toleration

1. Within an Individual

There were leading individuals who became associated with the early years of the colonies: Lord Baltimore, Roger Williams and William Penn. A look at the life and work of each of these should afford a better understanding of the progress of religious toleration.

Lord Baltimore had a desire within his mind to reproduce in America a feudal Catholic palatinate.⁵

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1. Commager, op. cit., p. 40.

2. Longacre, op. cit., p. 14.

3. Necklin, op. cit., p. 100.

4. Arthur Pound: The Penns of Pennsylvania and England, 1932, p. 175.

5. E. S. Bates, op. cit., p. 171.

Realizing how difficult it would be to procure a charter from a Protestant king of England, he gave freedom of worship to Protestants. However, his intention was not to establish a colony exclusively for Catholics¹ because there was a limited number of Catholics available for Maryland. In his oath of 1636 Lord Baltimore put his determination in writing; and he made no distinction between Protestants and Catholics. His aim was for public unity and for protection of persons who have faith in Jesus Christ.² Lord Baltimore put his oath into practice when a certain Catholic was punished for the misdemeanor which he had committed against the Protestants.

In the early years Roger Williams came in contact with religious groups which taught that the civil magistrate should not meddle with religious matters. The Baptist literature which he had read presented a free and independent church in a free and independent state. The basic principle of religious toleration made a lasting impression upon his mind.³

Longacre believes that Roger Williams evidently read a textbook by Leonard Busher, Religion's Peace or A Plea for Liberty of Conscience, which states:

King and magistrates are to rule temporal affairs by the swords of their temporal kingdoms, and

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1. Tyler, op. cit., p. 126.
2. Ives, op. cit., p. 146.
3. Longacre, op. cit., p. 15.

bishops and ministers are to rule spiritual affairs by the word and Spirit of God, the sword of Christ's spiritual kingdom, and not to inter-meddle one with another's authority, office, and function. . . .¹

The doctrine of absolute freedom in religious matters for the individual was a despised dogma and was destined to bring persecution to its advocates. There was no soil in Europe for such a radical doctrine of religious toleration so Roger Williams looked to the New World. He was willing to sacrifice all honors in Europe to aid in the establishment of absolute religious toleration in the New World.

Roger Williams' firm convictions of religious toleration led him to act according to his beliefs. He would not join the Church in Boston since it remained in communion with the Church of England. While in the Massachusetts Bay Colony he declared that the principle of magistrates interfering with religion was wrong.²

In the beginning of winter Roger Williams was willing to go into the wilderness for the sake of religious toleration rather than to return to England. Upon purchasing the land from the Indians, he gave his desire for establishing Rhode Island in the deed: "'I desired it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience . . .'"³ He established a democratic form of

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1. Ibid., p. 16.

2. Rowe, op. cit., p. 26.

3. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, p. 102.

government to assure the security of human rights.¹

William Penn had hopes that there could be reform through Parliament but, after being convince of his disillusionment, he made up his mind to put the principles of Quakerism in operation in America.² He was willing to risk his fortune and future in the New World. Once he resolved to go to America, he worked fast and received the tract of land on the west side of the Delaware River. On this tract of land Penn would establish a government without classes, hereditary distinctions or religious inequality, where all men, even himself, would be under law.³

He was so determined to have religious toleration even if ultimately the overthrow of the Quaker principles was inevitable; then, too, he gave up his right of personal control of the colony to planned democratic government.⁴

2. Within a Colony

When taking into account the purpose for the founding of Maryland, one can readily see that there is a direct relationship between the purpose of its founding and the development in the ensuing years. Since the primary purpose for founding the colony was for the persecuted

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1. Longacre, op. cit., p. 69.
2. Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 188.
3. Pound, op. cit., p. 165.
4. Rowe, op. cit., p. 39.

Catholics of England and not for an experiment in religious toleration, such toleration was very limited in that the Protestants only had freedom of worship. When the Puritans gained control in Maryland, the Catholics lost their religious freedom. The Protestant and Episcopal Church became the Established Church of the Province. Just four years later all former enactments of religious toleration were repealed and the colonists' rights and liberties were according to the laws and statutes of England. By 1704 the Catholics in Maryland were beginning to be treated as Catholics were in other colonies -- as a civil enemy and an ecclesiastical opponent.¹

However, Rhode Island was founded for the express purpose of providing " a shelter for persons distressed for conscience"² and the results were more hopeful than the results in Maryland.

The leaders in Rhode Island were convinced that the prerequisite to the growth of vital religion was freedom, and they maintained their conviction unwaveringly.³ No one was kept from holding a civil office because of his religious belief. State and Church were separated from each other although each had certain obligations toward the other. The State was to protect the Church in its

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1. Andrews, Vol. II, op. cit., pp. 190-191.

2. Sweet: The Story of Religion in America, op. cit., p. 102.

3. Rowe, op. cit., p. 35.

worship regardless of its beliefs. While Maryland promised religious toleration to Puritans, Rhode Island promised religious toleration to all newcomers, even to seducing teachers.

The charter of Rhode Island as well as the code of laws adopted by the General Assembly in May, 1647, guaranteed religious toleration to all men. The code of laws closed with the declaration: "All men may walk as their consciences persuade them, without molestation -- every one in the name of his God."¹ As long as Roger Williams lived and had a controlling voice in the making of laws, the administration and the execution of the laws, no man suffered for the sake of his conscience because there were no religious laws upon the statute books under which he could be prosecuted for his dissenting views in religious matters. However, as soon as Williams relinquished his grip upon the state affairs and passed off the stage of action, the state legislature enacted laws tending toward religious intolerance. These laws compelled all people to observe Sunday under the penal codes and sent so-called heretics into exile.²

Pennsylvania was founded upon the principle of applied Quakerism with the purpose of establishing a refuge for the persecuted Quakers. Pennsylvania was a

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1. Longacre, op. cit., p. 71.
2. Ibid., p. 91.

planned colony from the beginning and the proprietor, William Penn, surrendered his personal right of control to a democratic government. The settlers adopted the proposed plan of government and code of laws for Pennsylvania.¹ However, the law of 1700 granted religious toleration to all who believed in God.² Pennsylvania became the refuge for the persecuted elsewhere in America except Rhode Island. These refugees lived in segregated communities and were not required to become Quakers in order to have religious toleration.

D. Summary

One of the important elements involved in the progress of religious toleration made through the American colonies was the character of colonial life in at least four fields: social, political, economic and religious. Heterogeneity of race made religious toleration a practical necessity. The wilderness of Rhode Island made religious toleration possible because it was virgin territory where religious toleration would not be hindered by those in the State. The need for political life overshadowed religious differences. In order for Lord Baltimore to obtain a charter for Maryland, where the persecuted Catholics of England could secure refuge, he had to grant religious

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1. Russell, op. cit., p. 118.
2. Lucas, op. cit., p. 92.

toleration to the Protestants. It was because of political necessity. Economically, religious toleration was a practical necessity with the increase of a varied population interested in trade. The varieties of religious groups caused the colonists to realize that they must get along with one another and put their religious differences aside; therefore, in the religious field, religious toleration was a necessity.

The leaders of the three colonies considered were possessed of a determination which, to a greater or lesser extent, motivated the cause of religious toleration in their respective colonies. Lord Baltimore was able to obtain a charter for Maryland because he gave religious toleration to Protestants. Roger Williams had more advanced aims for religious toleration. He determined to make a colony "a shelter to persons distressed for conscience," and to establish "a civil government."¹ This was the famous doctrine of separation of Church and State. William Penn was determined that there would be religious toleration although ultimately the overthrow of Quaker principles was inevitable.² He wanted to establish a refuge for the persecuted Quakers and to make a Holy Experiment. He wanted to prove to the world that religious toleration was not only right but that other necessities

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1. Longacre, op. cit., p. 69.
2. Wertenbaker, op. cit., p. 188.

of a civilization such as commerce, agriculture and all acts would flourish under the religious environment.¹

Experiment played an active part in the settlement of the three colonies and the progress of religious toleration. Maryland was an experiment in that for the first time Protestants and Catholics lived together as friends and fellow citizens. Rhode Island was an experiment in which a democratic form of government with complete separation of Church and State existed. Pennsylvania was known as the "Holy Experiment" in which the principles of Quakerism were applied, and it furnished proof to the nations that religious toleration is right and will work for the good of society.

In the three colonies liberty of conscience was granted and personal rights ranged from punishing any who had committed a misdemeanor against one's personal rights to the sole proprietor surrendering his personal right of control for a democratic form of government. In Maryland religious toleration was not established by law; however, there were three acts of toleration of the proprietories. In Rhode Island law was established to protect religious toleration for all regardless of creed. In Pennsylvania freedom of conscience and worship for all settlers were protected by law. The separation of Church and State was the summation of religious toleration in Rhode Island.

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1. Russell, op. cit., p. 117.

The character and life of the individual leaders of the respective colonies helped to determine the progress of religious toleration. Lord Baltimore progressed from a desire to reproduce in America a feudal Catholic palatinate to the formation of a colony where religious toleration to Catholics and Protestants alike was conscientiously practiced. For example, a Catholic was punished because of committing a misdemeanor against Protestants by removing equipment for the Protestant chapel. Roger Williams came in contact in his early years with religious groups which taught that the civil magistrate should not meddle with religious matters. With other like exposures he progressed until in Rhode Island his mind was determined to provide "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience . . ."1 and to put into practice the doctrine of separation of Church and State. William Penn made progress in religious toleration from the disillusionment of his hopes of reform through Parliament to perseverance resulting in his obtaining the grant of Pennsylvania where he would establish a government without classes, hereditary distinction or religious inequality.

There is a direct relationship between the purpose for founding a colony and the development of religious toleration in the ensuing years. The Catholics, a minority dissent in the founding of Maryland, granted limited

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1. Longacre, op. cit., p. 69.

religious toleration to Protestants; but, when the Protestant Puritans gained control of Maryland, Catholics were treated as Catholics were in other colonies. Rhode Island gave religious toleration to all men regardless of creed; therefore, as long as Williams lived and had a controlling voice in the making of laws no one suffered for the sake of his conscience. Pennsylvania was founded upon the principles of applied Quakerism with the purpose of establishing a refuge for the persecuted Quakers. It became a refuge for the persecuted elsewhere in America.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The existing conditions in Europe were those in which the life of the people was static and they were not interested in large social relations. The papacy during the medieval society held the minds and consciences of men with its ecclesiastical despotism, ignorance and superstition. However, there were seeds of and desires for religious toleration. From the thirteenth century the renaissance produced various results in different parts of Europe, and men were awakened to search for the true foundation of faith apart from the papacy. Nationalism was successful in resisting the ecclesiastical despotism. Writing in the vernacular furthered the spirit of nationalism. The invention of printing made it possible for the Bible and other books to be printed and disseminated by the thousand. A wide spread of literature in the hands of the people prepared the nations for the coming Reformation and independence of the human mind.

Individualistic social thought was stressed by individuals. This planted seeds in the people's minds to liberate them from enslavement. The Reformation broke the ecclesiasticism of the medieval society and gave life and hope which led to religious liberty. The king of England was recognized as the supreme head since the Parliament

supplanted the authority of the pope, and this was a start of progress for further action against the Roman Catholic Church. At the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 the greatest gain in England toward toleration was the sense of liberty of independent thinking in religious matters.

Since religious toleration progressed slowly in England, the various existing religious groups were persecuted. The Puritans and Quakers as religious groups desired religious toleration; and William Penn, Roger Williams and Lord Baltimore, the founders and leaders of the three American colonies, as individuals also desired religious toleration.

These seeds of and desires for religious toleration in Europe were the preparation for later religious toleration in America.

Religious toleration in Colonial America was considered in three colonies: Maryland, Rhode Island and Pennsylvania until the year 1763. These were selected because they made the greatest progress in religious toleration. From the beginning Lord Baltimore, leader of Maryland, showed evidence of religious toleration. It was necessary for him to give religious toleration to Protestants, although he intended to establish a colony exclusively for Catholics because the number of Catholics available for the colony of Maryland was limited. In Maryland religious toleration was significant for that which was missing,

namely: fines for non-attendance of Church, provision for the support of clergy and early laws concerning religion, as well as what was clearly stated. Evidence of successful religious toleration was the peace and steady growth of the colony although the settlers were both Catholics and Protestants. The oath of Lord Baltimore, three toleration acts, the Protestant Declaration and the promise of religious toleration to Puritans who would migrate gave evidence of the religious toleration in Maryland. The decline of religious toleration in Maryland was due to the situation in England and the increase of the influence of non-Catholics in the colony.

With the democratic form of government in Rhode Island the doctrine of separation of Church and State was put into practice. There was complete religious toleration for all persons regardless of creed, even seducing teachers were welcomed in the colony.

William Penn put his Holy Experiment into operation in Pennsylvania, and the Experiment proved to the nations that a democratic government would be a betterment to society. The settlers adopted the plan of government and code of laws which guaranteed freedom of conscience and worship for all.

The study showed that there is a number of elements involved in the progress of religious toleration. One element was the character of colonial life, social

political, economic and religious. The various leaders of the colonies considered were possessed of an element of determination, and they expressed this determination through the experiments in religious toleration. These colonies granted liberty of conscience in varying degrees from, including only Protestants to including everyone regardless of creed, even seducing teachers. The personal rights of the colonists were protected even by law. Religious toleration was either established by law or was continued by acts of toleration. The doctrine of separation of Church and State was the summary of the religious toleration in Rhode Island.

The definite progress of religious toleration was due partly to the individual leaders of the three colonies studied. Lord Baltimore made progress from desiring to reproduce in America a feudal Catholic palatinate to a place where he protected the personal rights of the Protestants. Roger Williams was influenced in his early years by religious groups which advocated civil magistrates should not meddle with religious matters. He progressed through the years so in Rhode Island all people had freedom of conscience and there was complete separation of Church and State. William Penn progressed from disillusionment of his hopes in Parliament in England to a determination which helped him succeed in his Holy Experiment.

A direct relationship exists between the purpose

of founding the three colonies and the development of these in the ensuing years. The greater the aim of religious toleration in the founding of the colonies the greater the progress along this line.

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