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OLD CHURCHES,

MINISTERS

AND

FAMILIES OF VIRGINIA.

By BISHOP MEADE.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1878.

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PREFACE.

In the fall of 1854, the author, being solicited to furnish some personal reminiscences of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, promised two articles to one of our quarterly Reviews, which have most unexpectedly grown into two octavo volumes. He was led into this enlargement by the further solicitation of friends that he would extend his inquiries into former times; and by the discovery that there were materials, not yet lost to history, of which good use might be made. Besides the recovery of many old vestry-books, or fragments thereof, supposed to have been lost, he has, either by his own researches or those of friends, found interesting materials for his work in a number of the old records of the State, which may yet be seen, though often in a mutilated and moulder-ing condition, in the Clerk's Offices of various counties. One of these extends back to the year 1632,* and refers to acts of a still earlier date, while some approach within a few years of the same. Other documents, of general interest to all, and of special interest to Virginians and their descendants wherever found, have been furnished from old family records and papers, never before used, and which must otherwise soon have perished. The author has also wandered, and not a little, nor in vain, amidst old churches or their ruins and the graveyards around them, and the old family seats. The accounts of these, and the inscriptions taken from them, form an interesting contribution to Virginia history. For nothing will the descendants of the old families of the State be more thankful than for the lists of vestrymen, magistrates, and others, which have been gathered from the earliest records, and by means of which the very localities of their ancestors may be traced. Nor has inquiry been limited to the records of our own State and

* In the county of Northampton.

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country. The archives of Parliament, and of Lambeth and Fulham Palaces, have, through the kindness and labours of others, furnished many important, deeply interesting, and hitherto unpublished documents, belonging to the history of the State and Church of Virginia. I shall not here mention the names of those numerous friends in Virginia and elsewhere who have kindly rendered me service in the preparation of this work, as they are referred to in one or more of those places where their contributions are introduced.

The previous publication, in a weekly paper, of far the larger part of what is contained in these volumes has not only obtained very valuable contributions, but secured the correction of some errors into which the author could not but fall in such a work, so that it is believed no material mistakes now remain. While portions of the book may have less interest for the general reader, being occupied with things belonging especially to the history of Virginia, yet it is hoped that even those may be found worthy of perusal, while far the larger part relates to what should be the subject of inquiry to all who wish to be informed on the ecclesiastical history of our country.

The table of contents will greatly facilitate a reference to the numerous topics which have been introduced.

It was the intention of the writer to have presented, in this preface, a general view of the most important subjects treated of, and to have stated the chief results to which his own mind had come in the investigation of the same, by way of improvement and application; but time and opportunity are wanting, and the reader must be left to judge and decide for himself after examination.

The work, which has cost much labour and research, and in the execution of which it has been endeavoured, and not without prayer, to deal fairly with all, is now commended to the blessing of Heaven and the candour of the public.

WILLIAM MEADE, D.D.,
Bishop of the P. E. C. of Va.

May 15, 1857.

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Old Churches, Ministers, and Families

OF

VIRGINIA.

[From the Protestant Episcopal Quarterly Review.]

ARTICLE I.

Recollections of the Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia, during the Present Century. With a Brief Notice of its Earlier History. By Bishop Meade.*

It is a useful employment for societies as well as individuals to look back through their past history and mark the dealings of a kind Providence towards them. The History of the Episcopal Church of Virginia has been, from the very beginning, a most inte-

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* Having been urged to furnish some personal recollections of the Church in Virginia for this Review, I have consented; and in this article commenced the delicate task. The candid and the charitable will make due allowance for the peculiar difficulties of it, especially that of avoiding the frequent mention of myself. Had I kept a diary for the last fifty years, and taken some pains during that period to collect information touching the old clergy, churches, glebes, and Episcopal families, I might have laid up materials for an interesting volume; but the time and opportunity for such a work have passed away. The old people, from whom I could have gathered the materials, are themselves gathered to their fathers. The vestry-books, from which I could have gotten much, and some of which I have seen, are, for the most part, either lost, or fallen into the hands of persons who use them for the establishment of land-claims or bounties, the register of baptisms and marriages sometimes rendering them assistance in their work. Small, therefore, is the contribution I can make to the ecclesiastical history of my native State. To Dr. Hawks's elaborate and able work I must refer the reader for the earlier history of the Episcopal Church of Virginia. A brief notice of that period is all that is necessary to prepare him for my own reminiscences, and that is furnished. W. M.

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resting and eventful one—beyond that of any other Diocese in the Union. I would briefly refer to some of its particulars, in order to raise our hearts in gratitude to God for its wonderful preservation, and to make us more faithful and zealous in using the proper means for its further advancement.

The Episcopal Church of Virginia commenced with the first settlement of the first Colony. The code of laws of that Colony was drawn up at a time when "religion (as Bishop Taylor expresses it) was painted upon banners," for it was "*divine, martial, and moral,*" all in one, being enforced, even among Protestants, by civil pains and penalties which we would fain now banish from our recollections and blot from the page of history. That there was much of sincere piety moving the hearts of those who incorporated the forms of the Episcopal Church with the Colony of Virginia, as well as of those who established other forms among the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, I doubt not. Nor do I question the piety and fidelity of some of the people and pastors during its whole subsequent history. But that its spiritual condition was ever, at any time, even tolerably good, bearing a comparison with that of the Mother-Church, over whose defects also there was so much cause to mourn, faithful history forbids us to believe. Many were the disadvantages under which she had to labour, during nearly the whole period of her existence in connection with the government of England, which were well calculated to sink her character beneath that of the Church of England, and of some other churches in America. Immense were the difficulties of getting a full supply of ministers of any character; and of those who came, how few were faithful and duly qualified for the station! One who was indeed so faithful as to be called the Apostle of Virginia at an early period of its settlement, lamenting over the want of ministers in the Colony, thus upbraids those who refused to come. "Do they not either wilfully hide their talents, or keep themselves at home, for fear of losing a few pleasures? Be not there any among them of Moses and his mind, and of the Apostles, who forsook all to follow Christ?" The Council of Virginia also addressed the most solemn and pathetic appeals to the clergy of England, beseeching them to come over to the work of the Lord in the Colony—though, it is to be feared, with little success; for in the year 1655 it is recorded that many places were destitute of ministers, and likely still to continue so, the people not paying their "accustomed dues." There were, at this time, about fifty parishes in the Colony, most of which were destitute of clergy-

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men, as there were only ten ministers for their supply. To remedy this evil it was proposed to establish in the English Universities Virginia fellowships, imposing it as a condition, that the fellows spend seven years in Virginia; but we do not read of its execution. That the ministers then in the Colony were men of zeal can scarce be supposed, as a law was required enjoining it upon them to preach constantly every Sabbath and administer the sacrament at least twice every year. If we proceed in the history of the Colony another fifty years, which will carry us beyond the first century of its existence, we shall find only a few more parishes established, and, though glebes and parishes had been provided, not more than one-half of the congregations were supplied with ministers, the rest being served by lay-readers. In some places indeed lay-readers were preferred to settled ministers, because less expensive to the parishioners. As to the unworthy and hireling clergy of the Colony, there was no ecclesiastical discipline to correct or punish their irregularities and vices. The authority of a Commissary was a very insufficient substitute for the superintendence of a faithful Bishop. The better part of the clergy and some of the laity long and earnestly petitioned for a faithful resident Bishop, as the Bishop of London was, of necessity, only the nominal Bishop. For about two hundred years did the Episcopal Church of Virginia try the experiment of a system whose constitution required such a head but was actually without it. No such officer was there to watch over the conduct and punish the vices of the clergy; none to administer the rite of Confirmation, and thus admit the faithful to the Supper of the Lord. It must be evident that the Episcopal Church, without such an officer, is more likely to suffer for the want of godly discipline than any other society of Christians, because all others have some substitute, whereas our own Church makes this office indispensable to some important parts of ecclesiastical government and discipline. Such being the corrupt state of the Church in Virginia, it is not wonderful that here, as in England, disaffection should take place, and dissent begin. The preaching and zeal of Mr. Whitefield, who visited Virginia about this time, contrasted with the sermons and lives of the clergy generally, contributed no doubt to increase disaffection. The pious Mr. Davies, afterwards President of Princeton College, made the first serious inroad upon the unity of the Church. His candid testimony deserves to be here introduced. "I have reason to hope," he says, "that there are and have been a few names in various parts of the

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Colony who are sincerely seeking the Lord and groping after religion in the communion of the Church of England." "Had the doctrines of the Gospel been solemnly and faithfully preached in the Established Church, I am persuaded there would have been few Dissenters in these parts of Virginia, for their first objections were not against the peculiar rites and ceremonies of that Church, much less against her excellent Articles, but against the general strain of the doctrines delivered from the pulpit, in which these Articles were opposed, or (which was the more common case) not mentioned at all, so that at first they were not properly dissenters from the original constitution of the Church of England, but the most strict adherents to it, and only dissented from those who had forsaken it."

That there was at this time not only defective preaching, but, as might be expected, most evil living among the clergy, is evident from a petition of the clergy themselves to the legislature asking an increase of salary, saying "that the small encouragement given to clergymen is a reason why so few come into this Colony from the Universities, and that so many who are a disgrace to the ministry find opportunities to fill the parishes." It is a well-established fact that some who were discarded from the English Church yet obtained livings in Virginia. Such being the case, who can question for a moment the entire accuracy of the account both of the preaching and living of the clergy of his day, as given by the faithful and zealous Mr. Jarrett? and who could blame him for the encouragement afforded to the disciples of Mr. Wesley, at a time when neither he nor they thought there could be a separation from the Church of England? Dissent, from various causes, was now spreading through the Commonwealth; dissatisfaction with the mother-country and the Mother-Church was increasing, and the Episcopal clergy losing more and more the favour of God and man, when this devoted minister, almost alone in preaching and living according to the doctrine, discipline, and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church, was glad to avail himself of any aid in the good work he was endeavouring to perform. For the time, however, his efforts were unavailing. The War of the Revolution was approaching, and with it the downfall of the Church. Many circumstances contributed to this event. The opposition to the Dissenters in times past had embittered their minds against the declining Establishment. The attachment of some few of the clergy to the cause of the king subjected the Church itself to suspicion, and gave further occa-

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sion to its enemies to seek its destruction. The dispute about Church property now came on, and, for twenty-seven years, was waged with bitterness and violence. At the commencement of the War of the Revolution, Virginia had ninety-one clergymen, officiating in one hundred and sixty-four churches and chapels; at its close, only twenty-eight ministers were found labouring in the less desolate parishes of the State. Whither numbers of them had fled, and to what secular pursuits some of them had betaken themselves, it is not in our power to state. Had they been faithful shepherds, they would not have thus deserted their flocks.

We come now to the efforts of the more faithful to strengthen the things that remained but were ready to die. In common with some other dioceses, the Church in Virginia resolved on an effort to obtain consecration from abroad for a Bishop who might complete her imperfect organization. A very worthy man, the Rev. Dr. Griffith, was selected for the purpose; but so depressed was her condition, so little zeal was found in her members, that, though for three successive years calls were made upon the parishes for funds to defray his expenses to England, only twenty-eight pounds were raised, a sum altogether insufficient for the purpose, so that the effort on his part was abandoned through poverty and domestic affliction. Even at a subsequent period, when renewed efforts, prompted by shame at past failures and a sense of duty to the Church, were made to secure what was necessary for Bishop Madison's consecration, a sufficiency, even with some foreign aid, was not obtained to pay all the necessary expenses of the voyage. The object, however, was accomplished, and at the end of almost two hundred years from the establishment of a most imperfect Church in Virginia a Bishop was obtained. But she was too far gone, and there were too many opposing difficulties, for her revival at that time. From the addresses of Bishop Madison to the Episcopalians of Virginia, it will be seen that he entered on his duties with no little zeal and with very just views of the kind of men and measures necessary for the work of revival. He plainly admits the want of zeal and fidelity in many of the ministers as one of the causes of the low condition of the Church, and that the contrary qualifications were indispensable to her resuscitation. He made an ineffectual effort at bringing back into the bosom of the Church the followers of Mr. Wesley, for they had now entirely separated from her. After a few partial visitations of the Diocese, his hopes of the revival of the Church evidently sunk; and the duties of the College of William and

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Mary, of which he was President, requiring his attention during the greater part of the year, at the Convention of 1805 he called for a Suffragan or Assistant Bishop. The subject was referred to the next year's Convention, but no such meeting was held, nor was there another until after his death. For seven years it seemed as if the worst hopes of her enemies and the most painful fears of her friends were about to be realized in her entire destruction. In the General Convention of the Church, held in the city of New Haven in 1811, there was no representation nor any report whatever from Virginia. The following entry is found on the journal:—"They fear, indeed, that the Church in Virginia is from various causes so depressed, that there is danger of her total ruin, unless great exertions, favoured by the blessing of Providence, are employed to raise her." And what more could be expected from the character of the clergy generally at that time, or for a long time before? It is a melancholy fact, that many of them had been addicted to the race-field, the card-table, the ball-room, the theatre,—nay, more, to the drunken revel. One of them, about the very period of which I am speaking, was, and had been for years, the president of a jockey-club. Another, after abandoning the ministry, fought a duel in sight of the very church in which he had performed the solemn offices of religion.* Nothing was more common, even with the better

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* Another preached (or went into an old country church, professing to do it) four times a year against the four sins of atheism, gambling, horse-racing, and swearing, receiving one hundred dollars—a legacy of some pious person to the minister of the parish—for so doing, while he practised all of the vices himself. When he died, in the midst of his ravings he was heard hallooing the hounds to the chase. Another,—a man of great physical powers,—who ruled his vestry with a rod of terror, wished something done, and convened them for the purpose. It was found that they were unwilling or unable to do it. A quarrel ensued. From words they came to blows, and the minister was victorious. Perhaps it is fair to presume that only a part—perhaps a small part—of the vestry was present. On the following Sabbath the minister justified what he had done in a sermon from a passage of Nehemiah:—"And I contended with them, and cursed them, and smote certain of them, and plucked off their hair."

This account I received from two old men of the congregation, of the most unimpeached veracity, one or both of whom was present at the sermon.

All indeed of the cases alluded to in the note and the text came so near to my own time and even ministry, that the truth of them was assured to me by those whose testimony was not to be doubted. Gladly would I be spared the painful reference to them and others, could it be done without unfaithfulness to the task undertaken. In consenting to engage in it, which I have done with reluctance, it became my duty to present an honest exhibition of the subject, and not misrepresent by a suppression of the truth. God has set us the example of true fidelity

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portion of them, than to celebrate the holy ordinance of Baptism, not amidst the prayers of the congregation, but the festivities of the feast and the dance, the minister sometimes taking a full share in all that was going on. These things being so, and the churches having been, on account of such things, almost entirely deserted or else occupied by those who only held our Zion up to derision, what but a firm conviction of God's watchful providence over her could keep alive hope in the most ardent of her friends? How often, in looking at the present comparative prosperity of the Church, do we say, Surely God must have greatly loved this branch of his Holy Catholic Church or he would not have borne so long with her unfaithfulness and so readily forgiven her sins.

Having presented this brief sketch of the past history of the Church in Virginia, I now proceed to execute the task assigned me by stating some things which came more or less under my own personal observation.

My earliest recollections of the Church are derived from visits, while yet a child, to the Old Stone Chapel in Frederick county, (then the back-woods of Virginia,) either on horseback, behind my father, or with my mother and the children in my grandmother's English chariot, drawn by four work-horses in farming-gear,—richer gear having failed with failing fortunes. Some of the neighbours went in open four-horse plantation-wagons, very different from the vehicles to which they had been accustomed in Lower Virginia, whence they emigrated.* My father took an

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in the biographical and historical notices which pervade the sacred Scriptures. The greatest failings of his best saints, as well as the abominations of the wicked, are there faithfully recorded as warnings to all ages; though there are those who think that it had been better to have passed over some unhappy passages. I have gone as far as conscience and judgment would allow in the way of omission even of things which have passed under my own eyes. Some of those who are hostile to our Church have dwelt much, from the pulpit and the press, on the evil conduct of many of our old ministers, and doubtless have oftentimes overrated this evil, while making no acknowledgment of any good. Some of our own people, on the other hand, have been disposed to ascribe to malice much of that which belongs to truth. Let us seek the truth. It is not only mighty and will prevail, but will do good in the hands of the God of truth. Often and truly has it been said of the Church, in certain ages and countries where evil ministers have abounded, that but for God's faithful promise, those ministers would long since have destroyed it. It is some relief to my mind to be able to add, that in almost all the unhappy instances to which I have made reference, it pleased Providence to ordain that they should leave no posterity behind to mourn their fathers' shame.

* My father had considerable possessions in land and servants in Lower Vir-

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active part in the erection of this house, which was about seven miles distant from his residence. It was here that I officiated during the first twenty-five years of my ministry. The congregation, which now worships in a larger one four miles off, makes a kind of pilgrimage to it on one Sabbath each summer. It is still used for service in behalf of coloured persons, and on funeral occasions. Near it lies the parish burying-ground, where many dear friends and relatives are interred, and where I hope to find a grave. The Rev. Alexander Balmaine, a chaplain in the United States Army during the War of the Revolution, and who was married to a relative of Mr. Madison, one of the Presidents of our country, was the minister of it for more than thirty years, during the last ten or twelve of which I was associated with him. He lived in Winchester, and preached alternately there, in a stone church of about the same size, and at the chapel.

There was a small wooden church very near the chapel, which was built before the war, and in which the Rev. Mr. Thruston officiated. The Baptists were, in his day, establishing themselves in this part of the Valley of Virginia. With them, it is said, he had much and sharp controversy. On the declaration of war he laid aside the ministry and entered the army, attaining before the close of it to the rank of Colonel, by which title he was known to the end of his days. About twelve miles from my father's, in a direction opposite to the chapel, there was another small log church, in which the Rev. Mr. Mughlenburg, afterwards General Mughlenburg, occasionally officiated. He was the minister of the adjoining parish in Shenandoah county and lived at Woodstock. He also exchanged the clerical for the military profession and rose to the rank of General. Tradition says that his last sermon was preached in military dress, a gown being thrown over it, and that he either chose for his text or introduced into his sermon the words of

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ginia, but lost nearly all during the War of the Revolution, in which he served as aid to General Washington. At the close of it, gathering up what little remained of money, and a very few servants, he removed to the rich and beautiful Valley of Frederick, lying between the Blue Ridge and Alleghany Mountains. The whole country was little else than a forest at that time. For a small sum he purchased a farm, with two unfinished log rooms, around which the wolves nightly howled. Laying aside the weapons of war, he took himself to hard work with the axe, the maul, and other instruments, while my mother exchanged the luxuries and ease of Lower Virginia for the economy and diligence of a Western housewife.

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Ecclesiastes, "To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under the heaven,"—"a time of war and a time of peace," and that, the sermon being over, he laid aside the gown and walked forth the soldier in dress and office. He was esteemed a very upright and patriotic man. I have often in my younger days, and indeed after my entrance upon the ministry, seen a poor old lady at the chapel in Frederick, who sat under his ministry and still lived near his log church. Being twenty miles off from the chapel, she would come on horseback either to Winchester or to the house of my elder sister over night. Her visits were generally on communion-days, and she always partook of it fasting. She spoke well of her minister as one who was faithful to his duty, for he rode twenty miles to preach to a few poor people in one of the poorest parts of the country. My next recollections of the Church are in the person of my teacher, who was educated in General Washington's Free School in Alexandria, and afterward on account of his promising talents sent to William and Mary College. At the end of his literary course he was admitted to Deacons' orders by Bishop Madison. A year or two after this he became teacher to the children of those few families who composed almost the whole of the chapel congregation. He was faithful as a classical teacher, heard us our catechism once a week, and for some time opened the school with prayer. He officiated also for a period at the chapel on those Sundays which Mr. Balmaine gave to Winchester; but, his habits becoming bad, he ceased ever after to exercise the ministerial office, being fully conscious that he had mistaken his calling. He left no posterity to be wounded by this statement, or I should have forborne to make it.* During this

* Although there was no such thing as family prayers at that day, yet was the Catechism taught in many families of the Church; pincushions to the girls and trap-balls to the boys were sometimes given, in the parish of Frederick, by the wife of the old parish clerk, as a reward for accuracy in saying it to the minister. My mother also (as was the case with many others) made her children get and repeat some of the hymns of the Prayer Book, especially Bishop Ken's, for morning and evening, and repeat some short prayer at her bedside. In my father-in-law's family (Mr. Philip Nelson, who has often been seen in our State and General Conventions) the practice of reading the Psalms, as arranged in the Prayer Book, was regularly practised each day by the females, so that my wife, at our marriage, could repeat nearly the whole book of Psalms. Her father used to hear his children the Catechism every Sabbath morning before breakfast; and on the one after our marriage she took her accustomed place at the head of six or eight children and performed her part. She was then eighteen years of age. It was doubtless the practice of repeating the Catechism, reading the Psalms and other Scriptures daily, and using

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period of my life I had no other means of gaining a knowledge of the Church and her clergy than from my parents at home. When there was no service at the chapel or we were prevented from going, my father read the service and a sermon; and whenever a death occurred among the servants he performed the burial service himself, and read Blair's Sermon on Death the following Sunday. Of the character and conduct of the old clergy generally I have often heard them speak in terms of strong condemnation. My father, when a young man, was a vestryman in Prince George county, Virginia, but resigned his place rather than consent to retain an unworthy clergyman in the parish. Of two clergymen, however, in King George county,—the Stewarts,—I have heard my mother, who lived for some time under the ministry of one of them, speak in terms of high commendation, as exceptions to the general rule. At the age of seventeen I was sent to Princeton College, where, of course, I had no opportunities of acquiring any knowledge of the Church, as it had no existence there at that time, though it was while there that I formed the determination, at the instance of my mother and elder sister, to enter the Episcopal ministry, as they perceived from my letters the serious turn of my mind. I ought to have stated above that my confirmation took place at a very early period, during the first and only visit of Bishop Madison to this part of Virginia. I have but an indistinct recollection of his having heard some of us the Catechism at church, and, as I suppose, laying his hands upon us in confirmation afterward, perceiving that we said our Catechism well. But as to both of them, especially the latter, I have relied more on the testimony of older persons than on my own certain remembrance. At the age of nineteen or a few months sooner my college course was over. Through my beloved relative and faithful friend, Mrs. Custis of Arlington, I heard of the great worth of the Rev. Walter Addison of Maryland and determined to prepare for the ministry at his house and under his direction. In him I became acquainted with one of the best of men and saw one of the purest specimens of the ministerial character. Mr. Addison was of English parentage, and born to large landed possessions on the Maryland side of the

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the morning service on Sundays when there was no public worship, which kept alive the knowledge of and attachment to the Church in many families which might otherwise have been lost to it. Such families were found to be most effective auxiliaries in its resuscitation.

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Potomac opposite to Alexandria. He also inherited a number of servants, whom he emancipated. Through mismanagement his other property wasted away. But the God whom he served never permitted him to want, though he was allowed to end his days in poverty. It required but little to serve him, for he was a man of content and self-denial. At a time when wine, whiskey, rum, and brandy were so commonly and freely drunken by all, especially by many of the clergy of Virginia and Maryland, he made a rule never to drink more than one small glass of very weak toddy at dinner, but this was equal to total abstinence now. Wine he had none. He was faithful and bold in reproving vice from the pulpit and elsewhere, though one of the meekest of men. He told me of some mistakes into which he ran in his earlier days. He was probably one of the first of the Episcopal clergy in the United States who denounced what are called fashionable amusements. Some years before my acquaintance with him he published a small volume against balls, theatres, gambling, and horse-racing, adducing some high authorities from the Church of England. His opposition to duelling and the means he adopted to prevent it made him for a number of years very notorious among the members of our American Congress. Being pastor of the church in Georgetown, though still living in the country at the time, he had the opportunity of exerting himself in the prevention of duels on several occasions. He has often detailed to me the circumstances attending those efforts,—namely, his clothing himself with a civil office, in order the more effectually to arrest the duellists in their attempts to find some favourable place for the combat, his interview with Mr. Jefferson, when he had reason to believe that one of the parties was in the President's house, his pursuit after them on horseback, his overtaking them just as the seconds were measuring the ground, their threatening to bind him to a tree in the Arlington forest if he did not desist from the pursuit. These and such like things have I heard from his truthful lips. At the time of the threatened encounter between Mr. John Randolph and Mr. Eppes, he was fully prepared to prevent it, and if necessary deposit one or both of them in a place of confinement. Mr. Randolph was then an attendant at his church in Georgetown. Eleven o'clock on Sunday morning was selected for the combat, in order, as was believed, to evade Mr. Addison's vigilance, as it was supposed he would then be at his post of duty in the house of God. But he believed that his post of duty on that day was elsewhere, and did not hesitate about disappointing the congregation. For some time preceding the appointed hour he

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was secreted near the hotel where Mr. Randolph boarded, ready to arrest him should he leave the house. But an adjustment of the difference took place about that time. Mr. Stanford, a worthy member from North Carolina, the steady and judicious friend of Randolph, was doubtless engaged in the adjustment. At any rate, he knew what was going on and when the pacification was effected. He knew also where Mr. Addison was and what he was prepared to do. He it was who informed Mr. Addison that he might go with a quiet conscience to his Sabbath duties, as the difficulty was settled. This I had from the lips of Mr. Stanford himself, with whom I had the pleasure to be intimately acquainted for many years. Mr. Addison was equally opposed to strife in the Christian Church. Although he was a true lover of our own and most passionately devoted to her services, yet he was no bigot, but embraced all Christians and Churches in the arms of his wide-extended charity. The unchurching doctrine he utterly rejected. Just before I lived with him an Episcopal paper was commenced in the North in which that position was taken. He either subscribed to it, or it was sent to him; but, on finding that it declared all other ministries invalid and all other churches out of the covenant, he returned the paper or declined to receive it any longer. He loved to see sinners converted, by whatsoever instruments God might employ. There was a certain place in the corner of his large country parish where neither he nor any other Episcopal minister had been able to make any impression. Some Methodists being there and desiring to build a church, he bid them God-speed and furnished some pecuniary or other assistance, hoping that they might do what he had not been able to do. Such was the man of God with whom it was my privilege to spend some happy and I hope not unprofitable months, the period of my stay being abridged by a weakness in the eyes, which altogether prevented study. He lived to a good old age, loving all men and beloved by all who knew him. Many of his last years were spent in darkness, but not of the soul. His eyes became dim, until at length all was night to him. But while only a glimmering of light remained, he rejoiced and thanked God for it far more than those do who enjoy a perfect vision. And when all was gone, he was still the happiest and most grateful of all the happy and grateful ones whom I have ever seen or known. In my visits to the district afterward, I ever felt it to be my sacred duty, as it was my high happiness, to enter his humble dwelling. But this was never done without bursts of feelings and of tears on both sides.

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From this digression, which I am sure the reader will pardon, I return to the more immediate object of this article.

As I am engaged in presenting my recollections of the state of things in the Church of Virginia, I think this a proper time for some notice of the character of the sermons which were preached and the books which were read among the Episcopalians of Virginia. This was the period when the poet Cowper upbraided the clergy of the English Church with substituting morality for religion, saying,—

> "How oft, when Paul has served us with a text,
> Has Plato, Tully, Epictetus preached!"

In the Church of Virginia, with the exception of Mr. Jarrett and perhaps a few others, I fear the preaching had for a long time been almost entirely of the moral kind. The books most in use were Blair's Sermons, Sterne's Works, The Spectator, The Whole Duty of Man, sometimes Tillotson's Sermons, which last were of the highest grade of worth then in use. But Blair's Sermons, on account of their elegant style and great moderation in all things, were most popular. I remember that when either of my sisters would be at all rude or noisy, my mother would threaten them with Blair's Sermon on gentleness. The sickly sensibility of Sterne's Sermons (and especially of his Sentimental Journey) was the favourite style and standard of too many of our clergy. After entering the ministry I heard several of such most faulty exhibitions of Christian morality. It is no wonder that the churches were deserted and the meeting-houses filled. But the time had come, both in the English and American Church, for a blessed change. There is something interesting in the history of one of the ways in which it was introduced into the Church of Virginia. The family of Bishop Porteus was Virginian — of Gloucester county—opposite old Yorktown, the residence of General Nelson. It is not certain but that Bishop Porteus himself was born in Virginia and carried over when a child to England with his emigrating parents. Porteus became a tutor in the Eton school, and when General Nelson was sent to England for his education his father placed him under the care of Mr. Porteus. When Porteus was elevated to the rank of a Bishop he did not forget his former pupil and family, but sent them his first work, a volume of sermons, which were a great improvement on the sermons of that day. When Mr. Wilberforce, with whom he was intimate, published his

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celebrated evangelical work, "Practical View of Christianity," this was also sent, and afterward I believe the Bishop's Lectures on the Gospel of St. Matthew, which were an improvement on his sermons. A beginning of more evangelical views of Christian doctrine was thus made in one of the best and most influential families of Virginia. By my intimacy with one branch of this family, which led to a matrimonial connection before my ordination, I became acquainted with Wilberforce's "Practical View of Christianity," and I believe Porteus's Lectures. These I read during the time I spent with Mr. Addison, and well remember the impression made upon me by the same. I felt that, if ever permitted to preach, I had only to present the views set forth in these books, and my hearers must be converted, though I was soon brought to the experience of Melancthon, "That old Adam was too strong for young Melancthon." These books were, I believe, republished in America about this time, together with some of the writings of Miss Hannah More, and all contributed to elevate and evangelize the style of preaching in our Church. Those who undertook the resuscitation of the Church in Virginia certainly adopted and in their sermons exhibited these views. In this they were greatly encouraged by the sermons of Mr. Jarrett, two editions of which had been published.*

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* I will be pardoned, I hope, for placing in a note some facts in relation to the family of General Nelson, inasmuch as they are closely connected with the history of the Church in Virginia. His parents appear to have been pious persons. It is said that the mother was particularly attentive to the religious training of her children, teaching them to be punctual and conscientious as to their private devotions. If she had reason to fear that either of her sons neglected his morning prayers, instead of tempting him to untruth by asking if he had attended to this duty, she would say, "My son, if you have not said your prayers this morning, you had better go and do it." The grace of God has been poured out on great numbers of her descendants. General Nelson was blessed in a partner to whom, at his early death, he could confide with safety his large family of children. They inherited but a small portion of his once large estate,—that having been nearly expended in the service of his country, and for which no remuneration was ever received. But they were the adopted children of God, and became active and zealous members of the Church in different parts of the State, bringing up large families in the same way in which themselves had been trained, in the love of the Gospel and the Church. The widow of General Nelson lived to the age of eighty-seven, being blind during the last seventeen years. Having been twice connected in marriage with her grandchildren, I was led, during many of her declining years, to pay an annual visit to her humble abode. On such occasions many of her children and descendants, who before her death had amounted to one hundred and fifty, though not all alive at one time, assembled together at her house, where I always administered the Holy Communion. On one of these occasions, I remember to have counted in her

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I am now brought to the period of my ordination, which introduced me to some things, in relation to the Church of Virginia, not without a painful interest to the lovers of true religion. But, before speaking of some circumstances attendant on my ordination, it may be well to allude to a correspondence between Bishop Madison and myself, some months before that event. It is the more proper so to do as it will serve to correct some misunderstandings which have gone abroad with respect to us both, and which have had a bearing on the reputation of the Virginia Churchmanship of that day. Passing through Philadelphia a year or more before my ordination, and staying at the house of an Episcopal clergyman, I heard some severe strictures on one or more of the ministers of our Church, in some other diocese or dioceses, for violating the rubrics of the Prayer Book by abridging the service. It was designated by no slighter term than perjury, in the violation of solemn ordination vows. I learned afterward that such charges were made elsewhere. In examining the Canons of the Church I also found one which seemed positively to forbid, under any circumstances, the admission into an Episcopal pulpit of any minister not Episcopally ordained. I was aware that it was impossible to use the whole service in very many of the places where I might be called to officiate, and well knew that ministers of other denominations preached in many of our old Episcopal churches, and, indeed, that it was questioned whether under the law our ministers had the exclusive right to them. I also saw that there was a canon forbidding servile labour to the clergy, while from necessity—for the support of a young family—I was then taking part in the labours of the field, which in Virginia was emphatically *servile labour*. Wishing to enter the ministry with a good conscience and correct understanding of my ordination vows, I wrote a letter of inquiry to Bishop Madison on these several points. To this I received a very sensible reply, nearly all of which, I think, the House of Bishops and the Church generally would now indorse, though there would have been some demurring in former times. On the occasion of my consecration to the office of Bishop it was objected by some that Bishop Madison had ordained me with a dispensation from canonical obedience. Having his letter with me,—which the reader may

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room and in the passage leading to it forty-three recipients of that rite, nearly all of whom were her descendents,—children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. Four of her descendants are now ministering in the Episcopal Church, and one who did minister in it has gone to his rest.

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see in the note,—the objection was not urged.* In the month of February, 1811, I proceeded on horseback to Williamsburg, about two hundred miles, and on Sunday, the 24th,—a clear, cold morning,—was ordained. My examination took place at the Bishop's, before breakfast,—Dr. Bracken and himself conducting it. It was very brief. It has been asserted that Bishop Madison became an unbeliever in the latter part of his life, and I have often been

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* Dear Sir:—I received your letter by Mr. Bracken, and approve of your conscientious inquiries respecting certain obligations imposed by the Canons. You know that every society must have general rules, as the guides of conduct for its members; but I believe the Episcopal Church is as liberal in that respect as any other religious society whatever. The subscription required of the candidate is, that he will conform to the discipline and worship of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. At the time of ordination he promises to conform to the Canons. With respect to the Book of Common Prayer, an adherence is required, wherever the situation of the Church will permit: it happens, however, too often that the minister must be left to his own discretion, particularly on occasions when it may be necessary to abridge the service, or when there may be no Clerk, &c. No oath is administered or required, and that adherence to the book only is expected which may tend to further religion and good order in a religious society; for there can be no doubt of the superiority of forms of prayer for public worship. Before sermon many ministers, I believe, prefer a prayer of their own, and if it be well conceived I suppose no objection would be made. His private prayer, may certainly be determined by himself. With respect to the use of our Church by other Societies, the general rule is often dispensed with, especially if the party wishing the use will assist in the preservation of the building, or the preacher be of known respectable character. Too often, indeed, our churches are now used entirely by other sects. The Canon could never intend that a minister should be prevented from following any occupation which was creditable. Hence the practice of physic, &c. is not deemed inconsistent with the ministerial profession, nor, I conceive, any other business which is free from a kind of public odium. It would be unfit for a minister to keep a tavern or grogshop, &c., but certainly not to follow any occupation where good may result both to the community and to the individual. The honest discharge of clerical duties, with a life preaching by example, are, in reality, the principal requisites: when these are manifested, and the piety and good behaviour of the minister cannot be questioned, he need not apprehend the rigour of Canons, or any other spiritual authority.

I am, sir, yours very respectfully,

October 10, 1810. J. Madison.

Remarks.—Some years after my entrance on the ministry, I was conversing on the subject of dispensing with the regular service in preaching to the servants in their quarters, with one of our most eminent ministers, when he maintained, and I doubt not most conscientiously, that I had no right to open my lips in preaching to them, without first using the service according to the rubric. A very great change has recently come over the minds of many of our clergy on this subject, judging from some things seen in our religious papers, in which more latitudinarian views are taken than I ever remember to have heard of formerly.

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asked if it was not so. I am confident that the imputation is unjust. His political principles, which at that day were so identified in the minds of many with those of infidel France, may have subjected him to such suspicion. His secular studies, and occupations as President of the College and Professor of Natural Philosophy, may have led him to philosophize too much on the subject of religion, and of this I thought I saw some evidence in the course of my examination; but that he, either secretly, or to his most intimate friends, renounced the Christian faith, I do not believe, but am confident of the contrary. To proceed with the ordination. On our way to the old church the Bishop and myself met a number of students with guns on their shoulders and dogs at their sides, attracted by the frosty morning, which was favourable to the chase; and at the same time one of the citizens was filling his ice-house. On arriving at the church we found it in a wretched condition, with broken windows and a gloomy, comfortless aspect. The congregation which assembled consisted of two ladies and about fifteen gentlemen, nearly all of whom were relatives or acquaintances. The morning service being over, the ordination and communion were administered, and then I was put into the pulpit to preach, there being no ordination sermon. The religious condition of the College and of the place may easily and justly be inferred from the above. I was informed that not long before this two questions were discussed in a literary society of the College:— First, Whether there be a God? Secondly, Whether the Christian religion had been injurious or beneficial to mankind? Infidelity, indeed, was then rife in the State, and the College of William and Mary was regarded as the hotbed of French politics and religion. I can truly say, that then, and for some years after, in every educated young man of Virginia whom I met, I expected to find a skeptic, if not an avowed unbeliever. I left Williamsburg, as may well be imagined, with sad feelings of discouragement. My next Sabbath was spent in Richmond, where the condition of things was little better. Although there was a church in the older part of the town, it was never used but on communion-days. The place of worship was an apartment in the Capitol, which held a few hundred persons at most, and as the Presbyterians had no church at all in Richmond at that time, the use of the room was divided between them and the Episcopalians, each having service every other Sabbath morning, and no oftener. Even two years after this, being in Richmond on a communion-Sunday, I assisted the Rector, Dr. Buchanan, in the old church, when only two gentle-

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men and a few ladies communed. One of these gentlemen, the elder son of Judge Marshall, was a resident in the upper country. One of the old clergy who was present did approach to the chancel with a view of partaking; but his habits were so bad and so notorious, that he was motioned by the Rector not to come. Indeed, it was believed that he was not in a sober state at the time.

Before proceeding further in the narrative of such circumstances as may tend to throw light on the condition of the Church in Virginia, I will, at the risk of being charged with even more of egotism than has already been displayed, make a few remarks, which, I think, are necessary to a right understanding of the whole subject I have taken in hand. So low and hopeless was the state of the Church at this time—the time of my ordination—but a few of the old clergy even attempting to carry on the work—only one person for a long time having been ordained by Bishop Madison, and he from a distance, and a most unworthy one—it created surprise, and was a matter of much conversation, when it was understood that a young Virginian had entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. Even some years after this, when I applied to Judge Marshall for a subscription to our Theological Seminary, though he gave with his accustomed liberality, he could not refrain from saying, that it was a hopeless undertaking, and that it was almost unkind to induce young Virginians to enter the Episcopal ministry, the Church being too far gone ever to be revived. Such was the general impression among friends and foes. I had, however, throughout the State many most respectable and influential relatives, some still rich, others of fallen fortunes, both on my father's and mother's side,* who were still attached to the Church. My parents, too, were very popular persons, and had many friends and acquaintances throughout Virginia, who still lingered around the old Church. These things caused my ordination to excite a greater interest, and created a partiality in behalf of my future ministry. But still there were many who thought it so strange a proceeding, that they were ready to accept, as a probable mode of accounting for it, an

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* My great-grandfather on the paternal side was an Irish Romanist. Emigrating to this country, he married a Quakeress, in Flushing, New York, and settled in Suffolk, Virginia. From this alliance sprang a large family of Protestant Episcopalians. Through my grandmother an infusion of Anglican Protestantism entered the family, as she descended from Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells, after whom my father and many others of the family have been called. With scarce an exception, their descendants have all adhered to the Episcopal Church.

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opinion expressed by one or more and soon put in circulation, that there was something unsound in mind or eccentric in character, at any rate a want of good common sense, or I could not make such a mistake as to attach myself to the fallen and desperate fortunes of the old Church. Some strange speeches of this kind were made. Nor were they or their effects confined to Virginia, or to that time. I am not sure that their influence has ceased to the present day. One good, however, resulted from them, namely, that certain views of religion and certain modes of life adopted by me and contrary to what were supposed to be the doctrines of the Episcopal Church —certainly, contrary to the sentiments and practice of the people —were ascribed to this natural defect and kindly dealt with, instead of awakening hostility which, under other circumstances, might have been exhibited. Certain it is that my ministry, from the first, was received with a favour which neither my imperfect theological education nor my most unfinished sermons nor any thing else about me were entitled to. Under such favour, I commenced my ministry in the spring of 1811, in Frederick county, as assistant to Mr. Balmaine, in the two congregations belonging to his charge, while living and labouring on a small farm, and having no design or wish to go elsewhere. But in the fall of that year I consented to the very urgent solicitations of the vestry of old Christ Church, Alexandria, to take charge of it, with the privilege of spending a portion of the year in Frederick and not entirely relinquishing my engagements there. Very peculiar were the circumstances of that congregation, and very strong the appeal, or I should not have been moved to undertake even the partial and temporary charge of it. Its last minister was from the West Indies, and after having married in Alexandria was found to have left a wife behind him. On her pursuing and reaching him he fled, and I believe was heard of no more. His predecessor was of an unhappy temper and too much given to the intoxicating cup. His predecessor again was one of the old-fashioned kind in his preaching and habits, being fond of what was called good company and the pleasures of the table. In order to insure full and frequent meetings of the vestry-men—twelve in number and, for the most part, good livers—he got them to meet once per month at each others' houses to dinner. These meetings continued until after I took charge of the congregation. I was present at one of them. The old minister who had established them was also there, being on a visit. He then lived in a distant parish. It was not difficult to perceive why such vestry-meetings were popular with certain ministers and vestry-

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men. I attended no more of them, and they were soon relinquished. That a congregation having had three such ministers in succession should be desirous to try a young Virginian was not very wonderful. I should be guilty, however, if I did not pursue the history of the ministers of Christ Church further back. The next in order of time past was the good Dr. Griffith, of whom I have already spoken, as the first Bishop-elect of Virginia, but who was prevented by poverty from going to England for consecration. His predecessor was Lord Bryan Fairfax, of whom I have something to say in another place. He was a pure and conscientious man, the friend and neighbour of General Washington, and a true Englishman. He attempted, in a series of private letters, which one of his children showed me and which have since been published, to dissuade Washington from engaging in or pursuing the war. General Washington dealt very tenderly with him in his replies, knowing how conscientious he was, and being much attached to him and the elder Lord Fairfax with whom he had lived. There was associated with Mr. Fairfax the Rev. Mr. Page, who afterward moved to Shepherdstown, and of whom I have heard that venerable old lady, Mrs. Shepherd, speak in the highest terms as an evangelical man of the school of Whitefield.

A few remarks on my ministry during the two years of its exercise in Alexandria may serve to cast some light on the progress of the Church in Virginia from that time. 1st. The old Virginia custom of private baptisms, christening-cake, and merriment, had prevailed in Alexandria. The ground, however, was now taken that the rubric was entirely opposed to this and that the whole meaning and design of the sacred rite forbade it and that it could not be continued. There were demurrings and refusals for a time, but a little decision with kind persuasion completely triumphed, as they did afterward at a later period both in Norfolk and Petersburg, where private baptisms were made to give place to public ones, when I had the temporary charge of these two congregations, peculiar circumstances inducing me to undertake it. 2dly. The Gospel, it is to be feared, had not been clearly preached in times past. It was now attempted; and, though most imperfectly done as to style and manner, God's blessing was granted. The services were well attended. Many were added to the Church of such as gave good proof afterward that they would be of those who should be saved. A goodly number of the members of Congress often came down on Sunday morning to attend the church,

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among whom were Mr. John Randolph* and Dr. Milnor, with both of whom I became then and thus acquainted. In the mind of the latter there was at that time going on the great change

* It being known that there was a family connection and some intimacy and correspondence between Mr. Randolph and myself, I have been often asked my opinion as to his religious character. It is as difficult to answer this as to explain some other things about this most talented, eccentric, and unhappy man. My acquaintance and correspondence with him commenced in 1813 and terminated in 1818, although at his death he confided a most difficult and important trust to myself, in conjunction with our common and most valued friend, Mr. Francis S. Key. I publish the following letter written in 1815, when his mind seemed to be in a state of anxiety on the subject of religion, and an extract from another paper in my possession, showing a supposed relief in the year 1818. Other letters I have, during the period of our intimacy, of the same character. The reader must judge for himself, taking into consideration the great inconsistencies of his subsequent life, and making all allowances for his most peculiar and unhappy temperament, his most diseased body, and the trying circumstances of his life and death.

"Richmond, May 19, 1815.

"It is with very great regret that I leave town about the time that you are confidently expected to arrive. Nothing short of necessity should carry me away at this time. I have a very great desire to see you, to converse with you on the subject before which all others sink into insignificance. It continues daily to occupy more and more of my attention, which it has nearly engrossed to the exclusion of every other, and it is a source of pain as well as of occasional comfort to me. May He who alone can do it shed light upon my mind, and conduct me, through faith, to salvation. Give me your prayers. I have the most earnest desire for a more perfect faith than I fear I possess. What shall I do to be saved? I know the answer, but it is not free from difficulty. Lord, be merciful to me, a sinner. I do submit myself most implicitly to his holy will, and great is my reliance on his mercy. But when I reflect on the corruptions of my nature I tremble whilst I adore. The merits of an all-atoning Saviour I hardly dare to plead when I think of my weak faith. Help, Lord, or I perish, but thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven. I know that I deserve to suffer for my sins; for time misspent, faculties misemployed; but, above all, that I have not loved God and my neighbour as we are commanded to do. But I will try to confide in the promises we have received, or rather to comply with their conditions. Whatever be my fate, I will not harbour a murmur in my breast against the justice of my Creator. Your afflicted friend,

"John Randolph, of Roanoke.

"Rev. William Meade."

August, 1818. "It is now just nineteen years since sin first began to sit heavy upon my soul. For a very great part of that time I have been as a conscious thief; hiding or trying to hide from my fellow-sinners, from myself, from my God. After much true repentance, followed by relapses into deadly sin, it hath pleased Almighty God to draw me to him; reconciling me to him, and, by the love which driveth out fear, to show me the mighty scheme of his salvation, which hath been to me, as also to the Jews, a stumbling-block, and, as to the Greeks, foolishness. I am now, for the first time, grateful and happy; nor would I exchange my present feelings and assurances, although in rags, for any throne in Christendom."

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whose abundant fruits have so blessed mankind. 3d. It was during my stay in Alexandria that I procured from the library of Mr. Custis, of Arlington, the folio edition of Bishop Wilson's works, which had been presented to General Washington by the son of Bishop Wilson, and which works had been recommended to me by Bishop Madison. By the help of Mr. Edward McGuire, who, for more than forty-two years, has been the faithful and successful minister of the Church in Fredericksburg, and who was then preparing for the ministry with me, I selected from the various parts of that large book, a small volume of private and family prayers, which have gone through three editions, and which, being freely circulated among the families of Virginia, contributed greatly to introduce what was indeed a novelty in that day—the practice of family worship.* It was during my short stay in Alexandria that the Rev. William Wilmer assumed the charge of St. Paul's congregation, and at the close of my ministry there that the Rev. Oliver Norris took charge of Christ Church. These beloved brothers, coming from Maryland with those views of the Gospel and the Church which the evangelical clergy and laity of England were then so zealously and successfully propagating there, contributed most effectually to the promotion of the same in Virginia, and to them is justly due much of the subsequent character and success of the Church in Virginia, as is well known to all of their day. I cannot take leave of Alexandria without referring to my admission to priests' orders, which took place there a year or two after this, and which were conferred on me by Bishop Clagget, of Maryland, our faithful brother the Rev. Simon Wilmer preaching on the occasion. Bishop Clagget, so far as I know and believe, entertained sound views of the Gospel and was a truly pious man.

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* Many of the sentences or petitions, making up these family devotions, are taken from short prayers found either before or after the printed sermons of Bishop Wilson, and no doubt were used by him in the pulpit. They were evidently adapted to sermons. Such we know to have been the case with many if not all of the English clergy, for a long time. Specimens of the same may be seen in connection with a few of the homilies. Such is the practice of some of the English clergy to this day, as I know from having heard them while on a visit to England a few years since. It is well known that Bishop White did at one time, after the example of English Bishops and clergy, prepare and use such prayers after his sermons. Some of the Virginia clergy have done the same occasionally, and for it they have been denounced as transgressors of the law, and no Churchmen. I sincerely wish that so good a practice were generally adopted and that ministers would carefully prepare, either in writing or otherwise, a prayer suitable to the sermon. The collects might sometimes be found admirably adapted, but not always.

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There was much of the Englishman about him, I presume, from his wearing the mitre, and his mode of examining me, that conforming so much to the character of the English University examinations.* Beside a number of hard questions in the metaphysics of divinity, which I was by no means well prepared to answer, but which he kindly answered for me, he requested that I would, in compliance with an old English canon, which had been, I think, incorporated somewhere into our requisitions, give him an account of my faith in the Latin tongue. Although I was pretty well versed in the Latin language, yet, being unused to speak it, I begged him to excuse me. He then said I could take pen and paper and write it down in his presence; but he was kind enough to excuse from that also, and determined to ordain me with all my deficiencies, very much as some other bishops do in this day.

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* A singular circumstance occurred about this time in connection with Bishop Clagget's consecration of old St. Paul's Church, Alexandria. Putting on his robes and his mitre at some distance from the Church, he had to go along the street to reach it. This attracted the attention of a number of boys and others, who ran after and alongside of him, admiring his peculiar dress and gigantic stature. His voice was as extraordinary for strength and ungovernableness as was his stature for size, and as he entered the door of the church where the people were in silence awaiting, and the first words of the service burst forth from his lips in his most peculiar manner, a young lady, turning around suddenly and seeing his huge form and uncommon appearance, was so convulsed that she was obliged to be taken out of the house.

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ARTICLE II.

Recollections of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, during the Present Century.

On leaving Alexandria I returned to my little farm in Frederick and to the tending, in conjunction with Mr. Balmaine, of the two small flocks at the chapel and in Winchester. During all the time of that joint rectorship I bestowed a considerable portion of my labours on five or six counties around, which were either destitute of ministers or very partially served. The continual presence of Mr. Balmaine in Winchester, and the lay-reading of my excellent father-in-law, Mr. Philip Nelson, at the chapel, enabled me to do this. In my absence from the chapel, the excellent sermons of Gisborne and Bradley and Jarrett were delivered by one of the best of readers, from its pulpit. I was happy to be able, during my visit to England some years since, to communicate to the two former the fact that they had thus, without knowing it, preached so often and so acceptably in my pulpit in America. Such was the scarcity of ministers and churches around, that my chapel services were attended by families living at the distance of twelve and fifteen miles. There are now seven churches, with regular services by six ministers, within that district to which I was a debtor for all pulpit and parochial ministration. My connection with Mr. Balmaine was most pleasant and harmonious. He was one of the most simple and single-hearted of men. Himself and his excellent partner were the friends of the poor, and indeed of all, and were beloved by all who knew them. They had no children, and having some property, as well as a few hundred dollars rent for the glebe, might have lived in a little style and self-indulgence, but they were economical and self-denying in all things, that they might have something for the poor and for the promotion of pious objects. They did not even keep fire in their chamber during the coldest weather of winter. They had one family of servants, who were to them as children. As children they inherited, and some still live in, the old mansion. As to some things Dr. Balmaine had been weak, and at times led astray by those who surrounded him. But I can truly say, that for many of the last years of his life, a

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more warm-hearted and exemplary man I knew not. Some of the most eloquent extempore effusions I ever heard were from his lips, while standing in the chancel on sacramental occasions, when he referred with tears to past errors and sought to make amends, by thus testifying to evangelical doctrine and holy living. In the spring of 1812, Bishop Madison died. And as Dr. Buchannon, of Richmond, was the Secretary to the last Convention, which was held seven years before, Dr. Wilmer and myself united in a request that he would call a special one in May. At that Convention fourteen clergymen and fourteen laymen assembled. It resulted in the election of Dr. Bracken as successor to Bishop Madison; not, however, without opposition by some among us.* Another Convention was held in the following spring, at which only seven clergymen attended. To that Convention Dr. Bracken sent in his resignation. Our deliberations were conducted in one of the committee-rooms of the Capitol, sitting around a table. There was nothing to encourage us to meet again, and but for that which I shall soon mention, I believe such profitless and discouraging efforts would soon have ceased. I well remember, that having just read

* A circumstance occurred at this Convention worthy of being mentioned, as showing the effrontery of an unworthy clergyman, even at that day. One such, from New York, came to Virginia a few years before this, and excited considerable attention by his eloquence in Richmond, Norfolk, and elsewhere. He soon settled himself in the vacant church at Fredericksburg, and collected crowds by his pulpit-powers. After a while rumours came that he had left his first and true wife in New York, and that the one with him was unlawfully married to him. This he solemnly denied in the pulpit, and in a letter to the vestry. The thing being to a certain extent proved upon him during the week, he was obliged to admit it as publicly the following Sabbath and in a letter to the vestry. He shortly after left Fredericksburg, (which was soon supplied with another from the same State, who also turned out badly,) and went to one of the lower counties of Virginia, where he was too well received and preferred to the incumbent who had the glebe, but was an intemperate man. He was encouraged to go to the Convention, and see if there was no method by which the incumbent might be ejected and himself be substituted. On coming to Richmond, an interview took place between himself and one of the clergy, in which he was told that if possible he himself would be brought before the Convention, for his violation of the laws of God and man. Enraged by this, he raised his stick, and, shaking it over the head of the clergyman, bid him beware how he proceeded. He afterward, however, sought another interview with the same clergyman, to whom, in the presence of a third, he acknowledged his transgression. He was told that he ought, at any rate, to abandon the ministry. He disappeared that night, and soon after died. He had by his first wife a son of considerable talents who was attached to the stage. By the grace of God he was led to exchange the stage for the pulpit, and, in the providence of God, was led to prepare for the ministry in my house, and became an acceptable and useful minister in the large congregation at Norfolk.

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Scott's "Lay of the Last Minstrel," as I took my solitary way homeward on horseback, I found myself continually saying, in relation to the Church of Virginia, in the words of the elvish page, "*Lost—lost—lost;*" and never expected to cross the mountains again on such an errand. But in the course of that year, or in the early part of the following, it was suggested to Messrs. Wilmer and Norris, and by none other than that unhappy man, the Rev. Mr. Dashiel, of Baltimore, (whom they then highly esteemed, but whom they abandoned as soon as his unworthiness was known,) that the Rev. Dr. Moore, of New York, was the man to raise up the Church in Virginia. Mr. D. had become acquainted with Dr. Moore at a recent General Convention, heard him eloquently advocate the introduction of more hymns into the Prayer Book, and preach the Gospel with zeal and power in several large churches. Dr. Wilmer and myself entered into a correspondence with Dr. Moore, which led to his election at the next Convention. Some objections, however, were privately made to Dr. Moore. It was said that Bishop Hobart had complaints against him for some irregularities in carrying on the work of the ministry, and that he was somewhat Methodistical. It so happened, however, that Bishop Hobart had written a most favourable letter concerning Dr. Moore to some one present, which being shown, all opposition was silenced and he was unanimously elected as Bishop of the Diocese, and immediately after, or perhaps before, as Rector of the Monumental Church, which had been reared on the ruins of the Richmond Theatre. Bishop Moore was consecrated in May of 1814, and entered on his duties in the summer of that year. Our organization was now complete, but on a diminutive scale. Besides the few older clergy, who had almost given up in despair, there were only the Rev. Messrs. Wilmer and Norris, in Alexandria, the Rev. Mr. Lemmon, who had just come to Fauquier, Mr. Edward McGuire, acting as lay-reader in Fredericksburg, (preferred by the people in that capacity to another importation from abroad,) and the one who makes this record. But from this time forth a favourable change commenced. Hope sprung up in the bosoms of many hitherto desponding. Bishop Moore had some fine qualifications for the work of revival. His venerable form, his melodious voice, his popular preaching, his evangelical doctrine, his amiable disposition, his fund of anecdote in private, and his love for the Church, all contributed to make him popular and successful, so far as he was able to visit and put forth effort. His parochial engagements and bodily infirmities prevented his visiting many parts of the diocese.

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He never crossed the Alleghany Mountains, although he sometimes visited North Carolina, which then had no Bishop. In the spring of 1815, the first Convention under his Episcopate assembled in Richmond. It must be evident to all, from the account given of the past history of the Church in Virginia, that much prejudice must have existed against it, and that the reputation of both clergy and people for true piety must have been low, and that it was most proper to take some early occasion of setting forth the principles on which it was proposed to attempt its resuscitation. The last Convention, which was held under Bishop Madison, and which was followed by an intermission of seven years, had prepared the way for this, by declaring the necessity of a reform in the manners of both clergy and laity and by establishing rules for the trial of both. Wherefore, among the first things which engaged the consideration of the Convention of 1815, was the establishing a code of discipline. The Diocese of Maryland, from which two of our brethren, the Rev. Messrs. Wilmer and Norris, came, had already been engaged in the same work, and we did little else than copy the regulations there adopted. But although they were only the grosser vices of drunkenness, gaming, extortion, &c. which it was proposed to condemn, yet great opposition was made. The hue and cry of priestly usurpation and oppression was raised. It was said that the clergy only wanted the power, and fire and fagot would soon be used again—that we were establishing a Methodist Church, and that the new church needed reformation already. The opposition indeed was such at this and the ensuing Convention, that we had to content ourselves with renewing the general resolutions of the Convention of 1805, under Bishop Madison. In two years after this, however, in the Convention held in Winchester, when the number of the clergy and the piety of the laymen had increased, the subject was again brought up, and the condemnation of those things which brought reproach on the Church was extended to theatres, horse-racing, and public balls, by an overwhelming majority. The same has been renewed and enforced at a more recent one. The Church now began to move on with more rapid strides. In looking over the list of the clergy who were added to our ranks in the few following years we see the names of such men as Hawley, Horrell, the two Allens, the Lowes, Ravenscroft, Smith, now Bishop of Kentucky, Wingfield, the elder Armstrong, of Wheeling, Charles Page, Keith, Lippitt, Alexander Jones, Cobbs, George Smith, William Lee, John Grammer, J. P. McGuire, Brooke, the Jacksons, and others. The itinerant labours of some of them de-

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serve special notice. Benjamin Allen's labours in the Valley of Virginia, Charles Page's in the counties of Amherst, Nelson, &c., Mr. Cobb's in Bedford and the counties round about, William Lee's in Amelia, Goochland, Powhatan, and others, Mr. Grammer's in Dinwiddie, Brunswick, Greenville, Surry, and Prince George, and J. P. McGuire's between the Rappahannock and James Rivers, were such as few professedly itinerant preachers ever surpass. Without such self-denying labours, the Church could never have been revived in these places. The faithful and zealous men, whom I have enumerated above, were accompanied and have been followed by other faithful ones, too numerous to mention.

THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

It is time that I should now advert to the origin and progress of one great instrument of the Church's prosperity in Virginia,—the Theological Seminary at Alexandria. As Bishop Moore was about leaving New York for Virginia, in the summer of 1814, Dr. Augustine Smith, a native of Virginia, who had been for some years Professor in a Medical School in New York and who was then about to take charge of William and Mary College, met him in the street and proposed that the Church in Virginia should establish a Theological Professorship in Williamsburg, and thus make the College, what its royal patrons designed, a School of the Prophets. Bishop Moore encouraged the proposal, and a deputation of one of the Professors was sent to the Convention of 1815 for the purpose of promoting the plan. The Convention approved it, and the Rev. Dr. Keith became the minister of the Episcopal congregation in Williamsburg, and was prepared to instruct any candidates for the ministry who might be sent there. During a stay of two years only one presented himself. On various accounts Williamsburg was found to be an unsuitable place. The Convention of Virginia had appointed Col. Edward Colston and myself a Committee to correspond with the Bishop of Maryland and some leading laymen in North Carolina, proposing a union with Virginia in the establishment and management of the Seminary at Williamsburg. From North Carolina we received no answer. From the Bishop of Maryland* we received a prompt and decided refusal, accompanied with such severe strictures on the religion and morals of Virginia that we did not present it to the Convention, but only reported our

* Bishop Kemp.

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failure. Williamsburg especially was objected to on account of its infidelity as altogether unfit to be the seat of such an institution. Those of us who were engaged in the resuscitation of the Church were also said to be extravagant in some of our notions, as is apt to be the case with those who in flying from one extreme rush into the other. There was much in the letter but too true of the laity and clergy, both of Maryland and Virginia, in that and past days. Having failed in our experiment at Williamsburg, we determined to make trial of it in Alexandria, by the help of our Education Society —Dr. Keith, Dr. Wilmer, and Mr. Norris, being the Professors. The General Theological Seminary was now getting under way, and its friends were afraid of some interference with its prosperity. The ground was taken that this was the institution of the Church, and its claims paramount to all others. Most threatening letters were addressed to Bishop Moore, calling upon him as a Bishop of the General Church, bound to guard its unity, to interpose and prevent the establishment of the Seminary at Alexandria. Happily for us, Mr. Kohn had bequeathed a large fund for the General Seminary in New York, where it was located when the will was written; but, meanwhile, it had been removed to New Haven, and it was contended that it could not inherit a legacy which was given to an institution in New York. Bishop Hobart now took the field in favour of Diocesan Seminaries and wrote a pamphlet on the subject, claiming the legacy for one to be established in New York, under Diocesan rule. A General Convention was called to settle the question, and it was compromised by restoring the General Seminary to New York, on certain terms, which, as it was foreseen and predicted, made it and has continued it, virtually, a New York Seminary. But we heard no more after that of the schismatical character of the Virginia Seminary, nor have we since that time heard any other objections of the kind to those established in Ohio, Kentucky, Illinois, and Connecticut. Our Seminary continued for several years in the town of Alexandria, until we raised sufficient funds to purchase its present site and erect some of its buildings. We are indebted to the zeal of Mr. John Nelson, of Mecklenburg, for the first moneys collected for that purpose. He visited a considerable part of the State, and raised a handsome contribution to it. In the year 1828 I took my turn, and visited a still larger portion of the State, realizing a greater amount. Other calls have at successive periods been made, and always with success. An attempt to raise an Episcopal fund for a time interfered with

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and postponed this, but it was soon evident that this was the favourite with the people, and the other was relinquished.

CLERICAL ASSOCIATIONS.

Next in the order of time, and agreeably to a recommendation in one of the Conventions in Bishop Madison's time, comes the establishment of Clerical Associations. The first of these was in the Valley of Virginia, consisting of the ministers of Berkeley, Jefferson, and Frederick—Dr. Balmaine, the Rev. Benjamin Allen, Enoch Lowe, Mr. Brian, and myself,—Benjamin Smith, now Bishop Smith, coming among us soon after. We assembled quarterly in each other's parishes; preaching for several days and nights; having meetings among ourselves, and at private houses, for special prayer; taking up collections for missionaries to the western part of Virginia. The two first who went to Virginia beyond the Alleghanies—the Rev. Charles Page and William Lee —were sent out by our Society. These Associations were attended by much good and no evil, so far as I know and believe. I have ever encouraged them since entering the Episcopate, and Bishop Moore did the same before and after that time, as being most important auxiliaries to the Bishops, especially in large dioceses. I regard it as an evil omen, when ministers, favourably situated, are averse to such means of their own and their people's improvement, though I do not mean to say that there are not some good and pious men who regard them in a different light.

OUR CONVENTIONS COME NEXT.

For the first few years after our reorganization our Conventions were not only small as to numbers, but sad and gloomy in character, attracting no attention. A succession of the rainy seasons in May attended them for so many years that the two were closely associated in the public mind. For some years they were held in Richmond; but the proverbial and profuse hospitality of that place was not then generally afforded them. For the most part, both clerical and lay delegates were to be seen only at the taverns, and but few religious services were held. The Convention at Fredericksburg—the first after the system of rotation commenced—was kindly and hospitably entertained, and from that time onward they became not only delightful to the clergy and laity composing them,

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THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, NEAR ALEXANDRIA.

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but attractive to others. To understand aright the history of such large assemblies as our Conventions attract, and the reasons which justify our encouragement of them by making religious exercises so large a part of their doings, it must be stated that not only are the Virginians a people given to visiting, but that the Episcopalians are peculiarly so by reason of the fact that, for the most part, they have sprung from a comparatively few families, who, by marriages and intermarriages, though scattered all over the State, make up one great family of tenderly-attached relatives, who are always pleased at a good excuse, if the ability allows, to assemble together. The bond of Christian fellowship and of Church feeling also is very strong, even where the other is not, as well as where it is. Hospitality also is a strong principle with them, and it is easier here than in most places to throw open the doors and welcome all who will come in on such occasions. A more innocent mode—nay, a more religious mode—of gratifying the social feeling cannot be than that of meeting together at our Conventions; and an imperative duty rests on the ministers to afford the people the most frequent and edifying services in their power, so that they may take up the song of God's ancient people, when going by Divine command to the great feasts of His own appointment:—

"Oh! 'twas a joyful sound to hear
The tribes devoutly say,
Up, Israel! to the temple haste,
And keep the festal day."

Sometimes they have been most edifying as well as joyful occasions. The presence of God has been felt. The word preached has been attended with great power. Many have remembered them as the means of their awakening, and many as the channels of more grace to their already converted souls. Long may they continue to be thus used. Even if some dioceses are so small, or the conveyances so convenient and rapid, that a few hours or at most a day can bring them all to the place of meeting, and a very short time may suffice for legislation and business, let it be remembered how very large are the dimensions of the Diocese of Virginia, how difficult and tedious the journey of many of its members to the Convention, and it will be felt and acknowledged that to meet on mere business for a few hours or a day would not be sufficient to induce and remunerate the attendance of either clergy or laity.

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THE REQUIRING OF LAY DELEGATES TO BE COMMUNICANTS.

We have already spoken of the measures adopted for the purification of the Church from evil-livers, among both clergy and laity, by the passage of wholesome canons. At three successive periods was this done, opposition being made each time, and six Conventions in all being in part occupied in the discussion and contest. We now refer to the method adopted, after a considerable time had elapsed, for the purification of our Conventions from unworthy lay delegates, by requiring that they be in full communion with the Church, and not merely baptized members or professed friends, whether baptized or not. No law, either of the General or State Conventions, forbade an infidel or the most immoral man from being the deputy from a parish in the Diocesan Convention, although questions might come before them touching the Creed and Articles and worship of the Church, or the trial of bishops, clergy, and laymen. The strange anomaly of persons legislating for others and not being themselves subject to such legislation was allowed in the Church, when it would have been resisted in any and every other society. The consequence resulted, that, although there was a great improvement in the general character of the Church and the respectability of the lay delegation to our Conventions, we were still distressed and mortified at the occasional appearance of one or more unworthy members, who were a scandal to the Church, the scandal being the greater because of the number of attendants. The frequenters of the race-ground and the card-table and the lovers of the intoxicating cup sometimes found their way through this unguarded door into the legislative hall. It was proposed to close it; but strenuous opposition was made by some, as to a measure assailing individual and congregational rights. It was discussed for three successive years, and though a considerable majority was always ready to pass the proposed canon, that majority yielded so far to the minority as to allow of delay and further consideration, which only resulted in the final passage of it by increased and overwhelming numbers. An incident occurred, during one of the discussions, showing how the consciences of even those who are not in full communion with the Church approve of wholesome legislation and discipline. A worthy clergyman, who was opposing the canon, referred to his own lay delegate as a proof of what excellent men might be sent to the Convention, who were nevertheless not communicants. When he was seated, the lay dele-

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gate, a very humble and good man, who had never spoken before in Convention, rose and expressed his entire dissent from his minister, and, as it was proposed to postpone the question until the next day, begged that there might be no delay, as he should sleep more quietly that night after having given his vote in favour of so necessary a regulation. He lived to appear in our body once more in full communion with the Church. We have never, since the adoption of this rule, had cause to repent of our legislation, or to blush for the scandal cast upon us by unworthy members.

POLICY OF THE BISHOPS AND CLERGY OF VIRGINIA IN REGARD TO TRACTARIANISM.

At an early period Bishop Moore called the attention of the clergy and laity of Virginia to this heretical and Romish movement, when it overhung our horizon only as a cloud no larger than a man's hand. But it was a black and portentous one. The Convention in Norfolk, with a few exceptions, agreed with him in the propriety of warning against the giving of any encouragement to the circulation of the insidious tracts. At the meeting in Alexandria, the following year, when they had been circulated through the land, having already done much evil in our Mother-Church, a call was made upon all to expose and condemn the false doctrines thereof. The Bishops and ministers did their duty in sounding the alarm, and the faithful Professors of our Seminary did theirs. The consequence is that the Church of Virginia has been preserved from the ill effects of the erroneous and strange doctrines taught by that school.

THE USE OF THE LITURGY AND VESTMENTS IN VIRGINIA.

From what has been said in the foregoing pages as to the deplorable condition of the Church in Virginia, it may well be imagined that its liturgical services were often very imperfectly performed. In truth, the responsive parts were almost entirely confined to the clerk, who, in a loud voice, sung or drawled them out. As to the psalmody, it is believed that the Hundredth Psalm, to the tune of Old Hundred, was so generally used as the signal of the Service begun, that it was regarded as the law of the Church. A case has been mentioned to me by good authority, where a new minister, having varied from the established custom, gave out a different psalm; but the clerk, disregarding it, sung as usual the Hundredth. So unaccustomed were the people to join in the Ser-

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vice, that when I took charge of the congregation in Alexandria in 1811 I tried in vain to introduce the practice, until I fell on the expedient of making the children, who in large numbers came weekly to my house to be catechized, go over certain parts of the Service and the Psalms with me, and, after having thus trained them, on a certain Sabbath directed them to respond heartily and loudly in the midst of the grown ones. They did their part well, and complete success soon attended the plan. Throughout the State, when not only the friends of the Church were rapidly diminishing and Prayer Books were very scarce, but even clerks were hard to be gotten, I presume that the Services were very irregularly performed. I knew of an instance where the clergyman did not even take a Prayer Book into the pulpit, but, committing to memory some of the principal prayers of the Morning Service, used them in the pulpit before sermon, after the manner of other denominations. I am unable to say whether it ever was, or had been for a long time, the habit of any or of many of the ministers to use what is called the full Service, combining what all acknowledge to have been originally the three distinct parts of the old English cathedral Service, and used separately at different portions of the day, namely, the Morning Service proper, the Litany, the Ante-Communion Service, and which, without law, were gradually blended into one, for the convenience of those who preferred one long to three short services. The probability is, that in a church without a head and any thing like discipline, the practice may have been very various, according to the consciences, tastes, and convenience of those who officiated. The practice of those who engaged in the resuscitation of the Church in Virginia, was to use the two former portions of the Liturgy—the Morning Service and Litany —and to omit the Ante-Communion Service, except on communion days. This was introduced among us by the brethren who came from Maryland, the Rev. Dr. Wilmer, Norris, and Lemmon, who doubtless believed that it was according to the design of those who arranged the American Prayer Book. They quoted as authority the declaration and practice of the Rev. Dr. Smith, who, as may be seen in the journals of our earliest General Convention, took a leading part in the changes of the Prayer Book. Dr. Smith, after leaving Philadelphia, settled in Chestertown, Md., where it was declared he never used the Ante-Communion Service. Dr. Wilmer was one of his successors, and said that it was also affirmed that Dr. Smith avowed himself to have been the author of one or more of the Rubrics, on the meaning and design of which rested the

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question of obligation to use the Ante-Communion Service every Sabbath, and that he had in view the permission to leave it optional with the minister. I am aware that Bishop White has expressed a different opinion, and that his practice was otherwise, nor do I purpose to discuss the question or take sides, but only to state the authority on which the Virginia custom was advocated. Neither do I mean to appropriate this custom exclusively to Virginia and a part of Maryland. In other parts of the land there were those who adopted it. I had it from the lips of Bishop Hobart himself, that a portion of the clergy of New York omitted that part of the Service, and, as I shall show hereafter, it was this fact which had much to do with his proposition to abridge the Service in other parts, in order the more easily to enforce the use of this favourite portion. The Bishop acknowledged to me that the Virginia clergy were not the only transgressors in this respect. This much I can say, that if they did err in the understanding of the rubric, they made amends for the abridgment of the Service by seeking to perform what was used in a more animated manner, and to introduce a warm and zealous response among the people, and also by more lengthened, animated, and evangelical discourses from the pulpit. Nor was there any attempt to enforce upon all the practice thus commenced. From the first, every minister has been allowed the free exercise of his conscience and judgment in regard to it. For a time, Bishop Moore, who had been accustomed to the fuller service in the city of New York, was disposed to urge the same upon the clergy of Virginia, but, after some observation and experience, became satisfied that it was best to leave it to the discretion of each minister, and, though in his own parish he always used it, never required the same in his visits to others.

As to the vestments, the same liberty and the same variety has ever existed in the Church of Virginia, without interruption to its harmony. It is well known that the controversy in our Mother-Church concerning the use of the surplice was a long and bitter and most injurious one; was, indeed, considered by some of her ablest Bishops and clergy as that which was the main point which caused the final secession; that if the obligation to use it had been removed, the Church would, for at least a much longer period, have been undivided. Various attempts were made to abolish the canon or rubric enforcing it, but it was thought improper to humour the dissenters by so doing, and alleged that if this were done other demands would be made. At the revision of the Prayer Book by our American fathers, this and other changes, which had long been

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desired by many in England, and still are, were at once made, and the dress of the clergy left to their own good sense, it being only required that it should be decent. I believe it has never been attempted but once to renew the law enforcing clerical habits. Soon after I entered the House of Bishops some one in the other House proposed such a canon. A warm but short discussion ensued, which ended in the withdrawal of what found but little favour. During the discussion the subject was mentioned among the Bishops, who seemed all opposed to it, and one of whom, more disposed, perhaps, to such things than any other, cried out, "*De minimis non curat lex.*" That the old clergy of Virginia should have been very uniform and particular in the use of the clerical vestments is most improbable, from the structure of the churches and the location of their vestry-rooms. The vestry-rooms formed no part of the old churches, but were separate places in the yard or neighbourhood, sometimes a mile or two off. They were designed for civil as well as religious purposes, and were located for the convenience of the vestrymen, who levied taxes and attended to all the secular as well as ecclesiastical business of the parish. The setting apart some portion of the old churches as robing or vestry-rooms is quite a modern thing, and it is not at all probable that the ministers would have gone backward and forward between the pulpits and the former vestry-rooms in the churchyards, to change their garments.* The clergy of Virginia, from the first efforts at resuscitating the Church, have been charged by some with being too indifferent to clerical garments; nor have they been very careful to repel the charge, thinking it better to err in this way than in the opposite. Bishop Hobart once taunted me with this, though at the same time he acknowledged that there were times and places when it would be folly to think of using the clerical garments, saying, that in his visitations, especially to Western New York, he sometimes dispensed not only with the Episcopal robes but even with the black gown. The Bishops of Virginia have sometimes been condemned for not requiring the candidates to be dressed in surplices at the time of their admission to deacons' orders, although there is no canon or rubric looking to such a thing. They are at least as good Churchmen, in this respect, as the English Bishops. When in England, some years since, I witnessed the ordination of fifty deacons, by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, in Durham

* In the year 1723 the Bishop of London inquires of the clergy of Virginia concerning this Some reply that the surplice is provided, and others that it is not.

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Cathedral, not one of whom was surpliced; some of them, as well as I remember, having on their college gowns, answering to our black gowns, and others only their common garments. There is, I think, less disposition to form and parade there than is sometimes seen in our own country. I only add that Bishop Moore, in his visitations, always took his seat in the chancel in his ordinary dress, except when about to perform some official act, and thus addressed the congregation after the sermon. I have seen no cause to depart from his example.

GLEBES AND SALARIES WITHDRAWN.

It has been made a matter of great complaint against the Legislature of Virginia, that it should not only have withdrawn the stipend of sixteen thousand-weight of tobacco from the clergy, but also have seized upon the glebes. I do not mean to enter upon the discussion of the legality of that act, or of the motives of those who petitioned for it. Doubtless there were many who sincerely thought that it was both legal and right, and that they were doing God and religion a service by it. I hesitate not, however, to express the opinion, in which I have been and am sustained by many of the best friends of the Church then and ever since, that nothing could have been more injurious to the cause of true religion in the Episcopal Church, or to its growth in any way, than the continuance of either stipend or glebes. Many clergymen of the most unworthy character would have been continued among us, and such a revival as we have seen have never taken place. As it was, together with the glebes and salaries evil ministers disappeared and made room for a new and different kind. Even in cases where, from some peculiarity in the manner in which the glebes were first gotten and the tenure by which they were held, the law could not alienate them from the parish, they have been, I believe, without an exception, a drawback to the temporal and spiritual prosperity of the congregations, by relaxing the efforts of the people to support the ministry and making them to rely on the uncertain profits of their contested or pillaged lands. The prejudices excited against the Church by the long contest for them were almost overwhelming to her hopes, and a successful termination of that contest might have been utterly fatal to them for a long period of time. Not merely have the pious members of the Church taken this view of the subject, since the revival of it under other auspices, but many of those who preferred the Church at that day,

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for other reasons than her evangelical doctrine and worship, saw that it was best that she be thrown upon her own resources. I had a conversation many years since with Mr. Madison, soon after he ceased to be President of the United States, in which I became assured of this. He himself took an active part in promoting the act for the putting down the establishment of the Episcopal Church, while his relative was Bishop of it and all his family connection attached to it. He mentioned an anecdote illustrative of the preference of many for it who still advocated the repeal of all its peculiar privileges. I give his own words. At a time when lobby members were sent by some of the other denominations to urge the repeal of all laws favouring the Episcopal Church, one, an elder of a church, came from near Hampton, who pursued his work with great fearfulness and prudence. An old-fashioned Episcopal gentleman, of the true Federal politics, with a three-cornered hat, powdered hair, long queue, and white top-boots, perceived him approaching very cautiously one day, as if afraid though desirous to speak. Whereupon he encouraged the elder to come forward, saying that he was already with him, that he was clear for giving all a fair chance, that there were many roads to heaven, and he was in favour of letting every man take his own way; but he was sure of one thing, that no *gentleman* would choose any but the Episcopal. Although I am far from assenting to the conclusion that no gentlemen are to be found in other denominations, or that there were none in Virginia at that time who had become alienated from the Episcopal and attached to other churches, yet it cannot be denied that the more educated and refined were generally averse to any but the Episcopal Church, while many, of whom the above-mentioned was a fair representative, were in favour of equal privileges to all.* It may be well here to state, what will more fully appear when we come to speak of the old glebes and churches in a subsequent number, that the character of the laymen of Virginia for morals and religion was in general greatly in advance of that of the clergy. The latter, for the most part, were the refuse or more indifferent of the English, Irish, and Scottish Episcopal

* Mr. Madison's mother was a pious member of the Episcopal Church. She lived with him, but was of such feeble health that she could not attend public worship for many of her latter years. On this account, as doubtless from a general principle of hospitality, Mr. Madison, who was very regular in his attendance at worship, which, during his day, was held at the court-house in Orange county, there being no church for some time, always invited our ministers to his house, where they administered the Lord's Supper to his venerable mother

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Churches, who could not find promotion and employment at home. The former were natives of the soil and descendants of respectable ancestors who migrated at an early period. For high and honourable character and a due appreciation of what was required in ministers of the Gospel there were numerous influential laymen who would favourably compare with those of any part of the land. Some of the vestries, as their records painfully show, did what they could to displace unworthy ministers, though they often failed through defect of law. In order to avoid the danger of having evil ministers fastened upon them, as well as from the scarcity of ministers, they made much use of lay-readers as substitutes. In some instances, as will be seen, such readers were very successful in strengthening the things which remained after the Church was deprived of her possessions and privileges and the clergy had abandoned their charges. The reading of the Service and sermons in private families, which contributed so much to the preservation of an attachment to the Church in the same, was doubtless promoted by this practice of lay-reading. Those whom Providence raised up to resuscitate the fallen Church of Virginia can testify to the fact that the families who descended from the above-mentioned have been their most effective supports. Existing in greater or less numbers throughout the State, they have been the first to originate measures for the revival of the Church, and the most active and liberal ever since in the support of her ministers. More intelligent and devoted Churchmen, more hospitable and warm-hearted friends of the clergy, can nowhere be found. And when in the providence of God they are called on to leave their ancient homes and form new settlements in the distant South and West, none are more active and reliable in transplanting the Church of their Fathers.

SOME REFLECTIONS GROWING OUT OF THE FOREGOING PAGES.

The desertions from the Episcopal Church in Virginia on the part of many who were awakened to a deeper sense of religion, the violent opposition made to it, the persevering and successful efforts for its downfall, the advantage taken by politicians for promoting their objects, the abandonment of their charges by far the greater part of the ministers so soon as their salaries were withdrawn and when only unprofitable glebes remained to them, are events in history which must have resulted from some powerful cause or causes. The leading one must be found in the irreligious

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character and defective preaching of the clergy, operating more or less on the laity, for it will always be, in some degree, "like priest like people." The ignorance, superstition, and corruption of the Romish clergy and people invited that grand assault of the great enemy of God and man upon the Christian Church and religion in Europe, by the agency of Voltaire and his host of followers, which led to the French Revolution with all its horrors. It is not wonderful that the same great foe and his active agents should have turned their attention to the Church and people of Virginia, in their then most irreligious state, and made an effective assault upon them. Infidelity became rife in Virginia, perhaps beyond any other portion of the land. The clergy, for the most part, were a laughing-stock or objects of disgust. Some that feared God and desired to save their souls felt bound to desert them. Persecution followed, and that only increased defection. Infidels rejoiced at the sight, and politicians made their use of the unhappy state of things. The Church fell. There was no Episcopal head to direct and govern either clergy or people. No discipline could be exerted over either. It is not surprising that many should think it was deserted of God as well as of man. Such a view has been taken of it by some ever since, and most diligently and successfully urged to our injury. Although our present condition ought to be sufficient proof that the Episcopal Church itself is not an offence unto God,—while at one time it came under his displeasure by reason of the unworthiness of many of its ministers and members,—yet it may be well to advert, not in a spirit of retaliation but in the love of truth and justice, to some facts, showing that the Episcopal Church is not the only one in our land which has had its unworthy ministers and members, and been of course so far an object of the Divine displeasure. The history of the whole Christian Church, as one of our opponents has said, is the "*history of declensions and revivals.*" The Baptist Church in Virginia, which took the lead in dissent, and was the chief object of persecution by the magistrates and the most violent and persevering afterward in seeking the downfall of the Establishment, was the first to betray signs of great declension in both ministers and people. The Rev. Robert Sample, in his History of the Baptists of Virginia, is faithful in acknowledging this. He informs us that at an early period Kentucky and the Western country took off many of their ministers in pursuit of gain. Some of these ministers had dishonoured the profession. "With some few exceptions," he says, "the declension (among the people) was general

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throughout the State. The love of many waxed cold. Some of the watchmen fell, others stumbled, and many slumbered at their posts. Iniquity greatly abounded." At another time he says, "The great revival had now subsided, and the axe was laid at the root of the tree. Many barren and fruitless trees were already cut down. In many of the churches the number excluded surpassed the number received." Again, he speaks of the undue dwelling on some highly Calvinistic doctrines. "Truth is often injured by an unsuitable application of its parts. Strong meat should not be given but to men. To preach the deep, mysterious doctrines of grace upon all occasions, and before all sorts of people, is the sure way to preach them out of the parts." Again, he says, in the same connection, "Unguardedness respecting preachers, in various ways, but especially as to impostors, has injured the Baptists in many parts, but in none more than on the Eastern Shore. They have probably suffered more by impostors than any other people in Virginia." He then mentions several sad instances of shameful misconduct, adding others afterward. I am also compelled in honest truth to say, that at a later period, many others coming within my own knowledge and observation must be united to the above; but I am also rejoiced to declare, from the same knowledge, that the character of the ministry of that denomination for piety and ability, and no doubt that of the people with it, has been most manifestly improving for many years. I trust that with the acknowledged improvement of our own, there will be an increased disposition to forget all former animosities, to think and speak charitably of each other, and only strive which shall most promote the common cause of true religion.

Leaving my own State and Diocese, I proceed to speak of some at a distance who have experienced like declension from the true faith and practice. Col. Byrd, of Virginia, in his "Westover Manuscripts," concerning a tour through the State in the year 1733, speaking of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, says, "Though these people may be ridiculed for some Pharisaical peculiarities in their worship and behaviour, yet they were very useful subjects, as being frugal and industrious, giving no scandal or bad example, at least by any open and public vices. By which excellent qualities they had much the advantage of the Southern colony, who thought their being members of the Established Church sufficient to sanctify very loose and profligate morals. For this reason New England improved much faster than Virginia." Strict, however, as were the morals, and evangelical as were the doctrines, of

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the Pilgrim Fathers of New England, the time of declension in both came on. We may trace the declension in doctrine to that which was the Mother-Church to many of them,—the Church of Scotland. The moralizing system began there, as it had done in the English Church. I remember to have heard Mr. Balmaine—once a member of that Church—often compare together the moralizing and evangelical parties of his early days,—now a hundred years ago. Dr. Blair and Mr. Walker were the representatives of the two parties, though associate ministers in the same church in Edinburgh. He had heard them both. The more worldly and fashionable delighted in the sermons of Dr. Blair, who preached in the morning. The more zealous and evangelical attended in greater numbers the services of Dr. Walker, who preached in the afternoon. Dr. Witherspoon also, former President of Princeton College, has, in his work entitled "Characteristics," exercised his unsurpassed wit as well as pious zeal in portraying the two parties, —the one, calling itself the "Moderate Party," which he charges with being "*fierce for moderation*," and zealous in nothing else. The same soon began to exist in New England. Low views of the qualification for baptism, the Lord's Supper, and the ministry, gradually crept in. The moralizing system took the place of the evangelical. The distinctive principles of the Gospel were kept back, and thus the way was prepared for the Unitarian heresy. The morals also of the Church, as might be expected, began to fail. The labours and preaching of Edwards and others and the great revival under them did much to arrest the downward tendency; but the evil went on. The love of pleasure in the young and of strong drink in both young and old increased in many places. Deacons and elders sold rum by wholesale, and other members by retail. Nor did the clergy lift up their voices in solemn warnings, as they should have done, but very many freely used the intoxicating draught. That aged and venerable man, the Rev. Leonard Woods, of Andover, states that at a particular period previous to the temperance reformation he was able to count nearly forty ministers of the Gospel, none of whom resided at a very great distance, who were either drunkards or so far addicted to intemperate drinking, that their reputation and usefulness were very greatly injured if not utterly ruined. He mentions an ordination at which he was present, and at which he was pained to see two aged ministers literally drunk and a third indecently excited by strong drink. "These disgusting and appalling facts," says this most esteemed minister of the Gospel, "I could wish might be

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concealed. But they were made public by the guilty persons; and I have thought it just and proper to mention them, in order to show how much we owe to a compassionate God for the great deliverance he hath wrought."* (The Ninth Report of the Am. Tem. Society, as quoted in the Temperance Prize Essay, "Bacchus," pp. 79, 80; edition of 1840.) To this I add a testimony of my own. About thirty-five or thirty-six years ago, I devoted some time to the service of the Colonization Society, forming the first auxiliaries and selecting the first colonists in some of the larger cities of the Union, North and South. Of course, I mingled freely with ministers and members of different denominations and had opportunity of knowing what I now affirm,—namely, that many ministers of respectable standing, and not confined to any one denomination, were in the habit of using themselves and offering to others who visited them, not merely at the hour of dinner, but long before, brandy and other drinks. I have special reference to one large city, where, in a few years, the evil effects were seen and felt, in the reproach brought on several denominations by the partial if not total fall of some of their chief leaders. In proof of the prevalence of such a ruinous habit I mention the fact, that in a funeral sermon preached about that time over a deceased minister, and

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* In the life of Mrs. Huntington, recently published, we have complaints of defection among the dissenters of England as far back as the beginning of the last century. After quoting from Bishop Burnet a strong passage as to the ignorance, want of piety and Scripture knowledge of the clergy of the Establishment, it is added:—"No less mournful utterances came up from the bosom of dissent. Hear its voice of lament:—'The dissenting interest is not like itself. I hardly know it. It used to be famous for faith, holiness, and love. I knew the time when I had no doubt, into whatsoever place of worship I went among dissenters, but that my heart would be warmed and edified. Now I hear prayers and sermons which I neither relish nor understand. Evangelical truth and duty are old-fashioned things. One's ears are dinned with "*reason*," "*the great law of reason*," "*the eternal law of reason*." Oh for the purity of our fountains!'" When Wesley and Whitefield and others began to preach the Gospel in its power and purity, they found as little favour with the dissenters as with the churchmen. Dr. Doddridge, after quoting the advice of some one of the English Church as to the best method of resisting encroaches on their flocks, namely, more fervent prayer, holy living, and evangelical preaching, says, "Let us of the dissenting churches go and do likewise." Seeing, then, that there is such a tendency to declension in all, we should learn to be charitable, and, even if it should be only a mote in our own eye, compared with the beam in our brother's, be very careful to eradicate that, remembering how soon it may increase so as to obscure our vision. We speak not this to prevent the honest declaration of truth and faithful warnings to churches, as well as individuals, but to put all on their guard, not to assign an undue portion of error and corruption to any one.

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published to the world, it was mentioned to his praise, that such was his hospitality that he never permitted even a morning visit to be paid him without offering wine and other refreshments. How thankful we should be to God for the great change which he has caused to take place in the hospitalities of our day! As for myself, I can never hear without pain a slighting remark made by any one, especially by a minister, and more especially by one of our own Church, concerning that society which I believe God has raised up in our land, as one instrument by which so much has been done for the diminution of this great evil.

From this digression, if it be a digression, I return, and draw this article to a close.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

Having thus presented a brief sketch of some of the most interesting incidents in the past history of the Church of Virginia, let us with deep humility and lively gratitude compare together our past and present condition, saying, "What hath God wrought!" Toward the close of two hundred years after its first establishment there were nearly one hundred ministers and one hundred and sixty churches, and then in seven years after only a few faint-hearted ones serving in the few remaining and almost deserted sanctuaries; now again, after the labours of less than half a century, our hundred ministers are restored and more than one hundred and seventy churches are open for the people of God. For two hundred years not a Bishop ever visited the diocese, and even after one was sent only a few ministrations were performed; now, two Bishops have full employment in visiting two hundred churches or stations. It was for years found impracticable to raise sufficient funds for the consecration of one Bishop; now, funds are raised for the annual support of two, independent of parochial charges. It was once proposed, in a declining state of the Church, but in vain, to raise funds for the education of only two candidates for the ministry; now, numbers are annually receiving preparatory instruction at our Seminary. Formerly we were entirely dependent on foreign parts for our supply of clergymen, insufficient as to numbers and worse as to character; now, by the blessing of God on our Seminary, we are enabled to send forth to the decayed churches of Greece, or to the heathen of Asia and Africa, a goodly number of faithful and zealous missionaries of the cross. Formerly,

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and for at least a century, numbers were deserting our communion, as that which had deserted God, and was deserted of God; now, for the last forty years, either themselves or their children or children's children have in considerable numbers been returning to our fold, as to one which God himself was keeping and blessing. Whereas once almost all men thought and spoke ill of our clergy and communicants as devoid of piety, now, only those who are misinformed, or most prejudiced, refuse to acknowledge that through God's grace there is at least as large an amount of true piety in both ministers and people as is to be found in those of any other denomination. Whereas once we had for many years no Conventions and then for some years a few faint-hearted ministers and people meeting together, now, what numbers of clergy and laity delight to assemble, not for the dry business of legislation only, or for religious controversy, but chiefly for the blessed privilege of joining hearts and voices in the sweet exercises of God's word and worship, and thus becoming knit together in love! Thus graciously hath God dealt with us. Out of gratitude to him, and that we may continue to enjoy his smiles, it becomes us ever to bear in mind by what means this hath been done; how our Jacob arose, when he was not only so small, but crushed to the earth, trodden under foot of man, after having been betrayed by friends and dishonoured by the very ministers of God who were appointed to defend him. In the character, habits, views, and history of the man whom God sent to us from a distance to be our head and leader in this work, and in the views of those, whether from our own State or elsewhere, who entered into the service, may be seen the religious principles and methods of action by which, under God, the change has been effected; and it need not be said how entirely different they were from those by which the disgrace and downfall of the Church had been wrought. Of the efficacy of these means we are the more convinced from the peculiar and very great difficulties to be surmounted, which have nevertheless in a great measure been surmounted. We are persuaded that in no part of our own land were there such strong prejudices and such violent oppositions to be overcome as in Virginia, in consequence of the former character of the Episcopal clergy, and the long and bitter strife which had existed between the Church and those who had left its pale, which latter were never satisfied until the downfall of the former was accomplished.

Let me briefly recapitulate the means used. Bishop Moore, in his previous correspondence, and his first sermon and address,

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declared his determination to preach as he had ever done, when God so greatly blessed his ministry, the glorious doctrines of grace, instead of a mere morality, such as many of the English clergy had once preached, and such as had been but too common in Virginia. The young clergy, who engaged in the revival of the Church of Virginia, took the same resolve and made the great theme of their preaching "Jesus Christ and him crucified," on the ground of a total apostasy from God on the part of man which required such a sacrifice, as well as the renewing of the Holy Ghost in order to meetness for the joys of Heaven. But they did not turn this grace of God into licentiousness and think that either priest or people might indulge in sin. Among the first acts of the earlier Conventions, it was at once set forth before the world that the revival of the Church was to be undertaken on principles entirely different from those which had hitherto prevailed, and under the influence of which religion had been so much dishonoured. It was plainly declared that there was need of discipline both for clergy and laity, and canons were provided for the exercise of the same. Not merely were grosser vices stigmatized, but what by some were considered the innocent amusements of the world and which the clergy themselves had advocated and practised were condemned as inconsistent with the character of a Christian professor.

Baptism, by which we renounce the pomps and vanities of the world as well as the sinful lusts of the flesh, and which had been customarily celebrated in private, directly in opposition to the rubric and often amidst ungodly festivities, was now sought to be performed only in the house of God, and with pious sponsors instead of thoughtless and irreligious ones. Candidates for confirmation, instead of being presented because they had reached a certain age and could repeat the Catechism, were told what a solemn vow, promise, and profession they were about to make, and that it was none other than an immediate introduction with full qualifications to the Lord's Supper. Of course very different views of the Lord's Supper and of the conduct of communicants were inculcated, and the ministers bound, by express canon, to converse with each one before admitting for the first time to the Lord's Supper. Thus were the whole tone and standard of religion changed, to the dissatisfaction and complaint, it is true, of some of the old members of the Church, and not without the condemnation of some from abroad. In due time, the important measure, requiring that all who enter our Convention to legis-

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late for Christians and Christian ministers should themselves be Christian professors, was adopted, though there were those at home who feared the attempt, and those abroad who prophesied evil in such a manner as to encourage disaffection at home. But God was with us and has granted most entire success.

As to the manner of exciting zeal in Christians and awakening interest in those who were not, it was thought that no better example could be followed than that of the apostles, who preached not only in the temple and synagogues, but from house to house, as occasion required and opportunity offered. As to the manner of preaching, written sermons were generally preferred in the pulpit, while extemporaneous exhortations were often resorted to in smaller assemblies. Without slighting the excellent prayers of our Liturgy, there were many occasions, both in private families and in social meetings, when extemporaneous petitions seemed edifying both to the pastor and his flock. As to the great benevolent and religious institutions of the age, our ministers felt that they were doing well to encourage their people to a lively participation in them. The Missionary and Bible Societies, the Colonization and Temperance Societies, received their most cordial support, and they considered it a subject of devout thankfulness to God if their congregations took a deep interest in the same. To provoke each other and their congregations to zeal in all good works, and especially to awaken the careless to a sense of their lost condition, the ministers would meet together occasionally, and for several successive days make full trial of prayer and the word, expecting the blessing promised to two or three who come together and ask somewhat of God.

To these I will only add a few words as to the spirit cherished and the course pursued toward our Christian brethren who walk not with us in all things of Church order and worship. Long and bitter was the strife that subsisted between them and our fathers, violent the prejudices that raged against us, and it would have been easy to enter on the work of revival in the spirit of retaliation and fierce opposition. But would it have been right, and as our Master would have had us do? Our forefathers had done religion much and them some wrong. God made use of them for good. Many of them were doubtless most sincere in their fear of us and opposition to us. It became us rather to win them over by love, and secure their esteem by living and preaching differently from our predecessors. Such was the conciliatory course

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pursued by our deceased father in God, and followed by those who perceived the good effects of his example, and most happy was the effect of the same. But while we have reason, at thought of our present by comparison with our past condition, to exclaim, "What hath God done!" "to thank him and take courage," yet should we beware of boasting, or of supposing that all is done, or that what remains will certainly and easily be done. I consider it as the great error of many in our Church, that we are too much given to boasting, too apt to overrate our own successes, and calculate too largely on far greater, while underrating the present or probable future successes of others. God will, in his own way, correct us, if we be guilty of presumption. Our Jacob is still small, and it becomes us now, as of old, to ask, By whom shall he arise? Much is yet to be done, and there are many difficulties in the way. Though we have a goodly number of ministers, yet there are by no means enough to carry on the work of enlargement as we could wish, and as the door seems opening to us. Although we have many churches, yet how many of the congregations are small and not rapidly increasing, being still unable to afford even a moderate support to the ministry! Many are the discouragements which meet us in our efforts to sustain some of the old and to raise up new congregations. Among the most painful is the difficulty of attaching the poor of this world to our communion. When our Lord was on earth he gave, as one of the signs of his heavenly descent, the blessed fact that "to the poor the Gospel is preached," and "the common people," it is written, "heard him gladly,"—"the multitudes followed him." Such should be our constant endeavour; and if, from the causes alluded to in the past history of our Church, one description of the poor of Virginia have been almost entirely alienated from us, let us rejoice to know that there is another description not less acceptable in the sight of Heaven, who, if we are kind to them and will take due pains to win them over, may more easily be led to come under the faithful preaching of the word. The poor servants will, if we persevere in our labours of love toward them, and be to them what God's faithful pastors in every age have been to the poor, be benefited by our ministry, and may—if we will, in conjunction with their owners, attend to them betimes, as we do our own children—become regular and pious members of our communion. But whether we think of the rich or of the poor, the duty of those of any and every condition and character among us is plant with the hope of converting them to Christ and attaching them

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the communion of our Church, we need not expect much success without great zeal and diligence, such as was put forth in our first efforts for its resuscitation. Our State is not one of those whose population is rapidly increasing, in which flourishing villages are springing up in every direction calling for neat churches to fill up the measure of their beauty and excellency, and where the support of the ministry is sure, so that our Zion must needs lengthen her cords and strengthen her stakes. Very different is it with us now, has it been for many years, and will it in all probability be for many years to come. It is only by patient perseverance in well-doing that we can hope to make advances in the establishment of our Church. Much self-denial and enduring of hardship and abounding in labours and itinerant zeal and contentedness with a little of this world's goods, on the part of many of our ministers, are indispensable to the growth of the Church in Virginia much beyond her present attainment. Without these things she may, except in the towns, continue stationary, or even retrograde in some places, during years to come.

To the foregoing I only add that in the summer of 1829 I was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Virginia, and continued to perform the duties of that office until, by the death of Bishop Moore, in 1841, I succeeded to the place which he occupied. During all that time, I can with truth say that not the slightest circumstance ever occurred to interrupt for a moment a most harmonious and pleasant relation between us. Bishop Johns was consecrated Assistant Bishop in the fall of 1842; and I can as truly say that thus far the same harmony has existed, and I feel confident that it will exist until death or some other circumstance shall dissolve the connection. Such is the extent of the Diocese, and such was the difficulty of traversing it, that, for the first twelve or thirteen years, I was engaged in visitation during eight months of each year, travelling over large portions of it on horseback, or in an open one-horse carriage. During the latter period, six months suffice for such duties as devolved upon me, and these could not possibly be performed but for the greatly-improved modes of conveyance. I need not add, what is so well known, ou they are most imperfectly performed.

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ARTICLE III.

The Parish of James City.

I NOW enter upon the Parish of James City—the landing-place of our first forefathers—the seat of the first civil and religious establishment on the shores of North America. It dates its beginning about two hundred and fifty years ago. But it found a place in the hearts of pious and philanthropic men at a still earlier period, and we must go back to that period with our preparatory remarks. We are greatly mistaken, if we suppose that the missionary spirit, after slumbering from the early ages, was aroused to life and action only within the last hundred years. Instances may be shown, in which Kings and Queens of our mother-country and Church, moved to it by the pious zeal of Bishops and other ministers, have commanded, that together with the sword and artillery of war, and the implements of commerce and husbandry, the sword of the Spirit and the trumpet of the Gospel should be sent, with armies and navies and colonists, to the uncivilized nations of the earth. I confine my references to what the religious principle has done in behalf of the Colony of Virginia.

The domestic troubles of the English State and Church, the controversies with Romanists, Puritans, and other disaffected bodies, delayed and hindered any great schemes for Christian colonization and missionary enterprise, just as civil wars prevent foreign aggressions and conquests. To the Rev. Richard Hakluyt the chief praise is due, for stirring up the minds of Christian statesmen and people to the duty of finding out barbarous countries, in order to their conversion to the Christian faith. To his friend, Sir Philip Sydney, he dedicates his first collection of voyages and discoveries, in 1570. In 1587, he republishes Peter Martyr's history of the New World, with a preface, dedicating it to Sir Walter Raleigh, together with another work on Florida, in which he urges him to persevere in the good work he had begun in Virginia.* In both of them he urges Sir Walter to prosecute the work from the only true

* In the year 1588, Sir Walter Raleigh gave £100 for the propagation of Christianity in Virginia.

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motive and design, the extension of Christ's religion,—"The glorie of God, and the saving of the soules of the poor and blinded infidels." The numerous volumes collected and published by this laborious and zealous man on this subject have come down to our day, and are a most valuable depository of missionary information. After holding various preferments, he settled down as Prebendary of Westminster, and continued till his death, in 1616, to watch over the infant Colony of Virginia. The honour of being buried in Westminster Abbey was conferred on this man of a large soul. It deserves to be mentioned, that he not only by his pen and the press urged on the Christian colonization of Virginia, but sought and obtained the honour of being one of those to whom Virginia was consigned, by letters-patent from King James, that he might the more effectually labour for her welfare. To his exertions the expeditions in 1603, and again in 1605, may in a great measure be ascribed. The language used by the King, in the terms of the patent for Virginia, in 1606, shows also the religious character of the movement. One design was, that "so noble a work may, by the Providence of God, hereafter tend to the glorie of his divine majestie, in propagating of Christian religion to such people as sit in darkness and miserable ignorance of the true knowledge and worship of God, and may in time bring the infidels and savages (living in those parts) to human civility and quiet government." Another evidence of the operation of the religious feeling in those who first engaged in the settlement of Virginia may be seen in what one writes, who went out with Weymouth in 1605, in regard to a proposal of some of the natives, that "the company would push their discoveries further." It was declined, he says, on this ground:—"We would not hazard so hopefull a businesse as this was, either for our private or particular ends, being more regardful of a public goode, and promulgating God's holy Church, by planting Christianity, which was the interest of our adventurers as well as ours."*

In the following year, December, 1606, the first little colony came to Virginia, bringing with it the first minister of James City, the Rev. Robert Hunt. Mr. Wingfield, the first President of the Colony, gives the following account of his appointment:—"For my first worke, which was to make right choice of a spiritual pas-

* In the instructions of the King, in 1606, it was enjoined, that "all persons should kindly treat the savages and heathen people in these parts, and use all proper means to draw them to the true service and knowledge of God."

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tor, I appeal to my Lord of Canterbury,—his grace,—who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whom I took with me, truely a man, in my opinion, not any waie to be touched with the rebellious humour of a papist spirit, nor blemished with the least suspicion of a factious schismatic." In a narrative, kept by Stukeley and others, it is written, "On the 19th of December, 1606, we set sail from Blackwell, but by unprosperous winds were kept six weeks in sight of England; all which time Mr. Hunt, our preacher, was so weake and sicke that few expected his recovery. Yet allthough we were but twenty miles from his habitation, (the time we were in the Downes,) and notwithstanding the stormy weather, nor the scandalous speeches of some few, little better than atheists, of the greatest rank among us, suggested against him, all this could never force from him so much as a seeming desire to leave the businesse, but preferred the service of God, in so good a voyage, before any affection to contest with his godless foes, whose disastrous designs, could they have prevailed, had even then overthrown the businesse, so many discontents did there arise, had he not only with the water of patience and his godly exhortations, but chiefly by his devoted example, quenched those flames of envy and dissention."* It is very certain, that notwithstanding the piety which prompted the expedition, and the devotion of Mr. Hunt and some others who embarked in that vessel, there was a considerable proportion of most unworthy materials on board, as shown by their opposition to Hunt and Captain Smith, two men who seemed to know no fear, but that of God. The future conduct of the larger portion of the Colonists, after their arrival, too well established this fact. The company in England appears to have apprehended something of this, from their instructions, in which they say to the Colonists at their departure, that "the way to prosper and have success was to make themselves all of one mind, for their own and their country's good; and to serve and fear God, the giver of all goodness, since every plantation which he did not plant would certainly be rooted out." Although Captain Smith was appointed one of the Council of the

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* The log church first erected was burned down the following winter, with many other houses. Mr Hunt lost all his books and every thing else but the clothes on his back. "Yet none ever saw him repine at his loss." "Upon any alarm he was as ready at defence as any, and till he could not speak he never ceased to his utmost to animate us constantly to persist,—whose soul, questionless, is with God." —*Captain Smith's History of Virginia.*

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Company, a violent opposition was made to his having a seat on their arrival. "Many," it is said in the narrative already quoted, "were the mischiefs which daily sprung from their ignorant yet ambitious spirits; but the good doctrine and exhortation of our preacher, Mr. Hunt, reconciled them, and caused Captain Smith to be admitted of the Council." The next day, the Holy Communion was, for the first time, administered in Virginia. The number composing the first congregation at Jamestown was one hundred and four or five. "A circumstance," says the Rev. Mr. Anderson, author of three most laborious and interesting volumes on the Colonial Churches, "is mentioned in President Wingfield's manuscript, which I cannot find recorded elsewhere, which shows, in a very remarkable manner, the careful and pious reverence manifested by the Colonists for the due celebration of Christ's holy ordinance, in their sad extremity." He says that when "the common store of oil, sack, vinegar, and aqua-vitæ, were all spent, saving two gallons of each, the sack was reserved for the communion-table."*

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* The Rev. James S. M. Anderson, of England, one of the Queen's Chaplains, has been for some years, with great labour and research, preparing the history of the Colonial Churches. In a letter just received, he informs me that his third and last volume is in print. Being consulted by him, a few years since, in relation to the Episcopal Church of Virginia, and receiving his first two volumes, a channel has been established through which I obtain information, on some points, only to be gotten by those who have access to old documents in England. The manuscript of Wingfield, the first President of the Colony, from which some of the foregoing extracts are taken, has been discovered by his careful research. I shall be indebted to his volumes for many passages concerning the early history of the Church of Virginia. To our worthy fellow-citizens, Mr. Conway Robinson, of Richmond, and Mr. Charles Campbell, of Petersburg, both of whom are imbued with a large share of antiquarian spirit, I am already indebted for some documents which will be of much service to me in the preparation of these notices. Mr. Robinson visited England a few years since, mainly, I believe, on this errand, and the first acquaintance he formed was with the Rev. Mr. Anderson. Mr. Robinson not only sought out and copied some things of interest in the civil and religious history of Virginia, but established a channel through which much else may be procured, which would help to accomplish a work much needed in Virginia, viz.: a full history of the Colony and State from the beginning, consisting of the most important parts of those numerous documents, some of which have never been published, and others lie scattered through old volumes in England and America, but which are inaccessible to numbers whose patriotic and Virginian feelings would delight to read them. Such a work should be executed under the patronage of the State, as an accompaniment to Henning's Statutes at Large, which is at present our best history, in connection with the brief one by Mr. Campbell. If such a lover of antiquities and so laborious a workman as Mr. Robinson were appointed to this duty, and furnished with sufficient means, and would undertake it, a great desideratum would be

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In proof of the religious character of Captain Smith, as a part of the history of James City Parish, I quote the following account of the first place of worship in the same, in a pamphlet published in 1631, by Mr. Smith, some years after his History of Virginia, and entitled, "Advertisements for the unexperienced planters of New England, or elsewhere, &c." To the Rev. Mr. Anderson's labours we are indebted for the revival of this pamphlet.

"Now, because I have spoken so much for the body, give me leave to say somewhat of the soul; and the rather, because I have been demanded by so many, how we began to preach the Gospel in Virginia, and by what authority, what churches we had, our order of service, and maintenance for our ministers; therefore I think it not amiss to satisfie their demands, it being the mother of all our Plantations, entreating pride to spare laughter, to understand her simple beginnings and proceedings. When I went first to Virginia, I well remember, we did hang an awning (which is an old sail) to three or four trees, to shadow us from the sun; our walls were rails of wood, our seats unhewed trees, till we cut planks, our pulpit a bar of wood nailed to two neighbouring trees; in foul weather we shifted into an old rotten tent, for we had few better, and this came by way of adventure for new. This was our church, till we built a homely thing like a barn, set upon crotchetts, covered with rafts, sedge, and earth, so was also the walls. The best of our houses were of the like curiosity, but the most part far much worse workmanship, that could neither well defend wind nor rain, yet we had daily Common Prayer morning and evening, every Sunday two sermons, and every three months the holy communion, till our minister died, (the Rev. Mr. Hunt.) But (after that) our prayers daily with an homily on Sundays, we continued two or three years after, till more preachers came, and surely God did most mercifully hear us, till the continual inundations of mistaking directions, factions, and numbers of unprovided libertines near consumed us all, as the Israelites in the wilderness." "Notwithstanding, (he says,) out of the relicks of our mercies, time and experience had brought that country to a great happiness, had they not so much doated on their Tobacco, on whose fumish foundation there is small stability."*

Of the piety of Captain Smith we have further evidence, in the account given of the survey of Virginia, when he and his valiant comrades fell into so many perils among the Indians. "Our order was daily to have prayer with a psalm, at which solemnity the poor savages much wondered." On Smith's return to Jamestown, notwithstanding all former opposition, such were his merits and such its difficulties, that the Council elected him President of the Co-

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supplied to all true Virginians and the lovers of history everywhere through the land.

* Of the many evils to Church and State, resulting from the culture and use of tobacco, we have some account to give before we close these pages.

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lony; and the first thing done was to repair the church, which, during his absence among the Indians, had, with other houses, been destroyed by fire. Characteristic, and evincive of piety in him, is the statement of it:—"Now the building of the palace was *stayed* as a thing *needless*, and the *church was repaired*."

In what year the first minister, Mr. Hunt, died, is not now known, but that there was a vacancy for some years is declared in the foregoing passage from Captain Smith's last pamphlet. The next was the Rev. Mr. Bucke, who came over with Lord De la War, in the year 1610. The many disasters which had befallen the first emigrants to Virginia, so far from discouraging either the statesmen or the Christians in England, and causing them to abandon the enterprise, only stirred them up to more active exertion. In the year 1609, a new company, called the London Company, was formed, and a new charter, with a larger territory and more privileges, was granted. Twenty-one of the peers, including a number of the bishops, and many of the first clergy and merchants of the kingdom, were among those who are mentioned in the charter. Mr. Edwin Sandys, the pupil of Hooker, the two brothers John and Nicholas Ferrar, one of them a pious divine, and both of them most active members of the board which managed the concerns of the company, are worthy of special mention. That a spirit of true piety to God and love for the souls of the heathen burned in the breasts of many of the members of the company, cannot be questioned. It is evident from the selection of the Governor, who was a man of sincere piety; and had his health been continued, so as to allow of a longer residence in America, much might have been expected from his example and zeal. The spirit which predominated in the company may also be seen in the minister chosen for the new expedition, the Rev. Mr. Bucke, a worthy successor to Mr. Hunt, and from the sermons preached at their embarkation. Two of them were published, and are still extant. One of them, the first ever preached in England on such an occasion, was by the Rev. Mr. Crashaw, preacher at the Temple. "Remember," he says, "that the end of this voyage is the destruction of the devil's kingdom, and the propagation of the Gospel." After upbraiding those who were anxious for acquiring wealth by voyages, but indifferent to this, he says, "But tell them of planting a church, of saving ten thousand souls, and they are senseless as stones; they stir no more than if men spoke to them of toys and trifles; they laugh in their sleeves at the silliness of such as engage themselves in such matters." To Lord De la War

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himself, who was present, he speaks as follows:—"And thou, most noble Lord, whom God hath stirred up to neglect the pleasures of England, and, with Abraham, to go from thy country and forsake thy kindred and thy father's house, to go to a land which God will show thee, give me leave to speak the truth. Thy ancestor many hundred years ago gained great honour to thy house, but by this action thou augmentest it. He took a king prisoner in the field of his own land, but by the godly managing of this business thou shalt take the Devil prisoner in open field and in his own kingdom; nay, the Gospel which thou carriest with thee shall bind him in chains, and his angels in stronger fetters than iron, and execute upon them the judgment that is written; yea, it shall lead captivity captive, and redeem the souls of men from bondage, and thus thy glory and the honour of thy house is more at the last than at the first. Go forward therefore in the strength of the Lord, and make mention of his righteousness only. Looke principally to religion. You go to commend it to the heathen: then practise it yourself; make the name of Christ honourable, not hateful unto them." Another sermon was preached at White Chapel, London, in the presence of many honourable, worshipful adventurers and planters for Virginia. At its close he says, "If it be God's purpose that the Gospel shall be preached through the world for a witness, then ought ministers to be careful and willing to spread it abroad, in such good services as this that is intended. Sure it is a great shame to us of the ministry, that can be better content to set and rest us here idle, than undergoe so good a worke. Our pretence of zeal is clear discovered to be but hypocrisy, when we rather choose to mind unprofitable questions at home, than gaining souls abroad." From the above we shall see that the true missionary spirit, and missionary sermons and addresses to those about to embark on some foreign work, are not peculiar to our day, though, blessed be God, they are increased among us. For some cause, which need not now be dwelt upon, Lord De la War did not sail until the following year, though Mr. Bucke went over sooner, in a vessel with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Summers. On reaching there, after having been wrecked themselves, and long detained at the Bermuda Islands, they found the Colony in a most deplorable condition, the greater part having been cut off by the Indians, and the remainder almost in a state of starvation.* On

* When Captain Smith left the Colony, driven away by ill-usage, there were five hundred persons in it. When Lord De la War reached it, six months after, there

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landing, the first place visited by Gates was the ruined and unfrequented church. "He caused the bell to be rung, and such as were able to crawl out of their miserable dwellings repaired thither, that they might join in the zealous and sorrowful prayer of their faithful minister, who pleaded in that solemn hour for his afflicted brethren and himself, before the Lord their God." After a few days, the provisions being nearly out, the whole Colony embarked for Newfoundland, "none dropping a tear, because none had enjoyed one day of happiness." "When this departure of Sir Thomas Gates, full sore against his heart, was put in execution," says Mr. Crashaw, "and every man aboard, their ordnance and armour buried, and not an English soul left in Jamestown, and giving, by their peal of shot, their last and woeful farewell to that pleasant land, were now with sorrowful hearts going down the river,—behold the hand of Heaven from above, at the very instant, sent in the Right Honourable De la War to meet them at the river's mouth, with provision and comforts of all kind, who, if he had staid but two tydes longer, had come into Virginia and not found one Englishman." They all now returned to Jamestown. On landing, Lord De la War, before showing any token or performing any act of authority, fell down upon his knees, as Paul upon the sea-shore, and in presence of all the people made a long and silent prayer to himself. After which he arose, and, going in procession to the church, heard a sermon by the Rev. Mr. Bucke; at the close of which he displayed his credentials to the congregation, and addressed them in a few words of admonition and encouragement. The author from whom the above statement is taken, and who was Secretary and Recorder of the Colony, (Strachy, who wrote a narrative of all the proceedings of the same,) gives us the following sketch of the church, which he says the Governor had given order at once to be repaired:—

"It is in length threescore foot, in breadth twenty-four, and shall have chancel in it of cedar, a communion-table of black walnut, and all the

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were only sixty remaining, in a most wretched condition, famine and the natives having destroyed the rest. It was always afterward called "the starving-time." Truly was it said of this Colony at this and other periods, that "it grew up in misery." One of the historians of that day, Dr. Simons, assures us, that "so great was our famine, that a salvage (savage or Indian) we slew and buried, the poorer sort took him up again and eat him, and so did divers one another, boiled and stewed with roots and herbs. And one of the rest did kill his wife, powdered her, and had eaten part of her before it was known, for which he was executed, as he well deserved"

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pews of cedar, with fair broad windows, to shut and open, (as the weather shall occasion,) of the same wood, a pulpit of the same, with a Font hewn below, like a canoe, with two bells at the west end. It is so caste, as it be very light within, and the Lord-Governor and Captain-General doth cause it to be kept passing sweet, and trimmed up with divers flowers, with a sexton belonging to it; and in it every Sunday we have sermons twice a day, and every Thursday a sermon, having true preachers, which take their weekly turns; and every morning, at the ringing of the bell about ten o'clock, each man addresseth himself to prayers, and so at four o'clock before supper.* Every Sunday, when the Lord-Governor and Captain-General goeth to Church, he is accompanied by all the counsellors, captains, other officers, and all the gentlemen, with a guard of Halberdiers in his Lordship's livery, (fair red cloakes,) to the number of fifty, on each side, and behind him. His Lordship hath his seat in the Quoir, in a great velvet chair, with a cloth, with a velvet cushion spread before him, on which he kneeleth, and on each side sit the council, captains, and officers, each in their place, and when he returneth home again, he is waited on to his house in the same manner."

In the foregoing, it is said that there were *true* preachers, who took their weekly turns, which shows that there were more than the Rev. Mr. Bucke in the Colony at this time; and we do read of a most venerable old man, by the name of Glover, who came over with Sir Thomas Gates, upon his second return to Virginia, and who was doubtless one of the true preachers (perhaps it should read two) spoken of above. In the account of the decorations of the church under Lord De la War, and the pomp and circumstance of his own attendance at church, the reader will not fail to perceive some of the peculiarities of the Laudian school. That school was not very far off, in our Mother-Church, at this time. Some of those concerned in promoting and preparing this expedition of Lord De la War were, I doubt not, somewhat inclined to it. The secretary, Strachy, who has given this account, was, it is believed, the person who had much to do in drawing up the code of "Laws, moral, martial, and divine," which is so much tinctured with Romish and martial discipline, and which has ever been the reproach of the Church and State of Virginia, though its penalties were so seldom enforced, and the worst of them were soon abolished. One, at least, of those excellent men, "the Ferrars," was somewhat inclined to a monkish religion. This, however, is the only instance in which such decorations and pomp are mentioned in the history of Virginia. Only a few years after this, the Rev. Mr. Whittaker speaks of the simplicity of our

* They were then all living together, in one small place, with little work to do.

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worship and liberality of our discipline in the following words:— "But I much more muse, that so few of our English ministers that were so hot against the surplice and subscription come hither, where neither of them are spoken of."

Having alluded to the Ferrars, the two brothers, as zealous and active friends of the Colony, and especially labouring for its religious condition, it is due not only to them, but to the whole family, to add a few more words. The father was a wealthy merchant in London, and a promoter of all the good works in which the sons were engaged. The mother was also like-minded. The two sons, John and Nicholas, were highly-educated and talented men, labouring zealously, as members of the London Company, until it was dissolved by the tyranny and covetousness of King James, by a kind of Star Chamber operation, in the year 1624, the year before his death. John, the elder, then entered into the House of Commons, and sought to promote the best interests of the Colony in that place. Nicholas, after debating the question whether he should remove to Virginia and seek her welfare here on the spot, or devote himself to the ministry at home, determined on the latter. In the words of Mr. Anderson, who duly appreciated his worth, I make the following statement:—

"In 1626, Ferrar was ordained by Laud, then Bishop of St. David's. From that period, to the time of his death, which took place in 1637, he gave himself up to those duties, with an ardour and steadfastness of devotion which the world has never seen surpassed. It forms no part of the present history, to relate the particulars of the economy which he then established in his house, and in the church; still less can it be required to enter into any explanation of the personal austerities exercised by himself and the members of his family—austerities not exceeded, as his biographer justly observes, by the severest orders of monastic institutions. It is clear that such rigorous observances were not required by that branch of the Church Catholic of which Ferrar was an ordained minister, and the exaction of them on his part may, therefore, have justly been disapproved of by many who loved and shared the piety which prompted them. There is reason also to think that his own life was shortened by the hardships of fast and vigil which he endured."

As it is well known that such a type of personal religion is often accompanied by an excessive regard to the ceremonial, the pomp and show of public worship, decoration of churches, &c., we may thus account for the fact that Lord De la War, who may have sympathized with the rising school of Laud, in England, introduced some parade, which had never been before, and, as we

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believe, never was afterward seen in the Colony. In connection with this, we add that when George Herbert, a brother in soul to Nicholas Ferrar, was about to die, he sent some poems to Ferrar, which were published, and which showed how he sympathized with him, in his hopes from America. The two following lines are evincive of this :—

"Religion stands tiptoe in our land,
Ready to pass to the American strand."

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ARTICLE IV.

The Parish of James City.—No. 2.

As it is an important object with the writer to furnish proofs of the benevolent and religious spirit which actuated the friends and patrons of the Colony, before proceeding with our narrative we invite the attention of the reader to the two following documents. The first was written in the year 1612, and may be found in a pamphlet entitled "The New Life of Virginia," and shows the spirit of the author toward the Indians.

"And for the poor Indians, what shall I say? but God, that hath many ways showed mercy to you, make you show mercy to them and theirs, and howsoever they may seem unto you so intolerably wicked and rooted in mischief that they cannot be moved, yet consider rightly and be not discouraged. They are no worse than the nature of Gentiles, and even of those Gentiles so heinously decyphered by St. Paul, to be full of wickedness, haters of God, doers of wrong, such as could never be appeased, and yet himself did live to see that by the fruits of his own labours many thousands even of them became true believing Christians, and of whose race and offspring consisteth (well-near) the whole Church of God at this day. This is the work that we first intended, and have published to the world, to be chief in our thoughts, to bring those Infidel people from the worship of Devils to the service of God. And this is the knot that you must untie or cut asunder, before you can conquer those sundrie impediments that will surely hinder all other proceedings, if this be not first preferred.

"Take their children and train them up with gentleness, teach them our English tongue and the principles of religion. Win the elder sort by wisdom and discretion; make them equal to you English in case of protection, wealth, and habitation, doing justice on such as shall do them wrong. Weapons of war are needful, I grant, but for defence only, and only in this case. If you seek to gain this victory upon them by stratagems of war, you shall utterly lose it, and never come near it, but shall make your names odious to all their posterity. Instead of iron and steel, you must have patience and humanity, to manage their crooked nature to your form of civility; for as our proverb is, 'Look, how you win them so you must wear them:' if by way of peace and gentleness, then shall you always bring them in love to youwards, and in peace with your English people, and, by proceeding in that way, shall open the springs of earthly benefits to them both, and of safety to yourselves."

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The following extracts are from "A Prayer for the Morning and Evening Use of the Watch or Guard, to be offered up either by the Captain himself, or some one of his principal men or officers." It was probably prepared by Mr. Crashaw, and sent out with Mr. Whittaker. It furnishes a just view of the religion of that day,—at any rate, of those who were engaged in this enterprise. It is also a fair specimen of the theology and devotion of the English Reformers. While it is in faithful keeping with the prayers of our Common Prayer Book, it shows that our forefathers did not object to, but freely used, other prayers besides those in the Prayer Book. The reader is requested not to pass over it, but to read it in a prayerful spirit:—

"Merciful Father, and Lord of Heaven and Earth, we come before thy presence to worship thee, in calling upon thy name, and giving thanks unto thee. And though our duties and our very necessities call us hereunto, yet we confess our hearts to be so dull and untoward, that unless thou be merciful to us to teach us how to pray, we shall not please thee, nor profit ourselves in these duties.

"We, therefore, most humbly beseech thee to raise up our hearts with thy good Spirit, and so to dispose us to prayer, that with true fervour of heart, feeling of our wants, humbleness of mind, and faith in thy gracious promises, we may present our suits acceptably unto thee by our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

"And now, O blessed Lord, we are desirous to come unto thee, how wretched soever in ourselves; yea, our very wretchedness sends us unto thee, with whom the fatherless and he that hath no helper findeth mercy. We come to thee in thy Son's name, not daring to come in our own. In his name that cares for us we come to thee, in his mediation whom thou hast sent. In him, O Father, in whom thou hast professed thyself to be well pleased, we come unto thee, and do most humbly beseech thee to pity us, and to save us for thy mercies' sake in him.

"O Lord, our God, our sins have not outbidden that blood of thy Holy Son which speaks for our pardon, nor can they be so infinite as thou art in thy mercies; and our hearts, O God! (thou seest them,) our hearts are desirous to have peace with thee, and war with our lusts, and wish that they could melt before thee, and be dissolved into godly mourning, for all that filth that hath gone through them and defiled them.

"O Lord! O Lord our God! thou hast dearly bought us for thine own self: give us so honest hearts as may be glad to yield the possession of thine own, and be thou so gracious, as yet to take them up, though we have desperately held thee out of them in time past; and dwell in us and reign in us by thy Spirit, that we may be sure to reign with thee in thy glorious kingdom, according to thy promise, through him that hath purchased that inheritance for all that trust in him.

"And now, O Lord of mercy! O Father of the spirits of all flesh! look in mercy upon the Gentiles who yet know thee not! And seeing thou hast honoured us to choose us out to bear thy name unto the Gen-

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tiles, we therefore beseech thee to bless us, and this our plantation, which we and our nation have begun in thy fear, and for thy glory. We know, O Lord! we have the Devil and all the gates of Hell against us; but if thou, O Lord, be on our side, we care not who be against us! Oh, therefore vouchsafe to be our God, and let us be a part and portion of thy people; confirm thy covenant of grace and mercy with us, which thou hast made to thy Church in Christ Jesus. And seeing, Lord, the highest end of our plantation here is to set up the standard and display the banner of Jesus Christ even here where Satan's throne is, Lord, let our labour be blessed in labouring for the conversion of the heathen. And because thou usest not to work such mighty works by unholy means, Lord, sanctify our spirits, and give us holy hearts, that so we may be thy instruments in this most glorious work.

"And whereas we have, by undertaking this plantation, undergone the reproofs of this base world, insomuch as many of our own brethren laugh us to scorn, O Lord, we pray thee fortify us against this temptation!

"And seeing this work must needs expose us to many miseries and dangers of soul and body by land and sea, O Lord! we earnestly beseech thee to receive us into thy favour and protection, defend us from the delusions of the Devil, the malice of the heathen, the invasions of our enemies, and mutinies and dissensions of our own people. Knit our hearts altogether in faith and fear of thee, and love one to another; give us patience, wisdom, and constancy to go on through all difficulties and temptations, till this blessed work be accomplished for the honour of thy name and glory of the gospel of Jesus Christ!

"And here, O Lord! we do upon the knees of our hearts offer thee the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving for that thou hast moved our hearts to undertake the performance of this blessed work with the hazard of our person, and hast moved the hearts of so many hundreds of our nation to assist it with means and provision, and with their holy prayers. Lord, look mercifully upon them all, and for that portion of their substance which they willingly offer for thy honour and service in this action, recompense it to them and theirs, and reward it sevenfold into their bosoms, with better blessings. Lord, bless England, our sweet native country! save it from Popery, this land from heathenism, and both from Atheism. And, Lord, hear their prayers for us, and us for them, and Christ Jesus, our glorious Mediator, for us all. Amen!"

We now proceed with the history.

The services of Lord De la War were of short duration, being obliged to return to England early in 1611, by reason of ill health. Before his arrival in England, the Council had sent Sir Thomas Dale, giving him the title of High-Marshal of Virginia, with a fresh supply of men and provisions, and with the Rev. Alexander Whittaker, between whom and Sir Thomas there appears to have ever been a strong attachment. They remained together at Jamestown until the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates, in the same year, with full powers as Governor, when Sir Thomas Dale, the High-Marshal, by agreement with the Governor, went

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higher up the river, with Mr. Whittaker and three hundred and fifty men, to establish two new positions,—one of them called New Bermuda, in what is now Chesterfield county, in the angle formed by James River and the Appomattox, and which afterward assumed and still retains the name of Bermuda Hundred; the other was five or six miles higher up, on the opposite side of the river, on what was called Farrar's Island, though it was, as Jamestown, only a peninsula. This was called Henrico City. In both of them churches were built, and small villages established, and Mr. Whittaker was the minister of both, alternately residing at each of them. As these were the first establishments after Jamestown, and are intimately connected in their history with that of Jamestown, the governors sometimes residing at Bermuda, we shall unite them together in our notices, until the destruction of Henrico in the great massacre of 1622. The Rev. Alexander Whittaker was the son of that eminent theologian of Cambridge who took part in drawing up the Lambeth Articles in the year 1595, and was, as his various writings show, one of the first theologians and controversialists of his day. He was the friend and companion of Hooker, and sympathized with him in his doctrinal views. The son, Alexander Whittaker, was a graduate of Cambridge, and had been for some years a minister in the North of England, beloved and well supported by his people, with a handsome inheritance from his parents. Crashaw says, "that having, after many distractions and combats with himself, (according to his own acknowledgment,) settled his resolution that God called him to Virginia, and therefore he would go, he accordingly made it good, notwithstanding the earnest dissuasions of some of his nearest friends, and the great discouragements which he daily heard of, touching the business and country itself." Again, says the same, "He, without any persuasion but God and his own heart, did voluntarily leave his *warm nest*, and, to the wonder of his kindred and amazement of them that knew him, undertook this hard, but, in my judgment, heroical resolution to go to Virginia, and help to bear the name of God to the Gentiles. Men may muse at it, some may laugh, and others wonder at it; but well I know the reason. God will be glorified in his own works, and what he hath determined to do, he will find means to bring it to pass. For the perfecting of this blessed work he hath stirred up able and worthy men to undertake the manning and managing of it." Mr. Whittaker had given himself to this work for three years, but at the end of that time, instead of returning to Eng-

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land, as too many of the governors and other officers did, being weary of their banishment, he preached a sermon and sent it over to England, exhorting others to come over to his help, and declaring his intention to live and die in the work here. His text is, "Cast thy bread upon the waters, and thou shalt find it after many days." Pleading for the nations, he says, "Wherefore, my brethren, put on the bowels of compassion, and let the lamentable estate of these miserables enter into your consideration. One God created us. They have reasonable souls and intellectual faculties as well as we. We all have Adam for our common parent; yea, by nature the condition of us both is all one, the servants of sin and slaves of the Devil. Oh, remember, I beseech you, what was the state of England before the Gospel was preached in our country." The whole sermon is full of such passages. In the year 1614, after having spent three years at Bermuda Hundred and Henrico, Sir Thomas Dale now removed to Jamestown, and, as Mr. Anderson affirms, Whittaker returned with him to that place. If so, he must, either before or after Sir Thomas's return to England in 1616, have gone back again to his old congregations, for, in the year 1617, Governor Argal, who succeeded Sir Thomas Dale, writes to the Council, from Bermuda Hundred, begging that a minister may be sent there, as Mr. Whittaker was drowned, and Mr. Wickham was unable to administer the sacraments. From this, it is probable that Mr. Wickham had been his curate, in deacons' orders. I am aware that there is a letter ascribed to a Rev. Mr. Stockam, and said to be dedicated to Mr. Whittaker, at a later period. But this letter of the Governor, declaring his death by drowning, would seem to be of higher authority. Within the period of which we have been discoursing, and during the ministry of Mr. Whittaker and the office of Dale as High-Marshal, there occurred some things in the Colony which deserve to be considered,—viz.: the conversion of Pocahontas to the Christian faith, her baptism, and marriage to John Rolph. The places of her residence, and of her baptism and marriage, have been matter of discussion, and are not unworthy of notice. As to the place of her birth and residence, there ought to be no doubt. Her father, the great King Powhatan, lived chiefly on York River, on the Gloucester side, some miles above York. Here, or at a place higher up, it was that Captain Smith was brought captive, and that Pocahontas saved his life. From one of these places, she occasionally visited Jamestown, and there doubtless became acquainted with Rolph, a young man of good

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family and education from England, between whom and herself an attachment was formed. In the year 1612, Captain Argal, afterwards Governor for a short time, went up the Potomac River in quest of provisions, and finding, accidentally, that Pocahontas was there, artfully contrived to get her on board of his vessel, and carried her prisoner to Jamestown, in order by that means to get back from her father some of our men and arms, and implements of husbandry which he had, from time to time, stolen from the Colony. But he did not succeed in the effort. At this time, Sir Thomas Dale and Mr. Whittaker were up the river, engaged in their duties at Henrico and Bermuda Hundred. It is most probable that Pocahontas was carried up the river to Sir Thomas and Mr. Whittaker, as being a more distant place, and one of greater safety, since her father might have attempted her rescue, or she her escape from Jamestown, the place being so much nearer to Powhatan's residence. Certain it is that, in the following year, Sir Thomas himself went on the same errand, up York River,—then called Charles River,—in a vessel, and succeeded in getting the prisoners and property from Powhatan. He took Pocahontas with him, and got her brothers to come on board and see her. She did not now wish to return to her father, (for she was engaged to Mr. Rolph,) and she did not go on shore to see him, as he might have forced her to stay. Sir Thomas, however, on leaving, caused the fact of her engagement to be made known to her father, who was quite pleased, and, in ten days, sent over his old uncle, Opachisco, and two of his sons, to bear his consent, and be present at the marriage. It is, therefore, altogether probable that the marriage took place at Jamestown, where Sir Thomas would stop to deliver to Governor Gates an account of the success of his expedition. From thence, they no doubt returned to Henrico, which was their residence until they went to England, with Governor Dale, in 1616. This I think to be the true account, from an examination of all the documents on the subject. As to the question whether her baptism was before or after marriage, there are some conflicting testimonies. Mr. Stith, in his History of Virginia, says,—

"All this while, Sir Thomas Dale, Mr. Whittaker, minister of Bermuda Hundred, and Mr. Rolph, her husband, were very careful and assiduous in instructing Pocahontas in the Christian religion; and she, on her part, expressed an eager desire and showed great capacity for learning. After she had been tutored for some time, she openly renounced the idolatry of her country, confessed the faith of Christ, and

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was baptized by the name of Rebecca. But her real name, it seems, was originally Matoax, which the Indians carefully concealed from the English, and changed it to Pocahontas, out of a superstitious fear, lest they, by a knowledge of her true name, should be enabled to do her some hurt. She was the first Christian Indian in these parts, and perhaps the sincerest and most worthy that has ever been since. And now she has no manner of desire to return to her father; neither could she well endure the brutish manners or society of her own nation. Her affection for her husband was extremely constant and true; and he, on the other hand, underwent great torment and pain, out of his violent passion and tender solicitude for her."

From the foregoing, we would infer that her marriage preceded her baptism. On what authority Mr. Stith (who wrote his work in 1746) relied, I know not, but the following testimony from Sir Thomas Dale, in 1614, is certainly to be preferred. In a letter to the Bishop of London, dated June 18, 1614, he thus writes:—

"Powhatan's daughter I caused to be carefully instructed in the Christian religion, who, after she had made some good progress therein, renounced publicly her country's idolatry, openly confessed her Christian faith, was, as she desired, baptized, and is *since* married to an English gentleman of good understanding, (as by his letter unto me, containing the reasons of his marriage of her, you may perceive,) another knot to bind this peace the stronger. Her father and friends gave approbation to it, and her uncle gave her to him in the Church. She lives civilly and lovingly with him, and I trust will increase in goodness, as the knowledge of God increaseth in her. She will go into England with me; and, were it but the gaining of this one soul, I will think my time, toil, and present stay well spent."

According to this communication to the Bishop of London, Sir Thomas Dale, whose return to England was delayed beyond his wishes or expectation, did, in the year 1616, carry with him Mr. Rolph and his wife. Her son, Thomas Rolph, was born while she was in England. On her return, she suddenly died, at Gravesend. The husband returned to this country, being made Recorder and Secretary to the Colony. The son, after being educated in England by his uncle, Henry Rolph, returned to America, and lived at Henrico, where his parents had formerly lived, and afterward became a person of fortune and distinction in the Colony.*

* "He left behind him an only daughter, who was married to Colonel Robert Bolling, by whom she left an only son, Major John Bolling, who was the father of Colonel John Bolling, and of several daughters, one of whom married Colonel Richard Randolph, another Colonel Fleming, a third Dr. William Gay, a fourth Mr. Thomas Eldridge, and the last Mr. James Murray." To this statement of Stith, one of the family has furnished me with the following addition:—"The son

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Concerning the reception and behaviour of Pocahontas in London, I shall only give the account which Purchas, the celebrated compiler of the many treatises called "Purchas's Pilgrims," has handed down to us:—

"She did not only accustom herself to civilitie, but still carried herself as the daughter of a King, and was accordingly respected, not only by the company, (London Company,) which allowed provision for herself and son; but of divers particular persons of honour, in their hopeful zeal by her to advance Christianity. I was present when my honourable and reverend patron, the Lord-Bishop of London, Dr. King, entertained her with festival, and state, and pomp, beyond what I have seen in his great hospitalitie afforded to other ladies. At her return towards Virginia, she came to Gravesend, *to her end and grave*, having given great demonstration of her Christian sincerity, as the first fruits of Virginian conversions, leaving here a godly memory and the hopes of her resurrection, her soul aspiring to see and enjoy presently in Heaven what here she had joyed to hear and believe of her beloved Saviour."

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of Pocahontas, Thomas Rolph, married a Miss Poythress. Their grandson, John Bolling, married a Miss Kennon, whose son John married a Miss Blair, of Williamsburg, while Richard Randolph, of Curls, fourth in descent from Pocahontas, married Miss Ann Meade, sister of Colonel R. K. Meade. Their daughter married Mr. William Bolling, of Bolling Hall, Goochland county, each of them being fifth in descent from Pocahontas."

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ARTICLE V.

The Parish of James City.—No. 3.

The history of Rolph and Pocahontas is so identified with that of Virginia, and with the Church of Virginia, that it deserves more than a passing notice. The account usually given of it is too often considered as an interesting and highly-exaggerated romance, though founded on the fact of the first marriage of an Englishman with an Indian. From an accurate examination of all the early statements concerning the two persons, and the circumstances of their marriage, we are persuaded that there is as little of romance or exaggeration about it as can well be. On the part of Pocahontas, she was the daughter of the noblest and most powerful of the native kings of North America, who by his superior wisdom and talents had established his authority over all the tribes from James River to the Potomac, from Kiquotan or Hampton to the falls of James River, or what is now Richmond, with the exception of that on the Chickohomini. We read of two of his sons, and another of his daughters, who also rose superior to the rest of their race. Of one of the sons, Nantaquaus, Captain Smith says that he was "the most manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage," and of his sister, Pocahontas, that she had "a compassionate pitiful heart." The other daughter Sir Thomas Dale endeavoured without success to obtain, with a view to another alliance with some English gentleman. But Pocahontas was acknowledged by all to be cast in one of the first of nature's moulds, both as to person and character. She was declared to be the "*nonpareil*" of Captain Smith and his associates. Nor is it wonderful. At the age of twelve or thirteen, after using all her powers of persuasion to obtain the release of Captain Smith, and to save him from the sentence of death, but in vain,—when his head was laid upon the stone, and her father's huge club was uplifted by his arm, and ready to fall on the head of the prisoner, she threw herself upon him, laying her head on his, and folding her arms around him, thus moving the heart of her father, and, as Smith himself declared to the Queen, "hazarding the beating out of her own brains instead of mine." After this, her interest in Smith and the Colony

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was displayed in frequent visits to it. "Jamestown with her wild train (of attendants) she as frequently visited as her father's habitation," says Smith, in a letter to the Queen, and often, by her timely warnings, saved the Colony from destruction. On one occasion, when Smith and a number with him were in most imminent danger, she came along through the woods some miles, outstripping those who were seeking their destruction: "the dark night (he says in the same letter) could not affright her, but, coming through the irksome woods, with watered eyes gave me intelligence." "She was," he adds, "the first Christian of that nation; the first who ever spake English, or had a child in marriage." Her meeting with Smith also, in London, was very characteristic. It was unexpected by her, for she had been told that he was dead some years before. She was in the circle of the great when Smith came into her presence, and he thought it prudent and right to address her with more ceremony and state than formerly in America, out of respect to those around. This distressed her much, and she resented it, and upbraided him with not calling her his child, as he did in America, and allowing her to call him father, as she used to do; nor could he convince her to the contrary, she declaring that she would call him father. In relation to Mr. Rolph, there can be no doubt that he had conceived a strong affection for her, on account of her person, and deeply-interesting qualities, which affection was fully returned. There is extant a long and most affecting letter from Mr. Rolph to Sir Thomas Dale, declaring his wish and determination to marry her, assigning his reasons, describing his feelings, and asking the Governor's approbation. He seems to have been much concerned and troubled in mind on the subject, and calls God to witness the purity of his motives, and how deeply his conscience had been engaged in the decision, and that not until much suffering had been endured was the determination made.*

* The Rev. Peter Fontaine, in a letter to his brother in England, in which he advocates intermarriage with the Indians as a means of their civilization and Christianization, says, "But this, our wise politicians at home put an effectual stop to at the beginning of our settlement here, for when they heard that Rolph had married Pocahontas, it was deliberated in Council whether he had not committed high treason by so doing, that is, marrying an Indian princess; and had not some troubles intervened, which put a stop to the enquiry, the poor man might have been hanged up for doing the most just, the most natural, the most generous and politic action, that ever was done on this side of the water. This put an effectual stop to all intermarriages afterwards." From whence Mr. Fontaine got this tradition I know not. Col. Byrd, in his Westover Manuscripts, advocates the same mode of converting and civilizing the natives as did his minister, Mr. Fontaine.

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The letter can only be understood by considering the character and position of Mr. Rolph. Here was a young Englishman, of family, education, and reputation, about to engage himself to an Indian girl, of a different and despised colour, of different manners, uneducated, of a hated nation, not one of whom had ever yet been married to one of the meanest of the Colonists; his children, and children's children, to be regarded as an inferior race, his own prospects in life as to preferment all blasted, himself, perhaps, to be a byword and proverb. Such, doubtless, were his feelings when penning this letter.

> "For still the world prevail'd, and its dread laugh,
> Which scarce the firm philosopher can scorn."

Principle, religious principle, as well as pure love of female excellence, prevailed and was rewarded. Not only did Sir Thomas Dale approve and encourage the alliance, but, after writing home most favourably of it, carried them with him to England, where they were most honourably received. It is said that King James was even a little jealous of them, lest, on returning to America, they might think, by right of inheritance from Powhatan, (a far nobler monarch than himself,) to establish themselves in rule over his Virginia territory. This was only one of the vain thoughts which found a seat in that weak and conceited monarch's mind. Nothing but good resulted from the union, and much more than is seen or acknowledged may have resulted. Instead of a race of despised semi-savages being the issue of this union, Mr. Burk, the historian of Virginia, after giving the names of some of his descendants, which have been already recorded, adds:—"so that this remnant of the imperial family of Virginia, which long ran in a single person, is now increased and branched out into a very numerous progeny. The virtues of mildness and humanity, so eminently distinguished in Pocahontas, remain in the nature of an inheritance to her posterity. There is scarcely a scion from this stock which has not been in the highest degree amiable and respectable." He also adds, "that he is acquainted with several members of this family, who are intelligent and even eloquent, and, if fortune keep pace with their merits, should not despair of attaining a conspicuous and even exalted station in the Commonwealth." This was written in the year 1804, when Mr. Randolph of Roanoke, one of the descendants of Pocahontas, was just entering upon public life.

We are now approaching a deeply-interesting, eventful, and de-

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cisive period in the history of the Colony. Until about the year 1616, when Sir Thomas Dale returned to England, Jamestown, Henrico, and Bermuda Hundred formed nearly all of the Colony; and at that time it is probable that Mr. Bucke, at Jamestown, and Mr. Whittaker, with his curate, Wickham, were the only ministers of the Colony. During the three following years, infant settlements, planted by Sir Thomas Dale on James River, and others, by his successors, Argal and Yeardley, began to increase, and assume the forms of villages, called Hundreds, and several new ministers came over. We ascertain the names of Stockam, Meare, Hargrave, and Scale. In the year 1619, Yeardley, having visited Europe, returned with new instructions and enlarged authority. He was directed to convene the first legislative body ever held in Virginia. Eleven boroughs sent delegates, called Burgesses, to it. Mr. Bucke was still the minister at Jamestown, and opened the meeting with solemn prayers in the choir of the church, the Governor sitting in his accustomed place, the Councillors on each side of him, and the Burgesses around; after which they all went into the body of the church, and proceeded with the work of legislation. The laws, martial, moral, and divine, were now superseded by some of a different character. The Church of England was more formally established than it ever had been before.* Now all things began to assume a more regular and promising aspect. More especially was the attention of the Company in London and of pious friends in England directed to the cause of education in the Colony. Many years before this, King James had, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, called upon the Bishops and clergy of England to take up collections for a University in Virginia, for the benefit of both natives and Colonists, and the sum of £1500 had been raised for the purpose. Now an influx of charity poured in upon Virginia, especially for this object. I have before me a paper, copied from an English record, containing a list of the following donations, during the years 1619–20–21:—"Mrs. Mary Robinson, for a church in Virginia, £200. An unknown person, £20 for communion-service, and other things for the same. A person unknown, £30, for the College communion-service, &c. A

* Mr. Henning, in his Statutes at Large, and all other writers on the early history of Virginia, have declared that no account of the acts of this first Assembly has been preserved; but Mr. Conway Robinson, in his researches among the public offices in England, during his late visit to that country, has discovered an old manuscript, of thirty or forty pages, being a journal or report of its proceedings.

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person with the signature of *Dust and Ashes* sent £550, in gold, to Sir Edward Sandys, for the instruction of the natives in religion and civility. Nicholas Ferrar, £330 for the same, and £24 annually. An unknown person, £10 for the Colony. For a free school in Virginia, by persons returning from the East Indies, to be called the East India School, £70. Ditto for the same, by an unknown person, £30. Ditto by a person unknown, £25. Ditto a Bible, Prayer Book, and other books worth £10." The Rev. Mr. Hargrave also gave his library. The place selected for the College was Henrico City, before mentioned as settled by Sir Thomas Dale and Mr. Whittaker, on the north side of James River, about fifteen miles below Richmond. Not less than 15,000 acres of land were given as College lands, and for purposes connected with the Church and College, between the settlement and Richmond, by the Company in England. The East India School was to be established at Charles City,—a place somewhere in what is now the county of Charles City, and probably not far from Henrico City. The Rev. Mr. Copland, chaplain of the East India Company, who had proposed the East India School in Virginia and contributed liberally to it, was appointed by the Company to be President of the College, and general manager of all its property. The East India School, in Charles City, was to be a preparatory one to the College. On the 13th of April, 1622, the Rev. Mr. Copland was requested by the Company to deliver a thanksgiving sermon, in London, for all the late mercies of God to the Colony, and for the bright prospects before them; but in about one month before that time, on the 22d of March, those prospects had been blasted by one of the most unexpected and direful calamities which had ever befallen the Colony. Since the marriage of Pocahontas all had been peace with the natives. The Colonists had settled themselves in various places along James River, from Kiquotan (Hampton) to Henrico, fearing no evil, although the dreadful massacre which then ensued had been secretly resolved upon for some years. On one and the same day the attack was made on every place. Jamestown, and some few points near to it, alone escaped, having received warning of the intended attack just in time to prepare for defence. Besides the destruction of houses by fire, between three and four hundred persons were put to death in the most cruel manner. Such was the effect of this assault, both in Virginia and in England, that a commission was sent over to the Governor, Sir George Yeardley, to seek for a settlement on the Eastern Shore of Virginia for those who remained.

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That plan, however, was never put in execution, though steps were taken toward it. The hopes of the best friends of the Colony, and of the natives, were now overwhelmed. This, added to all preceding conflicts with the natives, and the continual defence required before the marriage of Pocahontas, produced a change in the feelings and language of many toward the natives, which we should scarce credit if the records of the same were not too well authenticated. In unison with the feelings of the English, Captain Smith, who was still alive and in England, offered himself as the commander of a company of young and valiant soldiers, to be a standing army in Virginia, going in among the tribes, inflicting vengeance for the past, and driving them out of their possessions to some place so distant from our people as to render them harmless. The Company itself, hitherto so strong in its injunction of mild measures and the use of means for the conversion of the Indians, now says, "We condemn their bodies, the saving of whose souls we have so zealously affected. Root them out from being any longer a people,—so cursed a nation, ungrateful for all benefits and incapable of all goodness,—or remove them so far as to be out of danger or fear. War perpetually, without peace or truce. Yet spare the young for servants. Starve them by destroying their corn, or reaping it for your own use. Pluck up their weirs, (fishing-traps.) Obstruct their hunting. Employ foreign enemies against them at so much a head. Keep a band of your own men continually upon them, to be paid by the Colony, which is to have half of their captives and plunder. He that takes any of their chiefs to be doubly rewarded. He that takes Opochancono (the chief and brother of old Powhatan, who was now dead) shall have a great and singular reward." At a somewhat later period, either an order in council or a law was passed, that "the Indians being irreconcilable enemies, every commander, on the least molestation, to fall upon them."

It may perhaps seem to some, that in giving such details of massacre and revenge I am departing from that line of ecclesiastical notices hitherto pursued. A few words will, I hope, suffice for my justification, and show that I have a sufficient reason for it. In the first fifteen years of the Colony, it must be admitted that, so far as the few ministers who belonged to it, and a good proportion of the laity taking part in it, are concerned, there is as large a share of the true missionary spirit in its conduct as is anywhere to be found, not excepting any missionary movements since apostolic days and men. But this massacre, following others which had taken place,

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and the little success attending the conversion of the natives in this country, or in England, whither some had been sent for Christian instruction, produced a sad revolution in public feeling. The missionary effort was considered as a failure; the conversion, or even civilization, of the Indian, was regarded as hopeless. The Company began, and probably continued, to appropriate £500 annually to the support of such men as Hunt, Bucke, Clover, Whittaker, and other religious purposes; but that Company was, in the year 1624, dissolved by the covetous and tyrannical act of James. Where now are to be found the considerations sufficient to move other such devoted missionaries to fill up the ranks made vacant by their death? The Indians were now objects of dread, of hate, of persecution. A sentiment and declaration is ascribed to one of the last of the ministers who came over, "that the only way to convert the Indians was to cut the throats of their chief men and priests." It must also be acknowledged that the experience of two hundred and fifty years has proved that the North American Indian is the most unlikely subject for conversion to our religion of all the savage tribes on whom the missionary has bestowed his labour. Cowper may have poured out his soul of piety and poetry over some instance of conversion among them:—

> "The wretch that once sang wildly, laugh'd and danced,
> Has wept a silent flood; reversed his ways;
> Is sober, meek, benevolent, and prays;
> Feeds sparingly, communicates his store;
> And he that stole has learn'd to steal no more."

But how many of such have there been? Pocahontas, at the end of seven or eight years, was perhaps the only trophy of the missionary labours of the Virginia Colony. In forming a judgment, therefore, of our Mother-Church, in regard to the ministers sent forth by, or issuing from her, from the time of this great failure, we must inquire into the arguments by which her clergy could henceforth be urged to come over to this Macedonia. The only persons who could be brought under their pastoral care in Virginia were now the same kind of rich and poor who abounded so much more in the country they would leave, and these were placed under the greatest imaginable difficulties of access,—scattered at great distances from each other, and along the margins of wide rivers, with scarce a village, or village church, to be seen. To the present day, how great the impediment this to the full trial of the Gospel ministry! As to the salaries and residences of ministers, we shall

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hereafter show that the former were most scanty and precarious, and the latter uncomfortable. For a long time, all things were most unfavourable for usefulness as well as comfort. Let us suppose that the present missionaries to China and Africa were sent merely to minister to the English and Americans scattered through those lands, no opening whatever being had to the natives, and, moreover, that, besides much and painful travelling through dark forests, they were most meagrely supplied with the means of subsistence, with clothing, and homes, so that scarce any of them could venture to assume the relation of husbands and fathers; can we suppose that such men as those we now send out as missionaries would be ready to engage in the work, when there are so many stations at home furnishing larger opportunities of usefulness? Let us not, therefore, be surprised, if, in subsequent notices, we should find an inferior order of men supplying the churches of Virginia. Nor let any denomination of Christians boast itself over the Church of Virginia, since, under similar circumstances, it might not have done better.

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ARTICLE VI.

The Parish of James City.—No. 4.

Having brought the history of James City parish, in its connection with the few others then in existence, to the time of the great massacre, with some thoughts on its effects, I briefly allude to two events, occurring soon after, and calculated to concur with it in having an injurious influence over the future welfare of the Colony. While the Company and the Governors were endeavouring to improve the condition of the Colony, by selecting a hundred young females, of good character, to be wives to the labourers on the farms in Virginia, King James had determined to make of the Colony a Botany Bay for the wretched convicts in England, and ordered one hundred to be sent over. The Company remonstrated, but in vain. A large portion, if not all of them, were actually sent. The influence of this must have been pernicious. Whether it was continued by his successors, and how long, and to what extent, I know not. Shortly after this, a Dutch vessel brought into Jamestown the first cargo of negro slaves which was ever cast on the shores of America. While we must acknowledge that "the earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is;" that he has a right, and will exercise it, to pull down one kingdom and raise up another, to dispossess the Indians of their territories and give them to the white men and the negroes for their possession; while we must acknowledge that the advantage of the African trade, notwithstanding the cruelties accompanying it, has been on the side of that people, both temporally and spiritually; yet can we never be brought to believe that the introduction into and the multiplication of slaves in Virginia have advanced either her religious, political, or agricultural interests. On the contrary, we are confident that it has injured all. But if our loss has redounded to the benefit of Africa, by affording religious advantages to numbers of her benighted sons, who, in the providence of God, have come hither, and especially if it should be the means, by colonization and missionary enterprise, of establishing Christianity in that dark habitation of cruelty, we must bow submissively to the will of Heaven, and allow many of our sister States, with far less advantages of

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soil, climate, and navigation, to outstrip us in numbers, wealth, and political power.*

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* I have been for the last fifty years, and more especially for the last thirty, travelling much through the length and breadth of Virginia, making observations for myself, conversing with intelligent farmers, politicians, ministers of the Gospel, and other Christians, on the subject referred to above. I have been not a little over other parts of our land, observing and conversing on the same, and I have read much of what has been written about it. Since the publication, in another form, of the few brief sentences referred to in this note, I have not only reconsidered them myself, but freely conversed with many sound-minded persons concerning the views there presented; and the result has been an increased conviction that they are correct, and have been in times past, and still are, held by the great body of our citizens, Christians, and statesmen. There are some who seem to advocate slavery as though it were the only institution which is exempt from any of the evils incident to our fallen humanity, while others can see nothing but evil about it, ignoring the hand of a permissive Providence for good. We cannot agree with either of these classes, and are happy to think that but few belong to them. That the agriculture of Virginia has suffered in times past from the use of slaves we think most evident from our deserted fields, impoverished estates, and emigrating population, by comparison with the condition of other parts of our land less highly favoured in natural advantages. That a great improvement has already taken place, and is still going on, in many parts of the State, notwithstanding this system, we rejoice to know and declare; and, even if the future should show that agriculture may be as well conducted by slave-labour as by free, our remark is true as to the past. That we have fallen behind in our white population, and of course in the number of our delegates to Congress, and thus in our political power, will not be questioned. That Virginia has been the fruitful nursery of patriots and orators and statesmen, whether representing their own State or those to which they have emigrated, I rejoice to believe, and I acknowledge that the institution of slavery, by affording more leisure and opportunity to some for the attainment of the most thorough education, has contributed to this; but that our political power as a State has been reduced is a fact not to be denied; and that this has resulted from the preceding facts —viz.. the wasteful agriculture and consequent emigration—must be admitted. The effect of slavery upon our religious institutions has been a matter of remark and lamentation by some of the earliest writers on Virginia, beginning with the first century of her existence. They speak of the large estates cultivated by slaves, especially along the rivers, as preventing the establishment of villages, churches, and schools. To this day the ministers of religion deeply feel this in the distant abodes of their members. That slavery and its attendant—a supposed disgrace belonging to labour—has produced in many of the sons of Virginia gentlemen idleness and dissipation, who will deny? On account of all the foregoing accompaniments of slavery, how long did our statesmen protest against the continuance of the slave-trade, making the "inhuman use of the royal veto" on an act prohibiting it one of the justifying causes of the Revolution! And we all know that one of the first exercises of our independence was the entire abolition of it. But while thus satisfied, so far as Virginia is concerned, that slavery was attended by the above-mentioned evils, it is our privilege, as Christians, to view the whole subject in a higher and holier light and on a larger scale, and to be willing to suffer some loss for the sake of the greater good which Providence, through that loss, may bestow on a benighted portion of mankind. "The whole earth is the Lord's," and not ours. He who

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That an unfavourable turn had taken place in the affairs of the Church of Virginia, by reason of the massacre and other circum

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drove out the Canaanites and gave their land to Israel for a possession has been pleased to drive out the Indians from Virginia and give it to white men and to the most amiable race of savages which I believe exists upon earth, and which is far more ready to receive the Gospel than the ferocious Indian. Though Virginia suffered some loss by the introduction of the Negro race, yet her advantages were, and still are, so great that she could and can afford to lose what God chooses to take in his own way. I trust that God will still be gracious to this race, and, when it shall overflow the first bounds which were set for it, will provide, in sufficient abundance, other and goodlier portions for her in our widely-extended territory. I trust that he will give wisdom and largeness of heart, even as the sea-shore, to our people and rulers in providing for this race, whether in bondage or in freedom. I am no politician to discuss the question of metes and boundaries in relation to their settlement. I do not plead for the extension of territory with any regard to the increase of wealth or political power to their owners; but I do trust that the Lord has a goodly and large heritage for them, in such parts of this continent as shall be most suitable, and that our Senators and delegates may ever deliberate on this subject in a spirit of enlarged Christian philanthropy. If there was any plan by which their own character and condition could, by emancipation, be improved without greater injury to their owners than good to themselves, I am sure that God in his own time will reveal it unto us; but, all such attempts having hitherto failed, we should legislate for their good, as people in bondage and who may long continue so. Many of them will, I trust, go back, with something better than civil liberty, to the land of their fathers; but many must long remain in America,—probably to the end of time: and cruel would be the policy which should seek to restrict them to limits too narrow for their comfort or that of their owners. Already the abundance of the South and West is attracting them, as it does their owners, and they leave many parts of Virginia with joy, in the hope of a milder climate, a richer soil, and ampler provision for their bodily sustenance. While we admit and maintain that slavery has its evils, we must also affirm that some of the finest traits in the character of man are to be found in active exercise in connection with it. The very dependence of the slave upon his master is a continual and effective appeal to his justice and humanity, and the relation between them is generally a very different thing from what it is believed to be by many who have no opportunity of forming a correct estimate of the same. If the evil passions are sometimes called into exercise, the milder virtues are much more frequently drawn forth. If there be less of bodily labour, there is more of mental culture, among those who are not obliged to "hold the plough;" and thus it is that among the upper classes there is far more of academical and collegiate education in Virginia than in any other State of the Union, and the whole South and West have felt and do feel the effect of it. Nor as to religion are we, as some have supposed, so destitute, though we might have abounded more under different circumstances. Irreligion, false doctrines, Unitarianism, belong neither to slavery nor freedom. At a time when all Christendom was covered with slavery of every degree, the Unitarian heresy prevailed for a period in its greatest extension, and so did a swarm of other false doctrines. That the slave-holding States are now most happily free from this and other pestilential errors, and have much of true piety in them, must be acknowledged; and it were to be wished that, for the sake of peace and union, criminations and recriminations would cease.

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stances, although the temporal condition of the Colony and the numbers of Colonists soon began greatly to increase, is evident from various acts of the Assembly, and from letters to and from England, which show the difficulty of procuring such ministers as those who first came into the Colony. Laws now seem to be required to keep the ministers from cards, dice, drinking, and such like things; and even to constrain them to preach and administer the communion as often as was proper,—yea, even to visit the sick and dying. It is true, the inducements as to earthly comforts, which might help to bring over respectable ministers, were very small. The Assembly, by various preambles and acts, declares that without better provision for them it was not to be expected that sufficient, learned, pious, and diligent ministers could be obtained, and admits that some of a contrary character did come over, while there were not enough of any kind to do the work required. From that time, until the close of the Colonial establishment, Governors, Commissaries, and private individuals, in their communications with the Bishops of London and the Archbishops of Canterbury, all declare that such was the scanty and uncertain support of the clergy, the precarious tenure by which livings were held, that but few of the clergy could support families, and therefore respectable ladies would not marry them. Hence the immense number of unmarried, ever-shifting clergymen in the Colony.

With these general remarks, we proceed with the special history of James City parish. It was not until the year 1634 that it could fairly be considered a parish. The settlements were for some time called Plantations, Hundreds, Congregations, &c.; but in 1634, part of the State was divided into eight shires, as in England. They were James City, Henrico, Charles City, Elizabeth City, Warwick River, Warrosquijoake, Charles River, and Accawmac. Of these, all lay between York and James Rivers, and east of James City, except Henrico, Charles City, Accawmac, the latter being then all of what is now the Eastern Shore of Virginia. But in James City shire or county, a number of small parishes were at an early period established, for the convenience of the people, as Martin's Hundred, Chiskiake, Chippoax, Lane's Creek, and Harrop parish, which in time were lost in James City parish, York Hampton, and Bruton parishes. The first minister of James City parish of whom we read, after Mr. Bucke, was the Rev. Thomas Hampton, in 1644, of whom we know nothing but the name, as no vestry-book or other document remains to tell who, if

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any, intervened between him and Mr. Bucke. Nor have we, for a long time after, any name of a minister of that parish; but an event occurred in the year 1675 or '76, by which the church and city, and probably all the church-records, were destroyed, which deserves to be mentioned.*

BACON'S REBELLION.

Jamestown having been the most prominent theatre of Bacon's rebellion, and the greatest sufferer thereby,—the place being destroyed by fire,—it becomes us to take some brief notice of it. Writers on the subject trace the beginnings of this movement to an enterprise against the Indians by Colonel Mason and Captain Brent, of Stafford county, in 1675, who, on some cruel murder committed by the former, collected troops and followed them over into Maryland, putting great numbers to death, bringing a young son of one of their kings or chiefs back a prisoner.† These wars with the Indians continuing to harass those who lived on the frontiers and in the interior, while the Governor and those living at or around Jamestown were quite secure, the former began to complain that they were not protected, and that they must follow the example of Mason and Brent, and take care of themselves. Among the dissatisfied was Bacon, a man of family, talents, courage, and ambition. After applying in vain to Sir William Berkeley for a commission to raise men for the purpose of assailing the Indians, he, urged by his own genius and the wishes of others, collected a considerable troop and spread terror around him, destroying a number of the hostile natives. The Governor proclaimed him a rebel, but the people sent him back to the House of Burgesses, and the Governor thought it expedient even to admit him into the Council, where he had been before. But it did not end here. Bacon again raised a troop and sallied forth against the

* The Rev. William Gough was also its minister, and died in 1683–4. He was buried in the old graveyard, near the church, at Jamestown.

† Of him a circumstance is related, showing that there was not only religion in those days, but superstition also. The boy lying for ten days in bed, as one dead, his eyes and mouth shut but his body warm, Captain Brent, who was a Papist, said that he was bewitched, and that he had heard baptism was a remedy for it, and proposed the trial. Colonel Mason answered that there was no minister in many miles. Captain Brent replied, "Your clerk, Mr. Dobson, may do that office;" which was accordingly done by the Church of England Liturgy. Colonel Mason and Captain Brent stood godfathers, and Mrs. Mason godmother. The end of the story is, that the child, being eight years old, soon recovered.

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Indians. Again the Governor pronounced him a rebel, and raised an army to subdue him and his followers. But Bacon, with an inferior force, besieged Jamestown, drove out the Governor and his men, and, lest he should regain this stronghold, burnt city, church, and all to the ground. The Governor had twice to seek refuge on the Eastern Shore. Whether Bacon's rebellion was a lawful one or not, I leave civilians to decide. Sir William Berkeley certainly gained no credit to himself, either for his military talents, or his truth, or humanity, for, in spite of all his assurances to the contrary, and the express orders of the King, he did, after the sudden decease of Bacon, put to death a number of his followers. For this, and other high-handed acts, his memory is not dear to the lovers of freedom.

Although a new and better church, whose tower still remains, was built at Jamestown, yet the city never recovered from this blow. The middle Plantation, or Williamsburg, was already beginning to rival it, and by the beginning of the next century the seat of government was removed to Williamsburg, where the College, State-House, and Governor's palace quite eclipsed any thing which had ever been seen at Jamestown. The Governor's house, at Green Spring, which Sir William Berkeley built, a few miles off, answered for a time in place of the State-House at Jamestown; the Council and Burgh holding their meetings there.

Proceeding now with the succession of ministers in Jamestown, we have been unable to ascertain any other until the Rev. James Blair, the Commissary, who came to this country in 1685, and settled in Henrico, whence, after remaining until 1694, he removed to Jamestown, and remained until 1710, preaching there, and at a church eight miles off, in the adjacent parish, and then moved to Williamsburg. Who succeeded him, and who ministered there until the year 1722, I know not. In that year the Rev. William Le Neve took charge of it. He reports to the Bishop of London, in the year 1724, that the parish is twenty miles long, twelve wide, has seventy-eight families in it, and usually twenty or thirty communicants. He also preached every third Sunday at Mulberry Island parish church, lower down the river, where he had double the number of communicants, and a larger congregation. The congregation at Jamestown must have been small. There never was but one church in it; and that was not a large one. The seventy-eight families must have been the whole flock of James City parish at this time. The salary of James City parish was only £60.

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The minister received £30 for preaching at Mulberry Island, and £20 for lecturing in Williamsburg on Sunday afternoons. In the year 1758, we find the Rev. Mr. Berkeley the minister. In the year 1772, the Rev. John Hyde Saunders was ordained for this parish by the Bishop of London. In the year 1785, the Rev. James Madison, afterward Bishop of Virginia, became its minister, and continued so until his death in 1812, long before which the congregation had dwindled into almost nothing,—the church on the Island having sunk into ruins, and the little remnant of Episcopalians meeting at a brick church a few miles from the island, on the road from it to Williamsburg. That has also entirely disappeared. A young friend of mine, who was in Williamsburg about the year 1810, informed me that, being desirous of hearing the oratory of Bishop Madison, he had once or twice gone out on a Sabbath morning to this church, but that the required number for a sermon was not there, though it was a very small one, and so he was disappointed. It might be expected that I should in this place say something about Bishop Madison, in addition to what may be found in my first article of Reminiscences of Virginia; but, though I have endeavoured to procure some of his papers for this purpose, I have thus far been disappointed. I can only say that in the year 1775 he was ordained deacon and priest by the Bishop of London. In the year 1774 he became Professor in the College of William and Mary, in the year 1777, President of the College, and in the year 1790 was consecrated Bishop of Virginia. His addresses to the Convention breathe a spirit of zealous piety, and his recommendations are sensible and practical. Although agreeing in political principles with those who were foremost in the State for the sale of Church property and the withholding from her and other Societies any corporate privileges, he steadily and perseveringly, though ineffectually, resisted their efforts. I again repeat my conviction that the reports as to his abandonment of the Christian faith in his latter years are groundless; although it is to be feared that the failure of the Church in his hands, and which at that time might have failed in any hands, his secular and philosophical pursuits, had much abated the spirit with which he entered upon the ministry.

The old church at Jamestown is no longer to be seen, except the base of its ruined tower. A few tombstones, with the names of the Amblers and Jaquelines, the chief owners of the island for a long time, and the Lees, of Green Spring, (the residence and property, at one time, of Sir William Berkeley,) a few miles from

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Jamestown, still mark the spot where so many were interred during the earlier years of the Colony. Some of the sacred vessels are yet to be seen, either in private hands or public temples of religion. The first I would mention are a large silver chalice and paten, with the inscription on each,—

"Ex Dono Jacobi Morrison Armigeri, A.D. 1661."

Also a silver alms-basin, with the inscription, "For the use of James City Parish Church." When the church at Jamestown had fallen into ruin and the parish ceased to exist, probably at the death of Bishop Madison, these vessels were taken under the charge of the vestry in Williamsburg. During the presidency of Dr. Wilmer over the College, and his pastorship of the church in Williamsburg, in the year 1827, they were placed in the hands of the Rev. John Grammer, to be used in the church or churches under his care, on condition of their being restored to the parish of James City, should it ever be revived. In the year 1854, Mr. Grammer thought it best to surrender it into the hands of the Episcopal Convention, with the request that it be deposited for safe-keeping in the Library of the Theological Seminary of Virginia, where it now is. The second is a silver plate, being part of a communion-service presented to the church at Jamestown, by Edmund Andros, in the year 1694, he being then Governor. The history of this is singular. In one of our Southern towns, about twelve years since, a gentleman, wishing something from a jeweller's shop, was directed by the owners of it to look into a drawer for the thing wanted, in which drawer was kept old silver purchased for the purpose of being worked up again. This piece of plate was noticed, being much bent and battered. It was purchased, and, being restored to its original shape, was discovered to be what we have stated; this appearing from the Latin inscription upon it. This also has been presented to the Church of Virginia. The third and last of the pieces of church furniture—which is now in use in one of our congregations—is a silver vase, a font for baptism, which was presented to the Jamestown Church, in 1733, by Martha Jaqueline, widow of Edward Jaqueline, and their son Edward. In the year 1785, when the act of Assembly ordered the sale of Church property, it reserved that which was possessed by right of private donation. Under this clause, it was given into the hands of the late Mr. John Ambler, his grandson. The following lines in relation to it are from the pen of Mr. Edward Jaqueline's grand-daughter, the late Mrs. Edward Carrington, of

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Richmond. They have been furnished by one of her descendants, and I take pleasure in placing them on record:—

"Dear sacred vase! do I indeed behold
This holy relic of my church and sire,
Not basely barter'd, or profanely sold,
But pure and perfect, still preserved entire?

"No sordid act could change thy sacred use,
No impious tongue condemn a gift so rare,
While plate and chalice felt the dire abuse,
That echoes loud in heaven's offended ear.

"But thou, most precious vase, remain'st the same,
Still waiting to perform the donor's will;
And, when to men thou giv'st the Christian's name,
Come thou, O God, and grace divine instil!"

I have also been permitted to make use of the papers of this excellent lady in presenting some sketches of the members of her family who were in connection with the old church at Jamestown. Nor can I do this without first making a brief reference to herself. Mrs. Carrington was a sincere and pious member of our Church in Richmond, from the beginning of its resuscitation in 1812,—how much longer I know not. Being infirm, from the time of our first Conventions, she was unable to attend public worship, but was not ashamed to convert her house into a place of prayer and exhortation, inviting her neighbours and friends to assemble there. Some pleasant and edifying meetings have I been privileged to attend and participate in, under her roof, during the last years of her pilgrimage on earth. The paper from which I extract the following was drawn up in the year 1785, on a visit to one of the Amblers, at a residence called the "Cottage," in Hanover county, Virginia, and where were the portraits of the older members of the family:—

"The first was Edward Jaqueline, who was descended in a right line from one of those unfortunate banished Huguenots whose zeal in the good Protestant cause has made their history so remarkable. He was of French extraction, and, from his buckram suit and antique periwig, (alluding to his portrait on the wall,) must have arrived in this country in its early settlement. The costume of the young ladies and gentlemen bespoke more modern fashion; amongst whom (and she was the youngest) stood my highly-respected aunt Martha, who, I well remember, told me she was born in the year 1711. She died at the age of ninety-three. From her I learned that the old gentleman, Edward Jaqueline, her father, settled in Jamestown, on his first arrival in this country, where his tombstone still remains; that he married in the Carey family, in Warrick county; that he had three sons and three daughters; that the daughters

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only survived him; that the eldest of these, Elizabeth, married our grandfather, Richard Ambler, a respectable merchant in Yorktown; that the second, Mary, married John Smith, of Westmoreland, from whom have descended our kinsfolks John and Edward Smith, of Frederick county. The third was our dear aunt, Martha Jaqueline, who choose to take upon herself the title of Mrs. at the age of fifty, this being the custom with spinsters in England at that day. Richard Ambler was an honest Yorkshireman, who settled, as we have said, as a merchant in Yorktown, and married Elizabeth Jaqueline, and thus inherited the ancient seat in Jamestown, which was thus transmitted through several generations, being enlarged in size until the whole island came into the possession of the late John Ambler, of Richmond. Mr. Richard Ambler had a number of children, only four of whom reached maturity,—Edward, John, Mary, and Jaqueline, the latter of whom, after being educated in Philadelphia, entered into business with his father in Yorktown, and married Rebecca Burwell, daughter of Lewis Burwell, and niece of President Nelson, who, having no daughter, took charge of her, she being left an orphan at ten years of age. Jaqueline Ambler and Rebecca his wife were the parents of Eliza, who married Mr. William Brent, of Stafford, and, at his death, Colonel Edward Carrington, of Cumberland.*

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* Colonel Carrington, the husband of her from whose papers I make these extracts, entered early into the army of the Revolution, and afterwards served his country in the American Congress. He was a great favourite of Washington, and endeared himself to Generals Green, Marion, and Sumpter, while rendering important services in the Southern campaign, as their letters amply show.

It will not be inopportune here to introduce a passage from one of Mrs. Carrington's letters to her sister, Mrs. Fisher, written from Mount Vernon, where she and Colonel Carrington were on a visit, not long before General Washington's death. I have always determined to give, in some part of these sketches, a view of the chamber of a Virginia lady, to show that, though abounding with servants, she is not idle; nay, that the very number of her servants creates employment. After speaking of the hearty welcome given them by the general and his lady, and the extension of the retiring-hour of the former from nine to twelve on one night, when he and Colonel Carrington were lost in former days and scenes and in the company of Pulaski and Kosciusko, she comes to Mrs. Washington, who spoke of her days of public life, and levees, and company, as "her lost days." "Let us repair to the old lady's room, which is precisely in the style of our good old aunt's,—that is to say, nicely fixed for all sorts of work. On one side sits the chambermaid, with her knitting; on the other, a little coloured pet, learning to sew. An old, decent woman is there, with her table and shears, cutting out the negroes' winter-clothes, while the good old lady directs them all, incessantly knitting herself. She points out to me several pair of nice coloured stockings and gloves she had just finished, and presents me with a pair half done, which she begs I will finish and wear for her sake." "It is wonderful, after a life spent as these good people have necessarily spent theirs, to see them, in retirement, assume those domestic habits that prevail in our country." If the wife of General Washington, having her own and his wealth at command, should thus choose to live, how much more the wives and mothers of Virginia with moderate fortunes and numerous children! How often have I seen, added to the above-mentioned scenes of the chamber, the instruction of several sons and daughters going on, the churn, the reel, and other domestic operations, all in progress at the same time,

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Mary married John Marshall;* Anne, George Fisher; and Lucy, Daniel Call.

From the papers of Mrs. Carrington I take the following concerning the religious character of her mother:—

"Often, when a child, have I listened to my mother's account of her early devotion to her Maker: heard her describe how, at the age of thirteen, deprived of earthly parents, she, with pious resignation, turned her heart to God, and, in the midst of a large family, sought a retired spot in the garret, where she erected a little altar at which to worship. There, with her collection of sacred books, she gave her earliest and latest hours to God. Her character, in the opinion of her giddy companions, was stamped with enthusiasm. But who would not wish to be such an enthusiast? In after-years she made it her meat and drink to do the will of God, and never, in one instance, do I recollect her to have shrunk from it. Her whole life was a continued series of practical Christian

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and the mistress, too, lying on a sick-bed. There are still such to be found, though I fear the march of refinement is carrying many beyond such good old ways.

* The papers from which I quote state that the first meeting of Captain Marshall and his future wife was at York, where the Amblers at that time lived; that the father of Captain Marshall—Colonel Thomas Marshall, from Fauquier—was the commanding officer at York, and that his son, who was in the army, came to visit him and the family there, during some months when his services were not required in the army; that an attachment was formed, at first sight, between him and the youngest daughter of Colonel Ambler, she being only fourteen years of age; that Mr. Marshall endeared himself to them all, notwithstanding his slouched hat and negligent and awkward dress, by his amiable manners, fine talents, and especially his love for poetry, which he read to them with deep pathos; that, during his absence from the army of a few months, he studied law in Williamsburg, obtained a license, and returned to the army as captain; that immediately after the war he and Miss Ambler were married, at the Cottage, in Hanover, a seat of one of the Amblers; that after having paid the minister his fee his fortune was only one guinea in pocket. In proof of the ardour of his character and the tenderness of his attachment to his intended wife, Mrs. Carrington remarks that he had often said to her "that he looked with astonishment on the present race of lovers," so totally unlike what he had been himself. The proof of this was seen in his persevering devotion to Mrs. Marshall during life.

That Judge Marshall should be a reader and lover of poetry may be somewhat unexpected to many who have been accustomed to regard him only as the able lawyer, the grave and dignified chief-justice, or the laborious historian; yet it was nevertheless so, to a justifiable extent. His education was, from the first, classical, under the Rev. Mr. Thompson, and was so continued, at William and Mary College, when the first scholars presided over it. I remember once to have heard him quote, with a playful aptitude, concerning some leading persons who had changed their political relations, these words of old Homer,—

"Ye gods, what havoc does ambition make
'Mong all your works!"

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duty, and her example can never be effaced from the hearts of those who knew her."

Mrs. Carrington also speaks, in like manner, of her father, Mr. Jaqueline Ambler:—

"His saintlike image is too deeply impressed to need any picture of mine to recall him to our remembrance. I find a complete portrait of him drawn by the inimitable Cowper:—

> "'He is the happy man whose life e'en now
> Shows somewhat of that happier life to come.'"

Speaking of the piety of both of her parents, she says,—

> "We boast not that we deduce our birth
> From loins enthroned, or rulers of the earth;
> But higher far our high pretensions rise,—
> Children of parents pass'd into the skies."

Her aged aunt Jaqueline had assured her that piety distinguished her father from early youth. She herself had experienced the fruits of it in his assiduous care of herself and sisters. Her mother being in very bad health, her father, though much engaged in the duties of his office, (collector of the King's customs at York,) devoted all his spare hours to the education of herself and her sister, (afterward Mrs. Marshall,) then only five or six years of age. The copies for writing were always written by himself, in a fair hand, containing some moral or religious sentiment, but defective in grammar, that they might correct them; and so of other branches. The advantages they possessed were superior to any enjoyed in those days, when there were no boarding-schools and all that was taught "was reading and writing, at twenty shillings a year and a load of wood." Mrs. Carrington informs us that "the government exercised by her father was by some thought to be too severe, for the rod, at that time, was an instrument never to be dispensed with, and our dear father used it most conscientiously. I have since discovered that his superior knowledge of human nature led him to pursue the right course, (as to discipline,) and in my own subsequent experience, in the education of children, I have found that the present prevailing opinion, that youth may be reared and matured by indulgence, is erroneous. I will venture to say that, with a very few exceptions, it will be always proper to observe a well-regulated discipline. We often hear the observation that a rigid parent never has an obedient child. Our experience certainly contradicts it. Where the parent is found to unite the virtuous

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Christian with the conscientious disciplinarian, he will never cease to be loved and respected. Such a father was ours, and the love and respect we bore him has seldom been equalled." His example, also, added weight to his precept and government. "Never did man live in the more constant practice of religious duties. Early and late we knew him to be in the performance of them. It was his daily habit to spend his first and latest hours in prayer and meditation. Every Sunday that his church was open, he was the first to enter it, and often would he be almost a solitary male at the table of the Lord." This, she adds, was during the war, when the men were engaged in it, and when infidelity was spreading through the land. The last end of this good man was, as might be expected, one of peace. On his death-bed, when speaking of one of his neighbours, who had gone to some distant place in search of a home, he said, with his eyes uplifted to heaven, "I am going to a nearer, happier home" To a female friend, who was at his bedside when he died, he exclaimed,—

"See the New Jerusalem!
See it open'd to my eyes!"

From such ancestors, as might well be expected according to the covenant of grace, many pious children have descended, who have faithfully adhered to the Church of their fathers.

P.S.—Since preparing the above, I have received a fuller account of the descendants of the first of the Jaquelines. He came to this country from Kent, in England, in the year 1697, and, marrying Miss Carey, of Warwick, settled at Jamestown. His daughter Mary married one of those Smiths in Middlesex of whom we shall make mention in our article on that parish, and two of which family were ministers of the Church in Gloucester and Matthews. Colonel Edward and General John Smith, of Frederick, and many others, were the children of Mary Jaqueline and John Smith. We have seen, in the account taken from the papers of Mrs. Carrington, the sketch of one branch of the Amblers, that descended from Jaqueline Ambler, who married Miss Burwell. We have only to refer to that descended from Edward Ambler, who inherited Jamestown, or a large portion of it. Mr. Edward Ambler married Miss Mary Carey, daughter of Wilson Carey, the lady of whom Washington Irving, in his life of Washington, speaks, as the one to whom General Washington was somewhat attached. One of his sons was Mr. John Ambler, first of Jamestown, then of Hanover, and afterward of

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Richmond. His first wife was a Miss Armistead, by whom he had Edward, who settled in Rappahannock, and Mary, who married Mr. Smith. His second wife was the sister of Judge Marshall, by whom he had one child, Major Thomas Ambler, of Fauquier. His third wife was the widow of Mr. Hatley Norton, of England, and daughter of Philip Bush, of Winchester, by whom he had many sons and daughters, who are married and settled in various parts of the State,—warm friends or members of the Church. Two of the descendants of this branch of the family are worthy ministers of the Church,—the Revs. Charles and Thomas Ambler.

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ARTICLE VII.

Being an appendix to the articles on James City parish, and containing a further account of the Jaquelines, Amblers, and Jamestown.—No. 5.

Since the foregoing notice of these families was written I have had access to some most reliable documents, from which have been obtained the following additional information:—

Within the last thirty years visits have been made to England by a number of their descendants, and an intercourse, personal and epistolary, been established between those in England and those in America. I am the more pleased at being allowed access to these documents, because I am enabled thereby to gratify a favourite wish and design of these articles in the establishment of a connection between the old families and the old Church of England and America.

The tradition prevalent in Virginia as to the descent of the Ambler family is entirely confirmed by a letter of the Rev. George Ambler, of Wakefield, in Yorkshire, to one of his relatives in Virginia. Wakefield and Leeds are near to each other in Yorkshire, as they are in Westmoreland, Virginia,—the latter deriving their names from the former through the instrumentality of the Washington and Fairfax families, whose residence was in that part of England. The Amblers were also from the same place, and Leeds Manor, in Fauquier, may have received its name through them. The following is an extract from a letter of the Rev. Mr. Ambler, of England, to Mr. Philip St. George Ambler, of Virginia:—

"I am seventy-four years of age,—a graduate of the University of Cambridge,—a clergyman,—living in my native town (Wakefield, in Yorkshire) upon my private means; am descended from John Ambler, of the city of York, who was sheriff of the county in 1721. My great-grandfather, the aforesaid John Ambler, had a son, Richard, who followed the fortunes of a relative in Virginia. That son had nine children, of which I happen to possess a list."

This number exactly agrees with that of the children of Richard Ambler, of York, who married Miss Jaqueline, of Jamestown. A

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sister of this Richard Ambler (Mary Ambler) married the Rev. George Shaw, a minister of the Established Church, and was grandmother of Charles Shaw Lefevre, late Speaker of the House of Commons. For many years this Richard Ambler was collector of the port at Yorktown, an office both honourable and lucrative, and which he discharged with great integrity. Of his nine children by Elizabeth Jaqueline, all died at an early age, except Edward, John, and Jaqueline, as we have said in our last article.

I find some interesting notices in the document before me concerning these three,—which I shall introduce, but not without a previous notice, from the same source, of the family of their mother, Elizabeth Jaqueline:—

"Her father, Edward Jaqueline, of Jamestown, was the son of John Jaqueline and Elizabeth Craddock, of the county of Kent, in England. He was descended from the same stock which gave rise to the noble family of La Roche Jaqueline in France. They were Protestants, and fled from La Vendée, in France, to England, during the reign of that bloodthirsty tyrant, Charles IX. of France, and a short time previous to the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. They were eminently wealthy, and were fortunate enough to convert a large portion of their wealth into gold and silver, which they transported in safety to England."

"Whilst I was in Paris," (says one of the travellers from America,) "in 1826, the Duke de Sylverack, who was the intimate friend of Madame De la Roche Jaqueline, (the celebrated authoress of the 'Wars of La Vendée,') informed me that the above account—which is the tradition among the descendants of the family in America—corresponds exactly with what the family in France believe to have been the fate of those Jaquelines who fled to England in the reign of Charles IX. I found the family to be still numerous in France. It has produced many distinguished individuals; but none more so than the celebrated Vendéan chief, Henri De la Roche Jaqueline, who, during the Revolution of 1790, was called to command the troops of La Vendée after his father had been killed, and when he was only nineteen years of age. Thinking that he was inadequate to the task, on account of his extreme youth and total want of experience in military affairs, he sought seriously to decline the dangerous honour; but the troops, who had been devotedly attached to the father and family, would not allow him to do so, and absolutely forced him to place himself at their head in spite of himself. As soon as he found that resistance was useless, he assumed the bearing of a hero and gave orders for a general review of his army: to which, (being formed in a hollow square,) in an animated and enthusiastic manner, he delivered this ever-memorable speech:—

"'My friends, if my father was here you would have confidence in him; but as for me, I am nothing more than a child. But, as to my courage, I shall now show myself worthy to command you.'

"This young man started forth a military Roscius, and maintained to the end of his career the high ground he first seized. After displaying

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all the skill of a veteran commander, and all the courage of a most dauntless hero, he nobly died upon the field of battle, at the early age of twenty-one, thus closing his short but brilliant career."

The document thus concludes on the subject of the Jaquelines:—

"By a mourning-ring now in possession of Mary Marshall, the wife of the Chief-Justice of the United States, it appears that Edward Jaqueline died in the year 1730. He died, as he had lived, one of the most wealthy men in the Colony."

We now proceed to speak of the three grandsons of Edward Jaqueline. The sons of Richard Ambler and Elizabeth Jaqueline were John, Edward, and Jaqueline. John was born in Yorktown. At the age of ten he was sent, with his elder brother, Edward, to Leeds Academy, near Wakefield, in Yorkshire, England, for his education. He afterward graduated with great credit at Cambridge, and then repaired to London, to begin the study of law. There he became a very learned and accomplished barrister-at-law. After travelling over Europe, he returned to Virginia and took possession of Jamestown, which estate had been given him by his grandfather Jaqueline. He represented the borough of Jamestown for many years, and was considered one of the most accomplished scholars in the Colony. He was perfect master of seven languages. Many of his books in those different languages have come down to his relatives. His health sunk under his literary habits, and he died of consumption, at the age of thirty-one, in the island of Barbadoes. His body was brought to Jamestown, and deposited in the old graveyard around the church. The following inscription, taken in 1820 from a tombstone of which no vestige now remains, shows in what esteem he was held by his brother Edward, who died on the day it was placed over his remains:—

"John Ambler, Esquire, Barrister-at-Law, Representative in the Assembly for Jamestown, and Collector of the District of York River, in this Province.

"He was born the 31st of December, 1735, and died at Barbadoes, 27th of May, 1766. In the relative and social duties—as a son, and a brother, and a friend—few equalled him, and none excelled him. He was early distinguished by his love of letters, which he improved at Cambridge and the Temple, and well knew how to adorn a manly sense with all the elegance of language. To an extensive knowledge of men and things he joined the noblest sentiments of liberty, and in his own example held up to the world the most striking picture of the amiableness of religion."

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To this brief testimony to the worth of one whose days were soon numbered, we add a more enlarged one to the virtues of his brother, Mr. Jaqueline Ambler:—

"*Jaqueline Ambler*, the seventh child of Richard and Elizabeth Ambler, was born in the town of Little York, on the 9th of August, 1742. At an early age he married Rebecca, daughter of Lewis Burwell, of White Marsh, in Gloucester county, Virginia. He was *Councillor of State* during the Revolutionary War, at the time that Thomas Jefferson was Governor of Virginia. He was afterward appointed *Treasurer of State*, which office he held until his death. He stood as high, as a man of honour, as any who had ever lived, either in ancient or modern times. He was indeed so remarkable for his scrupulous integrity that he was called, throughout the land, '*The Aristides of Virginia.*' Whilst Treasurer, one of his clerks robbed the Treasury of £5000. The officers whose duty it was to examine the Treasurer's books for that year failed to detect the defalcation, and reported to the Legislature that the Treasurer's books balanced as they should do. Mr. Ambler was the first to find out the villany and immediately reported it to the Legislature, who caused a re-examination of the books to take place, re-elected him to the office, and passed an act in which they declared that their confidence in his character, so far from being impaired by the event, had been greatly increased: whereupon he immediately paid the £5000 into the treasury, out of his own funds, and determined to continue in office. He was as charitable as his means would allow him to be; no meritorious person in distress ever applied to him in vain. There was living in Richmond a poor Scotch clergyman, named *John Buchanon*, whom he invited to make his house his home until he should be able to support himself. The invitation was accepted.

"The excellent parson Buchanon lived with him till he died, officiated when he was consigned to the grave, and preached his funeral sermon, from which the following extract is made:—

"'And when can we more seasonably apply to these duties than when we are warned by the loss of our friends to remember our latter end and apply our hearts unto wisdom? We have, my brethren, been lately paying the last sad tribute to a departed brother. He whose loss we now lament has passed the fifty-fifth year of his age without a blemish to his reputation; without an enemy; with numerous friends. Adored by his family, he has almost consoled them for his loss by the conviction that he has not gone too early for himself, and that he was mature in character.

"'Notwithstanding the constant exposure of an official man to the displeasure of others, by the impartiality of his conduct, even those who went away from him unindulged in their applications were satisfied by a confidence in the purity of his motives. His public career for nearly twenty years was a series of testimony to this truth. Drawn from the peaceful walks of private life into public action, without a solicitation or a wish previously expressed, he was chosen by the Legislature to three important offices during the Revolution and since the peace. His last, that of *Treasurer*, presented for thirteen years to malice, envy, or enmity, had they existed against him, an annual opportunity of gratification. And yet was he annually re-elected, because he had unremittingly shown his fitness

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for the office. His fatal disorder put human nature to the rack; but he bore his agonies with every firmness of which human nature was capable, cherished, strengthened, and animated by the divine glow of Christianity, and foreseeing with a smile the prospect opening to his view. The poor scarcely knew the hand from whence they so often received relief; and those who were his dependants could not but own how much their condition was softened by the kindness of their master.'"

"To this fair transcript of his character," says Dr. Buchannon, the author of the sermon, "I might, from a fourteen years' knowledge of him, (ten whereof I spent in his family,) add many private traits which characterize him as the good man and sincere and pious Christian. I could set before you innumerable instances of kind attention and anxious solicitude to alleviate the distresses, bear the infirmities, provide for the wants, nay, even anticipate the wishes, of her to whom he was united; of the constant care and unremitted assiduity of the fond but judicious *parent* training up his own children, as also the fatherless and those who had none to guide and direct them in the paths of religion and virtue, not merely by daily precepts, but by what is infinitely more efficacious, by daily example; and thus conscientiously discharging that most important of all trusts, and securing their eternal as well as temporal interests. I might bear honourable testimony to his being as tender of the reputation of another; repelling every report circulated by envy or malice against his neighbour's fame, and, like Christian charity, thinking no evil. I might adduce repeated proofs of his delicacy and purity of manners and conversation, and of his temperance and self-government. He may, however, have been thought by some too reserved and too much of a recluse; and that he separated himself more than was necessary from scenes of cheerful and innocent sociability. But, it may be truly said, none had greater enjoyment in his family and the private circle of his friends whenever the state of his health would permit; and that he was sufficiently conversant in the world to present a fair model of integrity, and a constant attention to his duties as an officer, though not enough to be seduced or contaminated by its follies and vices. To sum up all, I might lead to his private retirement, and there present to you the devout Christian, prostrate in humble supplication before his almighty Creator, which they only who follow his example can justly estimate, and which they know proves their greatest consolation in the various trials and calamities of life. In fine, I might conduct you to the altar of God, where you would hear him making a public profession of his faith, and,

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regardless of the scoffs of the infidel and the ridicule of a vain and inconsiderate world, giving an open and solemn testimony that he was not ashamed of the cross of Christ, which was to him both the wisdom and power of God to his salvation.

"These and many more features of his character I might exhibit to your view. But though a minute and particular detail would still appear to myself as falling short of his merit, yet, to those less acquainted with him than I was, it might seem to be drawn by the flattering pencil of a friend. I therefore forbear a further recital, and make one reflection naturally arising from the subject:—that whenever the eye of man is disgusted and shocked by scenes of impiety, rapine, cruelty, and bloodshed, let him cast it on such a fair and pleasing picture as the present, which does so much honour to human nature, and he will not fail to conclude that man, the prey of furious and malignant passions, resembles an infernal spirit; but when actuated by the sacred dictates of religion and devoted virtue he claims kindred with the angels in heaven. 'Mark, therefore, the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace.' "

The following account of Mr. Edward Ambler is from the same source,—the family document:—

"When he attained the age of twelve years he was sent to England to finish his education, accompanied by his younger brother, John. They were entered at Leeds Academy, near Wakefield, in the county of York, at which place they continued for several years; after which they were sent to Cambridge, where they went through a regular course of study and terminated their university career with the highest credit. The liberality of Mr. Richard Ambler allowed his son Edward to make the grand tour of Europe after he quitted the university, so that he had passed his twenty-first year before he returned to Virginia. After which event it was not very long before he led to the altar Miss Mary Cary, the daughter of Wilson Cary, Esquire, of Celeys, Elizabeth City county, Virginia, who was descended from one of the most noble families in all England.

"The elder sister of Miss Mary Cary had married George William Fairfax, at whose house she was on a visit, when she captivated a young man, who paid her his addresses. His affection, however, was not returned, and the offer of his hand was rejected by Miss Cary. This young man was afterward known to the world as General George Washington, the first President of the United States of America. Young Washington asked permission of old Mr. Cary to address his daughter before he ventured to speak to herself. The reply of the old gentleman was, 'If that is your business here, sir, I wish you to leave the house, for my daughter has been accustomed to ride in her own coach.' It has subsequently been said that this answer of Mr. Cary to the stripling Washing-

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ton produced the independence of the United States, and laid the foundation of the future fame of the first of heroes and the best of men,—our immortal Washington; as it was more than probable that, had he obtained possession of the large fortune which it was known Miss Cary would carry to the altar with her, he would have passed the remainder of his life in inglorious ease. It was an anecdote of the day, that this lady, many years after she had become the wife of Edward Ambler, happened to be in Williamsburg when General Washington passed through that city at the head of the American army, crowned with never-fading laurels and adored by his countrymen. Having distinguished her among the crowd, his sword waved toward her a military salute, whereupon she is said to have fainted. But this wants confirmation, for her whole life tended to show that she never for a moment regretted the choice she had made. It may be added, as a curious fact, that the lady General Washington afterward married resembled Miss Cary as much as one twin-sister ever did another.

"Edward Ambler, after the death of his father, Richard Ambler, was appointed Collector of the port of York, which station he was induced to occupy, rather on account of the honour it conferred in those days, than for the sake of the emolument. He was a man of such consideration in the Colony, that when Lord Baron Botetourt came over to this country as Colonial Governor of Virginia he brought a letter of introduction to him, which is now in possession of the writer. Upon the death of his younger brother, John, who gave him Jamestown, he removed there to live, and represented the old borough for many years afterward in the House of Burgesses. Edward Ambler died and was buried at Jamestown, in the thirty-fifth year of his age, Anno Domini 1767. His widow survived him fourteen years. When the Revolutionary War broke out she removed, with her children, from Jamestown to the Cottage, in Hanover county, which was a much less exposed situation. Several of her acquaintances and connections removed from the lower country and bought estates near the Cottage, merely for the sake of society. Among others were Robert Carter Nicholas, Esquire, who bought and lived at a place called 'The Retreat.' Wilson Miles Cary, Esquire, her brother, bought an estate near, as did the family of General Nelson; so that this neighbourhood, as deserted and uninhabited as it now is, afforded at that time as polished society as any in Virginia. Mrs. Ambler was a woman of uncommon strength of mind and firmness of purpose. After the tea had been thrown overboard at Boston, she would not allow a particle of it to be used in her family, though fully able to have indulged in every luxury which the country afforded. And, as another proof of her patriotism, I will mention, what I have often heard my father say, that, at the time that the young Marquis De la Fayette was retreating before Lord Cornwallis, he passed with his army near the Cottage, taking the right-hand road to Negrofoot, about half a mile above *Ground-Squirrel* Bridge and two from the Cottage. As soon as she heard of it she procured uniform and arms for my father, then a boy only sixteen years of age, buckled them on him with her own hands, and then bade him '*to go out and join the American troops; and though you are my last and only child*,' said she, '*return to me with honour or return no more!*' This most excellent and amiable lady did not live to see her country independent and the war terminate, as she fondly wished she might do, that she might once more return to light her hospitable fires in the hearths of her noble old family

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mansion at Jamestown; to which every member of the family had been exceedingly attached for several generations past; for at that spot almost all of the blood and the name had been born, had lived, had died, and been buried. Independent of its antiquity,—being so celebrated as the spot where the first successful Colony from England located themselves in America, and where the first town and the first church had been built in America, with bricks brought from England,—it is a noble estate of about thirteen hundred acres of land, situated on the banks of James River, where this noble stream is near four miles wide, and originally had one of the largest old mansions on it that was built in times when a Virginia gentleman vied in wealth with an English nobleman. Though half of this structure was destroyed by fire during the lifetime of the first John Ambler, yet the remainder presents as commodious and commanding an appearance as any dwelling-house in Virginia. The estate is now an island; though it was formerly a peninsula, connected with the mainland by a narrow isthmus, which has in the last century been entirely washed away by the resistless action of the waves upon it. At Jamestown there abound, in the very greatest perfection in which they can be eaten, all sorts of fish, deer, wild ducks, sora, and ortolans. Figs, grapes, and pomegranates here attain perfection. It is situated within eight miles of the ancient city of Williamsburg, which, during the lifetime of my grandmother, contained as polished society as could have been found at the court of St. James itself. In the year 1781, Mrs. Mary Ambler, the widow of him whom we shall call the *first* Edward Ambler, whilst staying at the Cottage, in Hanover county, was attacked by that illness which ended in her death. Whilst on her death-bed she directed that her remains should be taken to Jamestown. But, as the war still raged with England, it was thought best to have them interred where she died. And even this precaution did not have the effect of securing them from the profanation of the British troops, a detachment of which overran this part of the country and came to the Cottage to ransack and to plunder. In looking for the family plate they took it into their heads that it was buried in the graveyard; though they were assured to the contrary by the servants. They proceeded to the grave of my grandmother, dug up the coffin, and actually opened it before they would be satisfied that the object of their search was not there. When the war was ended, Mrs. Ambler's remains were taken to Jamestown, according to her request, and placed by the side of those of her husband."

The following account of a recent visit to Jamestown will conclude our notices of this parish:—

On the 27th of October, 1856, I went to this place of ruins in company with the Rev. Dr. Totten, the Rev. George Wilmer, Mr. Richard Randolph, and Colonel Durfey. The latter had been owner of the place some years since, and was well acquainted with its past and present history. Mr. Randolph, our Virginia antiquary, was also quite at home as to all that belonged to the scene. We entered the island in a boat, at the upper or western end of it, near to that which was once the neck constituting it a peninsula and uniting it to the mainland. This has long since

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been overflowed and the peninsula has become an island. About ninety years ago the late Mr. John Ambler, then owning the greater part of the island and residing on it, made a causeway on that which had been the neck of land, but which was now covered with water some feet deep. This, after some time, having been overwhelmed with the waves of James River, Colonel Durfey, on becoming the proprietor of the whole island, made a bridge to it at some distance from the causeway, over which the stage passed, carrying passengers to the Old Wharf at Jamestown, where the steamboats received them. Only the piles on which the bridge rested now remain, and the steamboats receive passengers from Williamsburg and the country around at some other place. The only access at this time to the island from the mainland is by boat across Back River, which surrounds the island on the west and in part on the north and east, uniting with James River at the upper and lower ends of the island; also stretching up some miles into the mainland, by a creek called Portan. While the neck of land stood firm, Back River terminated in this creek. Since the irruption of the waters of James River over this neck, the upper part of the island has lost much of its ancient territory. The neck itself is in some places a third of a mile in the river. A large portion of the town also lies buried in the waves. At low-water some signs of it may yet be seen. As this was the highest part of the peninsula, and the most fertile and beautiful, the town was chiefly built on it. The work of destruction has now passed along nearly a mile, from the original connection with the mainland to the lower part of the town, where the public buildings and the old church stood. The bank is giving way within one hundred and fifty yards of the old tower and graveyard; and, if some remedy be not applied in time, they also must be immersed in the waters of old Powhatan; for that was the Indian name of James River. As the church was built on the fifty acres of land which is deeded to the authorities of James City for public houses, it is hoped that in due time either those authorities or that of the State will guard the same against destruction. The old tower and the ruins of the church are about fifty yards from the river, which in that place has not yet encroached on the bank; although, as we have said, a hundred and fifty yards above it is rapidly advancing on the island.

Something special deserves to be said of the ruins of the old church. The graveyard, in the midst of which it stood, contained about half an acre of land, which is covered with old sycamores,

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and mulberries, and smaller trees, and shrubberies, which form a dense shade. The old brick enclosure, which was mouldering into ruins, and some of the walls of the church, were used about sixty years ago by Mr. William Lee, of Green Spring, and the late Mr. John Ambler, of Jamestown, in making a small enclosure around the tombstones which were still remaining. This enclosure covers about one-third of the original one, and takes in a part of the spot on which the church stood. The foundation of the old church is still marked by the bricks which remain. On accurate measurement, we found it to be an oblong square of just twenty-eight feet by fifty-six. The ruined tower was judged to be about thirty feet high, and, by measurement, proved to be eighteen feet square. As there are conflicting opinions concerning the date of the erection of this old church,—some affirming that what we see are the ruins of that which was destroyed in Bacon's rebellion, while others affirm the building of a new one after that event,—we will briefly state the facts bearing on the case. The history of the succession of the Jamestown churches is as follows:—The first place of worship, as described by Captain Smith, was made of the awning, or old sails, taken from vessels, and fastened to trees. The second was a very plain log building, which was burned down in the second or third year of the Colony, during the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Hunt. The third was a larger and better one, probably of wood, built during the presidency of Captain Smith, and in a ruinous or neglected condition when Lord De la War arrived, in 1611. By him it was repaired and adorned as I have stated. Its dimensions were twenty-four feet by sixty. The chancel, called *quoir*, was large enough to hold the Governor, the Council, and other officers of state. This was doubtless the same in which Governor Yeardley, with the Councillors and Burgesses, held their legislative session in 1619; and, as we read of no other being built between that time and 1676, when the town and church were burned down by Bacon, it is most probable that this was the building. In opposition to the theory that the present are the ruins of the old church which was burned in the rebellion, is the fact that the dimensions of the church which Smith built and Lord De la War repaired were different from the one whose ruins are now seen. The dimensions of the former were twenty-four by sixty; those of the latter twenty-eight by fifty-six. Other circumstances there are, which render it almost certain that another church had been built since the destruction of the one by Bacon. Not only was there a goodly number of families residing in the place for some time after this,

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RUINS OF THE CHURCHYARD, JAMESTOWN.

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but the court-house and House of Burgesses were there until the removal of the seat of government to Williamsburg, after the year 1705. Although the Governors may have lived at Green Spring, yet some of the officers of government, belonging to the port, and Legislature, were there; and it is not to be supposed that they would live for thirty years without a church. This improbability is strengthened by the fact that Governor Andros presented some communion-plate to the church at Jamestown in 1694; and yet more by another fact, that in 1733 a silver font, still in existence, was presented to it by two of the Ambler family. Surely these would not have been presented to the ruins of a deserted church. We must, therefore, suppose that the ruins which we now behold are those of a church put up since the rebellion. That they are not the ruins produced by fire I ascertain, not merely by the fact that there are no marks of destruction by fire, but by the testimony of an elderly gentleman, who assured me he was present when the wooden part of the tower was burned by accident. It is proper to state, in connection with this, that at a later period, the date not known, a brick church was built on the road from Jamestown to Williamsburg, called the "Main Church," in which Bishop Madison preached in the concluding years of his ministry. He doubtless preached at Jamestown in the earlier part of it. The Main Church has recently disappeared. Underneath it was found a brick vault, containing the remains of some unknown ones who were buried there.* Having thus disposed of the church, we add something concerning the graveyard. Deep-pressed into the earth and almost covered up by it we found the following inscription:— "Here lyeth the body of the Rev. John Gough, late minister of this place, who departed this life January 15th, 1683–4, and waits in hopes of a joyful reunion." This supplies one blank in our list of its ministers. Besides this, we found the tombstones, or fragments thereof, of Philip Ludwell and Sarah his wife, of Ursula Beverly, wife of Robert Beverly and daughter of William Byrd, (the first of that name, we presume, and who lived in Williams-

* Since the above was written I have received the following information:—"The last minister of the 'Main Church' before Bishop Madison was the Rev. Mr. Bland, afterward of Norfolk. His wife was a daughter of the Rev. William Yates, who was for a short time President of William and Mary College. When the church was taken down, a piece of timber broke the arch of a vault containing a coffin, with a plate on which was inscribed 'Elizabeth Bland,' with a vacant space sufficient for another coffin."

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burg during the building of the College.) The tombs of Edward Jaqueline and Jaqueline Ambler, also those of B. Harrison and Mrs. Edwards, may yet be seen.

Something special in the way of notice is due to the condition of the tombs of Commissary Blair and Mrs. Blair; the latter being the daughter of Philip Ludwell, of Green Spring, who married Miss Sarah Grymes, of Middlesex. The tombs were placed side by side, and were very heavy and strong. The platform, sides, and ends were of white freestone, and the interior filled with bricks, well cemented. The top slab, on which the inscriptions were made, are of thick dark iron-stone, or black marble. A sycamore-shoot sprung up between the graves and is now a large tree. In its growth it embraced, on one end and on the top, the tomb of Mrs. Blair, one-third of which lies embedded in the body of the tree and is held immovable. All the interior, consisting of brick, and two of the side-stones, have been entirely forced out of their places by the tree and lie scattered around, while the dark iron-stone slab is held in the air three feet above the surface of the earth, fast bound by the embrace of the body of the tree, into which it is sunk between one and two feet, the inscription being only partially legible. On the other side, the whole tomb of Commissary Blair has been forced away from its place by the roots and body of the tree, and is broken to pieces in all its parts. We found about two-thirds of the slab (on which was the inscription) scattered in three or four fragments at some distance from each other, and having put them together made out an imperfect Latin memorial,—so imperfect that we shall not insert it.

Leaving the ruins of the church and graveyard, we add a few concluding words as to the island. About two hundred yards below the church and a hundred from the river, is the old brick house of the Amblers, or a large part thereof, built, it is supposed, more than a hundred years since. It is still in good repair and is the residence of the manager of the present owner, Mr. William Allen. It is the only house on the island except the old brick magazine and a small frame room near it, both of which, unless preventive measures are adopted, must soon tumble into James River. At the lower end of the island there are still the remains of a graveyard belonging to the Travis family, which owned that part of the island for some generations. The house is gone. This part of the island became separated from the other by some low and swampy ground. Mr. Allen now owns the whole of the island, which consists of about seventeen hundred acres and is between two and three miles

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in length and three-quarters of a mile in width. Twelve hundred acres of it are now and always have been a marsh and incapable of use. There are one hundred acres of woodland and four hundred of arable land, very fertile and valuable. Within the last thirty years it has changed owners several times, being sold at various prices, from ten to thirty thousand dollars.

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ARTICLE VIII.

The Parish of James City.—No. 6.*

SOME NOTES ON JAMESTOWN; SUPPLEMENTARY TO BISHOP MEADE'S ARTICLES.

Your readers must have been deeply interested, Mr. Editor, by Bishop Meade's articles in your paper upon the "Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia." For a very long and important portion of the history of the Episcopal Church in Virginia, his own experience and observation have put him in possession of the best materials; and for the rest, his position and efforts have enabled him to avail himself of most of what others had to contribute. For a vast deal of information, therefore, must we acknowledge ourselves dependent upon and indebted to him.

When he reached the parish of James City, however, he entered a field which has been long comparatively open to the researches of other inquirers. Dr. Hawks explored it some years ago with such industry and success, that we regret that he could not have had the rare opportunities for obtaining materials which have been enjoyed by the Rev. Mr. Anderson. No one can properly study, write, or appreciate Virginia history who does not largely and heartily enter into those parts relating and devoted to religion and the Church. So that, if confined to any two works for the history of Virginia down to the Revolutionary period, one could hardly do better than take Henning's Statutes at Large and Hawks's Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of Virginia.

It is hoped that a few supplementary notes will not be deemed by Bishop Meade or any one else as an intrusion, but as a co-operation in the good work in which he is engaged. Should any new facts be brought out, or any inadvertences corrected, it may be of some little service when he comes to rewrite his articles for a more permanent form of publication.

Bishop Meade gives deserved prominence and praise to the mis-

* This article did not appear, as was designed, in the "Southern Churchman;" but it is here inserted as a valuable addition to the preceding ones.

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sionary element that entered into the colonization of Virginia. Those adventurers who looked chiefly to the glory of God and the conversion of the Infidels were as sincerely convinced as any others of the bright prospects of gold and other temporal benefits; but they used these mainly for the purpose of stimulating "the action," that the religious and spiritual blessings to which they looked might be realized. The constancy and continuousness with which these last are held up in all that was said, done, and written in behalf of this Colony until that awful check in the massacre by Opechancanough, in 1622, are remarkable. Even the business-entries in the records of the Company in London make express reference to the blessing of God and the favouring care of his providence. Whilst the motto of every patriot and Christian should be, "A religious nation, and not a national religion," yet a connection between Church and State is apt to confer upon the State the benefit of an express recognition, in all enterprises of public pith and moment, of God's supremacy and superintending providence. This is a good habit in itself; but, of course, its chief value consists in the sincerity of those who practise it, whether rulers or ruled. In the case before us, numbers of Christian men and women were equally as fervent and sincere as Richard Hakluyt and Robert Hunt.

Bishop Meade refers to the first charters and to the instructions issued by King James in 1606. But the passage in those instructions which enjoins kind treatment of the savages, &c. has this singular addendum:—"And that all just, kind, and charitable courses shall be holden with such of them as shall conform themselves to any good and sociable trafic and dealing with the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawn to the true knowledge of God and the obedience of us, our heirs and successors, *under such severe pains and punishments* as shall be inflicted by the same several presidents and councells of the said several Colonies, or the most part of them, within their several limits and precincts, on such as shall offend therein or doe the contrary." We must not lose sight of the spirit of the age, especially when we come to judge of that after-policy which is said to have been ever the reproach of Virginia.

In the third charter, 1611–12, March 12, which still recites that the plantation was undertaken "for the propagation of Christian religion and reclaiming of people barbarous to civility and humanity," is a fact worth mentioning,—viz.: The fifth section

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expressly admits and confirms among the adventurers, *George, Lord-Archbishop of Canterbury*, Henry, Earl of Huntingdon, Edward, Earl of Bedford, and Richard, of Clanrickard, who were named in this formal manner at the request of the Company, "for the good and welfare of the plantation, and that posterity may hereafter know who have adventured and not been sparing of their purses in such a noble and generous action for the general good of their country." These are the only four named in this charter, and, as they had all become members of the Company already, this was doubtless done to get the influence of their names. There are still extant alphabetical lists of the adventurers down to the year 1620.

It was under this charter that that code of "Laws, Divine, Moral, and Martial," was introduced by Gates and Dale, about the period when the Company were seriously debating whether they should not recall Lord De la War home and abandon the action. They called Gates from Virginia to England to advise them on that subject. He and Lord De la War induced them to persevere: but the state of affairs, especially in the Colony, required new and vigorous remedies. The colonists were heterogeneous, disorderly, wasteful, and mutinous; they had to obtain something to return home by the ships; they had to produce a part of their own subsistence, almost sword in hand; for the Indians, spoiled by Newport and others, and no longer fooled with articles of mere trifling value, would not trade freely, and were not only not yet conciliated by the marriage of Pocahontas, but were really exasperated by the new intruders. The Colony had to be reduced into somewhat of a camp both for purposes of labour and of defence. Compulsion in religious matters was a long-practised thing in the mother-country and in those countries with whom she had intercourse. Indeed, are not some compulsory features inseparable from any system that tolerates a union between Church and State? Can there long be entire religious freedom and tolerance, save where religion is sustained and enforced solely on the voluntary principle? as in this most glorious land of free freedom,—the wonder, thus far, of human history.

Neither Gates nor Dale was a despot or tyrant. They had no Brewster cases and appeals during their administration. Argall was a tyrant, and a government of greater mildness theoretically would have been arbitrarily administered by him.

In judging, then, of the code of laws referred to above, whilst we, with the road-to-Damascus light about us, cannot but condemn

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them, yet they should be viewed through the media of those days in which they were adopted.

Bishop Meade says that Strachy probably had a hand in concocting them. This is doubtful; but he certainly edited and vindicated them in 1612.

Promising a narrative of what he had seen and suffered in Bermuda and Virginia, he says, "I do, in the mean time, present a transcript of the Toparchia, or state of those duties by which their Colonie stands regulated and commanded, that such may receive due checke, who malitiously and desperately heretofore have censured it; and by examining of which they may be right sorrie so to have defaulked from us as if we lived there lawlesse, without obedience to our countrey or observance of religion to God." He declares, moreover, that the laws are not new, but "the same constant asterismes and starres which must guide all that travel in these perplexed ways and paths of public affairs," &c. By this code, which deals so lavishly in capital punishment, *many and the chief offences were cognizable both by martial law and by the civil magistrate;* but there was a goodly catalogue appertaining only to martial discipline, which were to be diligently observed and severely executed. Along with the laws, Strachy publishes instructions from the marshal to each officer, and even to the private soldier, for the better enabling each in executing his duty. These are in the nature of a long and wholesome lecture, or charge, and wind up with the lengthy but excellent prayer quoted from by Bishop Meade, and which was to be said twice daily, upon the court of guard, by the captain or one of his principal officers.

The religious services enjoined were as follows: — On week-days, early in the morning, the captain sent for tools, for which a receipt was given; the companies assembled, with the tools, in the place of arms, where "the serjeant-major, or captain of the watch, upon their knees, made public and faithful prayers to Almighty God for his blessing and protection to attend them in this their business the whole day after-succeeding." The men were divided into gangs, who worked on alternate days. The gang for the day was then delivered to the maisters and overseers of the work appointed, who kept them at labour until nine or ten o'clock, according to the season of the year; then, at the beat of the drum, they were marched to the church to hear divine service. After dinner, and rest till two or three o'clock, at beat of drum, the captain drew them forth to the place of arms, to be thence taken to their

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work till five or six o'clock, when, at beat of drum, they were again marched to church to evening prayer: they were then dismissed,—those that were to set the watch with charge to prepare their arms, the others unto their rest and lodgings. After order given out for the watch, the captain had to assemble his company, except his sentinels, upon his court of guard, and there "humbly present themselves on their knees, and, by faithful and zealous prayer to Almighty God, commend themselves and their endeavours to his merciful protection." Again, in the morning, an hour after the discharge of the watch, were they to repair to the court of guard, and there, "with public prayer, to give unto Almighty God humble thanks and praises for his merciful and safe protection through the night, and commend themselves to his no less merciful protection and safeguard for the day following."

It was also the special duty of the captain to have religious and manly care over the poor sick soldiers or labourers under his command; to keep their lodgings sweet and their beds standing three feet from the ground, as provided in the public injunctions.

A singular duty was laid upon him who was for the time the captain of the watch. Half an hour before divine service, morning and evening, he had to shut the ports and place sentinels, and, the bell having tolled the last time, to search all the houses of the town, to command every one of what quality soever (the sick and hurt excepted) to repair to church; after which he was to follow all the guards with their arms into the church and lay the keys before the governor. On Sunday, he was to see that the Sabbath was noways profaned by any disorders, gaming, drunkenness, intemperate meeting, or such like, in public or private, in the streets or within the houses. On the Sabbath, all were required, under severe penalties, to attend divine service, sermons, and catechizing, morning and evening. Any disrespect to a minister or preacher was also punished, and every person then in or who might arrive in the Colony was required to give an account of his or her religious faith to the minister and to seek instruction from him.

In the midst of all this blended system—martial, civil, and religious—that same missionary spirit was maintained. Even in the charge from the marshal to his colonel in this passage :—

"If the wisest man that ever spake or writ (except him that was both God and man) summed up all the reckonings of worldly felicities in these two words,—*lætari et benefacere*, imploying a cheerful mirth with well-doing, (from which it cannot be severed,)—who hath more cause to be cheerful and inly glad than you, that have the comfort of so great well

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doing, to which no other may be compared? For what well-doing can be greater than to be stocks and authors of a people that shall serve and glorify God, which is the end of all our creation, and to redeem them from ignorance and infidelity to the true knowledge and worship of God, whereby you are made partakers of this promise, that they which lead others into righteousness shall shine like the stars in the firmament? wherein be right well assured that your happiness is envied by many a right-knowing and excellent virtuous man in England," &c.

Bishop Meade has alluded to the fact that for several years after the death of Mr. Hunt the Colony was without a minister. This is referred to in "A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colony in Virginia," &c., published by the council in England, in 1610, as one of the causes which had provoked God to visit the plantation with those dire calamities which beset it at the time that Lord De la War was first sent out as Governor for life.

"Cast up," says the publication just referred to, "this reckoning together,—want of government, store of idleness, their expectations frustrated by the traitors, their market spoiled by the mariners, our nets broken, the deere chased away, our boats lost, our hogs killed, our trade with the Indians forbidden, some of our men fled, some murthered, and most, by drinking of the brackish water of *James* Fort, weakened and endaungered, famyne and sickness by all these means increased, here at home the monies came in so slowly that the Lord Laware could not be dispatched till the Colony was worne and spent with difficulties. Above all, having neither ruler *nor preacher*, they neither feared God nor man, which provoked the wrath of the Lord of hosts and pulled down his judgments upon them."

Bishop Meade quotes from Crashaw how providential and opportune was the arrival of Lord De la War. Indeed, there did seem then to be a most remarkable divine interposition in behalf of the Colony, the striking circumstances of which are exultingly set forth in the "True Declaration" already mentioned:—

"He that shall further observe how God inclineth all casual events to work the necessary help of his saints must needs adore the Lord's infinite goodness. Never had any people more just cause to cast themselves at the footstool of God and to reverence his mercy than our distressed Colony; for if God had not sent Sir Thomas Gates from the Bermudas within four days, they had all been famished; if God had not directed the heart of that worthy knight to save the fort from fire* at their shipping, they had been destitute of a present harbour and succour; if they had abandoned the fort any longer time and had not so soon returned, ques-

* When they abandoned the town to return to England, the people were eager to burn up the place; and, to prevent them, Sir Thomas Gates, with a select party, stayed on shore till they had all embarked.

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tionless the Indians would have destroyed the fort which had been the means of our safety among them and a terror to them. If they had set sail sooner and had launched into the vast ocean, who could have promised that they should have encountered the fleet of the Lord De la War? especially when they made for Newfoundland,—a course contrary to our navies approaching. If the Lord De la War had not brought with him a year's provision, what comfort could those souls have received, to have been relanded to a second destruction? *Brachium Domini*, this was the arm of the Lord of hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and wilderness and then to possess the land of Canaan. If God for man be careful, why should man be over-distrustful?"

The following letter, from an unknown person, relates to the proposition at a later period to establish a College at Henrico:—

"To Sir Edwin Sandis, Treasurer of Virginia.

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"Good luck in the name of the Lord, who is daily magnified by the experiment of your zeal and piety in giving beginning to the foundation of the College in Virginia, the sacred work so due to heaven and so longed-for on earth. Now know we assuredly that the Lord will do you good, and bless you in all your proceedings, even as he blessed the house of Obed-edom and all that pertained unto him, because of the ark of God. Now that ye seek the kingdom of God all things shall be ministered unto you. This I well see already, and perceive that by your godly determination the Lord hath given you favour in the sight of the people; and I know some whose hearts are much enlarged because of the house of the Lord our God, to procure your wealth, whose greater designs I have presumed to outrun with this oblation, which I humbly beseech you may be accepted as the pledge of my devotion and as the earnest of the vows I have vowed unto the Almighty God of Jacob concerning this thing; which, till I may in part perform, I desire to remain unknown and unsought after."

This oblation consisted of a communion-cup with the cover and case, a trencher-plate for the bread, a carpet of crimson velvet and a linen damask tablecloth.

B. B. Minor, *Richmond, Va.*

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ARTICLE IX.

Henrico Parish.—No. 1.

About twelve or fifteen miles below Richmond, on the north side of James River, lies a tract of land, than which none, except the island on which Jamestown stood, has more interest to a Virginian. It was the second settlement in the Colony, with the exception of the feeble attempts at the Falls of James River, at Nansemond, and Hampton. In the year 1611,—four years after the first settlement at Jamestown, and while that was just struggling into existence,—Sir Thomas Dale, High-Marshal of Virginia, divided the colonists with Governor Gates, and brought with him three hundred and fifty men, (chiefly German labourers,) and built three rows of houses for them, a church, a house for himself, and others for "the honester sort of people,"—that is, the farmers. Palisadoes,—that is, fences,—to be some guard against the Indians and to keep in the cattle, and small watch-towers and other works, were put up. The place on which these things were erected was afterward called Farrar's Island, from the name of the man who bought it after the great massacre, but misnamed, just as Jamestown was; for a narrow neck of land united them both to the main, though, in the case of Jamestown, that neck has been overflowed, and it is now—not only in name, but in reality—an island. The other, Farrar's Island, is sometimes called the Great Bend, because, while the neck is only one hundred and twenty yards across, you must go seven miles around by water to reach the opposite point. It has also been called Dutch Gap, because there are indubitable marks of the commencement of a channel by the first Dutch settlers across its narrow neck, by which the water might be let through and thus the seven miles of travel be saved. The channel was opened about half-way across,—that is, about sixty yards,—and then abandoned. A proposition to do this was also made during the last war, but never executed. The same reason probably prevented in both instances,—viz.: the fear of injuring the bed of the river, or of inundating some of the adjoining lands. Another name was also given to the settlement in earlier times,—viz.: Dale's Gift,

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because Sir Thomas here first divided lands to the colonists, who hitherto (while at Jamestown) lived in common, cultivating the fields on the island, but living together in the city. Fifty acres of fine river-bottom were allotted to each family. The city was called Henricopolis, or the City of Henry, after Prince Henry. It was afterward in common use contracted to Henrico. There were probably about five thousand acres of land in the settlement as bounded by the circuit of the river and the long palisadoes which separated it from the main-land on the north. If its figure be compared to the human body, the head of a man would represent the island, or rather peninsula; the neck represents the narrow part where the river, after its circuit, almost touches; and then, if the arms be a little raised from the body on each side, you would have the remaining part of the settlement extending about two miles between the two rivers, as they seem to be. Indeed, the visitor to this spot, standing on the elevation where Henrico City once stood, may see, almost at one view, what appear to be four beautiful rivers, though only one in reality. The effect upon both mind and eye is truly romantic and worth a visit from places far more distant than Richmond, though it is believed but few of the inhabitants of that city have ever enjoyed the sight. Let those who have any thing of the feeling of an antiquarian, or even of a Virginian, only visit that spot, taking with them the account given of its first settlement by Captain Smith, Sir Thomas Dale, or any other of our early writers, with the guidance of our fellow-citizen, Mr. Richard Randolph, who was born near it and lived on it forty years ago, and they may verify the accounts on the ground, may gather up some broken bricks, which have been worn by the ploughshare for one or two centuries on the well-known spots where the houses of Sir Thomas Dale, Rolph, and Pocahontas once stood. The correspondence between the ancient account and the present appearances and relics is too strong to admit of a lingering doubt. Near the Dutch Gap, or narrow neck separating what appears to be two beautiful rivers only by a few paces, stood the second church in Virginia and America, built immediately on the landing of these Virginia Pilgrims, and before Sir Thomas Dale laid the foundation of his own residence. And this was only preparatory to a much better one of brick, whose foundation, Captain Smith informs us, was soon laid. Such was the piety of our first ancestors. It was soon discovered that another settlement on the other side of the river—between James River and the Appo-

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mattox—was necessary to the security of the little colony at Henrico, for a troublesome tribe of Indians occupied that narrow corner between the two rivers, and annoyed the colonists. Accordingly, Sir Thomas, in a few months, divided his forces again, drove away the Indians from thence, and made a settlement, opposite to what is now called City Point, naming it Bermuda Hundred, and dividing lands here also to the settlers, and running a palisado from river to river across another neck. The Rev. Mr. Whittaker—of whom we have before spoken—was the minister to each of these settlements; for they were both in one parish (Henrico parish) from the first, and for a long time, extending (as did the county) on both sides of James River, included what is now Chesterfield county and Dale parish. Wherefore Mr. Whittaker, in order to be convenient to his whole parish, chose for his residence what is well known at this day as Rock Hall, on the southern bank of James River, in what is now Chesterfield, and opposite to the lowest part of the Great Bend. At this point Sir Thomas Dale built him a parsonage and set apart his glebe.* It was probably in crossing the river near his house, in order to visit his parishioners on the island, that he was drowned, as we have before stated. Having referred to the residence of Rolph and Pocahontas, it will be interesting to point the reader and the visitor to the very spot, since it is clearly ascertained. Mr. Rolph's house and residence were about two miles from the city of Henrico, down the river, where the courthouse afterward stood, and where a parsonage and glebe also were located. All these sites are well known, and constitute what was called Varina.

Before proceeding further in our history of Henrico parish, we must make a digression, for which we are sure our readers will more than pardon us. It will be remembered that, in our sketch of the early history of Jamestown parish, we introduced some things concerning Henrico and Bermuda, alleging, as a sufficient reason, that the history of these three places were intimately connected and identified for some years, and, indeed, was the whole history of the colony at that time. For the same reason we now introduce into the early history of Henrico some things which might have formed a part of our notices of James-

* At a later period a church—called Jefferson's Church—was built near Rock Hall, and supplied by the minister from Varina. This church, or a part of it, may be still standing.

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town, but which were not at that time in our possession. It will be remembered that, in speaking of the marriage of Rolph and Pocahontas in the church at Jamestown, we alluded to a letter of the former to Sir Thomas Dale, in which he sets forth all the perplexities of his soul on that subject and submitted the final decision to that pious and noble-spirited man. Through the kindness of our worthy citizen, Mr. Conway Robinson, of Richmond, I have possession of that letter, which he obtained during a recent visit to England, and here submit it to the reader. None can fail to perceive what a genuine spirit of piety and philanthropy breathes throughout it.

ROLPH'S LETTER TO SIR THOMAS DALE.

*"The coppie of this Gentleman's Letter to Sir Thomas Dale, that after married Powhatan's daughter, containing the reasons that moved him thereunto.**

"HONOURABLE SIR, AND MOST WORTHY GOVERNOR:—When your leasure shall best serve you to peruse these lines, I trust in God the beginning will not strike you into greater admiration than the end will give you good content. It is a matter of no small moment, concerning my own particular, which here I impart unto you, and which toucheth me so nearly as the tenderness of my salvation. Howbeit, I freely subject myself to your great and mature judgment, deliberation, approbation, and determination; assuring myself of your zealous admonition and godly comforts, either persuading me to desist, or encouraging me to persist therein, with a religious fear and godly care, for which (from the very instant that this began to roote itself within the secrete bosome of my breast) my daily and earnest praiers have bin, still are, and ever shall bee poored forthwith, in as sincere a goodly zeal as I possibly may, to be directed, aided, and governed in all my thoughts, words, and deedes, to the glory of God and for my eternal consolation; to persevere wherein I had never had more neede, nor (till now) could ever imagine to have bin moved with the like occasion. But (my case standing as it doth) what better worldly refuge can I here seeke, than to shelter myself under the safety of your favourable protection? And did not my case proceede from an unspotted conscience, I should not dare to offer to your view and approved judgment these passions of my troubled soule; so full of feare and trembling is hypocrisie and dissimulation. But, knowing my own innocency and godly fervour in the whole prosecution hereof, I doubt not of your benigne acceptance and clement construction. As for malicious depravers and turbulent spirits, to whom nothing is tasteful but what pleaseth their unsavoury pallate, I passe not for them, being well assured in my persuasion by the often trial and proving of myselfe in my holiest meditations and praises, that I am called hereunto by the Spirit of God; and it shall be sufficient for me to be protected by yourselfe in all virtuous and pious endeavours. And for my more happy proceedings herein, my daily obla-

* This letter is referred to in Sir Thomas Dale's, and went with it to England

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tions shall ever be addressed to bring to passe to goode effects, that yourselfe and all the world may truly say, 'This is the worke of God, and it is marvellous in our eies.'

"But to avoide tedious preambles, and to come nearer the matter: first, suffer with your patience to sweepe and make cleane the way wherein I walke from all suspicions and doubts, which may be covered therein, and faithfully to reveale unto you what should move me hereunto.

"Let, therefore, this my well-advised protestations, which here I make before God and my own conscience, be a sufficient witnesse at the dreadful day of judgment, when the secret of all living harts shall be opened, to condemn me herein, if my deepest intent and purpose be not to strive with all my power of body and minde, in the undertaking of so mighty a matter, for the good of this plantation, for the honour of our countrie, for the glory of God, for my own salvation, and for the converting to the true knowledge of God and Jesus Christ an unbelieving creature,—viz.: Pokahontas. To whom my hartie and best thoughts are and have a long time bin so intangled and inthralled in so intricate a labyrinth, that I was even awearied to unwinde myself thereout. But Almighty God, who never faileth his that truly invocate his holy name, hath opened the gate and led me by the hand, that I might plainly see and discerne the safe pathes wherein to treade.

"To you, therefore, (most noble sir,) the patron and father of us in this countrie, doe I utter the effects of this my settled and long-continued affection, (which hath made a mightie warre in my meditations;) and here I do truly relate, to what issue this dangerous combat is come unto, wherein I have not only examined, but thoroughly tried and pared my thoughts, even to the quicke, before I could finde any fit, wholesome, and apt applications to cure so dangerous an ulcer. I never failed to offer my daily and faithful praiers to God for his sacred and holy assistance. I forgot not to set before mine eies the frailtie of mankind, his proneness to evill, his indulgence of wicked thoughts, with many other imperfections, wherein man is daily insnared and oftentimes overthrown, and them compared to my present estate. Nor was I ignorant of the heavie displeasure which Almightie God conceived against the sonnes of Levie and Israel for marrying strange wives, nor of the inconveniences which may thereby arise, with other the like good notions, which made me look about warily and with good circumspection into the grounds and principall agitations, which thus provoke me to be in love with one whose education hath been rude, her manners barbarous, her generation accursed, and so discrepant in all nurtreture from myself, that oftentimes with fear and trembling I have ended my private controversie with this:—'Surely these are wicked instigations, hatched by him who seeketh and delighteth in man's destruction;' and so with fervent praiers to be ever preserved from such diabolical assaults (as I tooke those to be) I have taken some rest.

"Thus when I thought I had obtained some peace and quietness, behold, another but more gracious tentation hath made breaches into my holiest and strongest meditations, with which I have been put to a new triall, in a straighter manner than the former; for besides the many passions and sufferings which I have daily, hourly, yea, and in my sleepe indured, even awaking me to astonishment, taxing me with remisness and carelessness, refusing and neglecting to performe the duties of a good Christian, pulling me by the eare, and crying, 'Why dost not thou indeavour to make her a Christian?' And these have happened to my greater

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wonder even when she hath bin furthest separated from me, which in common reason (were it not an undoubted work of God) might breede forgetfulness of a fare more worthy creature. Besides, I say, the Holy Spirit hath often demanded of me, why I was created, if not for transitory pleasures and worldly vanities, but to labour in the Lord's vineyard, there to sow and plant, to nourish and increase the fruits thereof, daily adding, with the good husband in the gospel, somewhat to the talent, that in the end the fruits may be reaped, to the comfort of the labourer in this life and his salvation in the world to come? And if this be, as undoubtedly this is, the service Jesus Christ requireth of his best servant, wo unto him that hath these instruments of pietie put into his hands, and wilfully despiseth to worke with them! Likewise adding hereunto her great appearance of love to me, her desire to be taught and instructed in the knowledge of God, her capablenesse of understanding, her aptness and willingnesse to receive anie good impression, and also the spirituall, beside her own incitements hereunto stirring me up. What should I doe? Shall I be of so untoward a disposition as to refuse to leade the blind into the right way? Shall I be so unnaturall as not to give bread to the hungrie, or uncharitable as not to cover the naked? Shall I despise to actuate these pious duties of a Christian? Shall the base feare of displeasing the world overpower and withhold me from revealing unto man these spirituall works of the Lord, which in my meditations and praiers I have daily made known unto him? God forbid! I assuredly trust he hath thus delt with mee for my eternal felicitie and for his glorie; and I hope so to be guarded by his heavenly grace, that in the end, by my faithfull praiers and christianlike labour, I shall attaine to that blessed promise pronounced by that holy prophet Daniell unto the righteous that bring many unto the knowledge of God,—namely: that 'they shall shine like the stars forever and ever.' A sweeter comfort cannot be to a true Christian, nor a greater incouragement to him to labour all the daies of his life in the performance thereof, to be desired at the hour of death and in the day of judgment. Again, by my reading and conference with honest and religious persons, have I received no small encouragement; besides *mea serena conscientia*, the cleannesse of my conscience, clean from the filth of impurity, *quæ est instar muri ahenei*, which is to me a brazen wall. If I should set down at large the perturbations and godly motions which have striven within mee, I should make but a tedious and unnecessary volume. But I doubt not these shall be sufficient, both to certify you of my true intent, in discharging of my duties to God and to yourselfe, to whose gracious Providence I humbly submit myself, for his glory, your honour, my countrie's good, the benefit of this Plantation, and for the converting of one unregenerate to regeneration, which I beseech God to grant for his dear Sonne Christ Jesus his sake. Nor am I in so desperate an estate that I regard not what becometh of mee; nor am I out of hope but one day to see my countrie, nor so void of friends, nor mean in birth, but there to obtain a match to my great content; nor have I ignorantly passed over my hopes there, nor regardlessly seek to lose the love of my friends by taking this course: I know them all, and have not rashly overslipped any.

"But shall it please God thus to dispose of me (which I earnestly desire to fulfill my end before set down) I will heartily accept of it, as a godly taxe appointed me, and I will never cease (God assisting me) until I have accomplished and brought to perfection so holy a worke, in which

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I will daily pray God to bless mee, to mine and her eternal happiness. And thus desiring no longer to live, to enjoy the blessing of God, than this my resolution doth tend to such godly ends, as are by me before declared, not doubting your favourable acceptance, I take my leave, beseeching Almighty God to rain down upon you such plenitude of his heavenly graces as your heart can wish and desire; and so I rest,

"At your command, most willingly to be disposed off,

"JOHN ROLPH."

FIRST JOURNAL OF THE HOUSE OF DELEGATES.

For the following deeply-interesting document I am also indebted to the same hand. Mr. Robinson, in his careful examination of papers in the State Office, in London, discovered a manuscript journal covering thirty pages, in which are the proceedings of a House of Burgesses held at Jamestown in 1619. It has been generally received and admitted, since the first volume of Mr. Henning's Statutes at Large were published, that no account of any such meeting was to be found for some years after this.

My object in publishing it is not merely to gratify the curiosity and promote the objects of the historian and politician, but far more,—to give additional weight to what I have already adduced in proof of the spirit of piety which animated the bosoms of the first founders of the Church and State of Virginia.

None can read the following document without admitting this:—

"A report of the manner of proceeding in the General Assembly convented at James City, in Virginia, July 30, 1619, consisting of the Governor, the Council of Estate, and two Burgesses elected out of each incorporation and plantation, and being dissolved the first of August next ensuing."

This is a document of the greatest interest to every Virginian. It is very satisfactory to find that it is quite a full report, embracing thirty pages. After the caption it proceeds as follows:—

"First, Sir George Yeardley, Knight, Governor and Captain-General of Virginia, having sent his summons all over the country, as well as to invite those of the Council of Estate that were absent, as also for the election of Burgesses, they were chosen and appeared.

"1st. For James City—Capt. Wm. Powell, Ensign Wm. Spense.

"2nd. For Charles City—Samuel Sharpe, James Jordan.

"3rd. For the City of Henricus—Thomas Dowce, John Potintine.

"4th. For Kicciotan—Captain Wm. Tucker, Wm. Capp.

"5th. For Martin Brandon, Captain John Martin's Plantation—Mr. Thomas Davis, Robert Stacy.

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"6th. For Smyth's Hundred—Captain Thos. Graves, Mr. Walter Shelley.

"7th. For Martin's Hundred—Mr. John Boys, John Jackson.

"8th. For Argall's Plantation—Mr. Powlett, Mr. Gourgemy.

"9th. For Flour De Hundred—Ensign Poppingham, Mr. Jefferson.

"10th. For Captain Lannis' Plantation—Captain Christopher Lanne, Ensign Wisher.

"11th. Captain Wirt's Plantation—Captain Wirt, Lieutenant Gibbs.

"The most convenient place we could find to sit in was the quire of the church where Sir George Yeardley, the Governor, being set down in his accustomed place, those of the Council of the Estate sat next him on both hands, except only the Secretary, then appointed Speaker, who sat before him. John Frome, Clerk of the General Assembly, being placed next the Speaker, and Thomas Pierce, the Sergeant, standing at the bar, to be ready for any service the Assembly should command him.

"But for as much as men's affairs do little prosper when God's service is neglected, all the Burgesses took their places in the quire till a prayer was said by Mr. Bucke, the minister, that it would please God to guide and sanctify all our proceedings to his own glory and the good of this plantation. Prayer being ended to the intent that, as we had begun at God Almighty, so we might proceed with careful and due respect towards his Lieutenant, our most gracious and dread sovereign, all the Burgesses were instructed to retire themselves into the body of the church, which, being done, before they were fully admitted, they were called in order and by name, and so every man (none staggering at it) took the oath of supremacy, and then entered the assembly."

To the foregoing documents in proof of the spirit which animated the most devoted friends of the Colony, I add a third, furnished me by another true son of Virginia,—Mr. Charles Campbell, of Petersburg.

In the records of the London Company we meet with the name of the Earl of Southampton as the treasurer and most active friend of the same at the time of its greatest trials, when King James and his ministers were seeking its destruction. In the year 1724, their object was effected and the Company summarily disbanded, all their papers were seized upon, and the Colony taken under the sole charge of Government. The pious, zealous, and brave Earl of Southampton, however, never deserted the cause, but, in Parliament, boldly advocated such measures as he believed would most promote the true welfare of the Colony, in opposition to a corrupt king and cabinet. This was the more honourable to him from the relation he bore to the king. The Earl of Southampton was the bosom-friend of the celebrated Earl of Essex, Prime Minister to Elizabeth, and was somewhat implicated with him in that conduct toward the queen which brought Essex to the scaffold. Southampton was imprisoned by the queen, though

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spared the fate of Essex. At the death of Elizabeth and the coronation of James, he was released from prison and placed in some offices of honour and trust, being a member of the Privy Council also. While thus honoured, in opposition to the wishes and remonstrances of the king, the earl, true to the best interests of the Company and the Colony, accepted the office of treasurer, attended all its meetings, often had them at his own house, and, as we have said, was the zealous advocate of all measures in Parliament calculated to promote the truest good of the Colony, after the company was dismissed by the king. The true secret of this moral courage was his fidelity to the King of kings. How much the following letter from his friend, the Earl of Essex, may have contributed to this, we know not, but that it was eminently calculated to direct his mind to the only true source of moral greatness none can question. It has been a long time since its publication in a London chronicle, and it is well worthy of republication in connection with the name of Southampton and the early history of Virginia. Let me add that so high was the character of Southampton held in Virginia, that one of her rivers for some time bore his name, and one of her largest counties still retains it.

Letter from the Earl of Essex to his friend the Earl of Southampton.

"My Lord:—As neither nature nor custom ever made me a man of compliment, so now I shall have less will than ever for to use such ceremonies, when I have left with Martha to be *solicitus circa multa*, and believe with Mary *unum sufficit*. But it is no compliment or ceremony, but a real and necessary duty that one friend oweth to another in absence, and especially at their leave-taking, when, in man's reason, many accidents may keep them long divided, or perhaps bar them ever meeting till they meet in another world; for then shall I think that my friend, whose honour, whose person, and whose fortune is dear unto me, shall prosper and be happy wherever he goes, and whatever he takes in hand, when he is in the favour of that God under whose protection there is *only* safety, and in whose service there is *only true* happiness to be found. What I think of your natural gifts or ability, in this age or in this State, to give glory to God and to win honour to yourself, if you employ the talents you have received to their best use, I will not now tell you; it sufficeth that when I was farthest of all times from dissembling I spake truly and have witness enough. But these things only I will put your lordship in mind of.

"1. That you have *nothing* that you have not received.

"2. That you possess them not as *lord* over them, but as an *accountant* for them.

"3. If you employ them to serve this world, or your own worldly delights, which the prince of this world will seek to entertain you with, it is ingratitude, it is injustice, yea, it is perfidious treachery.

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"For what would you think of such a servant of yours that should convert your goods, committed to his charge, to the advantage or service of your greatest enemy; and what do you less than this with God, since you have all from him, and know that the world and prince thereof are at continual enmity with him? And therefore, if ever the admonition of your truest friend shall be heard by you, or if your country which you may serve in so great and many things be dear unto you; if God, whom you must (if you deal *truly* with yourself) acknowledge to be powerful over all, and just in all, be feared by you; yea, if you be dear unto yourself and prefer an everlasting happiness before a pleasant dream, which you must *shortly* awake out of and then repent in the bitterness of your soul; if any of these things be regarded by you, then, I say, call yourself to account for what is past, cancel all the leagues you have made without the warrant of a religious conscience, make a resolute covenant with your God to serve him with all your natural and spiritual, inward and outward gifts and abilities, and then He that is faithful and cannot lie hath promised to honour them that honour him; He will give you that inward peace of soul and true joy of heart which, till you have, you shall never rest, and that, when you have, you shall never be shaken, and which you can never attain to *any other* way than this that I have showed you.

"I know your lordship may say to yourself and object to me, This is but a vapour of melancholy and the style of a prisoner; and that I was far enough from it when I lived in the world as you do now, and may be so again when my fetters be taken from me. I answer, though your lordship should think so, yet cannot I distrust the goodness of my God, that his mercy will fail me or his grace forsake me. I have so deeply engaged myself, that I should be one of the most miserable apostates that ever was; I have so avowed my profession and called so many from time to time to witness it and to be watchmen over me, that I should be the hollowest hypocrite that ever was born. But though I should perish in my own sin, and draw upon myself my own damnation, should not you take hold of the grace and mercy, in God, which is offered unto you, and make your profit of my fearful and wretched example? I was longer a slave and servant to the world and the corruptions of it than you have been, and therefore could hardly be drawn from it. I had many calls, and answered some of them,—slowly thinking a soft pace fast enough to come to Christ, and myself forward enough when I saw the end of my journey, though I arrived not at it; and therefore I have been, by God's providence, violently pulled, hauled, and dragged to the marriage-feast, as the world hath seen. It was just with God to afflict me in this world, that he might give me joy in another. I had too much knowledge when I performed too little obedience, and I was, therefore, to be beaten with double stripes. God grant your lordship may feel the comfort I now enjoy in my unfeigned conversion, but that you may never feel the torments I have suffered for my too long delaying it! I had none but divines to call upon; to whom I said, if my ambition could have entered into their narrow hearts, they would not have been so humble; or, if my delights had been tasted by them, they could not have been so precise. But your lordship hath one to call on you, that knows what it is you now enjoy, and what the greatest fruit and end is of *all* the contentments that this world can afford. Think, therefore, dear earl, that I have staked and buoyed all the ways of pleasure to you, and left them as sea-marks, for you to keep the channel of religious virtue: for, shut your eyes never

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so long, they *must* be open *at last;* and then you must say with me, *There is no peace to the wicked.*

"I will make a covenant with my soul, not to suffer my eyes to sleep in the night, nor my thoughts to attend the first business of the day, till I have prayed to my God, that your lordship may believe and make profit of this plain but faithful admonition; and then I know your country and friends shall be happy in you, and yourself successful in all you take in hand, which shall be an unspeakable comfort to

"Your lordship's cousin and true friend,

"whom no worldly cause can divide from you,

"ESSEX."

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ARTICLE X.

Henrico Parish.—No. 2.

We introduce this second article by the following extract from a pamphlet of Alexander Whittaker, the first minister of Henrico parish. It was written in the year 1613. The account he gives of the Indian character has a bearing on that sad catastrophe which at an early period marred the fair prospects of Henrico College, and which, but for it, might have been the William and Mary of Virginia.

"TRACTATE BY MASTER ALEXANDER WHITTAKER, WRITTEN AT HENRICO, 1613.

"They (the Indians) acknowledge that there is a great good God, but know him not, having the eyes of their understanding as yet blinded; wherefore they serve the Divell for feare, after a most base manner, sacrificing sometimes (as I have hearde) their own children to him. I have sent one image of their god to the Council in England, which is painted on one side of a toadestoole, much like unto a deformed monster. Their priests (whom they call Quickosoughs) are no other but such as our English witches are. They live naked in body, as if their shame of their sinne deserved no covering. Their names are as naked as their body: they esteem it a vertue to lye, deceive, and steale, as their master the Divell teacheth them.

"Their men are not so simple as some have supposed them, for they are of body lusty, strong, and very nimble; they are a very understanding generation,—quicke of apprehension, sudden in their despatches, subtile in their dealings, exquisite in their intentions, and industrious in their labour. I suppose the world hath no better marksmen than they be: they will kill birds flying, fishes swimming, and beasts running. They shoote also with marvailous strength: they shot one of our men, being unarmed, quite through the body and nailed both his arms to his body with one arrow; one of their children also, about the age of twelve or thirteen years, killed a bird with his arrow, in my sight. The service of their god is answerable to their life, being performed with great feare and attention, and many strange dumb shewes used in the same, stretching forth their limbs and straining their body, much like to the counterfeit women in England, who fancie themselves bewitched or possessed of some evil spirit. They stand in great awe of the Quickosoughs or priests, which are a generation of vipers, even Satan's own brood. The manner of their life is much like to the Popish hermits of our age; for they live alone in the woods, in houses sequestered from the common course of men; neither may any

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man be suffered to come into their house, or speake to them, but when the priest doth call him.

"He taketh no care for his victuals; for all such kind of things, both bread and water, &c., are brought into a place neare his cottage and there left, which he feteheth for his proper needs. If they would have raine, or have lost any thing, they have recourse to him, who conjureth for them and many times prevaileth. If they be sick, he is their physician; if they be wounded, he sueketh them. At his command they make warre and peace; neither doe they any thing of moment without him. Finally, there is a civil government among them which they strictly observe, and show thereby that the law of nature dwelleth in them; for they have a rude kinde of commonwealth and rough government, wherein they both honour and obey their king, parents, and governors, both greater and lesser. They observe the limits of their own possessions. Murther is scarcely heard of; adultery and other offences severely punished."

We follow this sketch of the Indian character by stating that the efforts of Mr. Whittaker and others, and all the acts of the Company and Colony, seemed to have produced some effect on the natives, and to promise friendly relations with them. This prospect was brightened by the marriage of Rolph and Pocahontas. Even after her death, in 1617, a letter is written to the Company, saying, "Powhatan goes about visiting his country, taking his pleasure, in good friendship with us; sorry for the death of his daughter, but glad her son is living. So does Opechancanough. They both wish to see the boy, but do not wish him to come to Virginia until he is a man."* But, even at this time, it is to be feared that the perfidious Indians were meditating war.

We now proceed with the history of the College and parish.

We have already stated, in one of our articles on Jamestown,

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*Even as late as 1641 the boy Thomas Rolph asks and obtains leave of the Assembly to visit his uncle, Opechancanough. There is a document in the records of the Virginia Company of the 7th of October, 1622, which is worthy of insertion here. It appears that Mr. John Rolph, after returning to Virginia in 1617, married again and had other children, and that he died in or before 1622, leaving a widow and children. Mr. Henry Rolph, brother of John Rolph, addresses a petition to the House of Burgesses, "desiring the estate his brother John Rolph, deceased, left in Virginia, might be enquired out and converted to the best use for the maintenance of his relict wife and children, and for his indemnity, (having brought up the child his said brother had by the daughter of Powhatan, which is yet living and in his custody.) It was therefore ordered that the Governor and Council in Virginia should cause inquiry to be made what lands and goods the said Rolph died seized of, and in case it should be found that the said Rolph made no will, then to take such order for the petitioner's indemnity, and for the maintenance of the said children and his relict wife, as they shall find his estate will beare, (his debts unto the Company and others being satisfied,) and return unto the Company an account of their proceedings."

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that about the year 1619 it was determined to establish a College at Henrico, and that liberal contributions were made in England for that purpose. A pious and philanthropic man, a good scholar, a warm and confiding friend of the Indians, Mr. George Thorpe, was actually engaged in superintending all the preparatory operations. How far they had advanced when the great massacre in 1622 occurred, and in which Mr. Thorpe and so many others were killed and the city either destroyed or greatly injured, we have no means of ascertaining. We have reason to believe that some unsuccessful attempts were afterward made; but neither the city nor the College ever recovered from this disastrous blow.

Large tracts of land, called the College lands and the Company's lands, to the amount of fifteen thousand acres, had been set apart on both sides of the river for the purpose of promoting the College and settlement. Between one and two hundred labourers were imported to cultivate them. One hundred young women, of good character, were ordered over to be wives to the workmen here and elsewhere. Eighty of them actually came. The massacre fell heavily on them upon both sides of the river. Despairing of success, at length the lands were otherwise disposed of.

We are informed, by one of the descendants, that Mr. William Randolph bought at one time the whole of Sir Thomas Dale's settlement, amounting to five thousand acres of land, and as much more of other persons, reaching down to Four-Mile Creek, on James River. The two settlements of Varina and Curls, so long the property and abodes of the Randolphs, were on this estate. The estate of Bacon, the rebel, once formed a part of this tract, and there are still some remains of the fort which he erected when contending with the Indians. The estate called Varina, which continued longest in possession of the Randolphs, was so called from a place of that name in Spain, because the tobacco raised at both places so resembled each other in flavour.

As to the ministers and churches, we have seen that Mr. Whittaker, who died in 1619, ministered to the people at Henricopolis and at Bermuda Hundred. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Wickam, and he by the Rev. Mr. Stockam. After these we have no authentic account of any minister until the time of the Rev. James Blair, who settled here in 1685, and was the rector until the year 1694, when he went to Jamestown and became Commissary and President of the College of William and Mary. The next account we have of the parish is in the year 1724, in an

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answer to the circular of the Bishop of London; but unfortunately the name of the minister is cut off from the manuscript which is before us, and we can only give the report itself. The minister (whose name is lost) had been in the parish fourteen years; that is, since 1710. There were two churches and one chapel. The parish was eighteen miles by twenty-five. There were eleven hundred tithables and four hundred families in it. The masters do nothing for their servants, but let some of them now and then go to church. One or two hundred persons are sometimes at church. The families are so distant that it is difficult to have the children brought to catechism, and when they grow to any bigness they do not like to be publicly catechized. The teachers and parents do whatever is done in that way. There was no public school for youth. There were only about twenty communicants at a time, when the sacrament was administered.

The same evil is complained of here as is often elsewhere. The large estates on the river separate the families, so that it is difficult to get to church. It is so to this day along our rivers. Where the two churches and the chapel were at that time, we are at a loss to tell. Perhaps one may still have been at Henricopolis, the first settlement by Sir Thomas Dale. After a time, one was built by the first of the Richard Randolphs, which was called sometimes Four-Mile Creek Church, sometimes Curls Church, as it lay between these places. Whether there was a chapel at that time at the Falls—that is, Richmond—is not certainly known, but is probable. At a later period, the minister officiated alternately at the Four-Mile Creek Church, or Curls Church, on the north side of James River, and at a church on the south side, near Rock Hall, called Jefferson's Church.

This was the case in the time of Mr. Stith, who wrote his History about the year 1740, at Varina, when he was minister of Henrico parish. He removed to Williamsburg to preside over the College in the year 1752.* The building of the church at Four-

* William Stith was the only son of Captain John Stith, of the county of Charles City, and of Mary, a daughter of "William Randolph, gentleman," of Turkey Island, in the adjoining county, Henrico, in the Colony of Virginia: their son William was born in the year 1689. On the death of her husband, Mrs. Stith, at the instance of her brother, Sir John Randolph, removed to Williamsburg and placed her son in the grammar-school attached to the College of William and Mary, where he pursued his academic studies and graduated. His theological studies were completed in England, where he was ordained a minister in the Episcopal Church. On his return to Virginia, in the year 1731, he was elected master of the grammar-school in the College and chaplain to the House of Burgesses. In June, 1738, he

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Mile Creek, or Curls, is clearly ascertained, as to the time and the erection of it, by an extract from a letter of the eldest Richard Randolph, of Curls, to his son Richard, in 1748, in which he says, "Pray assist Wilkinson all you can in getting the church finished, and get the shells that will be wanted carted before the roads get bad. The joiner can inform you what shells I have at the Falls. If more are wanted you must get them." Some thirty or forty years ago, when this church was without Episcopal services, a man claimed it, and declared his intention to take it, when a great-grandson of old Mr. Randolph, of the same name, repaired to the place, and informed him that as soon as he touched it he would have him arrested. The desired effect was produced. It has, however, now disappeared; and none, I believe, bearing the name of Randolph, owns a rood of that immense tract of land on which their fathers once lived.*

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was called as rector to Henrico parish, in the county of Henrico. He married his cousin Judith, a daughter of Thomas Randolph, of Tuckahoe, the second son of William Randolph, of Turkey Island, and resided in the parsonage on the glebe near Varina, the seat of justice for the county of Henrico. There he wrote his History of Virginia, which was printed and bound in the city of Williamsburg, at the only printing-press then in the Colony. In August, 1752, he was elected President of William and Mary College, to which he removed and over which he presided until his death, in 1755.

* The connection of so many of the Randolphs, not only with the Episcopal Church, but ministry, both in England and America, merits some special notice of the family. It shall be very brief by comparison with the numbers and respectability of it. I leave it to some one of the name to trace back its history through the Church and State in England, and through the numerous branches which have spread themselves over Virginia and other parts of our land. I only abridge some of the genealogies placed in my hands, by giving a list of some of the earliest of the family, from whom all others have proceeded. The first of the name who settled in Virginia, Mr. William Randolph, became possessed of the large estate on James River called Turkey Island, bordering on Charles City, to which he added numerous other estates, on which he settled his sons, building excellent houses for all of them. He married Miss Mary Isham, daughter of Henry and Catherine Isham, of Bermuda Hundred, on the opposite side of the river.

They had seven sons and two daughters. 1st. William, of Turkey Island, who married Miss Beverly, of Gloucester. 2d. Thomas, of Tuckahoe, who married Miss Flemming. 3d. Isham, of Dungeness, who married a Miss Rojers, of England. 4th. Richard, of Curls, who married a Miss Bolling, descendant of Pocahontas. 5th. Henry, who died without issue. 6th. Sir John Randolph, of Williamsburg, who married Miss Beverly, sister of his brother William's wife. 7th. Edward, who married an heiress in England,—a Miss Groves. He was a captain of a ship. Some of his children settled in England and some in Virginia. Two of his daughters married the Revs. William and Robert Yates, of Gloucester county. A third married William Stith, and was the mother of the Rev. Mr. Stith, the historian of Virginia, minister of Henrico, and afterward President of William and

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To proceed with the history of the ministers of Henrico parish: we find, on the lists of the clergy in Virginia, that the Rev. Miles

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Mary College. His sister married Commissary Dawson, and he himself married Miss Judith Randolph, of Tuckahoe. Another of the family married the Rev. Mr. Keith, who settled in Fauquier, and was the ancestor of Judge Marshall. Another married Mr. Anthony Walke, of Norfolk county, and was the mother of the Rev. Anthony Walke, of that county. To their connection with the sanctuary in Virginia may be added one in our Mother-Church of which the family may well be proud. Bishop Randolph, of the latter part of the last century, was first Archdeacon of Jersey, then Bishop of Oxford, and then of London, in all which stations he was most highly esteemed. His collection of tracts for the benefit of young students for the ministry show him to have been a Bishop of sound doctrines and of a truly catholic spirit. As to piety and active zeal, he is thought to have been considerably in advance of the generality of the Bishops of his day. It may not be amiss to state that Thomas Randolph, the poet, of England, was uncle to William Randolph, of Turkey Island, and that the nephew is said to have possessed something of his poetic genius. We must here stop, and only say that the family of Randolphs is henceforth to be found mixed up with the Beverlys, Harrisons, Jennings, Lees, Grymes, Wormleys, Nelsons, Burwells, Lightfoots, Bollings, Spotwoods, Pages, Singletons, Flemings, Berkeleys, Stiths, Carys, Jeffersons, Carrs, Pleasants, Meades, Hackleys, Woods, Mumfords, Armsteads, and others, known and unknown and too numerous to mention.

I add the following brief account from Campbell's History of Virginia:—"Several of the sons of the first William Randolph, of Turkey Island, father of the family in Virginia, were men of distinction. William was a member of the Council and Treasurer of the Colony. Isham was member of the House of Burgesses, in 1740, from Goochland, and Adjutant-General of the Colony. Richard was a member of the House of Burgesses in 1740, from Henrico, and succeeded his brother as Treasurer. Sir John was Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and Attorney-General. Peter, son of the second William Randolph, was Clerk of the House of Burgesses, and Attorney-General. Peyton, son of Sir John, was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and President of the first Congress held at Philadelphia. Thomas Mann Randolph, great-grandson of William, of Turkey Island, was a member of the Virginia Convention in 1775, from Goochland. Beverly Randolph was member of the Assembly from Cumberland, during the Revolution, and Governor of Virginia. Robert Randolph, son of Peter, Richard Randolph, grandson of Peter, and David Meade Randolph, grandson of the second Richard, of Curls, were cavalry-officers in the Revolution. David Meade Randolph was Marshal of Virginia. John Randolph, of Roanoke, member of Congress and minister to Russia, was grandson of the first Richard. Thomas Mann Randolph, Jr., was member of Congress, of the Legislature of Virginia, and Governor of Virginia." To this we add, that Edmund Randolph was Secretary of State of the United States and Governor of Virginia, besides holding other offices.

Mr. Campbell remarks that the members of the numerous families of the Randolphs, in several instances, adopted the names of their seats, for purposes of distinction, as, Thomas of Tuckahoe, Isham of Dungeness, Richard of Curls, John of Roanoke. The following were the seats of the Randolphs on James River. Tuckahoe, Dungeness, Chattsworth, Wilton, Varina, Curls, Bremo, Turkey Island. In a work on the old families, &c. of the Church in Virginia, the above is not too much for one, whose branches have, with few exceptions, been so steadfast to her, and some of whom have contributed so liberally to her support, as old Mr. Richard

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Selden was minister in 1758 and also in 1776, from which we infer that he was the minister from 1758 to 1776; how long before 1758 or after 1776, does not appear. Nor have I been able to ascertain any thing particular concerning him.*

HENRICO PARISH AFTER THE REVOLUTION.

Previous to the Revolution, it is probable that the families of the Randolphs at Turkey Island, Curls, Varina, Wilton, and Chattsworth, with a few others in the neighbourhood of the old settlement of Sir Thomas Dale, formed the main strength of the Episcopal Church in Henrico, and that the ministers resided at the parsonage and on the glebe at Varina. But the scene will now be changed to Richmond, which, though still a very small place, became the seat of government during the war.†

Randolph, of Curls, Mr. Thomas Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe, and Colonel Robert Randolph, of Fauquier.

* I have obtained the following notice of the Rev. Wm. Selden, a relative of Mr. Miles Selden:—"The Rev. Wm. Selden was son of John Selden and Grace Rosewell, and grandson of the first of the name who came to Virginia, about 1690, and settled in the Northern Neck. Wm. Selden was born in 1741, was educated at William and Mary College, studied law and practised it some years. Disliking the profession, he studied for the ministry, and went to London, where he was ordained in 1771. Returning to Virginia, he became the minister of Elizabeth parish. He continued in charge of this parish until a short time before his death. He married Mary Ann Hancock, of Princess Ann county, by whom he had many children, two only of whom grew up and had issue,—viz.: Dr W. B. Selden, of Norfolk, only two of whose sons survive, viz., Dr. Wm. Selden, of Norfolk, and Robert Selden, of Gloucester, two others, Dr. Henry Selden and Miss Susan Selden, having fallen victims to the late epidemic in Norfolk. Mrs. Bagnal, the other child of the Rev. W. Selden who left issue, has now living two children.—Mrs. Mary Grace, of Gloucester, and W. D. Bagnal, of Norfolk. The Rev. Miles Selden, of Henrico, was the son of Joseph, the youngest son of the first settler, and, consequently, the first-cousin of the Rev. Wm. Selden." From their continuance during their ministry in the parishes which called them, and other considerations, we have reason to believe that they were both exemplary men.

† The following account of Richmond at this time is from the papers of Mrs. Colonel Carrington, from which I have already borrowed so largely, and, I am sure, so acceptably to my readers:—

"Richmond at the time of the Removal of the Seat of Government thither.—It is indeed a lovely situation, and may at some future period be a great city, but at present it will afford scarce one comfort of life. With the exception of two or three families, this little town is made up of Scotch factors, who inhabit small tenements here and there from the river to the hill, some of which looking—as Colonel Marshal (afterward Judge Marshal) observes—as if the poor Caledonians had brought them over on their backs, the weaker of whom were glad to stop at the bottom of the hill; others a little stronger proceeded higher; while a few of the stoutest and boldest reached the summit, which, once accomplished, affords a situation beautiful and picturesque. One of these hardy Scots has thought proper

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ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, RICHMOND, VA.

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St. John's Church, on Richmond Hill, whose age we are unable to ascertain, had been the sanctuary of patriotism, as well as of religion, more than once before and during the war, in which the voices of our Randolphs, Lees, Henrys, and Masons roused the citizens to arms. Beneath it, on the river Powhatan, (the ancient name of James River, and which ought never to have been changed,) lay the spot where the old King Powhatan sometimes held his court when warring with the fierce Monacans or Manakins, who never allowed him to extend his conquests above the Falls. Although it is clearly shown that Pocahontas was born and trained at a place far distant from this, and baptized and married at Jamestown, and though it is all a fable that it was here she rescued the gallant Smith, yet, during her residence with Rolph at Henricopolis, she may have visited the spot before any Christian church was reared on its brows.

From this time forward we have the sure guide of a vestry-book in tracing the history of this parish. The one before us opens with the first meeting of the parishioners, in March, 1785, to elect a vestry under the act of incorporation by the Legislature, which had before put down the Episcopal Church as an Establishment. The first vestrymen were Edmund Randolph, Turner Southall, Jaqueline Ambler, Nathaniel Wilkinson, Hobson Owen, William Fouchee, William Burton, Daniel L. Hylton, Miles Selden, Thomas Prosser, John Ellis, Bowler Cocke, of whom Edmund Randolph and Bowler Cocke were chosen churchwardens, and the former elected to the Convention about to meet in the May following. Previous to that meeting, the Rev. John Buchanon was elected minister of the parish. He had been the minister of Amherst parish some years before this. The following resolution of the vestry in the year 1789 will show their sense of the importance of religion, and their testimony to its low condition at that time:—

"We, the undersigned, (it was intended for vestrymen and others,) considering that the principles of true religion have a powerful tendency to promote as well the order and good government of the society at large, as the peace and happiness of those individuals who are influenced by them, and that there has been found no surer mode of establishing and rivetting such principles on the mind, and the uniform exercise of and attendance on public worship, and deeply deploring the almost total decline of divine worship for some years past, and the consequent deprava-

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to vacate his little dwelling on the hill; and, though our whole family can scarcely stand up all together in it, my father has determined to rent it as the only decent tenement on the hill."

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tion of morals of every denomination among us, and earnestly wishing for a reformation on that head, more particularly on account of the rising generation, that the seeds of piety and virtue may be sown in their tender minds, and preserve them from the contagion and irreligion and the practices of an evil world. To effectuate these important purposes, as far as our influence and circumstances admit, we have entered into the present association for the support of religion and the maintenance of regular divine worship, and do therefore hereby oblige ourselves, our heirs, &c. to pay or cause to be paid unto Jaqueline Ambler, Treasurer of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the parish of Henrico," &c.

So low, however, was the condition of the church, that a very small sum was raised in this way for the support of the ministry, and Mr. Buchannon received but little beside the rent of the glebe and perquisites during the whole of his ministry; and that little was always given to others. Having some property of his own, through the death of his brother, Mr. James Buchanon, and living with simplicity and economy, he did not need a salary for himself.*

In the year 1790, the vestry passed a resolution permitting the churchwardens to allow ministers of other denominations to preach in our country churches in the daytime, when not occupied by Dr. Buchanon, provided they did not leave them open or injure them. At a later period, Mr. Blair is allowed to preach every other Sunday in St. John's Church. This not only shows their kind feelings toward the other denominations, but that they considered the churches as not made common property by the law, as some have contended. In the year 1791, a committee appointed to inquire into the property of the parish report that the glebe consists of one hundred and ninety-six acres of land by an old patent, that the houses are out of repair, that the glebe rents for forty pounds,

* The following letter from Mrs. Colonel Edward Carrington, of Richmond, to her friend Miss Caines, of London, (who had lived in Virginia,) will show what was the state of things at this time, in the year 1792, the date of the letter:—

"This evil" (the want of public worship) "increases daily; nor have we left in our extensive State three churches that are decently supported. Our metropolis even would be left destitute of this blessing but for the kind offices of our friend Buchanon, whom you remember well, an inmate of our family. He, from sheer benevolence, continues to preach in our capital, to what we now call the New School,—that is to say, to a set of modern philosophers who merely attend because they know not what else to do with themselves. But, blessed be God, in spite of the enlightened, as they call themselves, and in spite of Godwin, Paine, &c., we still, at times, particularly on our great Church-days, repair with a choice few to our old church on the hill, (St. John's,) and, by contributing our mite, endeavour to preserve the religion of our fathers. Delightful hours we sometimes pass there," &c.

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and is supposed to be worth one thousand pounds, that there is one silver cup and salver. In the year 1714, the vestry elected the Rev. David Moore, son of Bishop Moore, to act as assistant to Dr. Buchanon; but the offer was declined. In the year 1715, the Rev. William Hart was chosen and accepted. In the year 1722, Dr. Buchanon died, and Mr. Hart succeeded to the entire rectorship of the church.

On the 13th of May, 1826, Dr. John Adams presented to the vestry a marble font, which was obtained from Curls Church. In July of the year 1828, the Rev. Mr. Hart resigned and the Rev. William F. Lee was elected. Soon after Mr. Lee's entrance on the duties of rector, a proposition was made to remove the old church below the hill, or build or purchase a new one. This resulted in the resignation of Mr. Lee and of a number of the vestrymen, and the formation of a new congregation and purchase of a Presbyterian church, since called Christ Church, in whose service Mr. Lee ended his days.

In the year 1830, the Rev. Mr. Peet was chosen the minister of St. John's. In the year 1833, the Rev. Mr. Peet resigned and the Rev. Robert Croes was elected. Mr. Croes resigned in 1836, and the Rev. Mr. Hart was re-elected to his old parish, and continued its minister until the year 1842. In the following year, the Rev. Mr. Morrison was elected, and continued the minister until 1848. In the following year, the Rev. Mr. Kepler was called to be the minister of this parish, and continues such to this time.

I close my notice of St. John's Church by referring to a subject on which I find that the vestry took action in the years 1826 and 1828. At an early period, two hundred acres of land were laid off from the College or Company lands near Henricopolis or Dale's settlement, for a glebe, court-house, prison, &c., one hundred and ninety-six being for the former. It continued to be the residence and property of the successive ministers until the death of Dr. Buchanon, in 1822. A short time subsequent to this, the overseers of the poor laid claim to it and offered it for sale. The Rev. Mr. Hart, assistant and successor to Dr. Buchanon, enjoined the proceedings, and filed a bill in Chancery to obtain ownership; whereupon the Chancellor, at the January term of his court in 1826, decided in favour of the church and against all claims of the overseers of the poor. It was then resolved by the vestry to sell their right and interest in the glebe to Mr. Pleasant Aiken, of Petersburg, in such manner as shall appear for the best interests of the parish. An appeal from the decision of the Chancellor was

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taken by the overseers of the poor, and Mr. Aiken declined closing the bargain until the decision of the Court of Appeals. In the month of March, 1828, the vestry direct the rector to lease the glebe-lands adjoining the Varina estate, and belonging to the parish, to such person and upon such terms as he may think will best secure their preservation. This is the last entry upon the vestry-book concerning it. I am privately informed that the vestry withdrew their claim, or did not prosecute it, rather than involve the church in what might prove a long and bitter controversy with the overseers of the poor representing the citizens of Henrico, although well persuaded that the Chancellor was right in his decision. I presume that the claim of the vestry rested on the fact that this glebe was not purchased for the parish by a levy of the vestry on the people, as was the case of the glebes generally, and on which account the law for selling them was passed, but was a gift to the parish by the London Company out of the lands set apart for the College and the general uses of Henrico. In ceasing to contend for their rights, the vestrymen of Henrico only did what other vestrymen have done, preferring rather to suffer loss than promote strife and thereby injure the cause of religion. It has been the general sentiment of the clergy and laity of our Church in Virginia, with whom I have been acquainted, that, though the glebes may have been wrongfully taken away, (about which there has been diversity of opinion,) yet even if they could be recovered by law, the effort should not be made, because of the discord and unhappiness which would certainly attend it.

As I am writing of the old churches and ministers of Virginia, leaving it to some one else, at a future day, with ampler materials than I possess for my work, to speak of more modern ones, a few words will suffice for the new parishes and churches in Richmond. Of the sad calamity which led to the erection of the Monumental Church, every modern history of Virginia and sketch of Richmond is full, and I shall not dwell upon it. Bishop Moore was called to be its first minister, and still lives in the hearts of all who knew him. The Revs. Mr. Croes, Nichols, Thomas Jackson, and Norwood, were successively his assistants. The latter succeeded to the rectorship at the Bishop's death. A larger church being needed, St. Paul's was built under the auspices of Mr. Norwood and some active laymen. The Rev. Mr. Woodbridge, who had long laboured in the church vacated by the death of the Rev. Mr. Lee, took possession of the Monumental, when St. Paul's was completed and entered by Mr. Norwood and his congregation. There,

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Years before this, St. James's Church had been built and Dr. Empie called to be its pastor. After faithfully labouring many years, and being unable to labour more, he resigned the charge of it to the Rev. Mr. Cummings, at whose resignation the Rev. Mr. Peterkin succeeded. At the resignation of St. Paul's by Mr. Norwood, on account of ill health, the Rev. Alexander Jones was chosen, and continued some years. The Rev. Mr. Minegerode is the present pastor. Since Mr. Woodbridge's removal to the Monumental Church, Trinity Church has been mostly supplied by missionary services. During the last spring, while under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Webb, the building was consumed with fire. It deserves to be mentioned that a missionary chapel was erected in the western part of the city, some years since, through the zealous labours of the Rev. Dr. Bolton, though, from various unfavourable circumstances, it failed of its object and has been disposed of. Should I have failed to make mention of the missionary labours of the Rev. Mr. Duval, in Richmond, the memories and the hearts of all its citizens would have supplied the deficiency, even if the excellent memoir of him by the Rev. Mr. Walker had not perpetuated the remembrance of one of the most devoted Christians and philanthropists of Virginia.

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ARTICLE XI.

Williamsburg, Bruton Parish.—No. 1.

This parish was carved out of the counties of James City and Charles River. The latter county was, in 1642, changed into York county. The parish of Bruton, in the year 1723, was reported to the Bishop of London as ten miles square. At one time a parish called Marston was within these bounds, being the upper part, toward New Kent; but that was soon dissolved and added to Bruton. Of the early history of Williamsburg, or the Middle Plantation, we know but little. That there was a church there in 1665 is certain from an entry in the vestry-book of Middlesex parish, in that year, which directs a church to be built in that parish, after the model of that at Williamsburg,—probably a wooden one. How long that at Williamsburg had been in existence before this time is not known. The vestry-book of Bruton parish commenced in 1674, and continues until 1769,—a few years before the Revolution. The first minister was the Rev. Rowland Jones, who continued from 1674 to his death, in 1688. Besides vestrymen and churchwardens, there were, after the English custom and canons, two officers, called sidesmen or questmen, who were especially appointed to present unworthy persons to those in authority, for civil and ecclesiastical discipline. I have not met with these in any other parish. It appears that there were at this time, and had been, no doubt, for a considerable period, two other churches in this parish, an upper and lower, both of which needed repair; and the vestry resolved, in the year 1678, not to repair either of them, but to build a new brick church at Williamsburg, to answer for all. Free donations were solicited before a levy was resorted to. A list of some of the donors is recorded. At the head is John Page (first of the name) for £20, and the ground for the church and graveyard; Thomas Ludwell, £20; Philip Ludwell, £10; Colonel Thorp, £10; and many others, £5,—among them the minister, Mr. Jones. A pew was put in the chancel for the minister, and Mr. John Page and Edward Jennings were allowed

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WILLIAMSBURG CHURCH, BRUTON PARISH.

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to put up pews for their families within the same.* The church being finished, the Rev. Mr. Jones was requested to dedicate it.

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* The Autobiography of Governor Page, from which the following extract is taken, was written at the request of Mr. Skelton Jones, when he undertook the completion of Burk's History of Virginia:—

"I discover from the tombstones in Williamsburg churchyard," says Governor Page, "and from others in my grandfather's burying-ground at his family-seat called Rosewell:—1st, that one of my ancestors, named John Page, was an highly-respectable character, and had long been one of the King's Council in this Colony, when he died, viz.: on the 23d January, 1691–2, aged sixty. His manuscripts, which I have seen, prove that he was learned and pious. 2d, that his son, Matthew Page, was one of the Council, and his son Mann also, whose letters to his friends, and theirs to him, exhibit him as patriotic, well educated, and truly amiable. He had his classical education at Eton School, in England. He was my father's father, who might also have been appointed to the office of Councillor; but he declined it in favour of his younger brother, John Page, who, my father said, having been brought up in the study of the law regularly, was a much more proper person for that office than he was. The John Page first above mentioned was, as we find by an old picture, a Sir John Page, a merchant of London, supposed to have been knighted, as Sir John Randolph long after was, for proposing a regulation of the tobacco-trade and a duty thereon, which if it was the case, I think his patriotism was premature, and perhaps misplaced: his dear, pure-minded, and American patriotic grandson, my grandfather, Mann Page, in his days checked the British merchants from claiming even freight on their goods from England, declaring that their freight on our tobacco and homeward-bound articles, added to their monopoly of our trade, ought to satisfy avarice itself. This he expressed repeatedly to his mercantile friends, and some near relations who were tobacco-merchants in London: however, he lived not long after. The fashion or practice then was for men of landed property here to dispose of their children in the following manner:—They entailed all their lands on the eldest son, brought up the others according to their genius or disposition,—physicians, or lawyers, or merchants, or ministers of the Church of England,—which handsomely maintained such as were frugal and industrious. My father was frequently urged by friends, but not relations, to pay court to Sir Gregory Page, whose heir, from his coat-of-arms and many circumstances, he was supposed to be. But he despised titles sixty years ago as much as you and I do now, and would have nothing to say to the rich silly knight, who died, leaving his estate and title to a sillier man than himself, his sister's son, a Mr. Turner, on condition that he would take the name and title of Sir Gregory Page, which he did by act of Parliament, as I have been told or read."

It would appear from the above that Mr. Page, of Rosewell, had but little of the pride of family about him, and that his grandfather despised titles. From the vestry-book it seems that the second John Page defended the rights of vestries against the claims of King and Governor. From the autobiography it appears that Governor Page, of Rosewell, opposed Lord Dunmore in his attempt to place John Randolph, who went to England when the war commenced, among the Visitors of the College, and succeeded in getting Mr. Nathaniel Burwell (afterward of Frederick county) chosen, Lord Dunmore's vote alone being cast for Mr. Randolph. Governor Page was an officer for Gloucester in the Revolutionary War, and was with Washington in one of his Western expeditions against the French and Indians. He was the associate and intimate friend of Mr. Jefferson at college, and his

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The vestry now caused it to be proclaimed throughout the parish, that the law against those who absented themselves from church would be enforced. It seems that, though much violated, it had not been enforced, and perhaps never was. The penalty was so many pounds of tobacco, after the laws "martial, moral, and divine" had been repealed. It was during Mr. Jones's ministry that the salary of £100, which had been paid him, was commuted for sixteen thousand-weight of tobacco, the minister consenting, as the people complained that they were not able to pay the £100. At the death of Mr. Jones, the Rev. Mr. Sclater was employed for six months, to preach every other Sabbath afternoon, and then the Rev. Mr. Eburne for the same time every other Sunday morning. It is probable that these were ministers of neighbouring parishes. At the close of Mr. Eburne's engagement they elected him for seven years, instead of inducting him for life. Lord Effingham, Lieutenant-Governor, then addressed them the following letter:—

"GENTLEMEN:—I understand that upon my former recommendation to you of Mr. Samuel Eburne, you have received him, and he hath continued to exercise his ministerial functions in preaching and performing divine service. I have now to recommend him a second time to you, with the addition of my own experience of his ability and true qualification in all points, together with his exemplary life and conversation. And therefore, holding of him in esteem, as a person who, to God's honour and your good instruction, is fit to be received, I do desire he may be by you entertained and continued, and that you will give him such encouragement as you have formerly done to persons so qualified.

"October 25th, 1688. EFFINGHAM."

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follower in politics afterward, though always differing from him on religious subjects, endeavouring to his latest years, by correspondence, to convince him of his errors. He was a zealous friend of the Episcopal Church, and defended in the Legislature what he conceived to be her rights, against those political friends with whom he agreed on all other points. So zealous was he in her cause that some wished him to take Orders, with a view to being the Bishop of Virginia. His name may be seen on the journals of the earliest Conventions of the general Church, as well as of those of Virginia. I have a pamphlet in my possession, in which his name is in connection with those of Robert C. Nicholas and Colonel Bland, as charging one of the clergy in or about Williamsburg with false views on the subject of the Trinity and the eternity of the punishment of the damned. His theological library was well stored for that day. The early fathers in Greek and Latin, with some other valuable books, were presented to myself by one of his sons, and form a part of my library. It may not be amiss to repeat what I have said in a preface to the little volume written as a legacy by the first of this name to his posterity,—that seven of them are now ministers of the Episcopal Church, and two who were such are deceased.

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The meaning of the foregoing is plain,—viz.: that the vestrymen apply to the Governor to induct Mr. Eburne for life, and so have him fixed upon them, unless by process of law he could be discarded for some great crime or crimes. The vestry, however, at the end of the seven years, passed a resolve never to elect a minister for more than one year at a time, and invited him to remain on these terms; but he, getting old and infirm, preferred going to some milder climate. Here is the first recorded conflict of a vestry with the Governor on the subject of inductions. We shall very soon have occasion to consider the subject at some length. In the year 1697, the Rev. Cope Doyley was chosen minister. In the year 1700, Governor Nicholson appears on the vestry-book, in a manner characteristic of himself. He demands of the vestry, under their own hands, whether the Rev. Mr. Doyley reads the service of the Book of Common Prayer in the church. It is answered in the affirmative. In the year 1702, Mr. Doyley dies, and Mr. Solomon Whately is chosen from some other parish,—not, however, without the Governor's leave being asked for his removal. After having preached his trial sermon, and being called, some objection was raised, and he is requested to preach again, for the satisfaction of those who were not present at his first sermon. His election for one year was confirmed, at the end of which time his call was not renewed; but he was invited to continue for a few months while looking out for another parish. One of the vestry was directed to see the Rev. Isaac Grace, who had just arrived in the colony, and get him to preach. Mr. Grace expressed a willingness to come, but said that his case was in the hands of the Governor, who had forbid him to come into the parish. It seems that Mr. Whately was a favourite of the Governor, and that he was offended with the vestry for not choosing him as their permanent minister. Mr. Whately was the most active minister in sustaining Governor Nicholson when, on various accounts, he had become so unpopular that, at the petition of the Council and some of the clergy, he was withdrawn from Virginia. This case of the vestry and Mr. Whately led Mr. Nicholson to get the opinion of Mr. Edward Northy, one of the King's high legal advisers, as to the relative powers and privileges of the Governors and vestries in presenting and inducting ministers, and to order it to be entered upon all the vestry-books. I have seen it on a number of them, and find it on that of Bruton parish, from which I am drawing these statements. On receiving it, the vestry passed some resolutions, and directed Mr. John

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Page, (grandson of the old vestryman of that name, who was now dead,) an eminent lawyer and member of the Council, to draw up something on the subject, with the view of presenting it to the House of Burgesses, requesting them to take action on the question. We hear nothing more of the dispute, and the Governor was recalled in 1705; but this is evident:—that the vestry never yielded the point; for although they thought it expedient to retain Mr. Whately until his death, yet it was under a solemn declaration of their determination to elect their minister every year, which was done in the case of Mr. Whately and his successors, during the Colonial Government, so far as the vestry-book shows. The history of the case is this:—In theory, the Governor claimed to be the representative of the King, in Church and State, and patron of all the parishes; also to be the representative of the Bishop of London, having the disposal of the ministers and the exercise of discipline over the clergy, thus making the office of the Commissary a nullity. Nor did the Commissaries object; for they were, with one exception, Presidents of William and Mary College, and fully employed. Dr. Blair did sometimes act. It was evident that if such was to be the construction put upon the power of the Governor, as claimed by Effingham, Nicholson, and Spottswood, the vestries would have little power to prevent the settlement for life (with legal power to enforce their salaries) of many most unworthy ministers; for although the law allowed them the right of choosing a minister within six months after a vacancy occurred, yet if they did not so do the Governor might send one and induct him for life. Now, such was the scarcity of ministers that they must wait the arrival of some new and untried one from England, or else take some indifferent one who was without a parish in this country. To save the congregations from imposition under such a system, the vestries adopted the method of electing from year to year, not presenting to the Governors for induction, by which induction so many unworthy ministers might be settled upon them. Induction did take place in some cases where, after years of good conduct, it was safe to conform to the law; and in some few others. Who could blame them for this act of self-defence against such mighty power in the hands of one man, when the consequences of induction were so evil, and when the circumstances of the parishes, the small salaries and extensive districts to be served, and the state of the Mother-Church, made it so difficult to get worthy ministers? This was the practice of the vestries almost from the first and to the very last of the Colonial establishment. In vain did the clergy

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complain to the Bishop of London, and even to the Crown, of the uncertain and precarious tenure by which they held their livings from year to year. In vain did the Governors and Commissaries speak of this custom of the vestries, as preventing more and better ministers from coming over. In vain were the sympathetic responses from England. The vestries were unmoved. The Governors and Commissaries were wise enough to attempt nothing more than complaints; for they must have seen that the vestries had much reason for their conduct, and that any rigid interpretation of the law and effort to enforce it would meet with effectual resistance from the vestries. The Crown and the Bishop of London dared not issue any injunction of the kind. On the contrary, whatever was done in England from time to time was in modification of any supposed high rights of Governors and in favour of vestries, and the nearer the Revolution approached the more fearful were the authorities in England of doing any thing against the vestries. The vestries were the depositaries of power in Virginia. They not only governed the Church by the election of ministers, the levying of taxes, the enforcing of laws, but they made laws in the House of Burgesses; for the burgesses were the most intelligent and influential men of the parish, and were mostly vestrymen. It is easy to perceive why the vestry of Williamsburg wished the question between them and Nicholson referred to the Assembly; for it was only referring it to the other vestries, who were pursuing the same course with themselves. Nor were the vestries represented in the popular branch of the Government only. We will venture to affirm, and that not without examination, that there was scarce an instance of any but a vestryman being in the Council, although, as the Council was chosen by the Governor and the King, there was more likelihood of some being found in them who might favour high views of prerogative.

In the history of the vestries we may fairly trace the origin, not only of that religious liberty which afterward developed itself in Virginia, but also of the early and determined stand taken by the Episcopalians of Virginia in behalf of civil liberty. The vestries, who were the intelligence and moral strength of the land, had been trained up in the defence of their rights against Governors and Bishops, Kings, Queens, and Cabinets. They had been slowly fighting the battles of the Revolution for a hundred and fifty years. *Taxation and representation* were only other words for *support and election of ministers.* The principle was the same.

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It is not wonderful, therefore, that we find the same men who took the lead in the councils and armies of the Revolution most active in the recorded proceedings of the vestries. Examine the vestry-books, and you will find prominent there the names of Washington, Peyton Randolph, Edmund Pendleton, General Nelson, Governor Page, Colonel Bland, Richard Henry Lee, General Wood, Colonel Harrison, George Mason, and hundreds of others who might be named as patriots of the Revolution. The principle for which vestries contended was correct,—viz.: the choice of their ministers. I do not say that it must necessarily be by annual election; but there must be a power of changing ministers, for sufficient reasons. The Governors and the clergy, who came from England, did not understand how this could be, so used had they been to a method widely different. It was reserved for the Church in America to show its practicability, and also to establish something yet more important, and what is by most Englishmen still thought a doubtful problem,—the voluntary principle, by which congregations not only choose their ministers but support them without taxation by law. It may be wise to provide some check to the sudden removal of ministers by the caprice of vestries and congregations, as is the case in the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches, where some leave of separation is required from Presbyteries and Bishops; but neither of them are ever so unwise as to interpose a veto where it is evident that there is sufficient reason for separation, whether from dissatisfaction on either side, or from both, or any strong consideration. The people have it in their power, either by withholding support or attendance, and in other ways, to secure their removal, and the ministers cannot be forced to preach. Either party have an inalienable right to separate, unless there be some specific bargain to the contrary. In one denomination in our land, it is true that ministers are appointed to their stations and congregations are supplied by its chief officers; but it must be remembered that this is only a temporary appointment,—for a year or two at most. Let it ever be attempted to make it an appointment for life, or even a long term of years, and the dissolution of that Society would soon take place. In the first organization of our general Church in this country, after the separation from our mother-country, an office of induction was adopted, with the view of rendering the situation of the clergy more permanent; but such was the opposition to it from Virginia and some other States, that it was determined it should only be obligatory on those States which chose to

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make it so. Very few instances of its use have ever occurred in the Diocese of Virginia.*

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* In proof of what is said as to vestrymen, we publish the following list of the Convention of 1776. From our examination of the old vestry-books, we are confident that there are not three on this list who were not vestrymen of the Episcopal Church.

A list of the members of the Convention of Virginia which began its sessions in the City of Williamsburg on Monday the sixth of May, 1776, as copied from the Journal:—

Accomac—Southey Simpson and Isaac Smith, Esquires; Albemarle—Charles Lewis, Esquire, and George Gilmer for Thomas Jefferson, Esquire; Amelia—John Tabb and John Winn, Esquires; Augusta—Thomas Lewis and Samuel McDowell, Esquires; West Augusta—John Harvie and Charles Simms, Esquires; Amherst—William Cabell and Gabriel Penn, Esquires; Bedford—John Talbot and Charles Lynch, Esquires; Botetourt—John Bowyer and Patrick Lockhart, Esquires; Brunswick—Frederic Maclin and Henry Tazewell, Esquires; Buckingham—Charles Patteson and John Cabell, Esquires; Berkeley—Robert Rutherford and William Drew, Esquires; Caroline—the Hon. Edmund Pendleton and James Taylor, Esquires; Charles City—William Acrill, Esquire, and Samuel Harwood, Esquire, for B. Harrison, Esquire; Charlotte—Paul Carrington and Thomas Read, Esquires; Chesterfield—Archibald Cary and Benjamin Watkins, Esquires; Culpeper—Henry Field and French Strother, Esquires; Cumberland—John Mayo and William Fleming, Esquires; Dinwiddie—John Banister and Bolling Starke, Esquires; Dunmore—Abraham Bird and John Tipton, Esquires; Elizabeth City—Wilson Miles Cary and Henry King, Esquires; Essex—Meriwether Smith and James Edmundson, Esquires; Fairfax—John West, Jr., and George Mason, Esquires; Fauquier—Martin Pickett and James Scott, Esquires; Frederick—James Wood and Isaac Zane, Esquires; Fincastle—Arthur Campbell and William Russell, Esquires; Gloucester—Thomas Whiting and Lewis Burwell, Esquires; Goochland—John Woodson and Thomas M. Randolph, Esquires; Halifax—Nathaniel Terry and Micajah Watkins, Esquires; Hampshire—James Mercer and Abraham Hite, Esquires; Hanover—Patrick Henry and John Syme, Esquires; Henrico—Nathaniel Wilkinson and Richard Adams, Esquires; James City—Robert C. Nicholas and William Norvell, Esquires; Isle of Wight—John S. Wills and Charles Fulgham, Esquires; King George—Joseph Jones and William Fitzhugh, Esquires; King and Queen—George Brooke and William Lyne, Esquires; King William—William Aylett and Richard Squire Taylor, Esquires; Lancaster—James Seldon and James Gordon, Esquires; Loudoun—Francis Peyton and Josias Clapham, Esquires; Louisa—George Meriwether and Thomas Johnson, Esquires; Lunenburg—David Garland and Lodowick Farmer, Esquires; Middlesex—Edmund Berkeley and James Montague, Esquires; Mecklenburg—Joseph Speed and Bennett Goode, Esquires; Nansemond—Willis Riddick and William Cowper, Esquires; New Kent—William Clayton and Bartholomew Dandridge, Esquires; Norfolk—James Holt and Thomas Newton, Esquires; Northumberland—Rodham Kenner and John Cralle, Esquires; Northampton—Nathaniel L. Savage and George Savage, Esquires; Orange—James Madison and William Moore, Esquires; Pittsylvania—Benjamin Lankford and Robert Williams, Esquires; Prince Edward—William Watts and William Booker, Esquires; Prince George—Richard Bland and Peter Poythress, Esquires; Princess Anne—William Robinson and John Thoroughgood, Esquires; Prince William—Cuthbert Bullitt and Henry Lee, Esquires;

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From this digression, should it seem so to any, I resume the history of Bruton parish. At the death of Mr. Whately, the Rev. James Blair, Commissary to the Bishop of London, and President of William and Mary College, was chosen minister, with the understanding that there was to be an annual election. He continued the minister for thirty-three years, until his death, in 1743. Mr. Blair came over to Virginia in 1685, and was the minister of Henrico parish for nine years, and then moved to Jamestown, in order to be more convenient to the College which he was raising up. In the year 1710, he became the minister of Bruton parish. The history of Mr. Blair during the last forty-three out of the fifty-three years of his ministry is so connected with the history not only of Williamsburg and the College, but of the Governors, the Council, the Assembly and Church of Virginia, that it will require some time and labour to do it any thing like justice. Indeed, with all the documents I possess, consisting of numerous and most particular communications made by him and others to the Privy Council, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, as to the personal difficulties between himself and the Governors and the clergy,—communications never published, and which would form a large volume,—I find it very difficult to form a positive opinion as to some points in his character. I begin with that which is most easy and satisfactory,—his ministerial life. It commenced under the administration of Governor Spottswood, and with a tender from the Governor to the vestry of aid in building a new church; the plan of which was sent by him, and is, I presume, the same with that now standing. Its dimensions were to be seventy-five by twenty-two feet, with two wings, making it a cross as to form. The governor offered to build twenty-two feet of the length himself. Mr. Blair, so far as the vestry-book shows, lived in uninterrupted harmony with his vestry during the thirty-

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Richmond—Hudson Muse and Charles McCarty, Esquires; Southampton—Edwin Gray and Henry Taylor, Esquires; Spottsylvania—Mann Page and George Thornton, Esquires; Stafford—Thomas Ludwell Lee and William Brent, Esquires; Surry—Allen Cocke and Nicholas Fulton, Esquires; Sussex—David Mason and Henry Gee, Esquires; Warwick—William Harwood and Richard Cary, Esquires; Westmoreland—Richard Lee, Esquire, Richard Henry Lee, Esquire, and John A. Washington, Esquires;* York—Dudley Digges, Esquire, Thomas Nelson, Jr, Esquire, and William Digges, Esquire; Jamestown—Champion Travis, Esquire; Williamsburg—Edmund Randolph, Esquire, for George Wythe, Esquire; Norfolk Borough—William Roscow Wilson Curle, Esquire; College of William and Mary—John Blair, Esquire.

* John A. Washington was probably the alternate of R. H. Lee.

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three years of his ministry. As to his preaching, we have a full opportunity of deciding upon the style and doctrine, in four printed volumes upon the Saviour's Sermon on the Mount, containing one hundred and seventeen sermons. These sermons went through at least two editions in England. Dr. Waterbury published a preface to the second, in high praise of them. Dr. Doddridge also has spoken well of them. I have gone over these discourses with sufficient care to form a just judgment of the same. As an accurate commentary on that most blessed portion of Scripture, I should think it can never have been surpassed. Since it was reserved for the apostles, under the dictates of the Spirit, to dwell on the power of the resurrection, or justification by faith, on the cleansing by the blood of Jesus Christ, so Christ, in this discourse, was not setting forth the faith and doctrines of the gospel, but expounding the law, in opposition to the false glosses of the Jews, and showing the superior spirit of the gospel. Mr. Blair does not, therefore, enter fully into some of the doctrines of the gospel, though he recognises them sufficiently to show that he held them according to what may be termed the moderate Arminian scheme. A faithful exposition of the Sermon on the Mount must necessarily condemn all evil dispositions and practices, and Mr. Blair does not soften any thing. His congregation was often composed of the authority and intelligence, fashion and wealth of the State, besides the youth of the College; nor does he spare any. I do not wonder that some of the Governors and great ones complained of his being personal. From many sources of information, I fear that swearing was most common among the gentlemen of that day, those high in office setting a bad example. In concluding his sermon on the third commandment, as explained by our Lord in his Sermon on the Mount, he thus speaks:—

"Thus, now I have done with my text; but I am afraid I have done no good all this while, and that the evil one, from whom the spirit of lying and swearing comes, will be abundantly too hard for all that I can say or do to fortify you against his devices. Learn, I beseech you, this easy part of Christianity, to be men of your word, and to refrain from the evil custom of swearing; and to refrain from it from a right principle,—the fear of God. I know no vice that brings more scandal to our Church of England. The Church may be in danger from many enemies; but perhaps she is not so much in danger from any as from the great number of profane persons that pretend to be of her; enough to make all serious people afraid of our society, and to bring down the judgments of God upon us, for 'by reason of swearing the land mourneth.' But be not deceived: our Church has no principles that lead to swearing more than the Dis-

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senters; but, whatever Church is uppermost, there are always a great many who, having no religion at all, crowd into it and bring it into disgrace and disreputation; but the time is coming that the tares must be separated from the wheat; and they shall be cast with the evil one—the devil that loved them—into hell; but the angels shall carefully gather the wheat into God's barn. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them."

In speaking of the lusts of the flesh, he hesitates not to call things by their right names and to threaten the Scriptural penalties. In warning against the temptations and provocations to the same, he speaks in different terms from many of that day of theatres, balls, frolics, rendezvous, promiscuous dances, interludes, and clatter of company, the intoxication of drink, the lulling the thoughts asleep by music, gaming, &c. In warning against the love of dress, from our Saviour's allusion to the flowers of the field being clothed with more glory than even Solomon, he says:—

"I doubt not but it was designed to cast a slur upon the vanity of apparel, since it is a thing of so little estimation in the sight of God that he bestows it in the highest degree on the meanest of his creatures. For it is to be presumed, had it been a thing of any great worth in itself, instead of bestowing these admirable varieties of colours, gildings, and embroideries upon tulips, he would have bestowed them upon creatures of higher dignity. Whereas, on mankind he has bestowed but very sparingly of these gaudy colours and features; a great part of them being black, a great part of them being tauny, and a great part being of other wan and dusky complexions, show that it is not the outward gaudy beauty that he values, but the ornaments of the mind—Christian graces and virtues—which, in his sight, are of great price."

He is throughout a faithful reprover of sin. He admits that there is little or no infidelity known in the Colony, as in England, but a great deal of wickedness. As to Church principles, as some call them, he was no Sacramentarian, and denounces Romanism in no measured terms, but is still conservative. He admitted Mr. Whitefield into his pulpit, but, on hearing that the Bishop of London had proscribed him, made a kind of apology for it, and asked the Bishop's opinion about him.

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WILLIAM & MARY COLLEGE, WILLIAMSBURG, VA

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ARTICLE XII.

Williamsburg, Bruton Parish.—No. 2.

We have now to consider Mr. Blair as Commissary, and having, with the Governors, the superintendence of the clergy and the affairs of the Church; as representative of the Bishop of London, with no defined limits of authority; as the founder and President of William and Mary College, having joint action, with visitors, professors, and others, in all things belonging to the College, and of course often coming in collision with them; as member of the Council, consulting and deciding with the Governor and others—the first men of Virginia—on all the concerns of the State, civil and religious, and forming the great judicial body to whom all important causes were referred for final decision. That a man of his active character and superior mind should, for more than half a century, have been thus associated in matters of such importance, without frequent collision and without having many enemies, is not to be supposed. That he should be charged with worldliness and management, with being an informer to the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury, with whom he must have had intimate correspondence, was to be expected; that he should be misunderstood by many, and be very unpopular with some good men, through that misunderstanding, and perhaps through want of conciliatory manners, and a tact in the management of men:—all these things might be expected. He was involved in difficulties with Governors and clergymen, more or less, during almost the whole period of his Commissaryship and Presidency of the College. I have the whole of these controversies spread before me in long and tedious letters, from himself and his opponents, to the authorities in England, which have never been published. His first controversy was with Governor Andros, who came to Virginia, under no good character, from New York. By royal instructions Andros was not only Governor of Virginia, but the ordinary, the representative of the King and Bishop of London in Church matters, the Com-

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missary being comparatively a very negative character. When these complaints were made, which ended in his disgrace, Dr. Blair, then in England, about his College, preferred the charges against him as an enemy to religion, to the Church, the clergy, and the College, bringing proofs of the same. The charges cover thirty-two folio pages of manuscript, and are well written. But Blair had formidable foes to meet in London. Governor Andros sends over in his defence Colonel Byrd, of Westover, Mr. Harrison, of Surry, Mr. Povey, a man high in office in the Colony, and a Mr. Marshall, to arraign Dr. Blair himself before the Bishop of London and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Two days were spent in Lambeth Palace in the examination. The charges and the answers are set down, and fill up fifty-seven folio pages of manuscript. Never were four men more completely foiled by one. The accusers seem to feel and acknowledge it, and doubtless wished themselves out of Lambeth Palace long before the trial was over. One of the chief charges was Mr. Blair's partiality to Scotchmen, whom they said he brought over to fill the churches, contrary to the wishes of the people. But, being called on to specify names, it was found that they had made egregious blunders as to facts; that some whom they supposed to be Scots were Englishmen. Great was the prejudice against Mr. Blair, as being a Scot. This was the time when that unhappy feeling was at its height in England, when a "beggarly Scot" was the common phrase. A number of the private letters which I have show the prejudice to have been very strong. The result of it all was, that Mr. Blair came home with a good sum of money for his College, and Andros was sent back to England to stand his trial, from which he came out but badly. Governor Nicholson succeeded him. He had been Deputy-Governor before Andros came over, and there was then a good understanding and friendship between him and Mr. Blair. During the government of Andros he was Governor of Maryland, and disagreed with the good Commissary Bray not a little. On returning to Virginia he seemed to be a changed man. A disappointment in love was thought to have much to do with it. He was vain, conceited, fickle, passionate, and acted sometimes like a madman, though still professing great zeal for the Church. After a year or two Dr. Blair and himself were open foes. Letters on both sides were written to England. Blair wrote four, covering in all forty-four pages folio, charging him with interfering with his province and with private and public misconduct; dwelling on his furiousness in relation to the affair of Miss

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Burwell, and the Rev. Mr. Fouace.* The Council and some of the clergy joined with him in petitioning the recall of Nicholson, which petition was successful. The Church and State were in an uproar. A number of the clergy, with whom Mr. Blair was unpopular, and whom Mr. Nicholson had ingratiated by taking part with them against the vestries and representing Mr. Blair as less favourable to their cause, took part with Mr. Nicholson. Mr. Nicholson ordered a Convocation to be assembled for general purposes, and during its sitting had private meetings of those friendly to him, at his house or lodging, who signed a paper denying the charges of Mr. Blair and the Council. A great dinner or supper was given them at the hotel in Williamsburg, which was satirized in a ballad, in which their hilarity was set forth, and some of them depicted in rather unfavourable colours. It soon appeared in London. Mr. Blair, with his few friends,

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* The second Lewis Burwell had nine daughters, one of whom completely upset what little reason there was in Governor Nicholson of famous memory. He became most passionately attached to her, and demanded her in royal style of her parents. Neither she, her parents, or other members of the family, were disposed to compliance. He became furious, and for years persisted in his design and claim. All around felt the effects of it. The father and sons, Commissary Blair, and the Rev. Mr. Fouace, minister of an adjoining parish, were the especial objects of his threatened vengeance.

To the young lady he threatened the life of her father and brothers if she did not yield to his suit, which caused a friend in England to write a letter of remonstrance, in which he says, "It is not here as in some barbarous countries, where the tender lady is dragged into the Sultan's arms just reeking in the blood of her nearest relatives, and yet must strangely dissemble her aversion." To Commissary Blair he declared that "he would cut the throats of three men, (if the lady should marry any other man than himself,) viz.: the bridegroom, the minister, and the justice who issued the license. The minister of the parish, the Rev. Mr. Fouace, in a letter to the Lord-Commissioners in England, complains of being assaulted one evening, on his return from a visit to the family, (the major being sick,) by Governor Nicholson, and commanded never again to go to this house without leave from himself. It seemed that the Governor was jealous of him. Besides abusive language and other indignities, he pulled off the minister's hat, as being disrespectful to him, the Governor, for one to keep on his hat, even on horseback. Such was the misconduct of the Governor, in this and other respects, that the Council and some of the clergy united in a petition to the Crown for his removal, and the petition was granted. All this, and much more, is on record in the archives of Lambeth Palace. Copies of the records are now before me. What was the subsequent history of the young lady—the innocent cause of so much strife—is not told. Even her Christian name is not given. Perhaps some of the descendants of the family may find it out. I need not say, that if a Governor of Virginia, under our free system, should assume such royal airs, the case would be much more speedily and easily disposed of by the lady, the parents, and the minister.

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however, (for a large majority of the clergy present were against him,—17 to 6,) triumphed again, and Mr. Nicholson was recalled. In his place Mr. Nott, an amiable man, came out, and the Bishop of London sent with him a severe letter to the clergy, begging them not "to play the fool any more." Mr. Nott died in a short time, much esteemed and regretted.

In 1710, Colonel Spottswood was appointed Governor,—an old soldier, a man of resolute character, of liberal views on many points, but a most ultra man for the royal prerogative, and for the transfer of it to the Governor of Virginia. For some years he and Mr. Blair agreed well. They both were in favour of efforts for the Indians. Mr. Blair advocated the Governor's favourite enterprise, —the ascending the Blue Ridge and looking upon the valley beyond. At length the Governor became unpopular with the House of Burgesses for some measures supposed to be high-handed, and again Colonel Byrd is sent over, with others, to bring charges against him, and was more successful than in the case of Mr. Blair. About this time Governor Spottswood got into a difficulty with the vestry of St. Anne's parish, Essex, on the subject of the rights of the vestries and Governors in the matter of induction, in which he claims higher powers than had ever been claimed before. The Rev. Hugh Jones had been in England and reported some things to the Bishop of London unfavourable to the rubrical exactness of Mr. Blair and others; and evil reports also as to the moral character of some of the clergy were rife in the mother-country. In 1719 the Bishop of London addressed a letter to the Governor and Commissary, directing a convocation of the clergy to receive a communication from him. At their meeting the letter is read. It referred to some reports as to the evil conduct of the clergy and the violation of the rubrics. Commissary Blair opens the meeting with a sermon and address. The Governor calls upon him for his sermon, which he immediately sent. The Governor was offended at something in it touching Government. Perhaps the Commissary, even at that day, had a little of the spirit of American independence in him. The Governor also sends in an address to the clergy in reference to the Bishop of London's letter, which he had previously read. He opens with a direct assault on Commissary Blair, saying that he knew of no clergyman who transgressed the rubrics except the Commissary, who sometimes let a layman read the service for him in church, and even the burial-service in his presence, and wished to establish lay-readers in the parishes. He also charged him with injuring the clergy by

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opposing their induction, &c. To all this the Commissary had an easy answer. Once or twice, when unable to go through the service through sickness, he had gotten a lay-reader to assist him. On some occasion he may have passed the churchyard when a clerk or lay-reader was burying some one,—a thing very common in Virginia at that time by reason of the scarcity of clergymen, and when lay-readers were common and commanded by law. As to the discouraging of induction, he shows that he had always advised it; but that the vestries would not present ministers for this purpose to the Governor, and that the Governors would not use the privilege granted and perform the duty enjoined upon them by the royal institution,—viz.: after six months' vacancy to present and induct if the vestry did not supply the place. As to his own example, he said that he could not help it, for the vestry in Williamsburg would not present him to the Governor for induction; and that he, (the Governor,) though on the spot, had never remonstrated against it, but, on the contrary, when he communicated the fact of his election to the Governor he only received the assurance of the pleasure it gave him; not one word being said about induction.* The manuscript of the journal of this convocation is before me, covering some forty or fifty pages. Neither this nor any other journal of the Colonial convocation has ever been in print. It is one of the most interesting documents of the kind I ever read, and exhibits in a clearer light the true condition of the Church, and character of the clergy, and peculiarities of the two great combatants, Spottswood and Blair, than can be seen anywhere

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* Another insinuation against Dr. Blair by the Governor, and open charge by some of the clergy, was that he had never been Episcopally ordained. The Bishop of London, in his letter, inquired whether any of those officiating in Virginia were without Episcopal orders. In reply to this, some of them expressed their doubts in open Assembly, whether Dr. Blair's papers were genuine. This was also satisfactorily answered. The triumph of Dr. Blair was again complete. Governor Spottswood was superseded in 1722 by Governor Drysdale; and it is more than probable that his unfortunate assault upon Dr. Blair, and the high position he assumed in regard to the vestries, who were the Burgesses of the country, and opposed to Spottswood, contributed to this. Governor Spottswood evidently felt his defeat, and was not disposed to engage in another contest with Dr. Blair; for, in a letter to the Bishop of London, speaking of some steps which ought to be taken in relation to a clergyman supposed to be an evil one, and who had been entertained in a parish in preference to one whom he had appointed, he says, "That I must remain passive, or else I shall raise the old combustion in this government, and be in danger of drawing your Lordship's Commissary on my back again."

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else. The whole history of the dispute about induction is also there seen. The persevering determination of the vestries as to their defensive measures, and the fearfulness of the Governor, the Council, the Bishop of London, and the Crown, to come into collision with the vestries, is there plainly seen. Though the vestries doubtless often made the position of the ministers a painfully-precarious one, and that doubtless prevented some good men from coming over, yet these were lesser evils than would result from allowing the Governor to be the patron of all the livings, with authority to send to and keep in parishes any and all whom he should choose. So interesting and instructive is this journal beyond that of any meeting ever held by the clergy of Virginia, that I shall subjoin the document in an appendix. There is one question, proposed by the Bishop of London, which was very difficult to be managed,—viz.: whether any of them knew of the existence of evil livers among the clergy. It was first proposed in the meeting from the chair. The answer was, that none of them were *personally* acquainted with any *notorious evil livers*, and the same was introduced into an answer to the Bishop of London, drawn up by the committee. It was a trying question, and was doubtless evaded by denying that they were *personally* acquainted with such. It is probable that the notorious evil livers did not attend convocations, especially this, as they might have heard the special object of it. As this seems to be a proper place for considering this painful question, I will adduce from letters addressed to the Bishop of London, from Governor Drysdale, Dr. Blair, and others, some passages which may give us a correct view of it. In 1723, Mr. Blair, in writing to the Bishop of London, says:—

"Bishop Compton directed me to make no further use of my commission than to keep the clergy in order; so that I have never pretended to set up any spiritual court for the laity, though there are enormities among them which want to be redressed; and, as to the clergy, unless they are notoriously scandalous, I have found it necessary to content myself with admonitions; for, if I lay them aside by suspension, we have no unprovided clergymen to put in their place. At present we have about ten vacancies and no minister to supply them.

He complains of the precariousness of the ministers, by reason of their dependence from year to year on new elections by the vestries. "This (he says) has gone on so long, by the connivance of Governors, that though our present Governor (Drysdale) is very willing of himself to redress it, yet thinks it not prudent to do it without an instruction from his Majesty." Dr. Blair wished the

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Governor, when a vacancy of more than six months occurred, to send and induct a minister, as by law directed. But neither the Governors—not even the brave Spottswood—dared to do it, nor did his Majesty dare order it to be done. In another letter from Mr. Blair to a worthy clergyman, Mr. Forbs, he says:—

"I met with the Rev. Mr. Baylye (the one referred to by Governor Spottswood) and admonished him pretty sharply, but I do not hear that it has had the desired effect. I doubt I must proceed to greater severity with him, and some others. But the difficulty is to find proof; there being many who will cry out against scandalous ministers, who will not appear as evidences against them. I hear a very bad character of Mr. Worthen, and I understand that you have mentioned him in a letter to the Governor. I shall take it kind if you will help me to any clear proofs of those scandals; for, although for want of clergymen to fill the vacancies I prefer to lean to the gentle than to the severe side, yet certainly the behaviour of some men is so flagrant, that we had better be without ministers than to be served with such as are scandals to the Gospel. I wish you your health and success in the ministry, in which you set so good an example."

In a letter to the Bishop of London, in 1724, on the same subject, he says, "I have never made but two examples (that is, of withdrawing their licenses during the Bishop's pleasure) in all the time I have been Commissary, now thirty-four years; and, indeed, for want of clergymen, we must bear with those we have much more than we should do." In the same year a joint letter from Governor Drysdale and Mr. Blair, and others from worthy clergymen, confirm the above. About the same time, several lengthy communications are sent over to England, containing schemes for a supply of more and better ministers for Virginia, and offering some suggestions as to their government and discipline. The reigning vice among the clergy at that time was intemperance; as it probably has been ever since both among the clergy and laity of all denominations, having given great trouble to the Church of every age. The difficulty of proof is stated in one of these schemes for reformation; and the following mortifying tests of intoxication are proposed to the Bishop of London, for the trial of the clergy in Virginia. They were these:—

"Sitting an hour or longer in the company where they are drinking strong drink, and in the mean time drinking of healths, or otherwise taking the cups as they come round, like the rest of the company; striking, and challenging, or threatening to fight, or laying aside any of his garments for that purpose; staggering, reeling, vomiting; incoherent, impertinent, obscene, or rude talking. Let the proof of these signs proceed

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so far, till the judges conclude that the minister's behaviour at such a time was scandalous, indecent, unbecoming the gravity of a minister."

It was found then, as it ever has been, that one great source of the scandal brought upon the Church of God by the intemperance of clergy and laity, is to be found in the difficulty not only of witnesses and prosecutors, but of deciding when excitement from intoxicating liquors has reached that point which must be regarded as the sin of drunkenness. And what an argument this should be with both clergy and laity, but especially the former, to abstain altogether, lest they should appear to be, or be charged with, or suspected of this sin!

I have thus brought to a close my remarks on the chief incidents in the life of Dr. Blair, and the peculiar points of his character. Our impression of him is, that, though he could not be otherwise than busy, considering all the offices he held and the relation he bore to others, yet that the charge brought against him by some, that he was *too busy*, had truth in it. His most minute details of things said and done, in his long and tedious though well-written letters to England furnish proof of this. Still, we must esteem him a sincere Christian and a most laborious man in the performance of duty in all his official relations. The College owed its existence to him, and was probably as well managed by him as times and circumstances allowed; and it is probable that his faithful preaching and correct moral deportment did much to stem that torrent of wickedness which, in his day, flowed over England and America. Few men ever contended with more difficulties or surmounted them better than Dr. Blair. Few clergymen ever were engaged with such fierce opponents in high stations, and who not only bore up manfully against them, but actually overcame them. Governors of distant provinces have ever been proverbially corrupt and tyrannical men. Such were Andros and Nicholson. Spottswood was a nobler spirit, but he was brought up a soldier, and rose to high command in the English army, and had there learned both to obey and command. As Governor of Virginia, he thought it was his province to command, and that of all others to obey; but Dr. Blair thought there were limits to submission. They were both of them benefactors to Virginia. Had there been many such before and after, it would have been well for the State. Of Dr. Blair I have nothing more to say, but that, in a letter from Governor Gooch to the Bishop of London, at his death, he informs him that the Commissary left his library and five hundred pounds to the College, and ten thousand pounds to his nephew and the

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children of his nephew, besides some smaller legacies. His nephew was Mr. John Blair, who was so long President of the Council, and whose character was of the highest order. The son of this John Blair (whose name was also John) was distinguished as a patriot, statesman, and jurist. He represented the College of William and Mary in the House of Burgesses for a long time, took an active part in all the Revolutionary movements, was a member of the great Convention which met to revise the Articles of Confederation, and, finally, was one of the Supreme Federal Court.

GOVERNOR SPOTTSWOOD AND HIS FAMILY.

The following sketch has been furnished me, at my request, by one of the descendants in Virginia, and I take pleasure in adding it to this article.

"Sir Walter Scott, in his History of Scotland, says:—

"'The Parliament, consisting entirely of Covenanters, instigated by the importunity of the clergy, condemned eight of the most distinguished Cavaliers to execution. Four were appointed to suffer at St. Andrew's, that their blood might atone for the number of men (said to exceed five thousand) which the county of Fife had lost during the Montrose wars. Lord Ogilvey was the first of these, but that young nobleman escaped from prison and death in his sister's clothes. Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, one of the best soldiers and bravest men in Europe, and six other Cavaliers of the first distinction, were actually executed. We may particularly distinguish the fate of Sir Robert Spottswood, who, when the wars broke out, was Lord-President of the Court of Sessions, and accounted a judge of talent and learning. He had never borne arms; but the circumstance of having brought Montrose his commission of Captain-General of Scotland was thought quite worthy of death, without any further act of treason against the estates. When, on the scaffold, he vindicated his conduct with the dignity of a judge and the talent of a lawyer, he was silenced by the Provost of St. Andrew's, who was formerly a servant of his father's when Prelate of that city. The victim submitted to that indignity with calmness, and betook himself to his private devotions: he was soon in this last act interrupted by the Presbyterian minister in attendance, who demanded of him if he desired the benefit of his prayers and those of the assembled people. Sir Robert replied, that he earnestly desired the prayers of the people, but rejected those of the speaker; for that, in his opinion, God had expressed his displeasure against Scotland by sending a lying spirit into the mouth of the prophets, a far greater curse than those of fire, sword, and pestilence. An old servant of his family took care of his body and buried him privately; and it is said of the faithful domestic, that, passing through the market-place a day or two afterwards, and, seeing the scaffold still standing and stained with his master's blood, he was so much affected that he sunk down in a swoon and died as they were lifting him over his own threshold.'

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"His son, Alexander Spottswood, was aide-de-camp to the Duke of Marlborough. Afterward, he was Governor of Virginia. He married Jane Butler, sister of the Duke of Ormond, by whom he had two sons—John and Robert; and two daughters—Catherine and Dorethea: Catherine married Bernard Moore, and Dorethea, Nathaniel Dandridge. Robert was killed by the Indians on an expedition with his father beyond the Alleghanies. Whom John, my grandfather, married, I am not certain; but I think she was Mary Dandridge, the sister of Nathaniel Dandridge. He had two sons—Alexander and John; and two daughters—Mary and Ann. Mary married Mr. Peter Randolph. John married Mary Rouzey, of Essex county, by whom he had numerous children. Alexander (my father) married Elizabeth Washington, daughter of Augustine Washington, and niece of General George Washington, by whom he had seven children, myself the youngest. My father was a Brigadier-General in the Revolution: his brother John was a captain. I think I have given you a correct account of the genealogy of the Spottswood family. There is a difference in spelling the name in this and the Old World, the original name being spelt Spottiswood.*"

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* A worthy antiquary of Virginia thinks that Governor Spottiswood was not the son of Sir Robert Spottiswood, who was executed in Scotland, but the grandson; that his father was named Robert, but was a physician who died at Tangier, in Africa, in 1680, his son Alexander being born there in 1676. He also thinks that the name of Governor Spottiswood's wife was Anne Butler Bryan, the latter part being usually pronounced Brain, the middle name being taken from her godfather, James Butler, Duke of Ormond. He also states that Robert Spottiswood died near Fort Cumberland, in 1757, when serving under Washington, being killed, as was supposed, by the Indians.

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ARTICLE XIII.

Williamsburg, Bruton Parish.—No. 3.

With the death of Mr. Blair closed all conflicts, so far as is shown, between Commissaries and Governors. The Rev. William Dawson was chosen Commissary and President of the College, while his brother, the Rev. Thomas Dawson, was called to the rectorship of the church, Mr. Gooch being Governor. All the letters of Governor Gooch and Commissary Dawson to the Bishop of London show them to be truly anxious to promote the best interests of the colony, though many difficulties seem to have impeded its prosperity and prevented a supply of worthy ministers. One thing is set forth in praise of William and Mary College, which we delight to record,—viz.: that the hopes and designs of its founders and early benefactors, in relation to its being a nursery of pious ministers, were not entirely disappointed. It is positively affirmed by those most competent to speak, that the best ministers in Virginia were those educated at the College and sent over to England for ordination. The foreigners were the great scandal of the Church. No vigilance on the part of the Bishop of London, the Governor or Commissaries, could altogether prevent this. Nor was the discipline exerted over the clergy, whether foreign or domestic, calculated to be a terror to evil-doers. We have seen what Dr. Blair acknowledged as to his forbearance; and yet there was more of clerical discipline under his supervision than at any subsequent period. We read of none under the first of the Dawsons. When Mr. Thomas Dawson, who succeeded his brother as Commissary, (Mr. Stith being called to the Presidency of the College,) was in office, a most flagrant case called so loudly for notice that Governor Dinwiddie summoned the offender (the Rev. Mr. Brunskill, of Prince William) to Williamsburg, and on trial dismissed him from his parish. Mr. Dawson, however, shrunk from the proceeding, expressing a doubt whether they were authorized to exercise discipline. If what his successor, Mr. Robinson, stated to the Bishop of London be true, there must have been a secret consciousness of unworthiness which operated upon the mind of Mr.

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Dawson,—viz.: that he himself in his latter years became addicted to drink, to such an extent that the Visitors of the College arraigned him for it, but let it pass on the plea that his troubles in office, as President and Commissary, so pressed upon him as to make him resort to this wretched refuge for consolation. It was in the time of the first of these brothers that the troubles about the Rev. Mr. Davis, the Presbyterian minister, took place; and in the time of the second, that the great tobacco-question agitated the Church and State, and about each of which I shall have something to say in the proper place. The huge folio volume of manuscripts from Lambeth and Fulham Palaces which lie before me contains a number of letters and memorials on these subjects from which to draw materials. At the death of the second Mr. Dawson, the Rev. William Yates, of Gloucester, one of that family which so abounded in ministers, succeeded to the rectorship of the church and Presidency of the College, while the Rev. William Robinson, of King and Queen, was made Commissary. Mr. Yates, dying in 1764, was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Horrocks, in the College and the church, and about the same time, at the death of Commissary Robinson, he was appointed to that office also.

In the year 1771, a meeting of the clergy was called by Mr. Horrocks, at the request of some of the Northern clergy, to consider the subject of applying for an American Episcopate. The desirableness of this, in order to complete the organization of our Church for the benefit of Episcopalians, without requiring others to be subjected to it, had been felt by its friends on both sides of the water for a long time. Various plans had been proposed for its accomplishment; but difficulties, civil and religious, (of whose force it is impossible that we, at this distance of time, should be proper judges,) interposed and prevented. Enemies to the scheme, both in England and America, were always ready to rise up against it with political and religious objections. At length, when Episcopalians began to increase in the Middle and Northern States, (though still a small band,) the press was resorted to in advocacy of the measure. Dr. Chandler, an eminent divine of our Church in New Jersey, took the lead in defence of the measure. An effort was made to combine the Episcopalians of Virginia with those of the North, in a petition to the throne for an American Episcopate. Mr. Horrocks, the Commissary of Virginia, induced by various pressing letters from the North, called a convocation of the clergy, to be held in Williamsburg on the 4th of May, 1771, without mentioning the object of it. But few attended, and they, on being

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informed of the object, determined that it was too grave a matter to be decided on by so small a number, and that another call should be made, specifying the object of the meeting. Another call was accordingly made for the 4th of June, when only twelve appeared, a smaller number than before, although many more than these lived very near the place of assemblage, and about one hundred were in the diocese. There must, of course, have been some serious objection, in the minds of the great body of the clergy, to taking any part in it, for the subject was not new, having been under discussion for some time in the Northern papers. After some deliberation, it was determined not to address the crown, but to ask advice of the Bishop of London,—the good Bishop Porteus,—who, in a sermon, recommended the measure, but only in the event of the Government, in its wisdom, favouring the plan. It was thought proper, therefore, first to apply to him as the Diocesan and the warm friend of Virginia, where his parents had resided and he was perhaps born. This was passed by a unanimous vote. And yet, by one of those unaccountable revolutions which sometimes takes place in public bodies, before the final adjournment, the question was reconsidered, the vote reversed, and a direct petition to the King determined upon, two only dissenting, who were afterward joined by two others in a protest, with the reasons thereof. It was resolved that the votes of a majority must be obtained in some other way. But we hear nothing more of it. This protest of the Rev. Messrs. Gwatkin and Henly, Professors in the College, and Bland and Hewitt, ministers of parishes, called forth a pamphlet from the united Conventions of the clergy of New York and New Jersey in condemnation, and a reply of the protesters in defence. These were followed by various others, of the most severe and bitter character, by different persons in the Northern and Middle States. I have seen them all bound up in a number of volumes, and read some of them. Many of those, in small pamphlets or in newspapers, were written by those of other denominations, who were entirely opposed to the introduction of Episcopacy; and I feel confident that the Stamp Act, and the tax on tea and other articles, did not draw forth more violent denunciations and threatenings than were spread throughout the Northern States against this proposal. All New England was in a flame. It may well appear strange that so many Episcopal clergyman as were in Virginia should appear indifferent to a measure so suitable and necessary to the perfect organization and effectual working of our system, and it is right that their reasons, not only for indifference,

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but even opposition, should be stated. It appears, from what was written in their defence, that there was but one opinion as to the propriety and desirableness of the object, but only diversity as to the time and manner of effecting it. It was declared that all things were unfavourable to it at that time. The difficulties about the Stamp Act were not over. There was a root of bitterness still remaining in consequence of some deceptive measures charged on the British ministry in connection with its repeal. Other causes of dissatisfaction were arising. There was a filial feeling in Virginians toward the mother-country and Church, which made them averse to war and separation, and they wished to avoid every thing which would hasten it; and yet there was a strong and firm determination not to continue the union except upon honourable terms. Their just rights they would maintain at all hazards. They believed that the proposition for an American Episcopate, no matter how modified the plan, was so offensive to all other Protestant bodies, both in this country and England, that, united with other causes which were increasing every day, it must decide the question of war if agreed to. The violent tones of the press on this subject were enough to justify the apprehension. But there was another very general source of fear throughout the land. It was believed that if Bishops should be sent they would be men, like the Governors, favouring the royal pretensions instead of American rights, and thus weakening the cause of proper independence. On this account, Bishop White, in his Memoirs, expresses the belief "that it would have been impossible to have obtained the concurrence of a respectable number of laymen in any measure for obtaining an American Bishop." He appeals to the conduct of Virginia, where, if anywhere in the land, such concurrence might be expected. And yet, nowhere was opposition greater than in Virginia, and among Episcopalians, under existing circumstances. We have seen the jealousies of the vestries as to the attempt of Governors and wishes of Commissaries and clergy to deprive them of the right to choose and displace their own ministers. The Governors claimed to be Bishops, or in the place of Bishops, and to have the right of inducting ministers for life, and, in many instances, of choosing them and presenting them. If Bishops should be sent, they would assuredly claim as much, if not more, and be more likely to obtain it, and also to have greater power of discipline. The laity, therefore, were on this account fearful of the experiment, and preferred losing the benefit of the rite of confirmation for a time, than be saddled with a power greater than Governors

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and Commissaries had been able to erect. In proof of this general aversion of the laity in Virginia to the proposal of a Bishop or Bishops, we find that soon after the small meeting of the clergy at Williamsburg which voted a petition to the Crown, the House of Burgesses met and unanimously passed a vote of thanks to the few who protested for the course they pursued. The thanks were carried them by two gentlemen whose attachment to the Church cannot be questioned,—Colonel Bland and Richard Henry Lee, the latter of whom was our most active agent with the Court of St. James in obtaining our Episcopacy immediately after the Revolution. In proof that it was not a want of due regard to the Episcopal office, but a conviction that it could not be obtained in such a manner at that time as to comport with our civil and religious liberties, which made the Virginia laity and very many of the clergy to object, we would mention the fact that, so soon as we were free to establish it on right principles, the very men who, in the House of Burgesses and elsewhere, were most opposed to it, now came forward to our Episcopal Convention and zealously advocated the establishment of Episcopacy. There can be no doubt that the general feeling of the nation, and of no part of it more than of Virginia, was that America was destined to independence, though it was not wished to hasten it by a bloody war. Can any one doubt that the thought was often in the minds of our truest men, that the time for establishing our Episcopacy would not be until we could do it untrammelled by our connection with and subjection to England? She, said some, is illy able to establish her own Episcopacy aright, much less one for us. Trammelled as the Church of England is by the State, her Bishops are almost powerless for discipline, so complicated and expensive the machinery by which they must exercise it. Few as were the instances of clerical discipline under our Commissaries and Governors, it was believed that they were far more numerous than during the same period under the Bishops of England; and if we had Bishops, they of course must be governed by the same laws as in England, whereas the Governor, acting under some general instruction from the crown, has more liberty, especially when such a spirit as that of Spottswood ruled the Colony. A candid investigation of the whole subject will therefore lead to the same conclusion to which Dr. Hawks, an able jurist as well as eloquent divine and faithful historian, did, when he says, in his work on Virginia, "At this distance of time, it will probably be acknowledged that, on the question of expediency, the Virginia clergy judged wisely. In the temper of the

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times, the application could not but have proved unsuccessful: to make it, therefore, could only serve to exasperate a large portion of the Colonists, without the prospect of obtaining the end desired."

That the laity of Virginia, as represented by the Burgesses, had reason to complain of the attempt of the clergy to manage this delicate and important matter without any conference with them, seeing that they were so deeply interested in the matter, cannot be denied. In their meeting was no lay element whatever. One of the protesters stated this, and proposed consulting with the Governor, Council, and Burgesses; but one of the leaders of the measure acknowledged that they would certainly be opposed to it, and therefore objected to the reference. The protesters, in their defence, make use of this argument, and say that, to establish a measure of this kind, without the co-operation of the laity, would be to adopt the Popish system of a spiritual dominion within the State, entirely independent of it and dangerous to the liberties of the people. The lay element in England was the King, Parliament, and mixed courts; the lay element here had been the Governor and Council, House of Burgesses, and vestries; but now all those were dispensed with, and the clergy proposed to act without advice and independent of these,—that is, the few who adopted and signed the petition; for the greater part stayed at home, well knowing the opposition of the laity. The protesters, in their reply, charge their opponents at the North with a leaning to the Non-juring Bishops of Scotland, whom they call schismatics, and bid them, if they wished Bishops, apply to them, and thus set up a separate Church without the support of the State; but not to disturb the peace of the land by endeavouring to involve the Government of England in the measure. They also intimate that some private objects—perhaps ecclesiastical aspirations—influenced the great and sudden change in the meeting at Williamsburg. Mr. Camm had recently been disappointed in succeeding to the Commissary's place, at the death of Mr. Robinson, in consequence of some difficulties with Governor Dinwiddie; and Mr. Horrocks was suspected of some desires for the mitre. These were the leaders among the clergy. President Nelson, of York, writing to a friend in London at this time, says:—

"We do not want Bishops; and yet, from our principles, I hardly think we should oppose such an establishment. Nor will the laity apply for them,—Colonel Corbin having assured me that he has received no petition to be signed, nor any thing else about it from Dr. Porteus; but Mr. Hor-

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rocks, the Bishop of London's Commissary here, hath invited all the clergy of the Colony to meet him soon, in order to consider of an application for this purpose; which he tells me he has done in compliance with the pressing instances of some of the Episcopal clergy northward. This gentleman goes to England for his health this summer: possibly a mitre may be his polar star, for we know that there is much magnetic virtue in such dignities, and I tell him he will be too late if he does not embark soon.* To which he, with the usual modesty on such occasions, replies, *'Nolo Episcopari.'*"

As the clergy met in secret, the President could not then tell what they were about, but promises to write his friend hereafter.

The vestry-book ceases in the year 1769, while Mr. Horrocks was minister, all the leaves being filled up. Doubtless a new one was gotten and records made in it; but it is nowhere to be found. Mr. Horrocks was rector of the parish, President of the College, and Commissary as late as 1771. He was succeeded in all these by the Rev. John Camm, who continued until 1777, when Mr. Madison became President of the College.

We must here cease from the private history of the parish for a brief space, in order to introduce a memorable passage from the history of the State, which occurred within the bounds of this parish. The decisive step was now about to be taken by the Colonies in relation to the mother-country. They had denounced and renounced her as a cruel step-mother; they were about to take up arms and appeal to the God of battles to aid them in the defence of their just rights. The patriots of Virginia determined to do this with the most solemn forms of religion. On the 24th of May, 1774, the members of the Assembly, at their meeting in Williamsburg, after setting forth in a well-written preamble the condition of the country, the evils already oppressing us, the dangers to be feared, and their determination to assert our just rights, "resolved to set apart a day for fasting, humiliation, and prayer; and ordered that the members of the House do attend in their places, at the hour of ten in the morning, on the first day of June next, in order to proceed, with the Speaker and the mace, to the church in this city for the purpose aforesaid; and that the Rev. Mr. Price be requested to read prayers, and the Rev. Mr. Gwatkin to preach

*I suppose he meant that the Government, if favourable to the measure, would give it to some one in England. It is a fact clearly proved by his own letters to Governor Hunter, of New York, that when at some previous period it was thought probable that a Bishop would be sent to America, Dean Swift wished and expected to be the Bishop.

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a sermon suitable to the occasion." The following extract of a letter from George Mason, of Fairfax, a neighbour and friend of Washington, who was in Williamsburg at the time, though not a member of the House, (Washington being the delegate,) will show the religious feeling of the members. It is addressed to Martin Cockburn, one of his pious neighbours.

"Enclosed you have the Boston Trade Act and a resolve of our House of Burgesses. You will observe that it is confined to the members of their own House; but they would wish to see the example followed through the country; for which purpose the members, at their own private expense, are sending expresses with the resolve to their respective counties. Mr. Massie (the minister of Fairfax) will receive a copy of the resolve from Colonel Washington; and, should a day of prayer and fasting be appointed in our county, please to tell my dear little family that I charge them to pay a strict attention to it, and that I desire my three eldest sons and my two oldest daughters may attend church in mourning, if they have it, as I believe they have."

This speaks well for the faith, and humble dependence on God, which dwelt in the breasts of our Virginia patriots. There were those, even then, among them, who had unhappily imbibed the infidel principles of France; but they were too few to raise their voices against those of Washington, Nicholas, Pendleton, Randolph, Mason, Lee, Nelson, and such like. And in proof that they were disposed to go further than mere prayer and fasting, a few years after, in the year 1778, when the American Congress added to their appointment of a day of prayer and humiliation, a condemnation of certain evil customs and practices as offensive to the God whose favour they sought to propitiate, we find our delegates, Richard Henry Lee and Marsden Smith, uniting with others in voting for and carrying the measure. The resolution is as follows:—

"Whereas, true religion and good morals are the only solid foundation of public liberty and happiness, Resolved, that it be, and is, hereby earnestly recommended to the several States, to take the most effectual measures for the encouragement thereof, and for the suppressing of theatrical entertainments, horse-racing, and gaming, and such other diversions as are productive of idleness, dissipation, and a general depravity of manners."

Had there not been in all parts of our land a goodly number of our citizens of such a spirit and views, God might not have intrusted such a gift as national independence to our keeping. It is, however, deeply to be lamented that the successful termination of the war, and all the rich blessings attending it, did not produce the

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gratitude to the Giver which was promised by the hearts of our people in the day of danger and supplication. The intimacy produced between infidel France and our own country, by the union of our arms against the common foe, was most baneful in its influence with our citizens generally, and on none more than those of Virginia. The grain of mustard-seed which was planted at Williamsburg, about the middle of the century, had taken root there and sprung up and spread its branches over the whole State, —the stock still enlarging and strengthening itself there, and the roots shooting deeper into the soil. At the end of the century the College of William and Mary was regarded as the hotbed of infidelity and of the wild politics of France. Strong as the Virginia feeling was in favour of the Alma Mater of their parents, the Northern Colleges were filled with the sons of Virginia's best men. No wonder that God for so long a time withdrew the light of his countenance from it.*

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* Many years before the war the College was in a most unhappy condition. The Visitors and the Faculty were at variance, as the following correspondence will show:—

Substance of a letter written by the Visitors to the Bishop of London, dated July 15, 1767.

They informed the Bishop that Dr. Halyburton, whom he had recommended to the Professorship of Moral Philosophy in the College, had arrived a few weeks before, when they had reason to expect him more than ten months ago. They fear that his Lordship had been imposed upon in regard to the qualifications of this person, whom, by his own confessions, they find was totally unqualified to discharge the duties of the Professorship. They say that Dr. H.'s letter "breathes so great levity, not to say profaneness, of sentiment," that they would think themselves unpardonable should they admit him to the College. They complain, also, that those have been frequently sent to them "who were extremely unfit for the employments assigned them;" and, on that account, the education of the youth has been very defective; "a natural consequence of which have been riots, contentions, and a dissipation of manners as unbecoming their characters as vitally destructive of the ends of their appointment." They quote the following from the letter of the Bishop, dated July 4, 1766:—"From the discouragements which have been in the College, and the power which the Visitors seem desirous of exerting, in displacing at their pleasure the Professors and Masters, it was no easy matter to prevail upon any person to enter upon so precarious a situation." In reply to this, they said that they had censured some former Professors for immoralities and remissness in their duty; and, a few years since, some were deprived for their contumacious behaviour. They then go on to give an account of the contests between the Visitors and the Professors, arising out of the conflicting authority of the two bodies in the appointment of Ushers for the Grammar-School; and also on account of a statute enacted by the Visitors, prohibiting the Masters and Professors from engaging in any employment out of College without special permission. In justification of this statute, they say that one Professor had

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Brief must be our remaining notice of the ministry, the Church, and the Presidents of the College. Dr. Bracken became the minister in the year 1773, and continued so to be, in connection with the Professorship of Humanity in the College, until his death in 1818. Bishop Madison became President in 1777, and continued such until his death in 1812. After a temporary Presidency of one year by Dr. Bracken, Dr. Augustine Smith, a Virginian, and son of one of our most respectable clergymen, then the Professor in a Medical College in New York, was called to preside over the College. On entering upon its duties, he was conscious that the aid of heaven, through his Church and ministry, ought to be had in order to success, and therefore petitioned the now reviving Episcopal Church of Virginia to establish a Professorship of Divinity in the College. The result was, the sending the Rev. Dr. Keith for that purpose, who succeeded Dr. Bracken as minister of the parish, and made the experiment. After the trial of a few years, being satisfied that success could not attend the effort at that time, he resigned, and became the head of the Seminary at Alexandria. Dr. Smith met with a good degree of success in increasing the number of the students, but not enough to encourage his continu-

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engaged in the practice of medicine; that others had held parochial cures in the vicinity and at greater distances, causing them to neglect their duties in College, and more particularly on Saturdays and Sundays, when the students, being left without any supervision, engaged in riotous conduct. According to that account of the matter, there had been a contest between the Visitors and Professors during the past twelve years, to the great detriment of the interests of the College. That now these differences are happily settled, and harmony in a degree restored; and they ask his Lordship to recommend to them suitable persons to fill the Professorships of Moral Philosophy and Mathematics; the salary to be £100 per annum, with board and lodgings, in the College building.

In reply to this letter, the Bishop exhorts them to bury all former animosities, and speaks of the difficulty of finding men qualified for Professorships, who would be willing to go to a distant and unhealthy country for an advance of thirty or forty pounds per annum beyond what they might receive at home.

By a statute of the Visitors, passed in 1770, provision is made for the salaries of eight undergraduates, of £30 per annum each; to be chosen, two each year, from the body of students, for their proficiency in learning and their exemplary conduct. They were to complete a full course of studies, probably including divinity, as the statute closes with these words:—"Let those who shall have completed this course of education and propose to go home for orders be entitled to a bounty of £50 sterling, for their encouragement and to defray the expenses of their voyage." In 1775, James Madison was allowed £50 by the Visitors, to defray his expenses in going to England for holy orders. In the year 1775, Messrs. Gwatkin and Henly returned to England. In the year 1777, Messrs. Camm, Jones, and Dixon have difficulties with the Visitors. The two latter resign, and Mr. Camm, denying the authority of the board, is displaced. Mr. Madison is made President.

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ance beyond the year 1826. At his resignation, the Rev. Dr. William H. Wilmer, of Alexandria, was called to the rectorship of the church and Presidency of the College, both of which he discharged with zeal and ability, and with considerable success, during one year, at the end of which he died of fever, deeply lamented by all the friends of the church and College. The means of awakening pious fervour in the friends of the Church and of converting the irreligious youth had never been so earnestly employed before his time. Besides the regular services of the Sabbath and temple, lectures, exhortations, and prayers were most earnestly used in private houses twice in the week, and well attended. It was hoped that a genuine revival of true religion was about to take place in the College and town. The first-fruits of it had already appeared. Nor did he rely on moral suasion alone to govern the youth, but, when occasion called, resorted to proper discipline. One instance is worthy of being recorded. At Williamsburg, as at some other places, it was thought to be an exploit, becoming students, to annoy all around by ringing the College bell or some other to which access could be had. The large bell of the old church, in the midst of the town, was resorted to for this purpose by some troublesome youths. After due warning and admonition, Dr. Wilmer determined to detect and punish the offenders. On the sound of the bell one night, he promptly reached the place, taking with him one of the chief citizens of the town, rather against his will. While the bell was still ringing, followed by his companion, he ascended in the dark the steps of the belfry leading up to the bell, not knowing who or how many he had to encounter, and, seizing on one of them, effectually secured him. Such resolution is not often to be found. At the death of Dr. Wilmer, the Rev. Dr. Empie was chosen his successor in both stations. He continued in them for eight or nine years, when he accepted a call to St. James Church, Richmond. As pastor and preacher he was admired, esteemed, and beloved, as he had been elsewhere before, and was in Richmond afterward. He still lives. His many and increasing infirmities of body amply justify his retirement from public service, and his many excellencies secure him the affection and esteem of all who know him. His place in the College was supplied by Mr Dew, a Virginia gentleman, a graduate of the College, and a scholar. His amiable disposition, fine talents, tact at management, great zeal, and unwearied assiduity, were the means of raising the College to as great prosperity as perhaps had ever been its lot at any time since its first establishment, notwithstanding many op-

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posing difficulties. To this we must make one exception,—viz.: as to the classical and mathematical departments, under some of the old and ripe scholars from England, before the Revolution. Mr. Dew being arrested by the hand of death in a foreign land, in the year 1846, the College was left in the temporary charge of Professor Saunders and Mr. Benjamin Ewell during the years 1847 and 1848, when, by an arrangement with the Episcopal Church of Virginia, the Visitors secured the services of Bishop Johns for a few years. During the five years of his continuance, notwithstanding the arduous labours of his Episcopal office, he so diligently and wisely conducted the management of the College as to produce a regular increase of the number of students until they had nearly reached the maximum of former times, established a better discipline than perhaps ever before had prevailed in the institution, and attracted more students of divinity to its lectures than had ever been seen there in the memory of any now living. At his resignation in 1854, Mr. Ewell resumed the government, and is now the President.

Renewing and concluding the list of the ministers of Williamsburg,—the Rev. Mr. Hodges succeeded Dr. Empie, and continued for many years to fill the pulpit and perform all the duties of the pastoral office most acceptably to the congregation. He was a great favourite with a congregation of coloured persons, who, though belonging to another denomination, preferred him as their minister; and to the uttermost of his physical abilities he did for many years act as such. At the resignation of Mr. Hodges, the Rev. Mr. Denison became their pastor, and continued such for a number of years. The Rev. George Wilmer, son of the former rector and President, is their present pastor.

List of vestrymen in the church at Williamsburg from the year 1674 to 1769:—

Hon. Daniel Parke, Colonel John Page, James Besouth, Robert Cobb, Mr. Bray, Captain Chesley, Mr. Aylott, Hon. Thomas Ludwell, Hon. Thomas Ballard, James Vaux, William Korker, George Poindexter, Thomas Whaley, Captain Otho Thorpe, Captain Thomas Williams, Martin Gardiner, Daniel Wyld, Thomas Taylor, Christopher Pierson, Gideon Macon, Robert Spring, George Martin, Abraham Vinckler, Samuel Timson, John Ownes, Captain Francis Page, Thomas Pettus, Colonel Thomas Ballard, Ralph Graves, Captain James Archer, George Norvell, John Dormar, Edward Jones, Thomas Thorp, Daniel Parke, Jr., Hon. Edmund Jennings, Hugh Norvell, William Pinkethman, Henry Tyler, John Kendall, Baldwin Mathews, Philip Ludwell, Jr., Robert Crawley, Timothy Pinkethman, Joseph White, James Whaley, Hon. John Page, Jr., William Hansford, William Timson, Frederick Jones, David Bray, James Bray,

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Ambrose Cobb, James Hubard, Nathaniel Crowley, Matthew Pierce, John Custis, Henry Carey, John Holloway, Archibald Blair, Michael Archer, Baldwin Mathews, John Clayton, Lewis Burwell, David Bray, Jr., Thomas Jones, Samuel Timson, Sir John Randolph, George Nicholas, William Robertson, Hon. John Blair, Sen., Thomas Cobbs, Ralph Graves, Edward Barradale, James Barber, Daniel Needler, James Bray, Jr., Henry Tyler, Jr., John Harmer, James Wray, Matthew Pierce, Edward Barradale, Jr., Benjamin Waller, William Parks, Peyton Randolph, William Prentiss, William Timson, Jr., John Holt, William Graves, Armstead Burwell, John Palmer, Pinkethman Eaton, Robert Carter Nicholas, Thomas Everard, Nathaniel Shields, Frederick Bryan, George Wythe, John Prentiss, John Power, William Eaton.

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ARTICLE XIV.

Williamsburg, Bruton Parish.—No. 4.

According to promise, I proceed to some notices of a few of the vestrymen of Bruton parish. There are doubtless others equally worthy of praise, but I have no information from which to speak. Mr. Daniel Parke, whose name stands first on the list of the first vestry in 1676, was from Surrey, England, and married a Miss Evelyn.* A tablet of him was placed in the first church at Williamsburg, and afterwards was transferred to the second. He appears to have been a man of worth and distinction. Mr. John Custis, of Arlington, Northampton county, Eastern Shore of Virginia, married his daughter, and was also a vestryman. George Washington Parke Custis, of Arlington, Fairfax county, grandson of Mrs. General Washington, was descended from the above-mentioned Daniel Parke and John Custis. It could be wished that the record of Daniel Parke his son, whose name is also on the vestry-book, were as worthy of notice. He was indeed more notorious than his father, but for other reasons. He conceived a great dislike to Mr. Blair, the minister of Jamestown, the President of the College, and who was living near Williamsburg. Having no pew in the church at Williamsburg, his wife was indebted to the kindness of Mr. Ludlow, of Green Spring, whose daughter Mr. Parke married, for a seat. On a certain Sunday, Mr. Parke, determined to mortify Mr. Blair by insulting his wife, in his absence (and doubtless in the absence of Mr. Ludlow, who afterward complained of it) came into the church, and, rudely seizing Mrs. Blair by the arm, drew her out of the pew, saying

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* If this Miss Evelyn whom Mr. Parke married was daughter or relative of the Mr. Evelyn whose name appears among the pious benefactors of that day in England, then was she connected with one of the truest friends of the Church of America. In all that was done by the two great societies for the promotion of Christianity in foreign lands,—the Propagation and Christian Knowledge Societies,—Mr. Evelyn was among the foremost. Of him, at his death in 1705, it is said, "Evelyn, full of years and honour, and breathing to the last the spirit of prayer and thankfulness, entered into his rest."

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she should not sit there. He was a man of great violence of character, as otherwise appears. This is recorded in the archives of Lambeth, and speaks ill for the decorum and chivalry of the times. In the Rev. Mr. Anderson's Colonial History of this period, we have the following account of a Mr. Daniel Parke, which answers but too well to the foregoing:—

"The offences of Parke's early life had compelled him to flee from Virginia, the land of his birth, to England, where he purchased an estate in Hampshire and obtained a seat in Parliament. Not long afterward, he was expelled the House for bribery; and the provocation of fresh crimes drove him again a fugitive to Holland, where he entered as a volunteer in the army of the Duke of Marlborough, and was made his aid-de-camp. He carried home, in a brief note written upon the field by Marlborough to his Duchess, the first tidings of the victory of Blenheim, and, through the interest which then prevailed at the Court of Anne, obtained the Government of Antigua. His arbitary and oppressive conduct in public matters and the gross licentiousness of his private life soon stirred up against him the hatred of all classes of its inhabitants. The home Government ordered his recall; but he, refusing to obey it, persisted with arrogant insolence in his course of tyranny. At length it could be endured no longer, and on the morning of the 7th of December, 1710, a body of five hundred men with numbers of the Assembly at their head, marched to the Government-House, determined to drive him from it by force. The orders of Parke that they should disperse, and the attempts of his enemies to negotiate, were alike fruitless. The attack was made, and resisted with equal violence by the soldiers and others whom Parke had summoned to his aid; but the assailants in a few hours conquered, and Parke fell a victim to their fury. It was a lawless punishment of a lawless act, and excited great indignation in England. But the catalogue of Parke's offences had been so enormous, and the effusion of blood would have been so great had the sentence of capital punishment gone forth against all, or even the leaders of those who had been concerned in his violent death, that it was judged expedient to issue a general pardon."

Of old Mr. Page, who stands next to Colonel Daniel Parke the elder, I have already spoken. Early on the list of vestrymen was Mr. John Randolph, *alias* Sir John Randolph, who was the father of Mr. John Randolph and Mr. Peyton Randolph, all of whom were in succession Attorney-Generals of Virginia. The father is spoken of as a most eminent man in his profession, and of high character. His son Peyton Randolph was also a vestryman of the church, and gave early signs of a too independent spirit to be very acceptable to the English Government. Being sent over to England on account of some of our complaints, and speaking his mind too freely for the Court and Cabinet, he was displaced from his office, and his brother John, who had been acting in his absence, was installed. At the breaking out of the war, John went to Eng-

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land and was succeeded by his son Edmond. The former, bitterly repenting of his choice, died of a broken heart, and directed his remains to be brought back to Virginia. They are interred in the College Chapel. Mr. Peyton Randolph ever showed himself the warm and steady friend of the Church as well as of his country. He went by the name of Speaker Randolph, being for a long time the presiding officer in the House of Burgesses. He was also chosen Speaker of the first, second, and third Congress, but suddenly died of apoplexy, during the last. He was buried for a time in Philadelphia, but afterward removed to Williamsburg. In connection with the foregoing notice of Mr. Peyton Randolph, I add something concerning his nephew and adopted son, Edmund Randolph, of whose religious sentiments I have spoken in a former number.

Extract from a paper written by Edmund Randolph, soon after the death of his wife, and addressed to his children.

"Up to the commencement of the Revolution, the Church of England was the established religion, in which your mother had been educated with strictness, if not with bigotry. From the strength of parental example, her attendance on public worship was unremitted, except when insuperable obstacles occurred; the administration of the sacrament was never without a cause passed by; in her closet, prayer was uniformly addressed to the throne of mercy, and the questioning of the sacred truths she never permitted to herself or heard from others without abhorrence. When we were united, I was a deist, made so by my confidence in some whom I revered, and by the labours of two of my preceptors, who, though of the ministry, poisoned me with books of infidelity. I cannot answer for myself that I should ever have been brought to examine the genuineness of Holy Writ, if I had not observed the consoling influence which it wrought upon the life of my dearest Betsey. I recollect well that it was not long before I adopted a principle which I have never relinquished: —that woman, in the present state of society, is, without religion, a monster. While my opinions were unsettled, Mr. —— and Mr. —— came to my house on Sunday evening to play with me at chess. She did not appear in the room; and her reproof, which from its mildness was like the manna of heaven, has operated perpetually as an injunction from above; for several years since I detected the vanity of sublunary things, and knew that the good of man consisted in Christianity alone. I have often hinted a wish that we had instituted a course of family prayer for the benefit of our children, on whose minds, when most pliant, the habit might be fixed. But I know not how the plan was not enforced, until during her last illness she and I frequently joined in prayer. She always thanked me after it was finished; and it grieves me to think that she should suppose that this enlivening inducement was necessary in order to excite me to this duty."

It is sad to think that ministers of the Gospel should contribute to infidelity by recommending the examination of infidel works.

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Who they were I am unable to ascertain. I have other reasons for knowing that infidelity, under the specious garb of Universalism, was then finding its way into the pulpit. Governor Page, Colonel Nicholas, and Colonel Bland made complaints against some one preaching in or near Williamsburg about this time, for advocating the doctrine with its usual associates, and prevented his preferment. The Rev. Mr. Yancey, of Louisa, also published a sermon on universal salvation, which has been recently republished by some of that school. A Rev. Mr. Tally, of Gloucester, taught the same, and afterward gave a fit comment on his doctrine by dying the death of the drunkard, as one informed me who closed his eyes. At such a time, when the writings of French philosophers — falsely so called — were corrupting the minds of the Virginia youth, the testimony of such men as Peyton Randolph, Mr. R. C. Nicholas, Colonel Bland, President Nelson, Governor Page, and the recovery of Edmund Randolph from the snare, has peculiar weight. In the worst of times, God never leaves himself without a witness.

There appears on the vestry-list the two names of George Nicholas and his son, Robert Carter Nicholas. The former came to this country a physician,—doubtless duly qualified. He married the widow of Mr. Burwell, of Gloucester, a descendant of the Carters. His son, Robert C. Nicholas, was distinguished at the bar in Williamsburg, in the House of Burgesses, in the Council, as Treasurer of the State, and as a patriot in the Revolutionary War. But he had a higher praise than all these offices could give him; for he was a sincere Christian, and a zealous defender of the Church of his fathers when he believed her rights were assailed. Mr. Hugh Blair Grigsby, in his eloquent description of the Burgesses of 1776, thus describes him:—

"He loved, indeed, a particular form of religion, but he loved more dearly religion itself. In peace or war, at the fireside, or on the floor of the House of Burgesses, a strong sense of moral responsibility was seen through all his actions. If a resolution appointing a day of fasting and prayer or acknowledging the providence of God in crowning our arms with victory, though drawn by worldly men with worldly views, was to be, it was from his hands it was to be presented to the House, and from his lips came the persuasive words which fell not in vain on the coldest ears. Indeed, such was the impression which his sincere piety—embellishing as it did the sterling virtues of his character—made upon his own generation, that its influence was felt upon that which succeeded it; and when his youngest son, near a quarter of a century after his death, became a candidate for the office of Attorney-General of the Commonwealth, a political opponent, who knew neither father nor son, gave him

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his support, declaring that no son of the old Treasurer could be unfaithful to his country. Nor was his piety less conspicuous in a private sphere. Visiting, on one occasion, Lord Botetourt, with whom he lived in the strictest friendship, he observed to that nobleman, 'My lord. I think you will be very unwilling to die;' and when asked what gave rise to that remark, 'Because,' said he, 'you are so social in your nature, and so much beloved, and have so many good things around you, that you must be loath to leave them." His lordship made no reply; but a short time after, being on his death-bed, he sent in haste for Colonel Nicholas, who lived near the palace, and who instantly repaired thither to receive the last sighs of his dying friend. On entering his chamber, he asked his commands. 'Nothing,' replied his lordship, 'but to let you see that I resign those good things, of which you formerly spoke, with as much composure as I enjoyed them.' After which he grasped his hand with warmth, and instantly expired."*

The children of R. C. Nicholas were blessed with a mother who was equally worthy. Let the following letter to her son, Wilson Cary Nicholas, on his entering public life, bear witness:—

"Williamsburg, 1784.

"Dear Wilson:—I congratulate you on the honour your county has done you in choosing you their representative with so large a vote. I hope you are come into the Assembly without those trammels which some people submit to wear for a seat in the House,—I mean, unbound by promises to perform this or that job which the many-headed monster may think proper to chalk out for you; especially that you have not engaged to lend a last hand to pulling down the church, which, by some impertinent questions in the last paper, I suspect will be attempted. Never, my dear Wilson, let me hear that by that sacrilegious act you have furnished yourself with materials to erect a scaffold by which you may climb to the summit of popularity; rather remain in the lowest obscurity: though, I think, from long observation, I can venture to assert that the man of integrity, who observes one equal tenor in his conduct,—who deviates neither to the one side or the other from the proper line,—has more of the confidence of the people than the very compliant time-server, who calls himself the servant—and, indeed, is the slave—of the people. I flatter myself, too, you will act on a more liberal plan than some members have done in matters in which the honour and interest of this State are con-

* Colonel Nicholas died at his seat in Hanover, leaving five sons,—George, who moved to Kentucky; Lewis, who lived in Albemarle; John, who moved to New York; Wilson Cary, who was member of the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States and Governor of Virginia; Philip Norborne, called after Norborne, Lord Botetourt, his father's friend, and who, besides other offices, held that of Judge of the General Court. One of the daughters of Colonel Nicholas married Mr. Edmund Randolph; another Mr. John H. Norton, of Winchester. She was the mother of the Rev. Mr. Norton, a venerable minister of the Episcopal Church of New York, who has two sons in our ministry,—one in Virginia, the other in Kentucky.

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cerned; that you will not, to save a few pence to your constituents, discourage the progress of arts and sciences, nor pay with so scanty a hand persons who are eminent in either. This parsimonious plan, of late adopted, will throw us behind the other States in all valuable improvements, and chill, like a frost, the spring of learning and spirit of enterprise. I have insensibly extended what I had to say beyond my first design, but will not quit the subject without giving you a hint, from a very good friend of yours, that your weight in the House will be much greater if you do not take up the attention of the Assembly on trifling matters nor too often demand a hearing. To this I must add a hint of my own, that temper and decorum is of infinite advantage to a public speaker, and a modest diffidence to a young man just entering the stage of life: the neglect of the former throws him off his guard, breaks his chain of reasoning, and has often produced in England duels that have terminated fatally. The natural effect of the latter will ever be procuring a favourable and patient hearing, and all those advantages that a prepossession in favour of the speaker produces.

"You see, my son, that I take the privilege of a mother in advising you, and, be assured, you have no friend so solicitous for your welfare, temporal and eternal, as your ever-affectionate mother,

"ANNE NICHOLAS."

The author of the above letter was the daughter of Colonel Wilson Cary, of Hampton, a descendant of one of the first families who settled in the lower part of Virginia. Tradition says that Mrs. Nicholas, after the death of her husband, R. C. Nicholas, at his seat in Hanover, was visited by some British officers, and received them with great dignity. Her daughter-in-law, wife of her son George, and sister of Governor Samuel Smith, of Baltimore, being recognised by one of the officers as an old acquaintance in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, secured polite treatment for the family; but the officers, on discovering that there were some jewels and other valuables in the house, seized upon them and carried them off.

Although I have not continued the list of vestrymen beyond the period of the Revolution, there are two who must have been added to it soon after that event, of whom I wish to take a passing notice. The first of these is Mr. Burwell Bassett. His name may be seen on one or more of the earlier journals of the Church of Virginia, when it was first organized on the American platform. He is also to be seen, for a long time, as the representative of the Williamsburg district in the American Congress, and very often as filling the Speaker's chair in the absence of that officer. I knew him from my very boyhood as my father's friend and visitor. The name of Bassett is an ancient and honourable one on the page of Virginia history, and Mr. Burwell Bassett did not dishonour it.

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He was loved and esteemed for his integrity and friendly qualities. An anecdote was related to me, more than forty years ago, by that worthy man, Mr. Stanford, member of Congress from North Carolina, which showed his generosity of character. On a certain occasion, a poor old soldier of the Revolution presented himself in Washington and asked an alms of the members of Congress. Mr. Stanford, seeing something really touching and worthy in the case, undertook a collection for him in the hall of Congress. He was mortified at the refusal of some, and at the small and reluctant contribution of others, but when he came to Mr. Bassett the scene was changed. He was just receiving of some one a number of bank-notes, and, on the mention of the subject, immediately opened both his hands, in which he held the bank-notes, and said, "Certainly," bidding him take whatever he wanted. His hospitality was proverbial. You could do him no greater favour than to go to his house and take as many others with you as you pleased. He was, however, though a very ultra republican in theory, pertinacious in having his own way in some things. An instance of this was once displayed in the Board of Visitors of William and Mary College, with which he had been connected for a long time, and where his will had generally governed. On a certain occasion, when, after much debate, he failed to carry his point against the younger members, he left the room, shaking his coat-tail, instead of the dust of his feet, against them. The Board could not think of thus parting with their old friend, and, at the suggestion of one of their number, contrived that evening to let him know that they wished to dine with him next day. This was enough. A hospitable feast was given, and nothing more heard of the difference. The democratic principle of Mr. Bassett, united with this pertinacity of character, was also evident in his opposition to the canon of the Virginia Convention excluding from that body all non-communicants. He held that the vestries had a right to send whom they pleased, and that it was interfering with their rights to impose any conditions. He came to the Convention in Fredericksburg, at which the question was finally settled, and spoke nearly one whole day against it. Being old and infirm, when he was tired of standing he asked leave to sit, which was freely granted. From a seat in the middle aisle, near the chancel where the bishops sat, he still talked until toward the close of the day. As I had read a written (and afterward published) argument in its favour in the morning, his address was chiefly to myself, and in a very plain style; but we allowed him

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all liberties, and, at the close, passed the canon by a majority of two-thirds or more. His vestry, sympathizing with him or unwilling to differ, resolved to send no more delegates or contributions while this canon continued, and were encouraged in their course by the strictures upon our canon in two of our Northern Episcopal papers. Bishop Moore and myself did not change our relation to the parish, but continued to visit the congregation as usual, and said not a word to persuade the vestry to change their course. At the death of Mr. Bassett, not many years after, of its own accord a delegate was sent to the Convention, and all the back dues honourably sent with him. The kindness of Mr. Bassett to myself was increased during this period. He not only was most attentive to me when in Williamsburg, but, as I always came to it through New Kent, he would meet me in his carriage, more than twenty miles off, at old Colonel Macon's, and carry me thence to his hospitable home in Williamsburg, and, when my services there were ended, insist on sending me to the next point. From him I learned much of the character of the old church and its ministers.

MR. ROBERT SAUNDERS.

The other person to whom I alluded was the elder Mr. Robert Saunders, and father to the one of the same name now living in Williamsburg. Whether he was descended from either of the two ministers of that name on the list of the Virginia clergy, (one of early date,) or related to them, I know not. Mr. Saunders was a lawyer of distinction in Williamsburg, and highly esteemed by Dr. Wilmer and Dr. Empie for his religious character. He furnished Dr. Hawks a lengthy statement about the Church in Virginia, and especially about the parish of Bruton. The following is his opinion of the conduct of the Virginia Legislature in relation to the sale of the glebes:—

"It was not, I am persuaded, the result either of covetousness, infidelity, or sectarianism, but proceeded from the same spirit which gave rise to the bill of rights and the Constitution bottomed upon them. I remark, further, that it is manifest, from the history of the day and the journal of the Legislative proceedings, that a great majority of both Houses were, at the time of passing these statutes, Episcopalians, and they clung to the Episcopal clergy as long as they could properly do so under the pressure of public opinion. As an individual I was opposed to the sale of the glebes, because I wished the Episcopal Church to be predominant; and, as no direct injury was done to the Dissenters by keep-

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ing the glebes as appendages to the Church, I thought it was prudent to preserve this property in the channel in which it had passed for so many years, as an encouragement to the clergy of the Episcopal Church, to whom the people had been mainly attached by habit and education. But I cannot admit that the Legislature illegally seized and violated the rights of the Episcopal Church. The property belonged to the parish, and not to the clergy; and it is certainly now known that in very many, if not the larger number, of parishes in Virginia, the Episcopalians were not the majority, but a small minority at the time when this law was enacted."—*Letter to Dr. Hawks.*

I entirely concur with Mr. Saunders, that covetousness did not promote this law; for, as I shall show hereafter, the glebes were not worth contending for. Infidelity and sectarianism, I think, must have had their share in the work. I shall have occasion to consider this question at a future time.

CONCLUSION.

Some thoughts on the formation of the Virginia character, as displayed in the American Revolution and previously, may with propriety follow after the history of the Church and College at Williamsburg, and the foregoing list of vestrymen. As London and the Universities were in one sense England, Paris and its University France, so Williamsburg, while it was the seat of Government, and the College of William and Mary, were, to a great extent, Virginia. Here her Governor and chief officers resided; here her Council often repaired and her Burgesses annually met. What was their character? Whence did their ancestors come, and who were they? Happily for the Colony, they were not Lords, or their eldest sons, and therefore heirs of lordship. With one or two exceptions, none such ever settled in Virginia. Neither were they in any great numbers the ultra devotees of kings,—the rich, gay, military, Cavalier adherents of Charles I.,—or the non-juring believers in the divine right of kings, in the days of Charles II. and of James II. Some of all these there were in the Colony, doubtless. Some dainty idlers, with a little high blood, came over with Captain Smith at first, and more of the rich and high-minded Cavaliers after the execution of Charles I.; but Virginia did not suit them well enough to attract and retain great numbers. There was too much hard work to be done, and too much independence, even from the first, for those who held the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience to kings and others in authority, to make Virginia a

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comfortable place for them and their posterity.* And yet we must not suppose that the opposite class—the paupers, the ignorant, the servile—formed the basis of the larger and better class of the Virginia population, when it began to develop its character at the Revolution, and, indeed, long before. These did not spring up into great men in a day or a night, on touching the Virginia soil. Some of the best families of England, Ireland, Scotland, and France, formed at an early period a large part of that basis. Noblemen and their elder sons did not come over; but we must remember how many of the younger sons of noblemen were educated for the bar, for the medical profession, and the pulpit, and turned adrift on the world to seek their own living, without any patrimony. Some of those, and many more of their enterprising descendants, came to the New World, especially to Virginia, in search of fortune and honour, and found them here. Numbers of Virginia families, who are almost ashamed or afraid in this republican age to own it, have their genealogical trees, or traditionary records, by which they can trace their line to some of the most ancient families in England, Scotland, Ireland, and to the Huguenots of France. Where this is not the case, still they can derive their origin from

* It may very properly be called *a mixed basis* of Cavaliers, of the followers of Cromwell and of the Pretender, and of the Huguenots, when persecuted and forced to fly for refuge to other lands; and also of many respectable persons at other times. The Test-Act, or subscriptions required of the vestrymen and other officers, shows that no encouragement was held out, either to the followers of Cromwell or of the Pretender, to expect honours and offices in Virginia. They always required allegiance to the established Government, except during the temporary usurpation of Cromwell. After the establishment of the House of Hanover, the Stuart Pretenders and their followers were denounced in these test-oaths. Some specimens of these subscriptions, or oaths, are presented in our sketches. So that, probably, not many of either extreme came to Virginia, where they were thus stigmatized and excluded from office unless on condition of abjuring their principles. Dr. Hawks, in his History of the Church in Virginia, says that its population before the protectorate of Cromwell was twenty thousand; after the restoration of monarchy, thirty thousand. There were only ten thousand added in ten or twelve years. If we consider how many of this number were from natural increase in a new country, how many not of the Cavalier class had come over, and how many of that class returned on the accession of Charles II., it will not leave a large number to make an impression on the Virginia character. Most of those Cavaliers who, by their birth and talents, were most likely to make that impression, had gone to Surinam, Barbadoes, Antigua, and the Leeward Islands. These "were to be men of the first rate, who wanted not money or credit." (See Dr. Hawks's History, page 284.) After the restoration of monarchy, some of the followers of Cromwell came over to Virginia, but most probably in much smaller numbers than the Cavaliers had done, as they would not find so welcome a home, for the loyalty of Virginia at that time cannot be questioned.

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men of education, either in law, physic, or divinity, which things were too costly in the old countries to be gotten by the poorer classes, except in some few instances where charity was afforded. Ministers could not generally be ordained without degrees from Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, or Edinburgh. Lawyers studied at the Temple Bar in London; physicians at Edinburgh. For a long time Virginia was dependent for all these professional characters on English education. Those who came over to this country poor, and ignorant, and dependent, had few opportunities of elevating themselves; as has been happily the case since our independence, by reason of the multiplication of schools and colleges, and of all the means of wealth which are now open to us. Sir William Berkeley in his day rejoiced that there was not a free school or printing-press in Virginia, and hoped it might be so for a hundred years to come; and perhaps it was not much otherwise as to schools. In the year 1723, the Bishop of London addressed a circular to the clergy of Virginia, then somewhat over forty in number, making various inquiries as to the condition of things in the parishes. One of the questions was, "Are there any schools in your parish?" The answer, with two or three exceptions, (and those in favour of charity-schools,) was, none. Private schools at rich gentlemen's houses, kept perhaps by an unmarried clergyman or candidate for Orders, were all the means of education in the Colony, and to such the poor had no access. Another question was, "Is there any parish library?" The answer invariably was, none; except in one case, where the minister replied, "We have the Book of Homilies, the Whole Duty of Man, and the Singing Psalms." Such were the answers from thirty clergymen, whose responses I have before me.* If "knowledge be power," Virginia was, up to that time, so far as the poor were concerned, but a barren nursery of mighty men. Would that it had been otherwise, both for Church and State! Education was confined to the sons of those who, being educated themselves, and appreciating the value of it, and having the means, employed private teachers in their families, or sent their sons to the schools in England and paid

* Even the little establishment of Huguenots at Manakintown, whose compact settlement so favoured education, and whose parentage made its members to desire it, was so destitute, that about this time one of their leading men, a Mr. Sallie, on hearing that the King was about to establish a colony in Ireland for the Huguenots, addressed him a letter begging permission to be united to it, saying that there was no school among them where their children could be educated.

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for them with their tobacco. Even up to the time of the Revolution was this the case with some. General Nelson, several of the Lees and Randolphs, George Gilmer, my own father and two of his brothers, and many besides who might be mentioned, just got back in time to prepare for the Revolutionary struggle. The College of William and Mary, from the year 1700 and onward, did something toward educating a small portion of the youth of Virginia, and that was all until Hampden Sydney, at a much later period, was established. But let any one look at the published catalogue of William and Mary, and see how few were educated there from 1720 to the Revolution, and let him notice who they were. Let him also examine whatever lists of Burgesses, Henning's volumes and the old Virginia almanacs furnish, and he will see who they were that may be considered the chief men of Virginia. I have been recently examining another set of records which show who were considered her first men. I allude to the vestry elections; and nine times in ten we are confident one of their body was the delegate. They were the ruling men of the parishes,—the men of property and education. As we have said before, from an early period they were in training for the Revolution, by the steady and ever-successful struggle with Commissaries, Governors, Bishops of London, and the Crown, on the subject of the calling and induction of ministers. They also spoke through the House of Burgesses, which was made up of themselves. We will venture to affirm that very few of the statesmen of the Revolution went into it without this training. Even Mr. Jefferson, and Wythe, who did not conceal their disbelief of Christianity, took their parts in the duties of vestrymen, the one in Williamsburg, the other in Albemarle; for they wished to be men of influence. In some of the communications to England, the vestries are complained of by the clergy as the aristocratic bodies,—the twelve lords or masters of the parishes; and they did sometimes, I doubt not, rule the poor clergy with a rod of iron; but they were not the men to truckle to George III., Lord North, or the Parliament. Well did Mr. Burke, in his celebrated speech on American affairs, reply to some who said that the rich slaveholders of the South would not stand a war, "that they were entirely mistaken; for that those who had been long accustomed to command were the last who would consent to obey."* In proof of my position that men of

* In all that we say on this subject, concerning the patriots of the Revolution and their connection with the Episcopal Church, and especially the vestries, it must

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education, and that gotten chiefly in Europe, were the ancestors of large numbers of those who formed at a later period the most influential class, I would here insert a list of the earlier clergy of Virginia which I got from some ancient documents, (most of them unpublished,) and this is but a small part of those whose names are lost to us forever. Let the reader compare these with names on the civil and military list of Virginia's history, and he must acknowledge the probability at least of consanguinity between many of them. I begin with the names of Bucke, Whittaker, the two Williamses, (names still common in Virginia,) Young, Key, Berkeley, Hampton, Richardson, Teackle, Cotton, Palmer, Gordon, the Smiths, Ware, Doyley, the Bowkers, Saunders, Holt, Collier, Wallace, Walker, the Monroes, Slaughter, Blair, Anderson, Ball, the Yateses, Hall, Latane, the Roses, the Joneses, Sharp, Waggener, the Taylors, Stith, Cox, the Brookes, the Robertsons, the Robinsons, Collings, Baylie, Bell, Warden, Debutts, Forbes, Marshall, Preston, Goodwin, Cargill, Hughes, the Scotts, the Fontains and Maurys, the Dawsons, Reid, White, Campbell, Graham, the Thompsons, Fraser, Thacker, Wilkinson, the Navisons, the Stewarts, the Dixons, Webb, Innis, Warrington, Cole, Purdie, Marye, Mackay, Jackson, Green, McDonald, Moncure, Keith, Leland, Craig, Grayson, Bland, Manning, Hamilton, Dick, Clay, Lyons. Many of the foregoing belong to the first century of our existence and to the early part of the second. Many of the families of Virginia may have descended from some of the foregoing without knowing it. I leave it to others to search out the civil list of Virginia names, in order to ascertain as far as practicable how many of their ancestors may have been well-educated doctors and lawyers, or respectable merchants and farmers, when first coming to this country. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. It is no dishonour to be born of the poorest parents in the land. It is a much greater honour to be descended from a poor and ignorant

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not be understood as excluding from their fair share in the assertion of the liberties of the country those of other denominations. The Baptists as a body soon tendered their services, and were accepted. They, however, were mostly descended from Episcopalians, having for conscience' sake separated themselves from the Established Church not long before the war. The same may be said of the Presbyterians in Eastern Virginia; they were not numerous, being chiefly in Hanover, Charlotte, and Prince Edward, but still they furnished most valuable men to the cause. Those of Western Virginia, as well as the Germans, were descended from European ancestors who were not of the Episcopal Church. They also were forward and most effective in the Revolution.

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good man, than from a rich or learned bad man. I am only speaking of a historical fact. It was the shame of our forefathers, both here and in England, that they did not, by promoting education, furnish more opportunities to the poor to become in a greater degree the very bone and sinew of the State. It is our sin now that more and better attention is not paid to the common schools of Virginia, in order to make them nurseries of good and great men.

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ARTICLE XV.

Williamsburg, Bruton Parish.—No. 5.

Since the preceding articles on this parish were written, and published in another form, we have obtained some further information which may not be uninteresting to our readers. We have searched among the old tombstones in the graveyard surrounding the church, and deciphered some of the scarce-legible inscriptions on the time-worn or broken slabs, which are either still resting on their original foundations, or else prostrated upon the earth or leaning against the church-wall or on other tombs. Some, no doubt, were deposited beneath the church itself, as was the custom more in ancient than in present times. Some of our great men, as the Randolphs, Bishop Madison, and others, are in a vault beneath the College chapel, while others are in adjoining farms, where once stately mansions stood, and of which the tombstones are now the only witnesses that they once existed. Williamsburg was once the miniature copy of the Court of St. James, somewhat aping the manners of that royal place, while the old church and its graveyard and the College chapel were—*si licet cum magnis componere parva*—the Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's of London, where the great ones were interred.

We begin our transcript of inscriptions with that of the first minister of the parish,—the Rev. Roland Jones, son of a minister of the same name,—probably in England,—and of which name, and doubtless family, several others ministered in Virginia:—

"Hic jacet Rolandus Jones, Clericus, filius Rolandi Jones, Clerici. Natus Swimbrook, juxta Burford in comitatu Oxon. Collegii Merton, Universitate Oxon., Alumnus. Parochiæ Bruton, Virginia, Pastor Primus Delectissimus. Functione pastorali annis 14 Fideliter defunctus Parochiæ quam maximo de . . . . . obiit April 23, die ætatis suæ, 45 An. . . . D. 1688."

The blanks in the foregoing and others cannot be supplied, being illegible.

Our next describes one of the best of our early Governors:—

"Under this marble rest y^e^ ashes of his excellency Edward Nott, late

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Governor of this Colony, who, in his private character, was a good Christian, and in his public, a good Governor. He was a lover of mankind, and bountiful to his friends. By the prudence and justice of his administration, he was deservedly esteemed a public blessing while he lived; and when he died, it was a public calamity. He departed this life the 23d day of August, 1706, aged 49 years. In grateful remembrance of whose many virtues, the General Assembly of this Colony have erected this monument."

The next is taken from a slab lying in the graveyard against the wall of the church, in order to preserve it. Philip Ludwell lived within a mile or two of Williamsburg, and his uncle Thomas may have been buried there and removed by the nephew. Commissary Blair married the daughter of Philip Ludwell and lived on a farm adjoining, which was given to him by his father-in-law.

"Under this marble lyeth the body of Thomas Ludwell, Esquire, Secretary of Va., who was born at Bruton, in the county of Somerset, in the kingdom of England, and departed this life in the year 1678. And near this lye the bodies of Richard Kemp, Esquire, his predecessor in the Secretary's office, and Sir Thomas Lunsford, Knight. In memory of whom this marble is placed, by order of Philip Ludwell, Esq., nephew of said Thomas Ludwell, in the year 1727."

There can be no doubt but that the name Bruton was given to the parish in honour of Thomas Ludwell, who came from a place of that name in England. Originally the parish was called Middletowne, when, in 1658, the inhabitants of Middle Plantation (Williamsburg) and of Harop parish (between it and Warwick) were united into one.

From the fragments of a large slab which, for some time, has been lying at one of the gates of the churchyard, we take the following imperfect inscription relating to the father of the Pages of Virginia:—

"Here lyeth, in hope of a joyful resurrexion, the body of Col. John Page, Esquire, of Bruton parish, one of their Majesties' Council . . . . dominion, Virginia. . . . . departed this life, 23d of —nuary, in the year of our Lord, —69½, aged 65."

From this and another inscription in Gloucester, it appears that Governor Page was wrong when, in his autobiography, he calls him Sir John Page. He is called Colonel John Page on this and the tombstone in Gloucester, where he is mentioned as the father of Matthew Page, who married Miss Mary Mann, of Timberneck. Colonel Page died in 1690–½.

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The following is the inscription over his wife:—

"Here lyeth the body of Alice Page, wife to John Page, of the county of York, in Va., aged 73 years, who departed this life the 22d day of June, anno domini 169–," [the other figure being illegible.]

As York county took in a part of Williamsburg, Mr. Page may have lived in or near it.

Mr. Page's eldest son was named Francis, who died at the early age of thirty-five, but not without being much distinguished as a lawyer. To him, according to Henning, were committed several trusts; among them, the revision of the laws of the Colony. He was also a vestryman of the parish of Bruton, and contracted for the building of the present church; that is, for the part of it built before the time of General Spottswood. He died only a year or two after his father. The following is his epitaph:—

"Here lyeth, in hope of a joyful resurrexion, the body of Captain Francis Page, of Bruton parish, in the dominion of Virginia, son of Colonel John Page, of the same parish, who departed this life the 10th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1692, aged 35."

The following is a fragment of the poetic eulogy on the broken tombstone:—

"Thou wast, while living, of unspotted fame:
Now, being dead, no man dares soil thy name;
For thou wast one whom nothing here could stain,
Neither force of honour nor love of gain.
spheres, thou hast well discharged thy trust,
most truly pious, loyal, just.
and goodness, my pen cannot expresse,
virtues my tongue cannot rehearse,
teemed by all the wise and sage
thy country in thy age.
we cannot now speak of thee
to all posterity
life did yourself create
everlasting date
your most happy wife
and this life."

Near to this is the tomb of his wife, with the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth, in hope of a joyful resurrexion, Mary, the wife of Captain Francis Page, of Bruton parish, in the dominion of Va., daughter of Edward Digges, Esquire, of Hampton parish, in the same dominion, who departed this life the eighteenth day of March, in the year of our Lord 169?, aged 3–," the second figure illegible.

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Then comes the following eulogy:—

"Thy modest, meek, and pious soul did shine
With well-temper'd nature, and grace divine:
One to excell in beauty, few could finde;
Yet thy rarest features were of the minde.
Thou wast a faithful and virtuous wife;
Thou greatly loved peace and hated strife;
Thou wast a prudent and tender mother,
A true-loving sister to each brother,
A choice friend, a kind neighbour . . . .
A good Christian, ready at God's call . . . .
Thou lived and died, upon Christ relying;
Thou died to rise, and now livest by dying.
Thy faith doth yield, thy piety doth give,
Restoratives to make thee ever live.
Thrice blessed friend, this epitaph is thy due;
When saints arise, thy Lord will say, 'tis true."

The difficulty of deciphering an old and long-exposed inscription may cause injustice to the poetry, though we cannot expect much in that line at that day.

It seems that Mrs. Page was the daughter of Edward Digges, a man so well known and so justly esteemed. He is said to be of the parish of Hampton. The reader must be guarded against the mistake of supposing him to have been of Hampton parish, in Elizabeth City county. There was, at an early period, a small parish between Williamsburg and York, called Kiskiacke, or Chiskiake, after a tribe of Indians which lived on York River. The church, which still stands a few miles from Williamsburg, on the road to York, vulgarly called *Cheesecake*, belonged to that parish. After a time, about the year 1742, its name was changed to Hampton parish, and was so called when the Digges lived in it. After some time, the parish of Hampton was united to that of York, and the name York-Hampton was given to the united parish. The family-seat of the Digges was Bellfield, about eight miles from Williamsburg, and is the same now owned by Colonel Robert McCandlish. On a recent visit to it, I saw the large tombs of Mr. Edward Digges and others of the family, whose epitaphs I shall present to the reader in another article, in connection with some account of the Church in Warwick and of the family of Digges.

There is also, in the Williamsburg churchyard, a tomb of a Mrs. Page, wife of John Page and daughter of Francis Page. This John Page was doubtless Colonel John Page, the lawyer, to whom the vestry intrusted the defence of their rights when Nicholson and others sought to invade them.

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Following, as near as may be, the order of time, we give the inscription on two of the Archer family :—

"Here lies y^e^ body of Michael Archer, Gentleman, who was born the 29th of September, 1681, near Rippon in Yorkshire, and died y^e^ 10th of February, 1726, in the 46th year of his age. Also, Joanna Archer, wife of Michael Archer, who departed this life Octo. 1st, 1732.

One of the earliest settlements was Archer's Hope ; and the parish was called Archer's Hope Parish, coming up within a few miles of Williamsburg, to what is called the College Landing. It was in time merged in Bruton parish. Some of the Archer family continued to live in or about York until the Revolution. The name is often to be seen in Henning's Statutes, connected with the History of Virginia.

THE FAMILY OF THORP.

The name of Thorp must be dear to every Christian philanthropist. Perhaps, of all the devoted friends to the first Colonists and the Indians, he who was martyred, in the Great Massacre, stands first among the laymen. The name did not die with him. Whether they were his descendants or the descendants of his relatives, we know not; but we meet with many of the name in Virginia. They abounded in Bruton parish, as the following epitaphs show :—

"Catherine Thorp, relict of Captain Thomas Thorp, nephew to Major Thomas Thorp, formerly inhabitant of this parish, after a pilgrimage of forty-three years in this troublesome world, lies down here to rest in hope of a joyful resurrexion. Obiit June 6th, 1695.

"Here lyeth, in hope of a joyful resurrexion, the body of Captain Thomas Thorp, of Bruton parish, in the dominion of Virginia, nephew of Major Otho Thorp, of the same parish, who departed this life the 7th day of October, Anno . . . . aged 48."

THE BARRADALLS.

This name is also an ancient and most respectable one. It is another name for one learned in the law,—a name which for a long time was a terror to the young applicant for a license to practise law, and before which even a Pendleton trembled at his examination. Two of these were buried in this churchyard. One or both of them had been vestrymen of the parish. Edward Barradall married Sarah, youngest daughter of the first William Fitzhugh, who settled in Virginia, and who was also an eminent lawyer in the Northern Neck, and belonged to the Council.

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EPITAPH.

"Edwardus Barradall, armiger, qui in legum studiis feliciter versatus Attornati-Generalis et admiralitatis judicis amplissimas partes merito obtinuit fideliter. Collegium Gulielmi et Mariæ cum Gubernator tum in Conventu Generali, Senator, propugnavit. Saram Viri Honorabilis Gulielmi Fitzhugh serenissimæ Reginæ anna, in Virginiæ Conciliis, filiam natu minimam, tam mortis, quam vitæ sociam, uxorem habuit. Obierant —ille 13th Cal. Julii; illa the 3d of the Non. Oct., Anno Domini 1743."

On the same stone is the name of Blumfield Barradall, brother of Edward, and that of their sisters Elizabeth and Frances, who had placed the tomb over their brothers.

We have also the monuments of the ancient and excellent family of Brays:—

"Here lyeth the body of Col. David Bray, of this parish, who died 21st of Octo., 1717, in the 52d year of his age, and left his wife Judith and son David Bray, by whom this monument was erected, in memory of him."

On the same is the following:—

"Under this tomb, with her husband, lyeth Mrs. Judith Bray, who departed this life the 26th day of October, 1720, in the 45th year of her age."

There is also a large marble monument, on one side of which is the following:—

"Hic depositum quicquid habuit mortale Elizabetha Bray, una cum marito desideratissimo, quæ languenti morbo consumpta animam resignavit 22 die Aprilis, anno 1734, ætatis 32. Æquanimiter, Fortiter, Pie."

On the other side as follows:—

"David Bray, armiger, vir, forma, ingenio, morum suavitate . . . . . serenissimo reji Georgio Secundo, Concilii in Virginia constitutus, tamen ante munus susceptum, florente ætate morteabreptus, Elizabetham Johannis Page armigeri filiam natu primam, et sine prole mærentem reliquit, Octo. 1731, ætate 32."

The last I shall record is the following:—

"Here lies, in hope of a joyful resurrexion, all that was mortal of John Greenhow, late of this city, merchant. He was born in Staunton, near Kindall in Westmoreland, Great Britain, November 12th, 1724, and died the 29th of August, 1787. On his left side lies Elizabeth, the daughter of John Tyler, his second wife, who was born in James City, the 30th of January, 1744, and died of the small-pox on July the 23d, 1781, which she endured with the greatest Christian fortitude and resignation."

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I might add to these some monuments which lie all exposed in the neighbourhood of Williamsburg. Nathaniel Bacon, uncle or near kinsman of him who is called the rebel, and who was high in office during the period of the rebellion, as he was before and after, married Elizabeth, the daughter and heiress of Richard Kingswell, of James City county. His residence was on King's Creek, near York River, and not far from Williamsburg. There are tombstones now near the bank of the river. The following inscriptions have been furnished me:—"Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth, wife of the Honourable Nathaniel Bacon, who departed this life the second day of November, one thousand six hundred and ninety-one, in the sixty-seventh year of her age." Also, on a mutilated tombstone, may be deciphered these words:—"The Rev. Thomas Hampton, rector of this parish in 1647." It is probable that he ministered in one of those churches which were closed when the first church at Williamsburg was built. Another residence of Nathaniel Bacon must have been near Williamsburg; for his tombstone now lies in a field on Dr. Tinsley's farm, while the tombstones of the Palmer family are in the garden of that place. The tombstone of Daniel Parke, whose name stands first on the old vestry-book of Bruton parish as vestryman and churchwarden, lies on the farm called Beal's, near Williamsburg.

In connection with the above, I mention that, in the Virginia Gazette for March, 1746, it is stated that the plate given by Colonel Nathaniel Bacon to York-Hampton parish was stolen. There are also, I am told, some graves and tombstones around a church about ten miles from Williamsburg, called Chickahominy Church, and lying near that river. It may be that it was in one of those numerous parishes which abounded in early times in and around James City. One there was, called Wilmington parish, which was taken partly from James City, and may have been united to Bruton parish. If so, all that I can find of it is that it was dissolved in 1723 and added to other parishes. At that time it lay most probably on both sides of the Chickahominy, was thirty miles long and eight wide, had one hundred communicants and one hundred and eighty families. The Rev. Mr. Brunskill was the minister, and reports that his parsonage had one room below and a garret above, and, together with his glebe, rented for forty shillings per annum.

At a recent visit to Williamsburg, my steps were directed to the College and the old court-house, in order to see if I could find something additional from the records thereof. In the old books

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of the clerk's office, I was shown a deed of one acre of land from some one for a new church in Wilmington parish,—probably the very church just spoken of.

There is mention also of a letter of the Bishop of London against swearing, and frequent notices of thanksgiving-days. The Rev. James Horrocks, afterward President of the College, was prevented by the court for not reading the act for suppressing vice, as the law directs. Fifty acres of land at Jamestown, and a house lately occupied by the Burgesses, were given to the justices of James City for a free school. Susannah Riddle petitions that her servant, John Hope, (*alias* Cæsar Barber, by which name he was afterward, and for a long time, well known,) might be allowed to be set free, as he had served her faithfully for thirty years. Mrs. Riddle was the friend of Mrs. Carrington, of Richmond, and aunt of Miss Caines, and great-aunt or relative of Lewis Warrington, who bequeathed to him one thousand pounds, as mentioned in a previous article. The Rev. Robert Andrews was the guardian of young Warrington.

From the records of the College I obtained, besides those previously gotten and used, one document worthy of insertion. In the will of Hilarity Giles, of Newport parish, Isle of Wight, giving a tract of land on Blackwater to the College of William and Mary, he thus begins:—

"*First and principally, above all things*, I give and commit my soul into the hands of Almighty God, my Saviour and Redeemer, by whom, through the merits of Jesus Christ, I believe assuredly to be saved, and to have *full, full, full* remission and forgiveness of all my sins."

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ARTICLE XVI.

York-Hampton Parish.—No. 1.

This was originally called Charles River parish, as the county of York was at first called Charles River county or shire, from the river whose early name was Charles, afterward York River. The name of Charles River county was changed to that of York in 1642. Of the earliest history of this parish but little is known, as there is no vestry-book to be found. In the first part of the last century it was considered one of the most desirable in the State, as Mr. Bartholomew Yates, of Middlesex, would have exchanged his position for it, if his salary had not been raised to twenty thousand-weight of tobacco and his glebe-house repaired and enlarged.* In the year 1724, we find, from a letter to the Bishop of London, that the Rev. Francis Fontaine—one of the Huguenot family which first settled in King William parish, at Manakintown on James River—had been the rector of this parish for two years, on a salary of £150, arising from the sale of twenty thousand-weight of sweet-scented tobacco, with a glebe and parsonage. The parish was four miles wide and twenty miles long, having two churches and two hundred families in it. Mr. Fontaine seems to have been a faithful minister, attending to the instruction of children and servants. He was unfortunate in his second marriage, and not a little injured by it, as may be seen in the History of the Fontaine Family, by Miss Anne Maury and Dr. Hawks. How long Mr. Fontaine continued to be the minister of York-Hampton we are unable to ascertain; but, as he was a good man and it was a good parish, it is probable that he ended his days there. The Rev. John Camm was the minister there in 1758, and, we have reason to believe, was there many years before. Although President of the College, and Commissary from

* Governor Spottswood had his country-house near York, early in the last century, at Temple Farm, and, as will be seen, a Major Gooch, of York-Hampton parish, was buried at that place in 1665. It had probably been an old establishment, which the Governor selected for its beauty, and where he built a new and larger house, and where he was buried.

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the year 1771 or 1772, he still continued to be the minister of the parish until he left the College in 1777: how much longer I know not. Mr. Camm was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Shield, who was the minister to some now living.* He was, it is believed, an intelligent and pious man. Some thought him rather too much of a Methodist. I have it from relatives of one of the party, that a lady of the old school, at a time when stiff brocades were the church dress of those who could afford it, would come home, after some of Mr. Shield's more animated discourses, and call upon her maid to take off her clothes, for she had heard so much of hell, damnation, and death, that it would take her all the evening to get cool. I have one of his sermons, which does credit to his head and heart, without being at all violent or extravagant. Mr. Shield had a correspondent in London,—a merchant, of good sense and apparent piety, to whom he shipped his tobacco,—a number of whose letters have been furnished me. In one of them there is allusion to the fact of Mr. Shield's retiring from the ministry, and engaging in political life by entering the Virginia Assembly. Mr. Shield replies at length, and solemnly declares that preaching the gospel was the occupation of all others in which he delighted, but that loss of his voice had incapacitated him from either reading the service or preaching, and that he acted under the advice of Bishop Madison in discontinuing all efforts. The disease seems to have been what is now well known as bronchitis, though he is at a loss even to describe it, so rare was the complaint at that time. His correspondent—Mr. Graham Frank, a gentleman well known to the merchants of York—mentions having seen Bishop Madison when he came to London for consecration, and that he was much pleased with the spirit and plans with which he was about to engage in his work. Mr. Frank had seen him some years before, on a visit to Virginia, and was not pleased with him on account of his political principles. As Mr. Frank was a man of zeal for the great doctrines of the Church, there can be no doubt but that the Bishop was in a good frame of mind, as may be seen in his address on entering upon the duties of the Episcopate soon after. Mr. Shield, in his letter to his friend, mentions that he had continued to perform his duties with great pain, and in part only, until he could get his place

* Mr. Shield was a friend of General Nelson, who recommended him to Bishop Porteus for orders, in 1774, and wrote to the merchant to advance him £50.

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supplied, which was now about to be done by the ordination of a son of a former rector of the parish and President of the College. If the son did enter upon this charge, I do not think he continued it long, but removed to a parish in York county, called Charles parish, and which had formerly been served by the Rev. Thomas Warrington, grandfather of Commodore Warrington, and by a Mr. Joseph Davenport afterward. York had not recovered from the ruins of the siege, and was now no longer the desirable parish it had been. The old families were deserting it, and the inhabitants around connecting themselves with other denominations. Nevertheless, we hear of three ministers occupying it,—a Rev. Mr. Scott, Mr. Henderson, and Brockenbrough, neither of whom were calculated to arrest its downfall. At length, in the year 1815, the old church was burned down. The material of the church was remarkable. The walls were made of blocks of marl, taken out of the bank of the river on which it stood, and which hardened by exposure. It was cemented yet the more by the fire, which caused it to melt somewhat and thus form one solid wall, which continued to stand until the roof and other parts were renewed a few years since, of which we shall speak more particularly hereafter.

We sometimes turn aside from the succession and character of ministers and churches, to cast a glance over the scenery, or to call up recollections of departed friends. We have recently done this in the case of Jamestown and some of its inhabitants, the Jaquelines and Amblers. Surely, if there be any spot in Virginia where we may be allowed to pause and look around us, remembering the past and dwelling with tender emotions on the present, that spot is old York. To use the language of one who has furnished materials for much of what follows:—

"The river is full a mile wide at York, which is eleven miles from its mouth, and is seen stretching itself away until it merges itself into the Chesapeake Bay. The sun rises immediately over the mouth of the river, and the water is tinged with the rainbow-hues of heaven. We have watched with much interest the decline of day from the New York Battery, but we doubt if New York Harbour—compared, as it is, with the Bay of Naples—ever presented to the eye a more enchanting spectacle than York River in its morning glory. Beautiful for situation is Old York, stretching east and west on as noble a sheet of water as rolls beneath the sun. But painful is the contrast of what it now is with what it once was. It is only when we turn to the river, 'the work of an Almighty hand,' that the force of that Scripture is felt,—'I change not.'

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BACK VIEW OF GEN. NELSON'S HOUSE, YORK.

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"'Here's nothing left of ancient pride,
Of what was grand, of what was gay;
But all is changed, is lost, is sold:
All, all that's left is chilling cold.'"

A few venerable relics of the past are all that may now be seen. The old York House is the most memorable. The corner-stone of it was laid by old President Nelson, when an infant, as it was designed for him. He was held by his nurse, and the brick laid in his apron and passed through his little hands. The bricks were all from England,—the corners of hewn stone. It was long the abode of love, friendship, and hospitality.

"Farewell: a prouder mansion I may see,
But much must meet in that which equals thee."

As one said of modern Italy, "Our memory sees more than our eyes in this place." What Paulding says of Virginia may emphatically be said of York,—

"All hail, thou birthplace of the glowing West!
Thou seem'st the towering eagle's ruin'd nest."

Let us, by the aid of well-attested tradition and history, speak a few words concerning it and some of its old inhabitants. It was established as a town and laid out in the year 1705. The founder of it was a Mr. Thomas Nelson, the first of the name in Virginia. He came from Penriff, near the border of Scotland, and was called Scotch Tom on that account. He set up a mercantile establishment in this place, as the first of the Amblers did soon after. He married a Miss Reid of the neighbouring country, and had two sons and one daughter. At her death he married a widow Tucker, whose husband was from Barbadoes, where, and in Bermuda, that name abounded. His two sons settled in York. His daughter married Colonel Berkeley, of Middlesex. His eldest son, Thomas, is the same who was called Secretary Nelson, because a long time Secretary of the Council. He had three sons in the American Revolution, whose descendants are all over Virginia. The other son of old Thomas Nelson was named William, and has always been called President Nelson, because so often President of the Council, and at one time President of the Colony. He married a Miss Burwell, grand-daughter of Mr. Robin Carter, called King Carter. He had many daughters, but none lived beyond the twelfth year. He had many sons also, the eldest of whom was General Thomas Nelson of the Revolution. One of his sons was burned to death, and another became an idiot by a fall from an

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upper story. These afflictions contributed to make Mrs. Nelson a "woman of a sorrowful spirit." She had been also educated religiously by her aunt, Mrs. Page, of Rosewell. She was a truly pious and conscientious woman. Her private and public exercises of religion, her well-known frequent prayers for her children and pious instruction of them, and exemplary conduct in all things, established this beyond all contradiction.* Mrs. Nelson was not alone in her personal piety, nor in her wishes and endeavours for the religious welfare of her children. President Nelson performed his part most faithfully. His eldest son, afterward General Nelson, was placed under the care of the Rev. Mr. Yates, of Gloucester, afterward President of William and Mary College, in order to prepare him for an English University. At the age of fourteen—sooner than was intended—he was sent thither. The circumstance which hastened his going was the following. On one Sunday afternoon, as his father was walking on the outskirts of the village of York, (for it was then but a village, and never much more,) he found him at play with some of the little negroes of the place. Feeling the evil of such associations, and the difficulty of preventing them, he determined to send him at once to England, and, a vessel being ready to sail, he was despatched the next day to the care of his friends,—Mr. Hunt, of London, and Beilby Porteus, then Fellow of Cambridge University. He went for some

* The two following hymns have come down in the family as her morning exercises:—

HYMN I.

"Preserved by thee another day,
Another song I'll raise;
Accept, I pray, for Jesus sake,
My gratitude and praise.

"Then take me underneath thy wing,
My God, my guardian be;
That in the morning I may sing
Another song to thee."

HYMN II.

"Thanks to my Saviour for a bed
On which to lay my drowsy head;
Oh, may my weary spirit rest
As sweetly on my Saviour's breast.

"Jesus, the sinner's precious friend,
On Thee alone will I depend:
Thou art my refuge, and to Thee
My spirit shall in safety flee."

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time to a preparatory school of Dr. Newcome, at Hackney, and then to the especial care and tutorship of Dr. Porteus. The letters of Mr. Nelson to Mr. Hunt and Dr. Porteus, copies of which I have, and the answers to which are acknowledged, evince deep anxiety for the improvement of his son in all things, but especially in morals and religion. He is evidently uneasy about the spirited character of his son, fearing lest it might lead him astray, and begs his friends to inform him if his son shows a disposition to idleness and pleasure. In order to avoid the temptations incident to young men during the vacation, especially such as are far away from friends, he requests Dr. Porteus to place him, during those seasons, with some eminent scientific agriculturist, and thus prepare him for dealing with the soils of America. After seven years, he returns home, being delayed several months beyond the time he intended, by a circumstance which showed the religious character of his father. In a letter to his friend Mr. Hunt, he alludes to the fact that two young Virginians, whose habits he feared were not good, were coming over in the ship in which he expected his son, and he must request that he be not sent with them; that he would rather his coming be postponed six months than have them as his companions, though they were sons of some of the first families of Virginia, and of those who were on terms of intimacy with his. His return was accordingly delayed for some months. On his arrival, Mr. Nelson writes to his friends in England that he is much pleased with the general improvement of his son, but regrets to find that he has fallen into that bad practice, which most of the young Virginians going to England adopt, of *smoking tobacco*,—adding, emphatically, "*filthy tobacco;*" also that "of eating and drinking, though not to inebriety, more than was conducive to health and long life." Still, he was rejoiced to see him, such as he was, with good principles. In proof of the respect in which President Nelson was held, and the hopes entertained of his son, we state that, though having been absent seven years, and being just twenty-one years of age, he was elected to the House of Burgesses while on his voyage home. If it be said that even immoral and irreligious parents sometimes wish to see their sons moral and religious, we further add, that President Nelson gave most varied proof of great uprightness of character. One such is furnished in a letter to some relatives in the North of England. He had redeemed an estate in that region by paying off its debts, by which it became his own. It proved to be much more valuable than was expected, and, discovering that some other relative had a better right to re-

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deem it, voluntarily offered to surrender the estate or all the profits His commercial character was of the highest order. He imported goods for merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore, which places were then in an incipient stage. By this means he acquired a large fortune, leaving landed estates and servants to each of his five sons,—Thomas, Hugh, William, Nat, and Robert,—and all of his other property, amounting, according to the statement of the elder St. George Tucker, to forty thousand pounds, to his oldest son, General Nelson, who had been engaged in business with him.* His interest in the affairs of religion and the Church was manifested by his taking the lead in the parish. The parish, though narrow, was long, and many, especially of the poor, must come some distance to church. On Church-Sundays he always had a large dinner prepared, to which rich and poor were indiscriminately invited. After having been President of the Council for a long term of years, on the decease of Lord Botetourt there was an interregnum, during which he, as President of the Council, was Acting Governor of the State, the civil and ecclesiastical representative of the King. By two letters to Lord Hillsborough now before me, in the years 1770 and 1771, he displays his determination to do his duty in relation to unworthy clergymen, of whom there were some needing discipline, and asks full and undoubted authority for so doing, as such authority required to be renewed from the throne. I conclude what yet remains to be said of President William Nelson by a few extracts from a printed sermon on his death, by Mr. Camm, the minister of York and President of William and Mary College. He ascribes to him "a rational and firm piety, an active and constant affection for the well-being and best interests of mankind;" speaks of him as "constant in his attendance at the ordinary service of God and the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and exhibiting unaffected and fervent devotion." He was—

"The kind and indulgent father, without suffering the excess of fondness to take off his eye from the true and best interests of his children; the tender husband, the affectionate brother, the useful and entertaining

* Judge Tucker, on reaching this country from Bermuda or the West Indies, landed at Yorktown, and being invited to General Nelson's house, where he spent some days, a warm friendship commenced between them, which continued during the life of General Nelson, and was, at his death, transferred to the surviving family by Judge Tucker. The latter wrote a brief biography of General Nelson, of which I have a manuscript copy. Whether it was ever published or not, I am not able to say.

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friend, the kind and generous master. His hospitality was extensive and liberal, yet judicious, and not set free from the restraints of reason and religion. It was not a blind propensity to profuseness, or a passion for a name, by which he corrupted the morals of his friends and neighbours. He was no encourager of intemperance or riot, or any practice tending to injure the health, the reputation, the fortunes, or *the religious attainments of his company.* His charities were many, and dispensed with choice and discretion, and so as to be most serviceable to the receivers and the least oppressive to their modesty. As one of the first and most respectable merchants in this dominion, he had great opportunity of being acquainted with the circumstances of many people whose cases otherwise would have escaped his knowledge. This knowledge was often turned to their advantage whose affairs fell under his consideration. I think I shall have the concurring voice of the public with me, when I say that his own gain by trade was not more sweet to him than the help which he hereby received toward becoming a general benefactor. He was an instance of what abundance of good may be done by a prudent and conscientious man without impoverishing himself or his connections,—nay, while his fortunes are improving. An estate raised with an unblemished reputation, and diffused from humane and devout motives in the service of multitudes as well as the owner's, it may reasonably be expected will wear well, and have the blessing of Providence to attend and protect it from generation to generation."

This last remark has certainly been in a good degree fulfilled in the descendants of President Nelson. Though they have not been rich in this world's goods, yet they have not suffered through want. Many of them have held respectable offices in the State and General Government. Almost all of them have been enabled to obtain a good education,—the best fortune in a country like ours,—so as to associate with the most respectable portion of the community. Many of them have obtained the highest of all honours,—the honour which cometh from God only. It is true that the first son, to whom the birthright of those days—the amplest fortune—was given, spent it in his country's service, leaving his widow and children in comparative poverty. But he spent it nobly, as his father would have done had he lived to see the mighty struggle for our liberties. Although that father was the first in the Government only a few years before, and was the right hand of George III. in this Colony, addressed in his commission as "My well-beloved and worshipful, greeting," yet at that very time the letters to his merchants and friends in London show that he had the soul of a patriot as well as a Christian within him,—that he was indignant at the imposition of the British Parliament,—and leave none to doubt where he would have been found when the trumpet sounded to arms. The thousands which General Nelson cast upon the waters were not lost, but soon sprung up in a plentiful harvest

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of rich blessings to his country, on which let his latest posterity reflect with delight, and enjoy as a richer inheritance than thousands of silver and gold.*

This leads me to add a few words concerning that patriot himself, confining my remarks as nearly as possible to the special character of the work I have in hand. I mean the moral and religious character of the persons treated of. Whether General Nelson was ever in full communion with the Church, I am not able to say.† That he was a believer in the Gospel in that age of blasphemy with so many, and that he was the friend of religion, cannot be doubted. In writing to his own and his father's friend in London, Mr. Samuel Martin, the 27th of January, 1773, he says:—

"It falls to my lot to acquaint you with the death of my father, who departed this life the 19th of last November. His life was exemplary, being blessed with both public and private virtues. His death was such as became a true Christian, *hoping through the mediation of our blessed Saviour* to meet with the reward promised to the righteous. But I must stop here, lest prejudice should lead me too far."

His friendship to God's ministers may be seen, about that time, by the introduction of Mr. Samuel Shield to his friend in London, with a request that he would pay him £50 on his account. Hitherto there was a king's bounty of £50 to all who came over for Orders. But this was in the year 1774, and probably Mr. Nelson apprehended some difficulty, for, only two years after, Orders were refused, such was the state of things between the Colony and Great Britain.‡ We have seen that in the year 1775 the College

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* Although it does not come strictly under the character of this work, I cannot help referring to a circumstance which occurred just at the opening of the war, which shows that the citizens of little York were a valiant race. On a certain occasion, a Captain Montague drew up a ship-of-war before it, and threatened that, in a certain event, he would fire upon the town. Though full of helpless women and children, the committee of the place, on meeting to receive his message, "Resolved, unanimously, that Mr. Montague had manifested a spirit of cruelty unprecedented in the annals of civilized times, and that it be recommended to the inhabitants of the town and of the country in general, that they do not entertain, or show any other mark of civility to Captain Montague, besides what common decency and absolute necessity requires."

† I have since heard that General Nelson was certainly a communicant of the Church,—at any rate, during the latter part of his life.

‡ In a letter to one of his friends a year or two afterward, he says, "What think you of the Right Reverend Fathers in God, the Bishops? One of them refused to ordain a young gentleman who went from America, because he was a rebellious American; so that, unless we will submit to Parliamentary oppression, we shall not have the Gospel of Christ preached to us."

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voted £50 to Mr. Madison when he went over for Orders. In the following year I see an instance of liberality in General Nelson's provision for a number of families in York, who had been driven from their homes by Lord Dunmore's troops. Again I see his high and honourable character, in imitation of that integrity which his father displayed in all his dealings, when it was proposed in the House of Burgesses to adopt some method of discharging British debts which he considered improper. He indignantly opposed it, declaring, some say, with an oath; others, far more probably, "So help me God, others may do as they please, but I will pay all my debts like an honest man." I might add numerous testimonies to his unbounded liberality toward his comrades in the war when far from home. It becomes not me to speak of the hundreds of thousands procured on his own credit for the use of the State, when not a dollar could be gotten on its own, nor how the account stood between them at the close of that war. He certainly entered upon it very rich, and came out of it so poor that when a few years had passed away, and he was laid in the old graveyard at York, without a headstone or slab to mark the spot, his property, save the old house in deserted York and some poor broom-straw fields in Hanover, was put up at public sale to pay the debts contracted in his country's cause.* Even the old family Bible, with the births and baptisms of the family, with the little table on which it stood, was (though, I doubt not, by mistake) sold on that occasion. Within the last year, in one of my visitations among the mountains, I heard of this Bible. So was it valued by the family now having it, whose baptisms and births had also there been registered, that they could not be induced to relinquish it to one of the descendants of its original owner.

The following account of General Nelson's family at Offley, a small wooden house in Hanover county, Virginia, by the French traveller, Chattellux, soon after the war, will not be uninteresting to the reader:—

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* Chancellor Nelson, the General's youngest son, used to amuse himself with his relatives in Hanover, by telling them that their favourite hymn seemed to be that one in which were the two lines,—

"Send comfort down from thy right hand,
To cheer us in this barren land."

But still, as some one said of the people of Iceland, that "poverty was the bulwark of their happiness," so it is, and has been, with many of the descendants of General Nelson, in one respect: they have not been tempted by riches to "be full and deny God."

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"In the absence of the General, (who had gone to Williamsburg,) his mother and wife received us with all the politeness, ease, and cordiality natural to his family. But, as in America the ladies are never thought sufficient to do the honours of the house, five or six Nelsons were assembled to receive us,—among others, Secretary Nelson, uncle to the General, his two sons, and two of the General's brothers. These young men were married, and several of them were accompanied with their wives and children, all called Nelsons, and distinguished only by their Christian names; so that, during the two days which I spent in this truly patriarchal house, it was impossible for me to find out their degrees of relationship. The company assembled either in the parlour or saloon, especially the men, from the hour of breakfast to that of bedtime; but the conversation was always agreeable and well supported. If you were desirous of diversifying the scene, there were some good French and English authors at hand. An excellent breakfast at nine o'clock, a sumptuous dinner at two, tea and punch in the afternoon, and an elegant little supper, divided the day most happily for those whose stomachs were never unprepared. It is worth observing, that on this occasion, where fifteen or twenty people (four of whom were strangers to the family and country) were assembled together, and by bad weather forced to stay within doors, not a syllable was said about play. How many parties of tric-trac, whist, and lotto would with us have been the consequence of such obstinate bad weather!"

We shall probably find an explanation of this absence of all games, not only by the presence of such pious ladies as General Nelson's mother and wife, but in the fact that old President Nelson had trained up his family otherwise, and at a time when card-playing and other games were but too common. We infer this from a letter of his to a friend in England, concerning some young man in whom they were both interested, and of whom Mr. Nelson entertains painful apprehension because he had gone to a part of the State where cards, racing, and suchlike things were freely practised. We cannot forbear mentioning one circumstance that comes to us on undoubted authority, concerning the second son of President Nelson, —Colonel Hugh Nelson, of York. He followed the example of his father's piety, and was a kind of lay preacher to the families in York, especially to those of his own name. Besides reading the service and sermon in the church every other Sunday in the absence of the minister, and every Sunday when there was no minister, as was often the case after the war, he acted as minister in preparing the candidates for the first confirmation ever held in York, soon after Bishop Madison's return from England with Episcopal consecration. On the morning of the confirmation he assembled them all in the large parlour or hall at the old house in York, and addressed them on the nature of that rite. That, and the scene in church which soon followed, has been often described as most deeply affecting by one of his own children, the youngest recipient of the

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rite, the late Mrs. Edmund Pendleton, mother of the Rev. William N. Pendleton. We close with the expression of deep regret that many documents, from which we might have drawn other passages of interest touching President and General Nelson, are not to be found. Of the numerous letters to correspondents in England, written during a long series of years, only those of the last six of President Nelson's life—from 1766 to 1772—are to be had. The same loss is felt as to the letters of General Nelson. Not long before his death he caused them all to be collected and filed by his son, Mr. Philip Nelson, who had been trained to the mercantile life; and among them that son always remembered and often spoke of some most interesting ones from Washington, Lafayette, and others during and after the war. These also have disappeared. His papers and those of his father descended, together with the old York house, to one of his sons and the descendants of the same. They were doubtless objects of curiosity and desire to its numerous visitors from all parts of the State and land, especially after it became, as it was for many years, one of public entertainment. Too freely may the desire and curiosity of travellers and visitors have been yielded to, and too little, as in many other cases in Virginia, have such relics of our ancestors been prized.

Although no apology is needed for the more full and particular notice of the family of Nelsons which has been given, it may be well to state that my more intimate connection with it for nearly fifty years has furnished me with the means of such fulness and particularity. As to others less known to me, and worthy of special notice for their religious character and attachment to the Episcopal Church, I invite communications. Some have been sent and gladly used.

TOMBSTONES AND INSCRIPTIONS IN THE OLD CHURCHYARD AT YORK.

But few of these remain, and some of them are broken and illegible. That of the first Nelson and the founder of the town is as follows:—

"Hic jacet, spe certa resurgendi in Christo, Thomas Nelson, Generosus; Filius Hugonis et Sariæ Nelson, de Penrith, in comitate Cumbriæ. Natus 20mo die Februarii, Anno Domini 1677. Vitæ bene gestæ finem implevit 7mo die Octobris, 1745, ætatis suæ 68."

Which is thus rendered into English:—

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"Here lies, in the certain hope of being raised up in Christ, Thomas Nelson, Gentleman; the son of Hugh and Sarah Nelson, of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland. Born the 20th of February, 1677. He completed a well-spent life on the 7th of October, 1745, in his sixty-eighth year."

Adjoining this is the tomb of his son, President Nelson, whose character has been portrayed in the first article on this parish. The inscription is as follows:—

"Here lies the body of the Honourable William Nelson, Esquire, late President of his Majesty's Council in this Dominion; in whom the love of man and the love of God so restrained and enforced each other, and so invigorated the mental powers in general, as not only to defend him from the vices and follies of his age and country, but also to render it a matter of difficult decision in what part of laudable conduct he most excelled,—whether in the tender and endearing accomplishments of domestic life, or in the more arduous duties of a wider circuit,—whether as a neighbour, a gentleman, or a magistrate,—whether in the graces of hospitality or piety. Reader, if you feel the spirit of that exalted ardour which aspires to the felicity of conscious virtue, animated by those consolations and divine admonitions, perform the task and expect the distinction of the righteous man. He died the 19th of November, Anno Domini 1772, aged 61."

The latter part of this epitaph savours much of the language of the pulpit in that day. The epitaph was probably written by President Camm.

Very near to these tombstones General Thomas Nelson was buried; but to this day not even a rough headstone marks the spot, and no hillock is to be seen; and when one or two aged members of the family are gone, there will be none left to point out the place, when the gratitude of his country, or the filial piety of his descendants, which has been too long waiting the action of the former, desires to raise some humble monument to the most generous and self-sacrificing of American patriots.*

The only other inscriptions which could be deciphered were those of Abraham Archer, who died in 1752, aged sixty-two; of

* An American writer, after describing the tombs of old Thomas Nelson and his son, President William Nelson, says that General Thomas Nelson was buried in a vault at the end of a fragment of the brick wall which surrounds the church, with nothing but a rough stone lying among the grass to mark the spot; than which nothing can be more fabulous. He was buried near to his father and grandfather. The spot has been pointed out to me by one of the family, who is well acquainted with it. Not more than two or three others survive who could now, with certainty, from personal knowledge designate the exact place.

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Susannah Reignolds, daughter of William Rojers, who died in 1768, aged sixty; and of Jane Frank, the daughter of Mr. William Routh, of Kisklington, in Yorkshire. She died on her passage at sea, April 26, and was interred May 28, 1753, aged twenty-eight years. She was doubtless the wife of that pious man, Mr. Frank, of whom we have written as the friend and correspondent of the Rev. Mr. Shield and others in York and Williamsburg.

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ARTICLE XVII.

York-Hampton Parish.—No. 2.

In connection with York-Hampton parish and its minister, the Rev. John Camm, there is a subject which I shall now consider, deeming this the most suitable occasion, as the vestry was equally concerned in it with any other in the diocese, and the minister took a more active part than any other of the clergy. I allude to the celebrated contest between the clergy on the one hand, and the Council, Burgesses, and some of the vestries on the other, concerning the salaries of the former, in the year 1758. The act of Assembly which produced the contest, and convulsed both Church and State, was called the Option Law or Two-penny Act, because the people were allowed the option of paying as usual so much tobacco, or about twopence per pound instead of it. It was occasioned by the apprehension of a very short crop of tobacco, by the failure of plants in the spring in some parts of the State. The failure was very great, though not to the extent apprehended. It was, however, so great as, with other circumstances, to raise the price from sixteen shillings and fourpence—the supposed average price of the clergy's tobacco—to fifty and sixty shillings. In anticipation of the difficulty which many might find in discharging their debts to the clergy and others in tobacco, according to law or contract, the Assembly ordained that the debts due in tobacco to the clergy and to certain officers of Government,—who were but few at that time,—and from tenants to their landlords, or planters to merchants, &c., might be discharged by the payment of twopence a pound in paper currency, which was only good in the Colony. In order to understand the subject aright, it is necessary to recur to some previous acts of the Assembly on the subject of salaries.

For a long time the salary of a minister had been settled at sixteen thousand-weight of tobacco per annum; and in the year 1748 the Assembly passed a new act, confirming this, and giving to the vestries certain privileges hitherto claimed by the Crown, the Governors, and clergy, but in fact exercised by the vestries, as has before been stated. Though the clergy did not like some

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things in it, yet, unable to help themselves, they submitted, and the royal assent was given. According to a standing law of England, no act of the Colonial Legislature could contradict a previous act which had received the royal sanction, without suspending its execution until the King's pleasure could be known. The Assembly, finding it desirable to have the privilege of passing some acts and carrying them into execution sooner than the distance from England and the time then required for communication with the Government would allow, petitioned the King in the year 1751 or 1752 for leave to make some exceptions; but the petition was positively refused. Nevertheless, it began to act in a small way at first, on the principle thus refused. In the year 1753 it passed an act allowing the vestries of Frederick and Augusta to pay the salaries of their ministers in money instead of tobacco, as but little of the latter was raised in the valley,—taking care, however, to allow them handsome salaries, so that no complaint was made. In the year 1754 the same was done in Norfolk and Princess Anne parishes without much notice or complaint. But in the year 1755, when there was the threatening of a very small crop of tobacco throughout the country, the Assembly proceeded to a bolder step, and passed a law allowing all who pleased to pay either in tobacco or money as suited best. The law was carried by only one vote. A general feeling of uneasiness now seized upon the clergy, and they were preparing to make opposition. Letters and memorials were sent to England, and meetings of the clergy held; but as the season became more propitious and the crop turned out nearly as good as usual, and the tobacco would generally be paid, no active measures were taken, though some even then threatened to resort to law. In the year 1758 a great failure was apprehended, and the Assembly now passed the obnoxious law of which we are speaking. Though opposed by some of the Burgesses and the Council as illegal and unjust, it was carried. The clergy who were nearest to Williamsburg assembled and asked to be admitted to the bar of the House, to be heard in opposition to the measure before it passed, but were refused. Governor Dinwiddie had been urged to veto the act of 1755, but declined, though saying it was unjust and illegal, asking, "What can I do? If I refuse, I shall have the people on my back." Lieutenant-Governor Fauquier, now in office, when applied to for the same purpose, also refused, saying, "Whether it be just or unjust, contradictory to the King's instructions or not, is not the question. The question is, What will please the people?" He took part with the Assembly; and the Assembly, which had

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voted Dinwiddie only £500, (it was the custom to make a present to every new Governor,) voted him, though a more obnoxious man than even Dinwiddie, £1000. The clergy were now convened, and made an address to the Crown, through the Lord-Commissioner of Trade for the Plantation, pleading their grievances. The Bishop of London, being called upon for his opinion by the Commissioners, was decided and strong in favour of the clergy. The Rev. Mr. Camm was sent over by the clergy to plead their cause, and persons were employed by the Assembly on their part. The Rev. Mr. Camm remained eighteen months in England in the prosecution of the case. To oppose the Colonies in any thing where taxation or prerogative was concerned was now becoming a critical matter. The Stamp Act had just been repealed. Notwithstanding this, the Commissioners of Trade unanimously declared the law to be not only unjust, but null and void, and recommended the King to disallow it and require its repeal, which he accordingly did. As to the requiring the tobacco to be paid, they told Mr. Camm that the courts in America must do this, and certainly would do it, the case being so plain; that if it should be otherwise, and an appeal was taken to the Privy Council in England, they would certainly be righted. On this, Mr. Camm immediately wrote to his agent in America to institute a suit against his vestry for the tobacco, and carry it before the Governor and Council, which was the Supreme Court in Virginia. The vestry declined standing the suit until the Assembly passed an act to support all vestries in their defence. The trial being had, it appears that Messrs. Randolph, Corbin, Carter, and Lee were in favour of Mr. Camm's claim, and Messrs. Byrd, Taylor, Thornton, Burwell, and Blair against it. The two Mr. Nelsons, of York, the President and Secretary, declined sitting, as they were a party concerned, being vestrymen of Mr. Camm's parish. It was understood that they were in favour of the claim of the clergy, one of them having told the Rev. Mr. Warrington that he regarded the law as most unjust, and had Mr. Warrington's case been permitted, as was attempted afterward, to come up for trial, they would have been on the court, and have made a majority of one in favour of the clergy, whereas, in the case of Mr. Camm, a majority of one was in favour of the law. There was now no other resort for Mr. Camm but to the English Court of Appeals; and he was not the man to give up a contest until he could contend no more, especially as he was fighting not only his own battle, but that of all the clergy of Virginia. He accordingly sent his case to the Privy Council, expecting that the promises

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made to him while in England would be fulfilled, but was disappointed. After various delays, the case was dismissed, on the pretence of some informality, the blame being chiefly laid at the door of Lord Northington. Inasmuch as the Lord-Commissioners of Trade, Privy Council, and King had all so positively and unanimously declared the law null and void, and the Governor of Virginia had proclaimed its repeal by the order of the King, we must seek the cause of this dismissal in some other difficulty than an informality. It was doubtless to be found in the desire to avoid at this time a collision with the Virginia Assembly; and the clergy were deserted. The Rev. Mr. Warrington, of Hampton, who was as brave and determined in the Church as his grandson Commodore Warrington afterward in the navy, had his case before the Council of Virginia, and, if unsuccessful, was prepared to try whether the Privy Council would, when the alleged informality was avoided, enter upon the cause; but his suit was never permitted to be tried here, the court in Virginia professing to await the decision of the court in England, and thus ended the matter. Mr. Warrington brought suit for his full salary in the Court of Elizabeth City, and the jury brought in a special verdict for some damages, but still declared the law valid in opposition to the King. The Rev. Alexander White, of King William, also brought suit. The court declined instructing the jurors as to the law, and left it entirely with them, who brought in some trivial damages. But the instance of suit which caused most interest at the time, and has continued most to sparkle on the page of history, was that of the Rev. James Maury. It was tried in Hanover county, though he was in an adjoining parish. The high character of Mr. Maury entitles any account he may have given of the transaction to great confidence. We have it in a printed letter to Mr. Camm in the year 1763. In the November Court of that year, he says, the court decided in his favour that it was no law, and at the next court a select jury was to decide upon the damages. It was indeed, he says, a select jury, three or four being what were called *New Lights*, who were dissenters from and enemies to the Church, and the others picked up on the occasion, and most unfit to decide such a cause.

It was on this occasion that Patrick Henry, then young in the practice, made his first successful effort. It was truly an *ad captandum* speech, being suited to the times and addressed to the passions and interests of the people. He praised the law as salutary,—said that a king, by disallowing such a law, became a tyrant instead of the father of the people. He spoke in such a manner

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that several persons in the crowd cried out, "Treason!" The cause being pleaded on both sides, by Mr. Lyons for Mr. Maury, by Mr. Henry for the vestry or collector, and it being intimated to the jury that, though they *must* find for the plaintiffs, yet one penny damages would suffice, in five minutes the jury brought in that verdict. Mr. Lyons moved that the jury should be sent back again, as having found against the evidence; but this was refused: then that certain evidence should be recorded, which also was refused: and, lastly, that an appeal should be allowed, which shared the same fate.* It is due to Mr. Henry to state that he apologized to Mr. Maury for some improper reflection made as to himself, and pleaded, as an excuse for his course, that he was a young lawyer, a candidate for practice and reputation, and therefore must make the best of his cause. It is probable, also, that at this time Mr. Henry may have been a little alienated from the Church of his father and relatives.† The Revs. Mr. Davies and Mr. Waddell (the old blind preacher of whom Mr. Wirt speaks) were then in their height of zeal and eminence, and Mr. Henry often attended their services and admired them much. Disaffection to the Church was also getting quite strong in that region. Mr. Henry may for a time have sympathized in their religious views, though I have no testimony to this effect. The following extract of a letter of Mr. Roger Atkinson, of Mannsfield, near Petersburg, an old vestryman and staunch friend of the Church in that place, to his brother-in-law, Mr. Samuel Pleasants, may throw some light on this point. He is drawing the portraits of the members sent to the first Congress from Virginia. Of Mr. Henry he says, "He is a real half-Quaker,—your brother's man,—moderate and mild, and in religious matters a saint; but the very d—l in politics,—a son of thunder. He will shake the Senate. Some years ago he had

* Mr. Wirt, in his Life of Patrick Henry, while under the strongest temptation to place any thing he did or said in the most favourable light, yet hesitates not to acknowledge that the case was a bad one, and the law indefensible. Mr. Wirt, after reading all that was written on both sides of the case, says, "It seems impossible to deny at this day that the clergy had much the best of the argument." And again, that the court which had decided the principle of law in favour of the clergy, "very much to their credit, breasted the popular current." He also informs us that Mr. John Lewis, counsel for the people, was so satisfied that the case was a desperate one after the decision of the court, that he gave up the cause, saying to his clients that he could do them no service. Then it was that Mr. Henry was called in, who took care to say nothing about the law of the case.

† He had an uncle in the Episcopal ministry, Patrick Henry, who lived near the place of trial, and would have been present, but at the request of his nephew stayed away.

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liked to have talked treason into the House."* Whatever may have been the feelings of Mr. Henry as to the Episcopal Church at that time, it is very certain that in after-life he gave full proof that he was no enemy to it, and had no desire to deprive it of any just rights. At a time when such numbers were deserting it, when politicians were raising themselves on its ruins, when the worn-out glebes, and decayed parsonages, and sacred vessels were thought to be too much to be left in the hands of the few Episcopal families which were remaining, Mr. Henry stood up in opposition to every attempt at their alienation, with the same boldness and the same success as when he denounced British oppression; nor did the advocates of the last act by which she was prostrated in the dust succeed in their endeavour until he had left the hall of legislation.† There may be some difficulty in reconciling his opposition to this measure with his advocacy of that concerning which we have been writing, but there may have seemed to be one to him, and may have been a real one. At any rate, his attachment to the Church of his fathers is clearly established. There are abundant proofs that it continued through life, and that his descendants have

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* Mr. Atkinson was the grandfather of Bishop Atkinson. The remainder of this letter is so faithfully and happily descriptive of the other members of the delegation, that I make no apology for introducing it. Of Peyton Randolph he says, "A venerable man, whom I well know and love; an honest man; has knowledge, temper, experience, judgment,—above all, integrity; a true Roman spirit. He, I find, is chairman. The choice will do honour to the judges, and the chairman will do honour to the choice." Of Richard Henry Lee he says, "I think I know the man, and I like him: need I say more? He was the second choice, and he was my second choice." Of George Washington he says, "He is a soldier,—a warrior; he is a modest man; sensible; speaks little; in action cool, like a Bishop at his prayers." Of Colonel Bland he says, "A wary, old, experienced veteran at the bar and in the Senate; has something of the look of old musty parchments, which he handleth and studieth much. He formerly wrote a treatise against the Quakers on water-baptism." Of Benjamin Harrison he says, "He is your neighbour, and brother-in-law to the speaker, (Peyton Randolph:) I need not describe him." Of Mr. Pendleton he says, "The last and best, though all good. The last shall be first, says the Scripture. He is an humble and religious man, and must be exalted. He is a smooth-tongued speaker, and, though not so old, may be compared to old Nestor,—

"'Experienced Nestor, in persuasion skill'd,
Words sweet as honey from his lips distill'd.'"

† I have often in my early days heard the delegate from Frederick county (Mr. Matthew Page) speak of the eloquence of Mr. Henry while defending the Church against this assault, and refer to the fact that his opponents could never succeed until he was out of the way. This circumstance seemed to have been well known, for Bishop White has introduced it into his Memoirs of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States.

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inherited it. And now, should it be asked why the clergy alone of all who were affected by this law should have made such opposition, when it was professedly designed to relieve the poor, in a year of unparalleled scarcity, I will endeavour to answer the question out of the mouths of the clergy themselves at the time. Their reasons and complaints were sent in lengthy letters—memorials from themselves and the Commissaries Dawson and Robinson—to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Bishop of London, and the Privy Council; also in a letter from the Bishop of London to the Lord-Commissioners of Trade, and in an opinion of some of the first jurists in England, among them Lord Cambden. These have been preserved in the archives of Lambeth and Fulham. I have a copy of them before me, covering more than one hundred and fifty folio pages of manuscript. I have carefully examined the same, as well as whatever on the other side I could obtain, and will briefly state the substance of the clergy's plea. In the first place, it is declared to be untrue that no complaints came from other sources. In the year 1755, the same measure was carried by only one vote, such was the opposition to it. In the year 1758, some of the ablest and best men of the Assembly and the State were opposed to it. Those who were to be sufferers by it among the officers of Government were afraid to complain, as they might lose office. But the chief reason why many others did not complain more and longer was, that most of them were actually paid their full dues in tobacco. When the King disallowed the law at the petition of the clergy, and the Legislature was obliged to encourage the vestries to resent by promising to bear the expenses of the suit, but said nothing about any other suits, nearly all the other debtors, believing their cause to be a hopeless one, would not incur the expenses of a suit, but paid their dues as they stood before the law was passed. Thus the clergy alone were the sufferers, while the instruments of doing justice to others. Secondly, they maintained that theirs was a peculiar case, and might have been exempted from the operation of law, even if some such method could have been legally adopted with others. They, by their profession, were precluded from those various modes of acquiring property by which others might more easily bear a loss. Their salaries too were generally small,—so small that a great number of them could not marry,—that respectable families would not admit them into that relationship. In ordinary years most of them, it was declared, did not receive more than eighty pounds,—sometimes much less; and, when tobacco was indifferent, not more

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than forty or fifty pounds, while cases occurred of still less. One great grievance was, that their salaries were not paid until eighteen months after their year's labour begun, the levy being never ordered until twelve months had elapsed, and that not demandable for six months after; and, if shipped to England, a still longer delay; and, if they did not send it to England and get their goods there, must sell it here and buy indifferent articles at an advance of from twenty-five to fifty per cent. The consequence of this was, that the clergy were often deeply in debt long before their salaries were paid. They thought it hard, therefore, that when, in the course of Providence, an increase of funds occurred for one year, by which they might be set free from debt or be enabled to buy a few books, this should be prevented by such an act. They had often before, by bad seasons injuring the tobacco, or by an abundant crop reducing the price, suffered a great diminution of salary, but the Assembly had never regarded this their loss and sought to supply it in any other way, and it was not fair now to reduce it by an arbitrary, unjust, and unconstitutional act. Moreover, they said it was an *ex post facto* or retrospective law, passed after they had earned their salary by a year's labour. It was thus their own property, though not in their hands, as it ought to have been. They also declared that, considering the high price at which tobacco sold that year, it was a prosperous one. The quantity of tobacco shipped was estimated at thirty-five thousand hogsheads, instead of fifty thousand, the average crop; that, selling at fifty shillings a hundred instead of sixteen and eightpence, every man got two-thirds more than usual for his tobacco, and therefore could better afford to pay than in other years, except in such places as failed very greatly. The clergy thus lost two-thirds of their just expectations and lawful rights. They said the history of Virginia proved that a small crop of tobacco was best for the Colony, that the Legislature was often endeavouring to stint the crop of tobacco by preventing the culture of so much, and in former days had even destroyed some which was already made, and that now, when *Providence had stinted the crop*, it was hard that the clergy should be the chief, indeed only, sufferers. They most positively denied that the welfare of the poor was the object or the effect of the law, and said that the rich planters were the chief gainers by it,—that they had few tenants to pay them in money instead of tobacco, but cultivated their lands with their own servants, and now paid the clergy and others to whom they were indebted at one-third of the price at which they sold their tobacco. They charged the

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Legislature with taking from them one penny for the poor and a shilling for the rich, and maintained that some other method might have been adopted for the relief of real sufferers far more just and equal. Comparing their tithes with those of Israel of old, they computed their portion of the tobacco on an average to be less than one-fiftieth, and even in that year less than a twentieth, and said that nothing whatever of any other crops was taxed, and that all other crops that year were uncommonly abundant. If, therefore, the Church was worth supporting, they maintained that it ought to be honourably done. They affirmed that the effect of this unjust proceeding must be to deter respectable clergymen from coming into the Colony, or young men of education and respectability here from entering the ministry. They declared that such an effect had already been produced; that some of the best men had already left the Colony, and others were preparing to follow. There was, with one exception, (and he a young, conceited, and unworthy man,) entire unanimity among the clergy, while there was great diversity of sentiment among the laity, and certainly among the opponents of the measure there were many of the ablest and best men of Virginia. The clergy, indeed, boasted that what their advocates wanted in numbers was amply made up in quality. As the question came to be weighed in the balances of law and equity, it was more and more admitted to be unconstitutional and unfair. Many confessed their error; but it was too late to retract. The clergy had committed the unpardonable sin of appealing to the Crown; and, though many of them became staunch Revolutionists, preaching and writing in behalf of the war, and some girding on their swords, the evil could not be repaired. Dissenters were rapidly gaining ground. They took possession of the vacant pulpits and drew off numbers from the Church, and no future Assembly could have been gotten to repair the wrong. Such was the permissive providence of God, and doubtless for wisest reasons. Had the one hundred clergy of Virginia, or a large portion of them, been true men of God, not only leading holy lives, laboriously discharging all their duties, understanding by their own heartfelt experience, and zealously preaching the doctrines of the Gospel as set forth by the Reformers in our standards, God would not have permitted that unjust act on the part of the Legislature of Virginia. There were doubtless many worthy men among them, and some few who understood, felt, and preached the Gospel; but, if Mr. Jarratt's testimony is to be received, God could not have been among them to bless

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them. After his ordination in England and settlement in Virginia, he attended one of the later convocations at Williamsburg, but was so disgusted at the manner in which he heard some of the doctrines of the Gospel and the Church spoken of, that he resolved to attend no more of them. I doubt not there were many sober, good-natured men among the clergy, but they wanted weight of character, and were unfit for the ministry. There were many who preached a dry orthodoxy and frigid morality; but that was not enough. The Dissenters came and gave hungry souls something else, though often mixed with what was not the Gospel.

Still, all this did not justify the act of which we have been speaking, which must ever be regarded as a deep stain on the Legislature of that day. Necessity, indeed, has no law, and there are times when laws must be violated in order to prevent a greater evil. Government has a right to interfere with the property of individuals, when they greatly abuse it to the injury of the public. But no such necessity existed. If tobacco was scarce, the price was very high, and all the necessaries of life abounded. The clergy, whether deficient in right views of religion or not, performed a large amount of bodily exercise and went through their required duties, and therefore had a right to what was secured to them by law. There was the same scarcity in Maryland, where the salaries were larger, and yet there was no such commutation enjoined there. We again therefore come to the conclusion that the clergy were sinking in public estimation, the dissenters from and enemies to the Church were increasing, the Revolutionary spirit, the unwillingness to be interfered with by the authorities of England, was daily strengthening, and all these combined to permit the passage of the law and to forbid the reparation of the wrong that was done. I add that in the College of William and Mary the same contest was going on. The Visitors and the Faculty were at variance,—the former claiming the right to dismiss the professors at pleasure, the latter affirming that, according to the charter of the College, a controlling power was in the authorities abroad; but the former, as might be expected, prevailed. The time for revolution and independence was fully come, and there was no resisting it. President Camm, at the beginning of the war, being summoned before the Visitors to answer some complaints, denied their authority, and, refusing to attend, was displaced, and Mr. Madison, of more republican spirit, was chosen in his room.

Having closed the consideration of a question which for some years violently agitated the Church and Colony of Virginia, and

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which on one side was mainly defended by the minister of York-Hampton parish, we take our leave of poor old York, but not without a word or two as to its past, its present, and its future, so far as man may look into the future of a dilapidated town or village. Little York was never much more than a village; although merchants from Baltimore and Philadelphia—at that time little more than villages—once got goods from its warehouses. How many inhabitants it had, when at its height, cannot be said. Besides tradesmen and artificers and shopkeepers, of whom we are unable to get any information, we learn that before and for some time after the Revolution there was one of the most delightful societies anywhere to be found, consisting of Amblers, Archers, Gibbons, Jamiesons, Macawleys, Nicolsons, Griffins, Nelsons, Diggeses, Smiths, Popes, Shields, Fouchees, &c. All these, with the other families of the place, and from the country around, filled the Episcopal Church in York, and formed a happy, undivided society. During the war, all fled who could: some did not return, or only returned to bid adieu to its ruins. From time to time, others removed, until it was left almost desolate, and the country around seemed likely to share the same fate. Agriculture grew worse and worse. Lands were almost given away. But within the last few years a favourable change has seemed likely to take place, in sympathy with the improvement of all Lower Virginia. A few zealous females, in the hope and anticipation of it, by the most indefatigable diligence, rebuilt the old church, which had been destroyed by fire, and the Rev. Mr. Withers, while Chaplain to the Lunatic Asylum in Williamsburg, rendered acceptable services to the few remaining inhabitants of York. It has been hoped that the railroad, intended to connect Richmond with Baltimore by York River, would have found a terminus here, and thus insured a revival of the town. In this its friends have been also disappointed, that terminus being established higher up. Still, hopes are entertained of its more gradual improvement by the increased commerce floating on the bosom of York River, and from the rise in lands all around. The demand for houses is increasing, and, if the present owner of nearly all York and its vicinity was disposed to sell, lots and small farms would be purchased and settled. There is one interesting and venerable establishment in the vicinity of York which deserves a notice. It is called Temple Farm. It was the country-residence of Governor Spottswood in the beginning of the last century. It was called Temple Farm because of a house in its garden, built by the Governor as a cemetery. It was in the mansion-

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house on this farm that Lord Cornwallis met Washington and signed the articles of capitulation. One of our Virginia antiquaries, (Mr. Caruthers,) in a semi-fictitious historical novel, after the manner of Walter Scott, has made this place a chief scene and Governor Spottswood the chief hero. But, it being so long since the date of the events described, many of its readers perhaps doubt whether the house was built by Governor Spottswood, or whether he ever lived there. Having myself had an interest, by marriage, in the house and farm, and knowing that there was much of the real in the traditionary accounts of it, but wishing to obtain the most reliable information, I addressed a letter to Doctor William Shield, of York, who once possessed it, and received from him the following communication :—

"Yorktown, 12th February.

"Rev. and Dear Sir :—Yours dated the 30th of January, asking for some information relative to Temple Farm, near Yorktown, which, according to history, was once the residence of Governor Spottswood, and the house in which Lord Cornwallis signed the capitulation, was received a few days ago.

"I purchased the farm and moved there in 1834, at which time the walls of the Temple, from which the place takes its name, were several feet high : within them (after removing the ruins) I found heaps of broken tombstones, and on putting the fragments together, to ascertain, if possible, the names of some of the persons who had been buried there, I succeeded in finding the name of Governor Spottswood, showing that he was buried at Temple Farm,—a fact, perhaps, not generally known. There was one tombstone, however, entire and unbroken, with the following singular inscription on it, and which, as it may be interesting to you, I send verbatim et literatim :—

'Major William Gooch, of this parish.
Died October 29, 1655.'

'Within this tomb there doth interred lie,
No shape, but substance, true nobility.
Itself, though young in years, just twenty-nine,
Yet graced with virtues moral and divine;
The Church from him did good participate,
In counsel rare, fit to adorn a State.'

"The house at Temple Farm is built of wood, and is in rather a dilapidated condition at present. The original building was very large, and consisted of a centre building with two large wings, either one of which was as large as the present house, which in fact was originally the centre building.

"I gave for Temple Farm, in 1834, three thousand dollars, and sold it to Mr. Pettit, in 1839, for seven thousand dollars. Mr. P. sold it in 1853 for eleven thousand dollars, and the present owner informs me that he has been offered fifteen thousand dollars. The increase in the price of our lands here is not, perhaps, to be attributed so much to the effect of marl, as to the great benefits anticipated to all this country on York River from the completion of the contemplated railroad from Richmond to York

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River, and to the fact that the steamboats are now regularly plying from Baltimore and Norfolk, up York River, to the Mattaponi and Pamunkey Rivers. There are in Old York between twenty-five and thirty houses, all of which are generally inhabited; and there is a demand for more.

"With my best wishes for your health and happiness, I am, with the highest respect, your friend and servant,

WILLIAM H. SHIELD."

It is well known that Governor Spottswood died at Annapolis, in the year 1737, on his way to join the army which he was appointed to command, and which was about to engage in a Western expedition. His remains were doubtless carried by water to York, and deposited at this, his favourite residence, and in the tomb or temple which he had built, and in which other worthies were buried. It may be said, without fear of contradiction, that there is not on all York River a more picturesque spot than Temple Farm. Its capacity for improvement is also very great.

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ARTICLE XVIII.

Hampton Parish, Elizabeth City County, and Parishes in Warwick.

Until the year 1751 it was called Hampton parish, and on one of my lists after this; but on the vestry-book beginning in 1751 it is changed to Elizabeth City. Elizabeth City county is one of the eight original shires of Virginia in the year 1634. It is situated, as may be seen by looking at the map, just between the mouths of James and York Rivers. Its compass is so small and so compact that it does not appear that there was ever an attempt at building more than one church in it,—that at Hampton, —unless there may have been one on the Back River portion of it, of which, however, we have no account. Although the parish and county of Elizabeth City be comparatively so small,—only eighteen miles square,—yet are they on many accounts deeply interesting. Old Point Comfort, which is a part of this county, was, with the exception of Cape Henry, most probably the first place in Virginia which was touched by Captain Smith in 1607. In exploring the county for a suitable settlement, they met (says the historian Burk) with five of the natives, who invited them to their town, Kecoughtan or Kichotan, where Hampton now stands. It was doubtless one of the earliest Indian towns, as it became in 1610 one of the earliest settlements of the Colony. Even before that, it became a kind of Cape of Good Hope to the Colonists, who called here on their expeditions up York, Rappahannock, Potomac, and Nansemond Rivers. It was also the first harbour which Europeans reached after their long voyages over the Atlantic. Here they usually stopped, and often proceeded to Jamestown and Williamsburg by land. It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that we find a church and ministry here at an early period; especially as this place does not appear to have suffered in the Indian massacre of 1622, the natives having probably at this time been driven from this corner of the Colony. We have no vestry-book of more ancient date than 1751 from whence to draw our facts concerning the early history of this parish; but the records of the court, which are equally trustworthy, as far back as the year 1635, have been preserved in the old clerk's office, and furnish us with some

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interesting documents touching the ministers and church at Hampton. I am indebted to the researches of the Rev. John McCabe, late minister of Hampton, for the following facts out of the records of the court, and which he has embodied in his full and interesting account of this parish in the Church Review.

In the year 1644 we find the churchwardens presenting to the court an unworthy female. In the year 1646 we find Nicholas Brown and William Armistead presenting one of their own body. In the year 1644 we read of a Rev. Mr. Mallory as performing service and being remunerated for it. In the next year we read of a Rev. Justinian Aylmer, who continued to officiate until 1667, —twenty-three years. In the year 1667 we read of a Rev. Jeremiah Taylor, who buried a Mr. Nicholas Baker in the *new church of Kichotan*, according to a request in the will.

In the same year Mr. Robert Brough, by will, requests that he may be buried in the old church of Kichotan. In one and the same year there were an old and a new church standing at Kichotan. The old one had probably been built many years, and was going to decay. As there was a law passed in 1621, under the administration of Sir Thomas Yeardley, that a house of worship should be erected and a burial-ground set apart on every plantation, (that is, settlement,) there is reason to believe that there was one then built at Kichotan, if not before; and that the new one was built between 1660 and 1667, and that new one is the present church of St. John's, at Hampton. As to the location of the old one, Mr. McCabe and some friends settled that point beyond all dispute. There is an old burial-ground, about a mile from Hampton, on the Pembroke farm, now the property of John Jones, Esquire, on which are a number of old gravestones, and where tradition had located an ancient church. To this Mr. McCabe and his friends repaired with proper instruments, and, clearing away the rubbish and digging into the earth, soon found the brick foundation of the former church; the superstructure having probably been, as with most other first churches, of wood. Among other interments in that graveyard are those of John Neville, Vice-Admiral of his Majesty's fleet in the West Indies, who died in 1697; of Thomas Curle, born in the year 1640, in Sussex, England, and dying in 1700; also of the Rev. Andrew Thompson, minister of the parish, who died in 1719, "leaving the character of a sober and religious man." It seems that the old church had been repaired after the new one was built, and that it and the burial-ground were preserved for funeral purposes, (as the old church and graveyard at

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Blandford and the old chapel and burying-ground in Clarke county;) but now they are ruins in the midst of a field. From the examination of records Mr. McCabe concludes that the Rev. Mr. Mallory was the minister in 1664; how long before is not known. He was succeeded in 1665 by the Rev. Mr. Aylmer, who in 1667 was followed by the Rev. Jeremiah Taylor. He was a disgrace to his name and the ministry. For his insolency and misbehaviour in open court, he was committed to confinement during the court's pleasure. Again he was presented by the grand jury for drunkenness, and again for slander. It speaks well for the grand juries of that day, that they would take cognizance of and punish offences which are sometimes permitted to pass unnoticed or unpunished by some church judicatories of our day, of various denominations. He was succeeded in 1677 by the Rev. John Page, who left the Colony in 1687. He was no doubt the same of whom we read as minister of St. Peter's, New Kent, for one year about this time. He was succeeded by the Rev. Cope Doyley in 1687. In 1712 the Rev. Andrew Thompson became the rector, and died in 1719.* In 1731 the Rev. Mr. Fife becomes the minister, and continues until his death in 1756. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Warrington, who died in 1770. The Rev. William Selden followed and continued until 1783, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Nixon. It does not appear how long he continued, as there is no meeting of the vestry from 1786 until 1806,—twenty years. At that meeting the Rev. George Halson was chosen minister. About this time also the Rev. Mr. Syme served for a short period. Twenty years longer elapsed before another meeting of the vestry occurred, when the Rev. Mark L. Chevers was chosen, who continued to serve the parish, in connection with the chaplaincy at Old Point, until 1842 or 1843. In the year 1845 the Rev. Mr. Bausman became its minister, and in 1850 the Rev. Mr. McCabe, who continued until the present year, 1856.

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* I am enabled to supply a deficiency in this catalogue, from a letter of the Rev. James Falconer, who was minister in this parish between the Rev. Mr. Thompson and the Rev. Mr. Fife. His report to the Bishop of London is, that his parish is fifty miles in circumference, with three hundred and fifty families; that the owners were careful to instruct the young negro children and bring them to baptism; that service is performed every Sunday, and that most of the parishioners attend; that there were about one hundred communicants; that his salary was about sixty-five pounds; that there were two public schools in the parish, and one good private one kept by a Mr. William Fife, a man of good life and conversation. He was doubtless the person that succeeded him in 1731.

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Concerning two of the preceding ministers, the Rev. Thomas Warrington and the Rev. William Selden, there is a transaction recorded on the vestry-book worthy of special notice, as serving to illustrate still more the contest between vestries and Governors, Commissaries, and the Crown. It seems that at the death of the Rev. Mr. Fife two candidates presented themselves,—the Rev. Mr. Warrington, who was recommended to the parish by Governor Gooch, and Mr. William Selden, then a young lawyer, probably of Hampton, who, disliking his profession, wished to enter the ministry, and applied for a title to this parish with which to proceed to the Bishop of London for Orders. The vote in the vestry being taken, there was a tie between the candidates. At this the Governor and Commissary were much displeased, and wrote a sharp letter upbraiding the vestry with despising the authority of the Crown and the Bishop of London by thus refusing to comply with the recommendation of their commissioned agents in Virginia,—that is, themselves,—and again call upon them to receive Mr. Warrington. The vestry have no meeting for four months, and then the vote was the same as before. They, however, choose Mr. Warrington temporarily, and at the end of five months more unanimously choose him as their minister; and he continued to serve them faithfully and acceptably until his death, thirteen years after, in 1770. At his death Mr. Selden is again an applicant for the parish, is elected, and goes to London for Orders, which he obtains that same year, and continues to be an acceptable minister until 1783, when he resigned on account of ill-health, and soon after died. For an account of him and his descendants, I refer to a note in my second article on Henrico; though I am unable to reconcile the date of his birth, as there given, with the date of his application to the vestry, and think there must be a mistake on the part of my informant.

Of the Rev. Mr. Warrington I have information in other documents, showing him to have been a fearless, upright man, and while reading of him have been reminded of his brave and patriotic grandson, Commodore Louis Warrington.*

* The Rev. Mr. Warrington was the grandfather of Commodore Warrington. From his birth the latter became an object of peculiar interest to a lady in Williamsburg, whom I am unable to name or identify except that she was the aunt of a Miss Frances Caines, the intimate friend of Miss Ambler, afterward Mrs. Edward Carrington, of Richmond, from whose papers I have often quoted. Both the young ladies had been companions of the mother of young Louis Warrington, and took a lively interest in him on that account. Miss Caines and Miss Ambler (afterward

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To the above I add a passage from the article of Mr. McCabe, which had escaped my notice while preparing the above:—

"The vestry-book here is defaced for some years, owing, we presume, to the fact that in the change of the Church from that of England to the

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Mrs. Carrington) corresponded for a long time after the former returned to England, as she was only a temporary sojourner in Virginia. The following extracts from one of Mrs. Carrington's letters to her old friend, Miss C., in 1820, will, I am sure, be gratifying to my readers, not only on account of what refers to young Warrington, but what relates to other subjects:—

"At our advanced age, my respected friend, it would seem incredible that a renewal of intercourse should take place between us. Years have passed since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, and but for the visit of my cousin (John Jaqueline Ambler) to England, I might probably have gone to my grave without knowing what had become of you. Who can tell but it may be a foretaste of a reunion in a better world that a merciful God has in store for us? The little book you presented to my cousin brought to my recollection the one you presented to me some forty years ago, entitled 'Sacred Dramas.' It was a precious gift to me, and led me to peruse every succeeding work of that excellent author (Miss Hannah More) with delight, and, I hope, with advantage. What a woman is she! And what a gift have her writings been even to our remote corner of the world! Whenever England is brought to my mind, I somehow or other so connect the names of Frances Caines, Hannah More, and the hallowed spot of Barley Wood, that altogether it seems a paradise. In one of your last letters you say, 'Can it be possible that the Captain Warrington I have seen announced in the Liverpool papers, as lately arrived in England with despatches from America, is our dear little Louis?' It was the same little Louis that we so fondly doted on. His conduct through life has been distinguished,—has raised him to high standing in our navy,—and no doubt some future historian will do him ample justice in his naval character. In private life he has been alike deserving."

Mrs. Carrington then mentions, in proof of his generosity, his dividing a thousand pounds, which had been left him by the aunt of Miss Caines, with two half-sisters who were in need. She speaks also of his having married a Miss Cary King, "a sprightly and amiable girl, an old schoolmate of hers." "They are now living in great comfort near Norfolk; he holding some office in the navy-yard, and standing high in the confidence of his country. It has been some years since I saw him, and on his last visit to Richmond my health was too bad to admit of my inviting him. It was a visit, however, of great interest to many, and produced an excitement that is rarely experienced. How would you have felt, my dear friend, had you seen him hailed as one of the choicest guardians of his country, called by the united voice of Virginia to receive a splendid sword as a token of her love and gratitude to him? It is impossible for me to describe the emotions produced in my mind when I heard every voice united in commendation, and in rapture describe his modest manliness as he entered the Senate-Hall to receive his merited reward. In an instant my thoughts flew back to your aunt's room, where you first saw the lovely boy; and busy recollection carried me still further back,—two years previous,—when on a visit to Williamsburg I was ushered in to see your aunt, who laid him on my lap, and in agony left the room."

Mrs. Carrington adds a passage from a projected novel of her aunt Jaqueline, in which Louis Warrington was to be the hero:—"This must ever be the lot of our

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Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, begun in 1783, consummated in 1787, and the first Convention in Philadelphia, July 28, 1789, with Bishops of our own presiding, this parish did not procure a minister during that period. A tomb has recently been erected, from which we infer that the Rev. Mr. Skyren was probably the first minister after the Revolution. The inscription on the tomb reads as follows:—'Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Henry Skyren, rector of Elizabeth City parish. Born in Whitehaven, England, anno domini 1729. Died in Hampton, Virginia, A.D. 1795. This monument is erected by his surviving children, Elizabeth Temple and John Spottswood Skyren.'"

The following inscription, on a stone near the east entrance to the church, will show that very soon after the change spoken of above, the parish was supplied with regular services:—"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. John Jones Spooner, rector of the church in Elizabeth City county, who departed this life September 15th, 1799, aged forty-two years." And then, to the right of the door entering from the east, another, bearing the following:—"Departed this life January 17th, 1806, the Rev. Benjamin Brown, rector of Elizabeth City parish, aged thirty-nine years."

Another extract also I take the liberty of making:—

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poor clergy,—a scanty subsistence while living, and at their death poverty and misery is their children's only inheritance." In which, however, we must beg leave widely to differ from this excellent lady; and must class this sentiment and assertion among many others in novels, projected or executed, as we believe the descendants of pious clergymen have many special blessings entailed upon them. The prayers and example of Commodore Warrington's pious grandfather may have been among the means appointed of Providence for promoting the future greatness, and, what is infinitely better, the future piety, of Commodore Warrington. My residence in Norfolk, as minister of Christ Church, for two years, enabled me to form a just estimate of his character. Though his station was at the navy-yard in Gosport, and his residence there, he was a most punctual attendant on the Sabbath in Christ Church, Norfolk. Mrs. Carrington speaks of the modest manliness, admired of all, with which he entered the Senate-Chamber to receive the sword which was voted him by the Legislature of Virginia. I have seen him on every succeeding Sabbath for the greater part of two years in a much more desirable and honourable place, when walking up the middle aisle of Christ Church with the same "modest manliness." There was in him the dignity of the soldier and the modesty of the Christian blended together. He was not then in full membership with the Church, though all thought he might with propriety have been. But, even then, his devout behaviour and respectful use of the Prayer Book was an example to all others. As through life he had always, so far as I know and believe, been the friend of religion, and manifested it in those public ways required of naval officers, so, in his latter days, he sealed that testimony by entering into full communion with the Church of his choice and of his ancestors.

P.S.—I have since discovered that the lady who patronized Louis Warrington was Mrs. Riddle, sister of the Rev. Thomas Warrington and great-aunt of Commodore Warrington.

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ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, HAMPTON, VA.

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"During the last war with Great Britain, Hampton was sacked, its inhabitants pillaged, one of its aged citizens, sick and infirm, wantonly murdered in the arms of his wife, and other crimes committed by hireling soldiers and by brutalized officers, over which the chaste historian must draw a veil. The Church of God itself was not spared during the saturnalia of lust and violence. His temple was profaned and his altars desecrated. What British ruthlessness had left scattered and prostrate was soon looked upon with neglect. The moles and bats held their revels undisturbed within its once hallowed courts, and the obscene owl nestled and brought forth in the ark of the covenant. The church in which our fathers worshipped stabled the horse and stalled the ox. The very tomb of the dead, sacred in all lands, became a slaughter-ground of the butcher, and an arena for pugilistic contests. A few faithful ones wept when they remembered Zion in her day of prosperity and beheld her in her hour of homeless travail, and uttered their cry, 'How long, oh Lord, how long?'"

The following preamble, accompanying a subscription, tells the story of her woes, and breathes the language of returning hope:—

"Whereas, from a variety of circumstances, the Episcopal Church in the town of Hampton is in a state of dilapidation, and will ere long moulder into ruins unless some friendly hand be extended to its relief, and, in the opinion of the vestry, the only method that can be pursued to accomplish the laudable design of restoring it to the order in which our forefathers bequeathed it to their children, is to resort to subscription, they do earnestly solicit pecuniary aid from all its friends, in a full belief that our appeal will not be made in vain. And, hoping that God will put it into the hearts of the people to be benevolently disposed toward our long-neglected Zion," &c.

A committee was appointed to take counsel with Bishop Moore as to the best method of raising funds for the purpose. The subscription-paper was circulated, not merely in Hampton, but sent to some whose fathers had once worshipped in the old house, and the desired object was attained. Among the subscribers we notice Commodore Warrington for fifty dollars; Commodore James Barron, one hundred; the latter, as well as his brother, who was also a commodore in the American navy, having been born in the parish.

Funds being raised, the church was thoroughly repaired. It was consecrated by Bishop Moore on Friday, the 8th of January, 1830, and is now one of the most interesting and comfortable places of worship in Virginia.

A list of the vestrymen from 1751 to 1826 will close our notice of this parish:—

Mr. Booth Armistead, George Wray, William Armistead, Henry King, Wilson Miles Cary, William Mallory, William Wager, Jas. Wallace, John Tabb, Joseph Selden, Miles King, Cary Selden, Warlock Westwood, Merit Sweny, Robert Armistead, John Allen, Anthony Tucker, Baldwin

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Shephard, William Westwood, Charles King, Charles Jennings, Westwood Armistead, William Parsons, John Moore, Jacob Walker, Thomas Latimer, James Wallace, William Latimer, William Armistead, Booth Armistead, Wilson Miles Cary, William Mallory, Joseph Selden, Miles King, Robert Bright, William Brough, Thomas Allen, Robert Armistead, John Cowper, James Latimer, Thomas Watts, Samuel Watts, Miles Cary, William Loury, Benjamin Philips, William Armistead, Thomas Latimer, Robert Lively, John Cary, Dr. Wm. Hope, J. W. Jones, Westwood T. Armistead, Col. G. A. Cary, Capt. T. Hope, Capt. J. Herbert, Dr. R. G. Banks, Capt. John F. Wray, Richard C. Servant, Samuel Dewbre.

The last-named vestryman but one—Mr. Richard B. Servant—was for many years, and to the close of the vestry-book, the secretary of the vestry. It has now been many years since he left Virginia and moved to Illinois, which was once a county of Virginia, made so for special purposes, at a time when Virginia's western boundary was the Eastern Ocean, and embraced even modern California, at least in theory or by royal grant. Mr. Servant, as may be seen by the following letter, has not forgotten the old State and Church of Virginia:—

"CHESTER, ILLINOIS, Nov. 27, 1856.

"RT. REV. AND VERY DEAR SIR:—I have read with deep and filial interest your reminiscenses published in the Southern Churchman, and I send you a memorandum, hastily made from recollection. I have no disposition to have my name appear in print, but if you have not already all the information that you may desire in regard to Elizabeth City parish and the old church at Hampton, you may use such parts of the following memorandum as may suit you:—

"'I think that the record will show that Parson Brown was the last settled minister, and I think his immediate predecessor was Parson Simms, said to be the best reader in the diocese, but a great "fox-hunter;" and, to the best of my recollection, Parson George Halson, who was also principal of the Hampton Academy, was the incumbent,—whether regular or not I am not sure, but the record will explain. He officiated until the war of 1812. During the interval between Parson Brown and the war, the framework of the tower, which stood on the west end of the church, became so decayed that the "Old Queen Anne Bell" had to be taken down and was placed in the angle made by the church and the tower. From that position it was removed, by the order of Major Crutchfield, who commanded the troops encamped on Little England Farm, to the "guard-house" of that encampment, and a short time after the tongue became loose, an axe was used to strike the hour, and the bell cracked. We had it recast about the year 1825. It was probably the best bell in the Colony.

"'After the British troops evacuated Hampton, on, I think, the 27th of June, 1813, I, then a boy twelve years old, went into town; and the first thing that attracted my attention was, that the enemy had used the churchyard, where the last mortal remains of my ancestors for one hundred and fifty years or more had been deposited, for slaughtering cattle, and the walls were smoked in numerous paces where they had made fires with which to cook their provisions. The venerable old church was also

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much misused in the interior, as that seemed to have been used as a common barrack.

"'From this time until about the year 1824, the church and the walls surrounding it were rapidly going to decay,—the church a common shelter for horses, cattle, and hogs, and was profaned by men and boys also. I had often said to my dear sainted mother, that if I lived to be a man I would stir up the people to repair the old church and walls. In the year 1822 or 1823, just as I was arriving to manhood, an incident occurred which I shall never forget. Mrs. Jane Hope, eldest daughter of the late Commodore James Barron, was spending the evening with my mother, (who resided on the lot adjoining, west of the church,) and she proposed a visit to the graves of our ancestors; and, while standing at the front door of the church, within a foot of the graves of my ancestors, she remarked to me, "Cousin, if I were a man I would have these walls built up." Her words were like electricity, and from that moment my determination was fixed. The very next day I called on the late Westwood Armistead, Dr. William Hope, Captain Robert Lively, and Colonel Wilson W. Jones; and the result of our interview was, that we should prepare a subscription-paper to have the wall around the old graveyard repaired, little thinking then that the repairs of the "old church" would follow. I commenced *on the same day*, and, after raising all that I could in the parish, proceeded to Norfolk, and with the assistance of Commodores Barron and Warrington, (the grandfather of the latter having been one of the ministers of the church,) Miles King, late Navy Agent, and Dr. William Selden, whose ancestors were buried in the old churchyard, Judge Strange, of North Carolina, who also had a relative buried there, and subscribed liberally, raised a sufficient sum to repair the walls around the graveyard, which in a short time were completed, and a substantial wrought-iron gate placed at the entrance.

"'About the year 1824 or 1825, (the record will show,) a meeting of the friends of the church was called, a vestry elected, and an effort made to repair the church, which, with the assistance of our friends at Norfolk, was successful beyond our most sanguine anticipations. A short time after, the Rev. Mark L. Chevers was elected rector: of this, however, and what has followed, the record will show.

"'When we undertook to repair the church there was nothing standing but the bare walls and a leaky roof,—not a vestige of doors, windows, or floors. In order to give an impetus to our proceedings, we prevailed upon good old Bishop Moore to pay us a visit, and, to make his visit the more effective, we had the accumulated filth cleansed out, and the old walls, after a lapse of many years, resounded with prayer and praise. I sat on the *bare tiles;* but what a seat, and what a day! It was manifest to all that "the glory of the Lord filled the house." Dr. Ducachet occasionally came over to preach for us, and at every visit the remark was that "some more nails were driven into the church."

"'Upon the election of the vestry there was not a vestige of the church-furniture to be found. We, however, succeeded in finding the old vestry-book, which had been carefully preserved by the late Samuel Watts, or, as he was more familiarly called, "Uncle Sammy."

"'I doubt very much whether, upon the reorganization and resuscitation of the parish, there were a half-dozen Prayer Books in the parish.'

"You will see that I have written the foregoing just as circumstances

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occurred to me: if you can cull any thing out of it and put it in shape, you can use it.

"I am, with great esteem,
"Your brother in Christ,
"R. B. SERVANT.

"P.S.—My great-grandfather was commandant of the garrison at Old Point Comfort, more than one hundred and eighty years ago, and since that time *there has not been a Dissenter in the family*. Do you ask how this happened, when the church had sunk so low that there was scarcely any to do it reverence? I answer, the habitual use of the Prayer Book and FAMILY PRAYERS. My father died when I was sixteen years old, and my mother had an aversion to leading in prayer, but she insisted that I should do so, and our family were kept together in the 'one fold' by means of FAMILY PRAYER."

PARISH OF WARWICK.

Of this we can say but little. The county was one of the eight original shires in 1634. It is a small county on the lower part of James River, lying alongside of Elizabeth City and York counties. Of course it became a parish and county at the same time, and they have always been known by the same names. The first information we have of its ministers is in 1754, when the Rev. Roscoe Cole had charge of the parish. In the year 1758 the Rev. Thomas Davis was minister. In the years 1773, 1774, and 1776, the Rev. William Hubard was there. In the year 1785 the Rev. William Bland, of whom we have already written, was in the Convention which organized the diocese, with Mr. Richard Cary as his lay delegate. The Carys were a very ancient and most respectable family in that part of Virginia. It is our purpose to visit their ancient seat and the Clerk's Office of the county, in the hope of finding something worth adding to this meagre account; and, in the mean while, would be thankful to any member of the family for some account of it.*

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* We enlarge our notices of Warwick a little by the following account of the Digges, some of whom lived in it. The family of Digges is most ancient and honourable. Virginians and Episcopalians need not wish to go further back than to the Hon. Dudley Digges, one of the most active members of that most noble and Christian association, the London Company,—far more of a missionary institution than any of that day. The minutes of the London Company show him to have ever been at his post in the meetings of the committee, with such men as the Earl of Southampton, the Ferrars, and others. Mr. Burk, after speaking the praises of this Company for purity of morals, for noble motives, and even a tolerant spirit of religion, which was high commendation from an infidel as he was, then extols its literary character,—representing Southampton as the friend of Shakspeare, and

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CHARLES, OR CHARLES RIVER PARISH, YORK COUNTY.

This was separated from York-Hampton parish before the year 1754, but how long we have been unable as yet to ascertain. The Rev. Thomas Warrington was ordained in 1747 and was its minister in 1754, and until he went to Hampton in 1756. As I do not see his name as belonging to any other parish, it is probable that he entered at once on the ministry in this parish.

The Rev. Joseph Davenport was the minister in 1773, 1774, and also in 1785. In the last year he appears in the Convention with Mr. Robert Shield as lay delegate. This is all we can learn as to the parish of Charles,—so called because on York River, which was once called Charles River, and because York county was once called Charles River county.

Before crossing York River to treat of the parishes of Gloucester and Mathews, it may be well to observe that at an early period there may be found the names of a number of parishes which once

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George Sandys, the Company's Treasurer in Virginia, as translating Ovid in the wilds of Virginia,—concluding thus:—"Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Saville, with several other members of the London Company, were considered the most elegant scholars and the most eloquent speakers in the nation." The name of Digges was soon transferred to Virginia. We read of Digges's Hundred among the early settlements on James River. We read in 1654 of Edward Digges made one of the Council, and so approving himself in that office as to be called to preside over the Colony; and then, at the expiration of his term, to be requested to continue in it as long as he continued in the country, with other marks of distinction. Thence onward we meet with the name in the lists of vestrymen and Burgesses, until the period came in our country's history which tried the souls even of the bravest, when, in 1773, we find the name of Dudley Digges on the first committee for correspondence with the other Colonies about our grievances; and in 1776 the names of Dudley Digges and William Digges as members from York with General Nelson in the great Convention. And ever since that time it has been our happiness to find that name often enrolled on the lists of vestrymen and communicants of our Church. One of the descendants of the Digges, who died in 1700, was named Cole Digges, a man of large property, owning Chilham Castle near York, Bellfield on York River, between York and Williamsburg, and Denbigh in Warwick. His sons were Edward, William, and Dudley. Among his grandchildren were William, who married his cousin Elizabeth, of Denbigh; Dudley, who married his cousin Louisa: Thomas and Edward moved to Fauquier and had families. One granddaughter married a Mr. Powell, of Petersburg. Two married Fitzhughs, of Fauquier. The first wife of the first Dudley was a Miss Armistead; the second, Miss Wormley, of Rosegill. He had two sons, Cole and Dudley, and several daughters, one of whom married a Burwell, another a Stratton, of the Eastern Shore, a third a Digges, and two of them married Nicolsons. The wife of the Rev. Mr. Woodbridge is daughter of one of the last. One daughter of the first Cole Digges married Nathaniel Harrison, of Brandon; another, Nathaniel Harrison, of Wakefield

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existed in that part of Virginia lying between Warwick and Charles City, below and above Jamestown and round about Williamsburg; as, for instance, Southwark, Chiskiack, Middletown, Harop, Nutmeg and Denbigh, Wilmington, Marston, which were soon merged into James City, York-Hampton, Bruton, and Westover parish. Soon after the settlement of the country, when the Indians abounded and it was dangerous to go far to worship, every little plantation or settlement in that region was made a parish. There is one parish, by the name of Westminster, which as yet I have been unable to locate, and which made a report to the Bishop of London in 1724. Its communicants only numbered sixteen. I incline to think it was somewhere on the Chickahominy. Its minister was the Rev. Mr. Cox.

In accordance with the determination expressed above, I have visited old Warwick, which, though the least of all shires of Virginia, was one of the most fruitful nurseries of the families of Virginia. Its contiguity to James River and Jamestown rendered it a safe place for early Colonists to settle in. It was probably at one time, according to its dimensions, the most populous of all the counties. In evidence of which, I find from an examination of the records of the Clerk's Office, which extend back to about 1642, that there were, at one time, not less than eight parishes in Warwick. Two of these were on Mulberry Island,—one called Stanley Hundred, and the other Nutmeg Quarter. It is really not an island, as Jamestown was not an island, though both of them so called. Mulberry Island joined the mainland in its upper part, and one of its parishes at least—Stanley Hundred—was at one time connected with the church at Jamestown, and had much the largest congregation. The result of my hasty examination of the old and decayed records at Warwick Court-house, some of which are like the exhumed volumes from the long-buried towns of the East, and will scarce bear handling, was the discovery that the following were the most prominent names in this county in times long since gone by: — Fauntleroy, Hill, Bushrodd, Ryland, Ballard, Purnell, Ashton, Clayborne, Cary, Dade, Griffith, Whittaker, Pritchard, Hurd, Harwood, Bassett, Watkins, Smith, Digges, Dudley, Petit, Radford, Stephens, Wood, Bradford, Stratton, Glascock, Pattison, Barber, Allsop, Browninge, Killpatricke, Nowell, Lewellin, Goodale, Dawson, Cosby, Wythe, Reade, Bolton, Dixon, Langhorne, Morgan, Fenton, Chisman, Watkins, John, Lang, Parker, West. No one can look over this list without exclaiming, "What

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a prolific nursery of Virginia families was old Warwick!" In what part of Virginia are not some of the descendants of these first settlers to be found?*

Besides visiting the old court-house and Clerk's Office and jail (the latter without an inmate) of Warwick county, I went to the ancient seat of the Coles and Digges, at Denbigh, on James River, just opposite to Nutmeg Quarter, on Mulberry Island, the island reaching down to this place and only separated from it by Warwick River. The ancient house at Denbigh is no more, except one wing of it, which forms a part of the habitation of the present owner, Mr. Young, a descendant of one of the old Episcopal families of Denbigh parish. The settlement at Denbigh was formerly the seat of the Coles and Digges, who intermarried. The Hon. Edward Digges, no doubt, at one time lived at this place and owned part of Mulberry Island, which may have received its name from the trees which furnished food for the worms which were used in the raising of silk, of which operation Mr. Digges was the great patron, as appears from history and his tombstone. There is still handed down, in the family residing there, a ball of the raw material, made at an early period, a portion of which was presented to me. Within a few miles of Denbigh farm is one of the ancient seats of the Cary family, and, at the same distance, old Denbigh Church. I paid a visit to the latter, and found it in a much better condition than I could have expected. It is in the parish called Upper Denbigh, there being formerly one called Lower Denbigh. The present building was erected one hundred and ten years since; and the weatherboarding was so well done, and was of such excellent material, that it is still good. The foundation of an older one is plainly to be traced a short distance behind it, in the woods which come up to the present church, which is only a few yards from the main Warwick road leading up and down the country. There is only one large tombstone there, on which is the following inscription:—

"Mary Harrison, daughter of the Hon^ble^ Cole Digges, of his Majesty's

* The following extract, from an old will among the records, is worthy of insertion:-

"In the name of God, Amen: I, Garnett Corbett, of the county of Warwick, being now sick and weake, but of sound and perfect memory, and knowing not how soone it may be the pleasure of Almighty God to release mee out of this transitory world, doe hereby make my last will and testament, in form following,—viz.:—

"First, and principally, I most humbly recommend my soule into the protection and conservation of my blessed and precious Redeemer, Jesus Christ, with full and whole trust in him, by his bitter death and passion, to receive salvation."

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Council, wife of Nathaniel Harrison, of Prince George county, died November 12th, 1744, in her 27th year. She so discharged the several duties of a wife, mother, daughter, and neighbour, that her relations and acquaintances might justly esteem their loss insupportable, was it not chastened with the remembrance that every virtue which adds weight to their loss augments her reward."

Mrs. Harrison was grandmother of the late George Harrison, of Lower Brandon, and of Mr. William Harrison, of Upper Brandon, on James River.* I also visited the site of another old church in Warwick, in the parish of Martin's Hundred a few miles from the Grove, the former seat of the Burwells. After much exploring of the place, now covered with trees and bushes and leaves, my companion, Mr. Richard Randolph, and myself felt beneath our feet a tombstone covered with moss and leaves, and, on clearing them away, deciphered the name of "Samuel Pond, of Martin's Hundred parish, in the Colony of Va., who departed this life in the year of our Lord 1694, aged 48." By this discovery alone have I been able to locate the parish of Martin's Hundred, so often mentioned in the early history and statutes of Virginia.[1] A part of this parish may have been in James City county.

The family of Cary owned large tracts of land in this county, and had two family-seats, well known and much visited in former days. One of them is near Denbigh. The tombs of a number of the family are still to be seen there. The other, called Richneck, is about eight miles off, and higher up the county. The last occupant bearing the name was Mr. Cary, who moved to Carysbrook, in Fluvanna county. On visiting this place, and going to the graveyard where some of the ancestors had been buried, I found that the brick enclosure had been removed, and even the bricks underneath the only large tombstone which was there had been taken away, and used in constructing a steam mill for sawing up the timber of the plantation. The whole estate, consisting chiefly

* I ascertained, also, that the last ministers who officiated at Denbigh Church were the Rev. Mr. Camm, son of the Rev. Commissary Camm, and a Mr. Wood,—both of them respectable men. They officiated at some other place or places in Warwick at the same time. The old high-backed pews are still retained. I was told that after the Episcopal Church had ceased to have services in this church, and other denominations had taken possession, on the occasion of some protracted and very exciting meeting, when the old pews seemed to be in the way of promoting a revival, it was proposed from the pulpit that they be taken away and benches put in place of them. The measure was about to be carried, when a young man, whose ancestors had worshipped in the old church as it was, rose up and protested against it, saying that he would appeal to the law and prevent it."

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of forest, either of ancient or modern growth, and amounting to fifteen hundred acres, had been sold to persons from a distance, who were converting it into lumber and wood. What is true of this is true of many other old settlements in Warwick. Impoverished by improper culture, and deserted of its former owners, what was once covered with habitations and people has now returned to its primeval state, and is dense forest. It is now feeding the steamboats and furnishing building-materials for our towns. A few more generations may see it once more in a different condition.

Before leaving this county, it will be interesting to our readers to have an extract from the Acts of Assembly, in the year 1654, touching one whose family name is on the list of the early inhabitants of Warwick, and who may himself have belonged to it at the time:—

"PUBLIQUE ORDERS OF ASSEMBLY

"Whereas, Col. Edward Hill, unanimously chosen Speaker of this House, was afterward maliciously reported by William Hatcher to be an atheist and blasphemer, according to an information exhibited against him the last Quarter-court, from which the Honourable Governor and Council then cleared the said Edward Hill, and now certified the same unto the House; and forasmuch as the said William Hatcher, notwithstanding he had notice given him of the Governor and Council's pleasure therein, and of the said Col. Hill being cleared as aforesaid, hath also reported that 'the mouth of this House was a devil,' nominating and meaning thereby the said Right Worshipfull Col. Edward Hill, it is therefore ordered by this House, that the said William Hatcher, upon his knees, make an humble acknowledgment of his offence unto the said Col. Edward Hill and Burgesses of this Assembly; which accordingly was performed, and then he, the said Hatcher, was dismissed, paying his fees."

The above shows in what horror an atheist was then held, and what a reproach it was to have such a one in a public office.

I also promised to examine further into the history of the Digges, supposing them to belong much more to the county of Warwick than I find them to have been. Although they intermarried with the family of Cole, and some of them were Warwick men, yet, for the most part, they lived in York county. Their two seats, Chilham, near Yorktown, and Bellfield, some miles higher up the river and about eight miles from Williamsburg, were both on the river. The latter is just opposite to Shelly, on the Gloucester side, and was in the parish first called Chiskiack, and afterward Hampton, until it was merged into York-Hampton. Captain Smith, in his history of the Colony at its first establishment, speaks of King Powhatan as being sometimes with this tribe of Chiskiack Indians. He had only to cross the river from his residence at or near Shelly to Bellfield,

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now owned by Colonel McCandish, of Williamsburg, and he would be in the midst of this tribe. Being informed that Bellfield was the burial-place of the Digges, I recently spent a night there with Colonel McCandlish and a part of his family, who met me at this—which is only their occasional—residence. I found the tombs in much better order than at most of the old family graveyards. They are very massive. The top-stones, on which the inscriptions are put, are of what is called ironstone, or black marble, being the hardest and heaviest stone in England, scarcely less heavy than iron itself. Nearly all of the old imported tombs are of this kind. It preserves the inscriptions also much better than any other kind of stone or marble. The following are the inscriptions:—

I.

"To the memory of Edward Digges, Esquire, sonne of Sir Dudley Digges, of Chilham, in Kent, Knight and Baronett, Master of the Rolls in the reign of King Charles the 1st. He departed this life the 15th of March, 1675, in the 55th year of his age, one of his Majesty's Councill for this his Colony of Va. A gentleman of most commendable parts and ingenuity, and the only introducer and promoter of the silk-manufacture in this Colonie, and in every thing else a pattern worthy of all pious imitation. He had issue six sonnes and seven daughters by the body of Elizabeth his wife, who of her conjugal affection hath dedicated to him this memorial."

II.

This is to the memory of his son Dudley, who married Miss Cole, of Denbigh:—

"Sub hoc marmore requiescit in pace Dudleus Digges, armiger, Susannæ Digges juxta depositæ maritus amantissimus. Vir et virtute, et pro sapientia, vere inclytus, qui hujusce Coloniæ primo Consilioris, dein ad Auditoris dignitatem, erectus est. Obiit, omnibus desideratus, 27 Januarii, 1710, ætatis suæ 47. Justorum animæ in manu Dei sunt."

Which is thus rendered:—

"Under this marble rests in peace Dudley Digges, gentleman, the most loving husband of Susannah Digges, buried near him. He was a man very eminent for virtue and wisdom, who was first raised to the dignity of Councillor and then Auditor of this Colony. He died, lamented by all, the 27th of January, 1710, in his forty-seventh year. 'The souls of the righteous are in the hand of God.'"

III. THE TOMB OF HIS WIFE.

"Hic subtus inhumatum corpus Susannæ Digges, filiæ Gulielmi Cole, armigeri, nec non Dudlei Digges, armigeri, conjugis fidelissimæ, quæ en hac vita decessit 9th Kal. Decembris, anno salutis 1708. Ætatis suæ 34.

IV.

"This monument was erected by Col. Edward Digges to the memory

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of a most indulgent father, the Hon^ble Col. Digges, Esquire, who being many years one of his Majesty's Hon^ble Council for this Colony, and some time President of the same, died in the 53d year of his age, and in the year of our Lord 1744.

"Digges, ever to extremes untaught to bend;
Enjoying life, yet mindful of his end.
In thee the world an happy meeting saw
Of sprightly humour and religious awe.
Cheerful, not wild; facetious, yet not mad;
Though grave, not sour; though serious, never sad.
Mirth came not, call'd to banish from within
Intruding pangs of unrepented sin;
And thy religion was no studied art
To varnish guilt, but purified the heart.
What less than a felicity most rare
Could spring from such a temper and such care?
Now in the city, taking great delight,
To vote new laws, or old interpret right;
Now crowds and business quitting, to receive
The joys content in solitude can give.
With equal praise thou shone among the great,
And graced the humble pleasures of retreat;
Display'd thy dignity on every scene,
And tempted or betray'd to nothing mean.
Whate'er of mean beneath it lies,
The rest unstain'd is claimed by the skies."

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ARTICLE XIX.

Lynnhaven Parish, Princess Anne County.

Cape Henry, in this county and parish, was probably the first point at which our Virginia Colonists touched on reaching America. Here a fort was established, either then or soon after. At what time other settlements were made on the coast and bay surrounding this part of Virginia on three sides cannot certainly be determined, though there is every reason to believe it must have been at a very early period. In the year 1642 we find Lynnhaven parish recognised as existing, and its boundaries were then fixed. How long before this it had been a plantation, or congregation, or hundred, or parish,—for by all these names were the first settlements called, sometimes long before parish-boundaries were fixed,—we cannot ascertain. The following is the Act of Assembly which establishes the existence of this and other parishes in the year 1642–3:—"Be it further enacted and confirmed, upon the petition of the inhabitants of Lynnhaven parish, by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly, that the parish of Lynnhaven be bounded as follows." The bounds are then stated. After which it is added:—"Provided it be not prejudicial to the parishes of Elizabeth River and Southern Shoare by taking away any partes of the said parishes." Then follow certain immunities granted to the people of this parish.

The following interesting account of the first church and graveyard in this parish will very properly introduce our notices of it:—

"There is much that is curious, at least, connected with the Lynnhaven country, besides what immediately pertains to the old church, of which nothing now remains but the mound which hardly marks the spot. I need not enter into the details, however.

"The church itself was probably built by the earliest settlers in this region, upon a flat surface about half a mile from Little Creek, which then ran east and west in a narrow channel, separated from the Chesapeake or Lynnhaven Bay by a sand-beach about a quarter of a mile wide. The creek communicated with the bay through an inlet about thirty yards wide, and distant from the church some three or four miles. The people living on Little Creek were profitably engaged in the business of seine-hauling; but the profits were much reduced by the distance they had to go by water through the inlet to the bay shore, where the seines were

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hauled. To go and return by water required six miles, whilst to reach the fishery across the sandy beach was hardly half a mile; and the people, to remedy this objection, gathered their hands together, and, with their field-hoes, opened a trench across the beach wide enough to admit the passage of a canoe, not dreaming of any consequences beyond their immediate object. The moment, however, the trench was opened, the waters of the bay, probably piled up by an easterly wind from the Atlantic, rushed through the sandy beach, opening what is now the mouth of Lynnhaven, and passed through the lower lands of the neighbourhood, not stopping until they had run beyond what is now known as London Bridge, about five or six miles, and forming in their mad career the present beautiful Lynnhaven River, which varies from a quarter to three-quarters of a mile in width. This invasion of the waters carried away nearly the whole of the burying-ground attached to the church, which it left standing on the bank of the new-formed river, and divided the church from the glebe-land, which now lies on the eastern side of the river, and is still claimed and owned by the vestry of Lynnhaven parish; although the overseers of the poor, it is said, are seeking to possess themselves of it.

"It was many years after this event that the old Donation Church, in its neighbourhood, was built. This, in its turn, has been abandoned to the beasts and bats; though still a strong, commodious house, built of English brick. As to the remains of the Lynnhaven Church, they are covered with large trees and are scarcely discernible; but the writer of this note has, within the last forty years, seen the bones of the buried parishioners protruding from the sides of the bank of the river, and the tombstones strewed along its shores. In 1819, Commodore Decatur and another eminent person still living were bathing there, and in the middle of the river were enabled, by feeling with their toes, to decipher the names of those whose graves they had covered before the waters of the bay had carried away the churchyard. These stones are now many of them at the bottom of the stream; but, although the water is not more than five or six feet deep, they are so covered with sand and marine shells that it would be difficult to recover them. The stones which fell and were left on the shore have long since been taken away by the fishermen and broken up for killicks, or anchors for their small boats, and for other purposes."

The following synopsis of the contents of the vestry-book of Lynnhaven parish have been furnished me by a friend, as I could not have access to the record:—

"The only parish-record known in this county commences the 20th of November, 1723, on which occasion were present the Rev. James Tenant, minister; Major Max'n Boush, churchwarden; and the following-named gentlemen, who composed the vestry:—Colonel Edward Moseley, Captain Henry Chapman, Mr. Wm. Elligood, Captain John Moseley, Mr. Charles Sayer, and Captain Francis Lund. It appears that Mr. Tenant had been the minister for some time before; but when he entered upon his duties, or when he ceased to perform them, does not appear upon the record. Nor is it known whether he died in the service of the Church or not. Nothing is said of him after the 3d of November, 1726, on which day his last account with the parish was settled, showing that his regular salary had been sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco.

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"Mr. Jas. Nimmo is mentioned as being the clerk of the Brick Church and lower chapel, Mr. Andrew Peacock being the clerk of the upper one.

"At the first meeting, say November 29, 1723, the parish is made debtor to Captain Hillary Moseley, for quitrents of glebe-land, which shows that the church was then in possession of the glebe, which is frequently mentioned throughout the record. On the 15th September, 1724, Major Maximilian Boush and Mr. John Cormick are mentioned as churchwardens, and the names of Solomon White, John Bolithor, Captain Anthony Walke, Captain Robert Vaughan, and John Bonney, are mentioned as constituting a part of the vestry. At this meeting, a resolution was passed for building a new wooden chapel on the eastern shore of the county; and, on the 7th July, 1725, an order was passed that Captain Robert Vaughan, one of the vestry, should employ persons to repair the chapel at Machipungo, showing that a brick church and two chapels (one on the Eastern Shore, and one in Pungo, or Machipungo) were then in possession of the Episcopalians of Lynnhaven parish, which seemed to embrace the whole county of Princess Anne.

"On the 2d February, 1726, about nine months previous to the settlement of Mr. Tenant's account, already referred to, Mr. Nicholas Jones, minister, was engaged to preach in the Brick Church and Eastern Shore Chapel once every month, and he was allowed four hundred pounds of tobacco for each sermon; and with this engagement he appears to have complied until the 18th October, 1728.

"The Brick Church, already mentioned, was very old at that time, and in a dilapidated state, as appears from the frequent orders passed by the vestry for repairing it, and from the fact that it was given up to be used as a school-house on the 2d March, 1736, as appears by the record. It was the same church, no doubt, which stood on the western bank of Lynnhaven River, on what was then called Church Point, which point has been washed away by the encroaching tides, leaving nothing scarcely to designate the spot where the church stood, the graveyard which was annexed to it being now entirely under water at high tide.

"On the 3d June, 1728, Mr. James Nimmo was employed, on a message to the Governor, for removing Mr. Thomas Bayly, who (contrary to the desire of the vestry) insisted on being the minister of the parish; and it is supposed that Mr. Nimmo succeeded, after a second application to the Governor, as no further notice is taken of it. At this time, the names of Christopher Bourroughs, Major Anthony Walke, Major Henry Spratt, and Mr. George Kempe, are mentioned as forming a part of the vestry.

"On the 7th January, 1729, the Rev. Richard Marsden was engaged to preach once every month, at the church and chapels, and he continued to do so until the 14th November, 1729, the same year when the Rev. Henry Barlow was engaged as the regular minister; and he continued to perform the duties until the 14th October, 1747, (about eighteen years,) after which he is not mentioned.

"On the 29th November, 1732, Mr. James Nimmo and Mr. William Keeling were engaged as clerks to the church and chapel for one year, and to receive one thousand pounds of tobacco each. On the 3d November, 1733, an order was made that Colonel Anthony Walke, Captain Francis Lund, and Captain Jacob Elligood, or any two, agree with Peter Malbone on terms to build and finish the new church near the ferry

"On the 25th of June, 1736, the vestry (having given up the Old Brick Church, on the 2d March of the same year, to be used as a schoolhouse,

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which has been already stated) received from the contractor and builder, Mr. Peter Malbone, the 'New Church,' near the ferry, as it was then called, but which has been better known since as the 'Donation Church,' probably from the circumstance of its being very near the farm donated to Lynnhaven parish by Parson Dickson. From the above date, say 25th June, 1736, the services were regularly performed by Mr. Barlow in the new church, until the close of his ministry in 1747.

"On the 13th July, 1748, the Rev. Robert Dickson being minister, the following new names appear among the vestry:—Major Nathaniel Newton, Mr. Joseph Gaskin, James Nimmo, Major Thomas Walke, and John Whitehead.

"The Rev. Robert Dickson continued to discharge the duties of minister until the 23d February, 1776,—nearly twenty-eight years,—at a salary of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco, which had been paid to the regular ministers who preceded him.

"When Parson Dickson died is not known exactly, but his will was admitted to record on the 14th February, 1777, in which he gives to the parish a farm, on certain conditions, which farm, within a few years, has passed into the hands of the overseers of the poor, the glebe referred to having been sold within the last three or four months.

"There appears to have been no regular minister after Mr. Dickson until 1785, and the church and chapels were much neglected.

"At a meeting of the vestry on the 22d November, 1779, the sum of twenty pounds was allowed Anthony Fentress for taking care of Pungo Chapel. This chapel has not been used by the Episcopalians for a great many years, and is now entirely out of repair.

"On the 28th March, 1785, a new vestry was elected, (under an Act of Assembly, passed the previous session, dissolving the former vestries throughout the State,) when the following names appear as composing the new vestry,—viz.: Anthony Walke, Edward H. Moseley, John Ackiss, James Henley, William White, John Cornick, Joel Cornick, and Francis Lund; and, on the 6th May, 1785, the Rev. James Simpson was inducted minister of the parish, and continued to officiate until May, 1788, when he formally resigned, having given notice of his intention to do so about four months previously.

"On the 3d July, 1788, the Rev. Anthony Walke was inducted minister, and continued to discharge the duties until the 10th of October, 1800, when he formally resigned. Some new names appear here among the vestry,—viz.: John Hancock, Peter Singleton, Cason Moore, and Dennis Dawley.

"On the 1st November, 1800, the Rev. Cornelius Calvert, Jr., was inducted minister, but served a short time only, as an entry on the book shows that there was no minister in the parish on the 18th July, 1801.

"On the 11th August, 1803, the Rev. George Halson was inducted minister, and discharged his duties as such until the close of the year 1805.

"At this time, the names of John Smith, Erasmus Haynes, James Robinson, Thomas Lawson, George D. Corprew, John James, and William Boush, appear as composing the vestry.

"The parish was then without a regular minister for some years, being served occasionally and irregularly by ministers from Norfolk.

"On the 28th November, 1821, the Rev. Robert Prout was elected minister, and served until about the year 1824. Thomas Hoggard, John

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Thorougood, Henry Keeling, and William Shepherd, having been elected to fill vacancies in the vestry.

"On the 7th May, 1838, the Rev. D. M. Fackler was elected, and served as minister until the 8th November, 1841.

"On the 11th May, 1842, the Rev. John G. Hull was elected, but, being in very delicate health, only continued to discharge the duties of minister until the 11th March, 1843, when he resigned. By his influence, however, a neat little brick church was built in Kempsville, called 'Emanuel Church,' which was consecrated by Bishop Meade, on the 27th November, 1843. Since its erection, no services have been performed in the 'Donation Church,' which would now require $1200 or $1400 to put it in order.

"On the 1st November, 1846, the Rev. Henry C. Lay was elected minister, who served but a few months.

"In July, 1848, the Rev. Lewis Walke was elected minister, and continued to discharge the duties about four years.

"Nothing of consequence appears upon the record since that time. It closes with a notice of a meeting held in March, 1856, when William P. Morgan, John S. Woodhouse, Solomon S. Keeling, A. G. Tebault, and William C. Scott, qualified as vestrymen by subscribing their names in due form."

To the foregoing it may be added that the Rev. Robert Gatewood, a Deacon, spent a part of the last year in this parish. I must not omit to take special notice of one of the last of the ministers who officiated in this parish,—the Rev. Mr. Hull,—an alumnus of our Seminary. So entirely devoted was he to his work in public and in private,—so beloved as a man and as a minister,—that when, through failing health being unable to preach, he resigned his charge, the people refused to accept it, and insisted upon his continuing their minister; only asking such private intercourse as he could carry on while going from house to house. Such was his last year's ministry among them. Our prospects in this parish are now and have been for a long time discouraging. Formerly this was one of the most flourishing parishes in Virginia. Many circumstances have concurred to promote its declension. In my early youth I remember to have heard my parents speak of it as having what is called the best society in Virginia. The families were interesting, hospitable, given to visiting and social pleasures. They whose words I quote had some experience of it. Both of them were by marriage connected with the Rev. Anthony Walke, whose mother was a Randolph. At his glebe they were sometimes inmates. The social glass, the rich feast, the card-table, the dance, and the horse-race, were all freely indulged in through the county. And what has been the result? I passed through the length and breadth of this parish more than twenty years ago, in company with my friend, David Meade Walke, son of the old

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minister of the parish, who was well acquainted with its past history and present condition, and able to inform me whose were once the estates through which we passed, and into whose hands they had gone; who could point me to the ruins of family seats which had been consumed by fire; could tell me what were the causes of the bankruptcy and ruin and untimely death of those who once formed the gay society of this county. Cards, the bottle, the horse-race, the continual feasts,—these were the destroyers. In no part of Virginia has the destruction of all that was old been greater. But let us hope for better things, and strive for them by the substitution of honest industry for spendthrift idleness, of temperance for dissipation, of true piety for the mere form of it. Some excellent people, doubtless, there always were. Their number has increased of late years. Some have I known most worthy of esteem. May God strengthen the things that remain, though they seem ready to perish!

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ARTICLE XX.

Hungar's Parish, Northampton County.

Northampton was originally called by the old Indian name of Ackowmake or Accowmake. In the year 1642 the name was changed from Accowmake to Northton or Northampton, the name of a county in England from whence the family of Robins came, and on account of which it probably received this name. In that same year—1642—the parish was divided, all below King's Creek to Smith's Island being one parish, afterward called Hungar's parish, and all from King's Creek to Nuswattock Creek being the other, and called Nuswattocks or Nassawattocks Church or parish. Accowmake was one of the original shires established in 1634. Being cut off from the mainland by the Chesapeake Bay, and the passage being difficult and dangerous, it was permitted for a considerable time to be somewhat independent in the execution of the laws, no appeal from the decision of its authorities to the higher court on the other side of the bay being allowed, except for great causes. On account of its detached position, the title of the Colony in early writers is that of *Virginia and Accomac.* This independent condition probably contributed to something like a rebellion in the time of Governor Yeardley, which required a visit from him and the Council, and suitable attendants, in order to its suppression. In this suppression Colonel Scarborough took an active part.

It was always an interesting part of Virginia. In the year 1622, when the great massacre of the Indians took place in all other parts of the State, it was in serious contemplation to remove the whole colony to the Eastern Shore; and when, in Bacon's Rebellion, Mr. William Berkeley was obliged to fly, he twice found an asylum there. Could an accurate history of its early settlement and of the chief families which have ever since been living there, and of the old churches and ministers, have been preserved, perhaps no portion of the State would have furnished a more interesting one; and had that justice been done to the culture and improvement of its soil, and the use of its many advantages, which now has begun to be done, few parts of Virginia would have been more valuable. In one remarkable particular it has retained a

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more accurate record of its early history than any other part of the State. While the oldest vestry-books and county-records have been burned by fire or lost through negligence, the proceedings of the court of Accomac, from 1632, ten years before it changed its name, and yet more, before it was divided into two counties, have been preserved, and now furnish documents from which to estimate the discipline of the court and the manners of the people. A friend,* at great pains, has furnished me with copious extracts from the records of the court from the year 1632 to 1690, and some of a later date, out of which I shall select as many, and of such kind, as shall best suit the size and character of this work.

Those who examine these records are struck with nothing so much as the penitentiary discipline which they exhibit, more like that of the early ages than is to be found in Protestant times and countries. As we have, in connection with certain parishes, taken up some special topic for consideration, as those of induction of ministers and the Option or Two-penny Act, we will, before entering on the statistics of this parish, very briefly consider the subject of discipline as exhibited in the early history of the Church and State of Virginia. We have already alluded more than once to the "laws moral, martial, and divine," which were introduced under Governors De La War, Dale, and others from the Low Countries of Europe, where they were in use among the armies of that time, and which were better suited for a rude soldiery, in a barbarous age, than for the Christian Church in any age. We have said that the most severe of those enacted against heresy and blasphemy and non-attendance at church were never executed. Mr. Burke, whose skeptical principles and ill opinion of Christians cannot be concealed, is forced to acknowledge this.

I have met with but one instance of the infliction of that most painful punishment, "the running of an awl or bodkin through the tongue;" and that was not for any violation of the laws concerning religion, but for a sin of the tongue, in uttering a base and detracting speech against Mr. Hamar, a worthy gentleman of the Council at an early period of the Colony. The guilty person was a Mr. Barnes, of Bermuda Hundred, who was sent to Jamestown for trial, and condemned "to have his tongue run through with an awl, to pass through a guard of forty men, and to be butted by every one of them, and at the head of the troop

* Mr. Anderson, of Franktown.

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knocked down, and footed out of the fort." I find that, for the violation of the seventh and ninth commandments, which God himself delivered amidst lightnings and thunders from Sinai, the most frequent and disgraceful punishments were inflicted. As to slander, the bearing false witness against fellow-beings,—at the early period of the Colony, if a woman was convicted of it, her husband was made to pay five hundredweight of tobacco; but, this law proving insufficient, the penalty was changed into ducking, and inflicted on the woman herself. Places for ducking were prepared at the doors of court-houses. An instance is mentioned of a woman who was ordered to be ducked three times from a vessel lying in James River, near Bermuda Hundred, for scolding. No doubt she was notorious for it. If a man was guilty of slandering a minister, he was required to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco and ask the pardon of the minister before the congregation. Now, however we may lament and condemn the modes which were sometimes adopted by our ancestors for declaring their abhorrence of these crimes and seeking to banish them from society, we must do them the justice to acknowledge that it was evidence in them of a hatred of sin and irreligion, and of a desire and determination to punish what was offensive to God. We must also ever make due allowance for the times and circumstances in which laws are made and enforced. In examining the early history of Hungar's parish, we find that in the year 1633, the offence of slandering the first minister, the Rev. Mr. Cotton, was punished in the following manner:—"Ordered by the court that Mr. Henry Charlton make a pair of stocks and set in them several Sabbath-days, during divine service, and then ask Mr. Cotton's forgiveness, for using offensive and slanderous words concerning him." In the year 1643 the court inflicted punishment on one Richard Buckland for writing a slanderous song on one Ann Smith, ordering that "at the next sermon preached at Nassawattocks, he shall stand, during the Lessons, at the church-door, with a paper on his hat, on which shall be written 'Inimicus libellus,' and that he shall ask forgiveness of God, and also in particular of the said defamed Ann Smith." In the year 1647, Mr. Palmer being minister at Nassawattocks, the churchwardens presented two persons to the court, which ordered them to stand in the church during the service, with white sheets over their shoulders and white wands in their hands. In the year 1652 the Rev. Mr. Higby is brought before the court for scandalous speeches against Major Robins,—the issue of it not being mentioned. In

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the year 1664 Major Robins brought suit against Mary Powell for scandalous speeches against the Rev. Mr. Teackle, and she was ordered to receive twenty lashes on her bare shoulders, and to be banished the county. In the year 1664, Captain John Custis being High-Sheriff, there were eight presentments for violating the seventh commandment, one for swearing, one for not attending church, two for playing cards on Sunday. We have already mentioned that a few Quakers had before this time been brought before the court for blasphemy and ordered out of the county. It is due to the people of the county to say that they did tolerate respectable persons of that sect at a later period. Between the years 1680 and 1690 there were such living quietly and unmolested in that region. It is on record that "Thomas Brown and his wife, though Quakers, were yet of such known integrity that their affirmation was received instead of an oath." That the citizens of the Eastern Shore were not cruel and bloodthirsty may be inferred from the fact that the first capital punishment was inflicted in the year 1693. The above-mentioned Mr. and Mrs. Brown were the ancestors of that large and respectable family of Upshurs which have since been spread over the Eastern Shore of Virginia. The old family seat, called Brownsville, on the sea-shore of Northampton, still in possession of an Upshur, was the ancient residence of the Browns, who were there visited by some of the more eminent Friends from Philadelphia, who came to have fellowship with them in their peculiar mode of worship.

Before attempting a list of the names of the ministers and a notice of the churches, I will mention a few things reflecting credit on a few individuals. The first notice is due to Mr. Stephen Charlton, who, in the year 1653, bequeathed the glebe which has so long been the subject of dispute between the Episcopalians of Northampton and the overseers of the poor. I find honourable mention of Mr. Charlton in the account given by Colonel Norwood in his visit to the Eastern Shore in the year 1649. Being on a voyage from England to Virginia, he and his company were cast away on one of the islands in the ocean. After remaining there more than a week, they were conducted by some friendly Indians to the main land, and found their way to Captain Charlton's hospitable abode. "When I came to the house of one *Stephen Charlton*, he not only did outdo all that I had visited before him, in variety of dishes at his table, which was very well ordered in the kitchen, but would also oblige me to put on a good farmer-like suit of his wearing-clothes for exchange of my dirty habit; and this gave me

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opportunity to deliver my camlet coat to *Jake*, for the use of the brother of *Kickotanke*, [the Indian chief who had been killed them,] with other things to make it worth his acceptance." Charlton was not only a hospitable but a pious man, if we judge from the language and bequests of his will. After some expressions showing that he had just views of a Saviour, he divides his property equally between his wife and two daughters, Elizabeth and Bridget, whom he directs to be educated in a godly manner, and to be under guardians until the age of fourteen. Should Bridget, the eldest, die without children, her share was to be given to the church in Northampton, for the support of the minister. She married a Mr. Foxcroft, a worthy man, and until his death a vestryman of the church. They both lived to a good old age, and, dying childless, the father's will was readily complied with. The glebe, consisting of fifteen or sixteen hundred acres of the best land in the county, has been in possession of the vestry ever since her death, though the overseers of the poor have for some time been endeavouring to take it from them. The other daughter, Elizabeth, while at school, and only twelve years of age, was persuaded to elope with a Mr. Getterrings, and, being unable to get a license on that side of the bay, they came over to the western, and contriving, by some artifice, to evade the laws, were married. She soon died, and the husband sought to recover the estate to himself. It was carried into court. A Colonel Scarborough, ancestor of those bearing that name, prepared an address to the court in writing, setting forth the iniquity of the conduct of Mr. Getterrings, especially and emphatically dwelling on the right of every man to dispose of his property according to his own will,—an argument which may, with mighty power, be used in the case of the other child's property also, since nothing can be clearer than that Mr. Charlton's desire and intention was to leave her property, if dying without issue, to the Episcopal Church of Northampton, or in a certain event to one of his relatives.

In the year 1689, I read of the death of Colonel John Stringer. His will indicates just views and feelings on the great subject of man's redemption. In the preamble he says, "I bequeath my soul to God, who first gave it me, Father, Son, and Spirit, Unity in Trinity, Trinity in Unity, who hath redeemed and preserved me, in and through Jesus Christ, who died for my sins and the sins of all people that truly and unfeignedly believe in him, for whose sake and loving-kindness I hope to obtain everlasting life; wherefore, dear Father, have mercy on my soul." Among other legacies,

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the yeoves one thousand pounds of tobacco to have the Lord's Prayer and Commandments put up in the new church about to be built in the lower part of Northampton. He also forbids all drinking and shooting at his funeral, as things altogether unbecoming the occasion.

I may also mention the fact of Major Custis, who lived some time in Williamsburg and married a daughter of Colonel Daniel Parke, presenting sets of heavy silver Communion-service to both the churches, upper and lower, of Northampton; and when the lower church was built, in 1680, near which was his residence, he promised to give the builder one hogshead of tobacco, or its equivalent, and thirty gallons of cider, to put up for him the first pew (the best, I suppose) in the church. Several other donations might be mentioned. Let these suffice.

We now proceed to speak of the ministers and churches of Northampton. It is somewhat difficult to determine their order with accuracy, from the fact that there were from the year 1642 two parishes,—the upper and lower,—divided as we have already said, and the ministers and people responsible to the one civil court, from whose records we get our information. We shall not be very anxious to decide this point, it being of little consequence.

Mr. Cotton is the first minister of whom we find notices on the records of the court. He is often named therein from 1633 onward, as bringing suits for his tithes. We read of a Mr. Cams, or Carns, who received one hundred pounds of tobacco for preaching a funeral sermon in the parish of Mr. Cotton. We read also of John Rodgers, Thomas Higby, Francis Loughty, Thomas Palmer, John Almoner, Thomas Teackle. Thomas Teackle was the first minister of the upper church. Mr. Higby was then minister of the lower. All of them, with the exception of Mr. Teackle, served but a short time, and the records show many suits for their salaries. Mr. Teackle had his difficulties also, and to the end of his life sought his dues in a legal way. He seems to have acquired much property in land. Though fiercely assailed as to his moral character, in one instance by Colonel Scarborough, he seems to have retained the confidence of the people.

About the year 1660, settlements had spread themselves up the neck, toward Pungoteage, so as to call for a church and other public buildings. In the year 1662, the county of Accomac was formed. Of these things we shall treat in our next article.

In the year 1676, we find a Rev. Mr. Key the minister of the lower parish. The Rev. Mr. Teackle, we presume, was still the

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minister of the upper; for we find, in 1689, he recovered twenty thousand-weight of tobacco from the vestry. A Rev. Mr. Richardson preceded Mr. Key, but it seems he was not an orthodox minister; that is, one regularly ordained by an English Bishop; for such was the use of the word orthodox at that time. From necessity,—the great difficulty of getting such,—the vestries sometimes employed those who were not Episcopally ordained. An opportunity offering to get an Episcopal minister of good character, they dismissed Mr. Richardson, and wrote to the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, to induct Mr. Key. The Governor readily complied, and, being well acquainted with Mr. Key, recommended him highly.

In the year 1691, a petition was made to the Assembly to unite the two parishes of Northampton, on the ground that they were unable, each of them, to give such a support as would secure an able minister and build a good church. The petition was granted, and the two merged in one, and called Hungar's parish. It was after this, I presume, that the large church at Hungar's was built.* In the following year, Mr. John Monroe was the minister of the united parishes. Of him we read in some of the convocations of the ministers in Williamsburg.

In the year 1703, the Rev. Mr. Collier was minister. He married a widow Kendal, who had previously made an assault on some one in church, and was afterward presented in court for cursing and swearing.

Mr. Foxcroft died in 1702, leaving all his property to his wife, Bridget, who died two years after, and fifty years after her father's death. Being childless, the glebe-land, by his will, was the property of the church.

In the year 1712, the Rev. Patrick Falconer is minister, and continues so until 1718, when, after having given much to the poor, he left his property to his brother James, in London, and desired that his body be buried before the pulpit in Old Hungar's Church. The Rev. Thomas Dell was then minister until the year 1729. Then John Holbroke to 1747. The Rev. Edward Barlow probably succeeded him, and died in 1761. Then the Rev. Richard Hewett, who died in 1774; and in that year the Rev. Mr. McCoskry was chosen, who died its minister in the year 1803. He married a

* I am informed by one now living that there were, as late as 1809, the remains of a fine organ in Hungar's Church. "It was entirely broken up by ruthless hands, and the lead and other parts used for sacrilegious purposes."

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daughter of John Bowdoin, of Virginia. They died childless.* Mr. McCoskry was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Gardiner. The Rev. Thomas Davis followed him, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Symes. In the year 1820, the Rev. Simon Wilmer appears on the vestry-book as minister, and so continued until 1823. Stephen S. Gunter was elected in 1824, and continued until his death, in 1835. W. G. Jackson was elected in 1836, and resigned in 1841. J. P. Wilmer was elected in 1841, and resigned in 1843. John Ufford was elected in 1843, and resigned in 1850. James Rawson was elected in 1850, and died in 1854. John M. Chevers was chosen in 1855, and is the present rector.

The following is the list of vestrymen since 1712:—Peter Bowdoin, John Eyre, Nathaniel Holland, John Addison, John Goffigan, John Upshur, John Winder, Littleton Upshur, George Parker, William Satchell, Thomas Satchell, S. Pitts, Jacob Nottingham, Isaac Smith, John T. Elliott, J. H. Harmonson, James Upshur, Abel P. Upshur, W. Danton, Charles West, W. G. Smith, John Leatherbury, Severn E. Parker, John Ker, T. N. Robins, N. J. Winder, Major Pitts, G. F. Wilkins, Simkins, Fisher, Evans, Bell, Adams, Nicholson.† One generous act of him who stands second on the

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* A Rev. Mr. Seward, who went afterward to the Northern Neck, was his assistant.

† By going back a century and a half, and then coming down the records, we meet with, as acting in the vestries and courts, the names of Scarborough, Robins, Littleton, Charlton, Severn, Custis, Yeardley, (son of Governor Yeardley,) Kendal, Purnell, Waltham, Claybourn, Andrews, Wise, Foxcroft, Parker, Eyre, Upshur, Hack, West, Vaughan, Preston, Marshall, Burton, Stith, John Bowdoin. Concerning the ancestors of the latter, something more particular will be interesting to the reader. I take it from an address of the Hon. Robert Winthrop, of Boston, delivered before the Maine Historical Society at Bowdoin College, at the annual commencement of 1849. The first of the family who came to America was Pierre Boudouin, a French Huguenot, who, driven from France, first settled in Ireland, then, with a wife and four children, came to Casco, in Maine. Of him Mr. Winthrop says, "He was one of that noble sect of Huguenots of whom John Calvin may be regarded as the great founder and exemplar; of which Gaspard De Coligny, the generous and gallant admiral who filled the kingdom of France with the glory and terror of his name for the space of twelve years, was one of the most devoted disciples and one of the most lamented martyrs, and which has furnished to our land blood everyway worthy of being mingled with the best that has ever flowed in the veins of either Southern Cavaliers or Northern Puritans. He was of that noble stock which gave three presidents out of five to the old Congress of the Confederation, which gave her her Lawrences and Marions, her Hugers and Manigalts, her Prioleaus, and Galliards, and Legares to South Carolina; which gave her Jays to New York, her Boudinots to New Jersey, her Brimmers, her Dexters, and her Peter Faneuil, with the cradle of liberty, to Massachusetts." Pierre Boudouin escaped

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foregoing list deserves a mention. Besides being always most liberal to the minister and to all the wants of the church, and most punctual at the meetings of the vestry and at church, for a long series of years, toward the close of his life Mr. John Eyre gave the sum of three thousand dollars for the erection of that model parsonage which may be seen a mile from Eastville, and from which the great Atlantic may be surveyed. To Dr. W. G. Smith, the faithful lay-reader and vestryman of so many years, and the active friend of the church in so many ways, the church

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from the place of his first settlement, the fort at Casco, in 1690, only a few hours before it was sacked and its inhabitants generally massacred by the Indians, and removed to Boston. Dying shortly after, he left his family to the care of his eldest son James, then seventeen years of age, who, besides providing for it, amassed the largest fortune then possessed by any one person in Massachusetts. He left two sons; the youngest, James Bowdoin, (the name being now changed from Boudouin,) was the friend and compatriot of Washington and Franklin, delighting in the same philosophical pursuits with the latter, and agreeing and acting with both in the great political movements of the day. He was a man of high moral and religious character, which, together with his patriotism and statesmanship, made him for a long time the first man in the commonwealth of Massachusetts. But for his own and Mrs. Bowdoin's ill-health, he would have been in that Congress which signed the Declaration of Independence.

A daughter of Mr. Bowdoin married a Mr. Temple, who, though born in Boston, was of an old English family and inherited a title. Into this family of Temples, a Mr. Robert Nelson, of England, married, previous to their emigration to America. Hence the names and families of Temples and Nelsons in Massachusetts. It may be that those in Virginia and Massachusetts are derived from the same English stock. The ancestor of the Bowdoins—Pierre Boudouin—was godfather to Peter Faneuil, the donor of Faneuil Hall, Boston. His great-grandson, James Bowdoin, son of the Revolutionary patriot, was also a distinguished man, not only holding a seat in both branches of the Legislature, but being sent as minister to the Courts of France and Spain. He died without children, and was the founder of Bowdoin College, Massachusetts. One of the grandsons of Pierre Boudouin—John—removed to the Eastern Shore of Virginia, at the beginning of the last century. It is said that his relative, the founder of Bowdoin College, offered to adopt his son Peter if he would change his name, but that the offer was declined. His grandson, Peter Bowdoin, has succeeded to his father's and grandfather's place as vestryman in Northampton. One sister married Professor George Tucker, of the University of Virginia; another, Dr. Smith, of Eastville, Northampton. Two brothers are living in Baltimore. All of the Bowdoins—now pronounced Bodens—of Virginia are of this family, and, so far as I know and believe, have belonged to the Episcopal Church. Their first ancestor, Pierre Boudouin, it is presumed, was of that Church, as he was godfather to Mr. Faneuil's child. The Winthrops and Lloyds of Boston were also connected with the Temples and Bowdoins.

[Since the above was written and published in its first form, a letter from a friend says that I am mistaken in supposing that the John Boudouin who came to Virginia was the grandson of Pierre Boudouin, of Boston, and is confident that he was his son. Not having in possession Mr. Winthrop's pamphlet, I cannot re-examine it. That document will correct my error if I have made one.]

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is indebted, not only for the judicious planning of it, but for one year's devotion of almost all his time and attention to the erection of it, and of all the surrounding improvements.

The Episcopal congregation of Northampton is now, and has been for a long time, a deeply-interesting one. Its peace and happiness, however, has been much marred for many years by a painful and protracted controversy with the overseers of the poor concerning the glebe. More than two hundred years ago the worthy and pious Charlton, in view of his approaching dissolution, and in the event of one of his two daughters dying childless, left a portion of that earth, which is all the Lord's, for the perpetual support of the Church of his fathers, and of that religion which had been his happiness in life, and was now to be his consolation in death.

He did this in the exercise of a right recognised by God himself in the law of his word, and secured to men by the laws of every government on earth,—the right of disposing of our property by will. It pleased that God, who put it into the heart of his servant thus to will a portion of his property, to cause that contingency to happen on which the bequest to the Church depended. He withheld the blessing of children from the daughter, and so ordained that the church of Northampton should be her heir. At her death that church took quiet possession of it, and long enjoyed it. The Legislature of Virginia, both under the Colonial Government and since our independence, has by several acts ratified her claim. But, after a long period of acquiescence in the church's right, the overseers of the poor, under that act of the Legislature which had never before been suspected of embracing this case, determined to claim it, and actually did sell it, conditionally, at public auction.* The question was brought before the Legislature, and a sanction for the sale sought for; but it was dismissed as unreasonable. The question was taken before a court of law, and twice decided in behalf of the church. An appeal, however, has been taken from the last decision to a higher court, and when the vexatious suit will be decided, no one can tell. Years have already been passed in painful controversy. Great have been the expenses to the church, and much the loss in various ways which has been sustained. The peace of the county has been much impaired by

* Soon after the passage of the Act the servants belonging to the farm and the other glebe in the county, which properly came under the Act, were disposed of by the proper authorities; but this was not touched.

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it. Political questions, and election to civil offices, have been mixed up with it, and Christians of different denominations estranged from and embittered toward each other. Surely, when our Legislators reserved all private donations from the operation of the law which ordered the sale of glebes, if this case could have been presented to them, and they been asked whether it could come under the sentence of it, the bitterest enemies of the Episcopal Church, and the most unbelieving foes of our religion, would have shrunk with horror from the mere suggestion. May God overrule it all for good!

A friend on the Eastern Shore, whose delight is in searching its ancient records, has sent me a full account of the Custis family, which so abounds in that part of the State. Its name and blood are intermingled with those of most of the families of Northampton and Accomac, whether rich or poor. I give a brief statement of it. The name of John Custis first appears on the record in 1640. It is probable that he was the person of whom Colonel Norwood speaks, in his account of his voyage to America and shipwreck on the Eastern Shore in 1649, as having been a hotel-keeper in Rotterdam and a great favourite with English travellers. He had six sons and one daughter. The daughter married Colonel Argal Yeardley, son of Governor Yeardley, of Virginia. His sons were John, William, Joseph, who were in Virginia, Thomas, who was in Baltimore, (Ireland,) Robert, who resided in Rotterdam, and Edmund, who lived in London. The family is of Irish descent. John appears to have taken the lead. He was an active, enterprising man, engaged in making salt on one of the islands; foremost in all civil and ecclesiastical matters; was, in 1676, during Bacon's Rebellion, appointed Major-General; a true royalist; a law-and-order man; a favourite of Lord Arlington in the time of Charles II., after whom he called his estate Arlington, on the Eastern Shore, which he received by his first wife. His second wife was daughter of Colonel Edmund Scarborough. He died at an advanced age, after having been full of labours through life. He had only one son, whom he named John. This John Custis had numerous children, whose descendants, together with those of his uncle, William Custis, have filled the Eastern Shore with the name. *His* son John, being the fourth of that name, after being educated in England, received from his grandfather the Arlington estate. He was the John Custis who moved to Williamsburg and married the daughter of Colonel Daniel Parke, and was the father of him whose widow married General Washington. His tomb is

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at the Arlington House, in Northampton, and its inscription one of the curiosities of the Eastern Shore. It is plainly to be inferred from it that he was not very happy in his matrimonial relations; for it says that he only lived seven years,—those seven which he spent as a bachelor at Arlington. His wife, it is to be feared, was too much like her brother, and unlike her father, both of whom were spoken of in one of our articles on Williamsburg.

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ARTICLE XXI.

Parishes in Accomac.

At the first, as we have seen in the article on Northampton, the whole of the Eastern Shore of Virginia was called Accowmake; then changed to Northampton; then divided into Northampton and Accomac. Soon after this, in the year 1762, the county of Accomac was divided into two parishes, by a line running from the bay to the sea, the upper being called Accomac parish, and the other St. George's. The dividing-line runs about three miles north of Drummondtown.

From a record in the Clerk's Office in Northampton there is reason to believe that the church at Pongoteague was built before the division of the Eastern Shore into two counties, and was the first erected in Accomac. The next was that which stood a few miles from Drummondtown, and was, until the year 1819, called the New Church. At that time the name of St. James's was given to it. It was subsequently removed to Drummondtown, and now forms the church in that place. In the year 1724, there were three churches in the upper parish, (Accomac,) about ten miles distant from each other. The first minister of whom we read in this parish was the Rev. William Black, who, in the year 1709–10, wrote to the Bishop of London that he had taken charge of it,—that there had been no minister there before for fifteen years. In the year 1724 he is still the minister; and, in answer to certain questions by the Bishop of London, writes, that he preaches at these churches, has two hundred communicants, four or five hundred families under his charge, instructs the negroes at their masters' houses, has baptized two hundred of them, catechizes the children on Sunday from March to September, has no Communion-service or any thing decent in his church, receives a salary of forty pounds per annum, (that being the value of his tobacco,) rents his glebe for twenty shillings per annum, has a school in his parish, endowed by one Mr. Sanford, of London, and which is still in existence.*

* The attention paid to the servants by Mr. Black is deserving of special notice, as showing the feeling of the pious ministers on the subject at that day. It was

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How long the pious labours of Mr. Black continued after the year 1724 is not known. In the year 1755, we find, from an old list of the clergy of Virginia, that the Rev. Arthur Emmerson, afterward well known in other parishes, was the minister. In the year 1774, the Rev. William Vere is set down in the Virginia Almanac as the minister of Accomac parish. He was doubtless the last minister of this parish. In the year 1785, when the first Convention after the Revolution met in Richmond, there was no clerical delegate from either of the parishes of Accomac. Mr. Jabez Pittis was the lay delegate from Accomac parish, and Mr. Levin Joynes and Tully Wise from St. George's.

I conclude this brief notice of the old and decayed parish of Accomac, in Accomac county, with the following paper, furnished by my friend, T. R. Joynes, Sr., of that county, touching the school. The document consists of an extract from the will of Mr. Sandford, with some remarks by Mr. Joynes:—

"In the will of Samuel Sandford—'sometime of Accomack county, Virginia, and now being in the city of London, dated the 27th day of March, 1710, in the ninth year of the reign of our sovereign Lady Queen Anne, over England, alias Great Britain'—there is a very long preamble in the usual pious style of that age; and, after a number of other devises, he says, 'For the benefit, better learning, and education of poor children, whose parents are esteemed unable to give them learning, living in the upper part of Accomack county, in Virginia; that is to say, from Guildford Creek directly to the seaside, and likewise from Guildford Creek to the dividing-line parting Virginia from Maryland, the rents and profits,

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always recognised as a duty by the civil and ecclesiastical rulers in England, and more or less practised by the better sort of our ministers in Virginia. About this time I find the following proposition, which is preserved among the archives of Lambeth:—

"*A Proposition for Encouraging the Christian Education of Indian, Negro, and Mulatto Children.*

"It being a duty of Christianity very much neglected by masters and mistresses of this country (America) to endeavour the good instruction and education of their heathen slaves in the Christian faith,—the said duty being likewise earnestly recommended by his Majesty's instructions,—for the facilitating thereof among the young slaves that are born among us; it is, therefore, humbly proposed that every Indian, negro, or mulatto child that shall be baptized and afterward brought to church and publicly catechized by the minister in church, and shall, before the fourteenth year of his or her age, give a distinct account of the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, and whose master or mistress shall receive a certificate from the minister that he or she hath so done, such Indian, negro, or mulatto child shall be exempted from paying all levies till the age of eighteen years."

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(of the three tracts of land therein described, containing together three thousand four hundred and twenty acres,) authorizing and empowering such person or persons who are justices of the peace, churchwardens, or of the vestry for the time being, or the major part of them, being inhabitants of those aforesaid parts of y^e^ county of Accomack aforesaid, to sett and lett the aforesaid premises for the better improvement thereof, and for the support of better learning and better education of poor children; for which uses the rents and profits thereof is bequeathed and given forever,—hereby humbly praying the Honourable the Governor of Virginia for the time-being, with the Honourable Council of State, their care that the lands by this will given may be appropriated for the uses intended and prescribed.'

"In the will, the testator speaks of his '*living*' in the county of Gloucester, from which I *infer* that he was probably a minister of the Gospel, who was, at one time, a minister in Accomac, and, at the time of the date of his will, was a minister in the county of Gloucester, in England.

"T. R. JOYNES, *Secretary.*"

From the same source I learn that the churches in Accomac were—a brick one, at Assawaman, on the seaside; a wooden one, on the Middle or Wallop's Road, about five miles from the southern line of the parish; and another of wood, at Pocomoke, near the Maryland line, called the New Church. None of them now remain, and very few of the inhabitants of the parish retain any attachment to the Church of their fathers. About thirty years past, the overseers of the poor took possession of the Communion-plate, and sold the same to a silversmith, who intended to melt it up; but, being advised that it was doubtful whether they had any authority to sell the plate under the law directing the sale of the glebe-lands, and there being a tradition that the plate was a private donation, the sale was rescinded.

As to the ministers of St. George's parish, in Accomac, our records before the Revolution fail us altogether. It is probable that some of the ministers of Hungar's parish rendered service here for some time after the division of the Eastern Shore into the counties of Northampton and Accomac, especially Mr. Teackle. The first minister on any of our lists was the Rev. John Lyon, from Rhode Island, who was in the parish in the year 1774, and continued there during and some time after the war. Being more of the Englishman than the American in his feelings, his time was very uncomfortable during the Revolutionary struggle; but, being married into a respectable family, his principles were tolerated and his person protected. While as a faithful historian we shall truthfully admit whatever of Toryism there was among the clergy of Virginia, we shall as faithfully maintain that there was a large share of noble patriotism in the clergy of Virginia. Mr. Jefferson

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declares this most emphatically. In a late number of the Lynchburg Republican the editor refers to it, as may be seen in the note below.*

In the year 1786 the Rev. Theopolus Nugent was present in the Convention as the rector of St. George's parish, Accomac. But nothing more is known of him. The following is the list of the clergymen from the time of Mr. Nugent to the present day:—The Revs. Cave Jones, Ayrs, Reese, Gardiner, Eastburn, Smith, Chase, Goldsmith, Carpenter, Adams, Bartlett, Winchester, Jonathan Smith, Wm. G. Jones, and Zimmer. I am not able, at present, to get the surnames of some of the foregoing. A few remarks concerning two of the above-mentioned ministers will be acceptable to the reader. The Rev. Cave Jones was a native of Virginia, —probably a descendant of one of the three of that name who ministered in the early Church of Virginia. He was a man of talents and eloquence, which, after some years, attracted attention beyond the bounds of our State, and led to a call to Trinity Church,

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* We affirm that no element was more often invoked in the earlier history of Virginia than the influence of ministers of the Gospel, in producing a feeling of resistance to the oppressions of England; and no class from whom the Henrys, Jeffersons, and patriot politicians of that day received greater aid in opening the eyes of the people and preparing them for a severance from Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson himself acknowledges this in his works, vol. i. pp. 5, 6.

"Describing the influence of the news of the Boston Port Bill upon himself, Mr. Henry, R. H. Lee, Francis Lightfoot Lee, and some others, in June, 1774, he says, 'We were under conviction of the necessity of arousing our people from the lethargy into which they had fallen as to passing events, and thought that the appointment of a day of general fasting and prayer would be most likely to *call up* and *alarm* their attention. No examples of such a solemnity had existed since the days of our distresses in the war of '55, since which a new generation had grown up. With the help, therefore, of Rushworth, whom we rummaged over for the precedents and forms of the Puritans of that day, preserved by him, we cooked up a resolution, somewhat modernizing their phrases, for appointing the 1st day of June, on which the Port Bill was to commence, for a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, to *implore Heaven to avert from us the evils of civil war*, to inspire us with firmness in support of our rights, and to turn the hearts of the King and Parliament to moderation and justice. To give greater emphasis to our proposition, we agreed to wait the next morning on Mr. Nicholas—whose grave and religious character was more in unison with the tone of our resolutions—and solicit him to move it. We accordingly went to him in the morning. He moved it the same day: the 1st of June was proposed, and it was passed without opposition. The Governor dissolved us. We returned home, and in our several counties invited the clergy to meet the assemblies of the people on the 1st of June, to perform the ceremonies of the day, and to address to them discourses suited to the occasion. The people met, generally, with anxiety and alarm in their countenances, *and the effect of the day*, through the whole Colony, *was like a shock of electricity*, arousing every man and placing him *erect and solidly on his centre.*'"

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New York. He was so popular in that situation as to become a formidable rival to Dr. Hobart, afterward Bishop of New York.

The Rev. Mr. Eastburn was from New York, and brother to Bishop Eastburn of Massachusetts. From every account we have received of him, whether from New York or Accomac, he must have been one of the most interesting and talented young men of our land. He came to Virginia at a time when ample material still remained in Accomac for the exercise of his pious zeal, and it was exercised most diligently in all the departments of ministerial duty, but especially in the instruction of the young by the means of Sunday-schools. He is still spoken of in the families of Accomac *as that extraordinary young man.* The following letter from his brother, Bishop Manton Eastburn, in answer to one from myself, furnishes some particulars worthy of being recorded:—

"Newport, R. I., Aug. 25, 1855.

"My dear Bishop:—Having been at this place during the present month, your letter of the 16th has only just reached me. Nothing was published after my dear and distinguished brother's death, except the poem of 'Yamoyden, a Tale of the Wars of King Philip,' which he composed in company with his friend, Robert C. Sands, and which the latter edited. I can only say, in a few words, that he was ordained by Bishop Hobart at the Diocesan Convention of New York, in October, 1818; commenced his ministry in Accomac county almost immediately; and, after a short but truly *glorious* ministry of about eight months, (during which, as I heard him say, he *thought* he had been the instrument of the conversion of seventeen persons,) returned, broken in health, to New York, and expired in December, 1819, on his passage to St. Croix, W. I., to which island, in company with his mother and myself, he was proceeding for the benefit of his health. He had just reached the age of twenty-two years; but he was mature in mind, accomplished in attainments both of ancient and modern learning, and one of the most "burning lights" in the Church of God I ever knew. I think he left an impression in Accomac which is not yet effaced.

"Excuse me for this unavoidable delay, and believe me to be

"Faithfully yours,

"In one dear Lord and Saviour,

"Manton Eastburn.

"Rt. Rev. Bishop Meade.

"P.S.—My brother's name was James Wallis Eastburn, M. A., of Columbia College, New York. He composed, at eighteen years of age, the beautiful Trinity-Sunday Hymn in our collection, No. 77; beginning, 'Oh, holy, holy, holy Lord,' &c. The 'Summer Midnight'—being five or six stanzas composed at Accomac in June, 1819—is, for beauty and elevation of thought, and heavenly aspirations after immortality, one of the most exquisite things in our language. It was published in the New York Commercial Advertiser soon after its composition.

"His studies for the ministry were pursued for two years with Bishop

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Griswold, at Bristol, R. I. There is a letter of my father's, in relation to him, in Stone's life of the Bishop."

The Episcopalian cannot but think with melancholy feelings of the gradual decline, as to numbers, of the Church in Accomac, from the time of Mr. Black, in 1710, to the present day. Then, in one parish only—the upper—there were four or five hundred families, three overflowing churches, and two hundred communicants, with scarce a Dissenter in it. Now, in both parishes, covering the whole county, there are only three churches and about fifty communicants. Other denominations, chiefly the Methodists, have drawn away the great body of the people from our communion. There are still a number of very interesting and intelligent families remaining to us, in which are not only some attached Churchmen, but truly pious Christians. May God strengthen the things that remain, and grant us there, as he has done in so many other parts of the State, a great increase!

It deserves to be mentioned that, some years since, the Rev. Ambler Weed, of Richmond, undertook the revival of the Church in the lower part of St. George's parish, and by great diligence caused a new church, by the name of St. Michael's, to be erected near Bell Haven. In this and in old Pongoteague Church he officiated for some years with great diligence and self-denial, and with some success.

Old Pongoteague—the first house of prayer erected in Accomac, and probably not much less than two hundred years old—still stands, a remarkable monument of former days, among some old trees, perhaps as ancient as itself. It is a brick building in the form of a cross. Though well-built, and in some parts still firm and unyielding, yet in others it gives signs of decay and ruin. Breaches in the walls are apparent, and the rains from above find their way through its mouldering roof.

I am sorry to be unable to give a list of the ancient vestrymen of Accomac. The only documents of which I have heard, from which to derive such list, and other particulars, perished during the last year. Would that all the friends, members, and ministers of the Church of Virginia, and any others who have any care for her past history, would but inquire for such documents, and search for them among the neglected papers of old family mansions and clerk's offices! How much might still be rescued from destruction and oblivion, which is worthy of preservation in some permanent form!

In place of a list of the vestrymen of the parish, I subjoin the following, of the families which from the earliest period to the

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present time have belonged to the Episcopal Church in Accomac. It has been furnished me by a friend, with the qualification that it is imperfect, and that there were others who might be added:— "Bowman, Cropper, Joynes, West, Satchell, Smith, Wise, Finney, Bayley, Snead, Parker, Stratton, Bagwell, Andrews, Arbunkle, Scarbrough, Robinson, Custis, Stokely, Poulson, Downing, Bell, Upshur, Pasamour, Teagle, Hack, Seymour, Kellam, etc."

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ARTICLE XXII.

Parishes in Norfolk County.

Until the year 1691, that which is now Princess Anne and Norfolk was called Lower Norfolk, in contradistinction to Upper Norfolk, now Nansemond. In that year Lower Norfolk was divided into Norfolk and Princess Anne, the parishes being still called Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven parishes.

The town of Norfolk was established in 1705. Colonel Byrd, in his Westover Manuscripts, in the year 1728, after speaking of its prosperous condition, says, "The worst of it is, they contribute much toward debauching the country, by importing an abundance of rum, which, like gin in Great Britain, breaks the constitution, vitiates the morals, and ruins the industry of most of the poor people of the country." Of the people of Norfolk he says, "The two cardinal virtues which make a place thrive—industry and frugality—are seen here in perfection; and, so long as they can banish luxury and idleness, the town will remain in a happy and flourishing condition." Although it has not increased in numbers and wealth as some other places, if religion and morality constitute the real prosperity of a place, then Norfolk has to this day flourished much beyond most other towns in our land, and her industry and frugality have ministered not a little to these.

Of the churches and ministers in Lower Norfolk before the year 1691, when the division above mentioned took place, we have but scanty accounts. I state it on the authority of one who would not speak unadvisedly, that, in the year 1637, one John Wilson was minister of Elizabeth River parish, in Norfolk county. From this until the year 1749 there is no information to be obtained as to this parish or its ministers, except that in the year 1724, when answers were sent to the Bishop of London's circulars, there were no ministers of the parish to furnish one.

On a loose piece of paper which has come into my hands, I find that, in the year 1728, a Mr. Thomas Nash—who was, I believe, both clerk of the vestry and lay-reader of the South Branch Chapel—gave in a list of births occurring in that part of the parish during the year 1727. The number of these shows that there was a

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considerable population at that time in the county, and that their reliance here, as in some other places, was on the cheaper supply of readers.

From the vestry-book, which begins in 1749 and ends in 1761,—twelve years,—I learn that the Rev. Charles Smith was the minister during all that period: how long before is not known, but it is probable from the year 1743, from the following inscription on his tombstone at the glebe, near Portsmouth, as he was the minister of Portsmouth parish at his death in 1773:—

"Here lies interred the Rev. Charles Smith, rector of Portsmouth parish, who died the 11th of January, 1773, in the 61st year of his age. He officiated as minister upwards of thirty years, and his conduct through life was unexceptionable. He was a sincere friend, a most tender husband, an affectionate father, and a humane, good man. He was esteemed and beloved when alive, and died universally lamented. In testimony of their tender regard, his son-in-law, James Taylor, and daughter, Alice Taylor, have erected this monument."

It appears, by what we learn from the vestry-book and tombstone, that he was probably the minister of Elizabeth River parish and of a division of the same during the whole period of a more than thirty years' ministry.

In the year 1761 the parish of Elizabeth River, covering all Norfolk county, was divided into three,—Portsmouth, St. Bride's, and Elizabeth River. We cannot say whether Mr. Smith continued to minister in Norfolk and Elizabeth River after this, or at once chose Portsmouth town and parish as his place of residence and field of labour. In the years 1773–4–6 we find, on our old lists, the Rev. Thomas Davis the minister in Norfolk. He was one of the ministers who zealously advocated the Revolution, and preached on some public occasion by request of the Assembly. In the year 1785 he was the minister in Northumberland county,—afterwards in Alexandria, and lastly in Northampton, where he died. In the year 1785, when the first Convention was held in Richmond, no clerical delegate appeared from Norfolk, and it is probable there was no minister there, as two lay delegates were present, Dr. James Taylor (son-in-law to the Rev. Mr. Smith, we presume) and Mr. George Kelly. Although no clerical or lay delegation appears from Norfolk in the years 1786–88, yet it is believed that the Rev. Walker Maury was minister during a part of that time. The following inscription on his tombstone in the graveyard at Norfolk, put there, it is believed, by the congregation, would indicate that he was the minister:—

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"Sacred to the memory of the Rev. Walker Maury, who departed this life in the city of Norfolk, October 11th, 1788, in the 36th year of his age."

He died of the yellow fever of that year. Mr. Walker Maury was the son of the Rev. James Maury and brother of the Rev. Matthew Maury of Frederickville parish, Albemarle, of whom we have written. He married a Miss Grimes, of the Lower Country. They were the parents of the ladies who married Mr. Isaac Hite and John Hay, of Frederick county, and Mr. Polk, of Washington. More pious and estimable ladies than the mother and daughters are not easily found. There were also several sons.

In 1789–91, the Rev. James Whitehead appears in the several Conventions as minister of Elizabeth River parish, Norfolk; and again in 1805. During the interval no delegation appears. Soon after this, it is believed, Mr. Whitehead accepted a charge in Baltimore. From all the accounts I have received, Mr. Whitehead was a worthy minister of the Gospel. He was also a good scholar, and presided over the academy in Norfolk. He was the father of Mrs. Commodore Skinner, and other children, who inherit the father's attachment to the Episcopal Church.

It was during the ministry of Mr. Whitehead that a most unhappy and bitter controversy occurred in the congregation, concerning himself and the Rev. William Bland, who was the favourite of a portion of the congregation, and was claimed, by some, to be the minister, although he never had a seat in the Conventions. Mr. Bland was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1767, and had been floating about various parishes until he came to Norfolk. His only virtue was an attachment to the Revolutionary cause while he was minister in James City, and which brought him into some notice by our patriots in Williamsburg. He was a man of intemperate habits—at any rate while in Norfolk—but still had something about him which created a party in his favour. The controversy was carried on in the newspapers in Norfolk during the week, and also in the pulpit on the Sabbath,—the same pulpit serving both ministers, the one in the morning, the other in the afternoon. The following extract of a letter from my friend, Mr. John Southgate, of Norfolk, contains the most accurate account of the transaction which is to be had:—

"I think it was in the year 1790 or 1791 that I arrived in Norfolk, at which time, or very soon thereafter, the controversy that you speak of commenced between the partisans of Bland and Whitehead, who

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were both elected by their separate vestries (for both parties had their separate vestries and wardens) to the rectorship of old St. Paul's. Of course a good deal of ill blood was engendered between the reverend gentlemen. This state of things lasted for some years, until Mr. Whitehead and his friends, who amounted to a large majority, perhaps nine-tenths of the church, and who were most moderate in their pretensions, for the sake of peace gave way, and occupied the court-house as a place of worship, and where the ordinances of the Church were for some time administered. In the year 1800, April 16th, the friends of Mr. Whitehead met for the purpose of making arrangements for building a place of worship, which they called Christ Church, at which time sixteen thousand dollars were promptly subscribed, and on the 24th of June of the same year the corner-stone was laid; and, for the purpose of avoiding difficulties heretofore existing, it was determined that the appointment of the rector should be made by the pew-holders, and that annually.* Mr. Whitehead continued to be the pastor of the same until the early part of the year 1806, when he received a call to a church in Baltimore; and, what may surprise us at this day, his only compensation during sixteen years, for his services, was one hundred pounds or three hundred and thirty-three and one-third dollars per annum."

Mr. Whitehead was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Davis, from Alexandria, (the same who had formerly been minister in Norfolk,) who continued with us until October, 1808, having received a call from Hungar's parish, on the Eastern Shore. Mr. Davis was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Syme, who continued until February, 1815, when he was not re-elected. He, however, occasionally did the duties of the clerk and pulpit, in connection with the Rev. Mr. Brown, until July, 1816. At this time Mr. Brown either died or removed, and Mr. Syme was called to Hungar's parish. In August, 1816, the Rev. Samuel Low became rector of the parish, and continued until his death in 1820. Mr. Low was the son of the unhappy man who was minister in Lancaster and Fredericksburg and gave much trouble to the Church, and of whom we shall have something to say hereafter. His son was as a brand plucked from the burning in more ways than one. Being of a literary and poetic turn, and having some talent for the stage and passionately fond of it, he for a time addicted himself to its performances; but the Spirit of God followed him even into that synagogue of Satan, and brought him forth and placed him on a higher and holier stage in the Church

* Although we can never be brought to approve of annual elections, and that by the pew-holders instead of vestrymen, yet it must be confessed that thus far it has happily succeeded in this congregation. But we are persuaded this has resulted from the peculiarly excellent materials of which it has been composed, and not from the mode of election. Painful fears have often been felt of evil in its operation. May it long be averted by the good providence of God!

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of Christ. What little preparation he was able to make for the pulpit was chiefly made under my own roof. His father's sin and disgrace produced an abiding impression of pensiveness, if not of melancholy, on a naturally sensitive mind, and this was deepened still more by the early death of a lovely young woman (Miss Brown, of Norfolk) whom he married soon after taking charge of Christ's Church. His pious conversation and evangelical preaching began that work which to this day has gone on. His successor, Mr. Enoch Lôwe, who had been a soldier in the late war and brought a soldier's spirit with him into the ministry, by a bold and fearless declaration of evangelical truth and a very impressive delivery, advanced the work with rapid strides. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Wickes, originally a Methodist minister. His preaching also was bold, impressive, sound, and experimental, and he was effecting much good when the destroyer came in the form of strong drink. He fell a victim to it, as many of God's ministers have done, who, listening to the voice of the tempter, "Ye shall not surely die," have fallen into the snare. Acknowledging his great guilt, and not denying it, as too many do, he submitted to the discipline of the Church, and afterward returned to the communion he had left.

In the year 1825, the Rev. George A. Smith became the minister of Christ Church, but was only able to continue one year, on account of feeble health. He was succeeded by the Rev. Dr. Ducachet. On his being called to St. Stephen's Church, in Philadelphia, in 1834, I was induced, under peculiar circumstances, to leave my old charge in Frederick to the care of another, and take the temporary charge of this congregation, not knowing how long it might seem to be my duty to continue. At the end of two years, among the happiest and perhaps most useful years of my ministerial life, I resigned the charge of it into the hands of the Rev. Mr. Parks, whose ministry was highly acceptable. During these two years I had also the care of the congregation at old St. Paul's, which was without a minister, and in almost a despairing condition. I was successful in keeping alive its hopes, and preventing a dissolution of the congregation, and placing over it the Rev. Thomas Atkinson, who was ordained a deacon by me while in Norfolk. On the resignation of Mr. Parks, the Rev. Upton Beale became its minister. His faithfulness in all the departments of the ministry, private and public, his sound judgment and prudence, and his unceasing labours and sound evangelical and experimental preaching, secured for him the increasing affec-

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tion and esteem of the congregation until his death. To the Rev. Mr. Beale succeeded the Rev. George Cummings, who, after a ministry of a few years, was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Minnegerode, who has just resigned the charge.

THE CHURCHES OF NORFOLK COUNTY AND ELIZABETH RIVER PARISH.

As we hear of a minister in 1637, we must suppose that some kind of a church was erected in Norfolk at that early period. The first churches were always rude and indifferent, destined soon to pass away. There were, indeed, very many such even to the time of the Revolution.

I have no information concerning the old churches except that contained in a vestry-book commencing in 1749 and ending in 1761. At the close of it a new vestry-book is spoken of as about to be. Doubtless there was one, but it is nowhere to be found.

In the year 1750, there is, in the old one, a record evidently alluding to St. Paul's Church that now is, and to one that had been there some time before, but how long cannot be ascertained. It is ordered in that year that Mr. James Pasteur be allowed to have the bricks and timber of the old church to build a house on the school-land,—a school-house, we suppose. This proves that the present St. Paul's was built before 1750, and that there was a brick church some time before this on or near the same place. It is otherwise known that St. Paul's was built in 1739. There is an entry showing that Mr. Smith, the minister, received sixteen thousand-weight of tobacco for preaching at the mother-church, (St. Paul's, in Norfolk) and four thousand for each of the three chapels,—that at the Great Bridge, where the first battle of the Revolution was fought, that at Tanner's Creek, and the Southern Branch Chapel. In the year 1753, a Western Branch Chapel is also spoken of. There are, I believe, some remains of one or more of these chapels to this day. In regard to St. Paul's; in the year 1750, we have an account of some of the interior of the same. It is ordered "that Captain John Cook, Captain John Shriff, Captain John Calvert, and Mr. Charles Sweny be allowed to build a gallery in the church in Norfolk, reaching from the gallery of Mr. John Taylor to the school-boys' gallery, to be theirs and their heirs' forever." Also, "that Mr. Mathew Godfrey, Mr. William Nash, Captain Trimagan Tatum, and Mr. William Ashley have leave to build a gallery from the pulpit to the school-boys' gallery, to be theirs and their heirs' forever." The whole church in each member

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ST. PAUL'S CHURCH, NORFOLK, VA.

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of the cross was, therefore, galleried by private individuals, except that set apart for the school-boys. It appears from the foregoing extracts that there was one church (St. Paul's) and four chapels, with one minister and three readers. The readers were Chamberlaine, Granbury, and Nash.

One-half of the glebe rented for thirty-six shillings; but there were parish servants, and a parsonage which cost £131 10*s*. After the building of the new church (Christ Church) in 1800, St. Paul's was for a time loaned to the Baptist denomination, and was used first by the white and afterward by the coloured portion of that denomination. But in the year 1832 it was resumed and repaired by the Episcopalians and solemnly consecrated by Bishop Moore. It must not be omitted on our record that, during the war, all the combustible materials of St. Paul's were consumed by the fire which laid the town in ashes. The well-built walls, however, not only resisted the fire, but the cannon-balls of our foe. There is still to be seen a considerable indentation in the corner of one of them made by a ball from the frigate Liverpool, and the ball itself may also be seen in the vestry-room, although a Governor of Virginia has petitioned that it might be placed in the public library at Richmond. The communion-plate was taken by the enemy and carried to Scotland. Some tidings of it have recently been received, and hopes are entertained of its recovery.*

In relation to the other church in Norfolk, which was built in 1800, that was also destroyed by fire in the year 1827. A new one, the present Christ Church, was immediately erected, which, being planned before the new style of architecture was introduced, (one so unfavourable to both speaker and hearer, in winter and in summer,) is one of the most capacious and comfortable churches in the land, and when well lighted up at night, and filled with worshippers, as it almost always is, presents to the eye one of the most delightful spectacles on earth.†

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* The following lines, taken from the Rev. John McCabe's fuller account of St. Paul's, in the Church Review, will interest the reader:—

On it, Time his mark has hung;
On it, hostile balls have rung;
On it, green old moss has clung;
On it, winds their dirge have sung:
Let us still adore thy walls,
Sacred temple, old St. Paul's."

† Mr. Swain, the architect of this church, deserves to be mentioned for the extraordinary fidelity displayed in its erection.

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I would that it were in my power to furnish a larger list of the vestry of the old church in Norfolk, but the brief term of twelve years, to which the vestry-book is limited, forbids. Among the first was Colonel Samuel Boush, who gave the land on which St. Paul's and its graveyard stands, and whose tombstone, at the door of the church, tells where his body lies. Himself, Colonel George Newton, Colonel William Crawford, Captain William Hodges, Captain Willis Wilson, Mr. Charles Sweny, Captain James Joy, Captain John Shriff, and Mr. Samuel Boush were the first vestrymen on the book. The two last were in place of Mr. John Scott and Captain Samuel Langley, former vestrymen. To the above, at different times, were added, Colonel Robert Tucker, Mr. Mathew Godfrey, Mr. James Webb, Thomas Newton, Major John Willowby, Captain George Yeale, Mr. Robert Tucker. This list comes down to 1761. Should the new vestry-book which then commenced be discovered, the list can be greatly enlarged.*

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* I must not omit to mention, among the families of Norfolk county, that of Dale—an ancient and respectable one of this and surrounding counties, nor can I otherwise than specially refer to one member of it, Commodore Richard Dale, who was born in this county in the year 1756. At an early period—twelve years of age—he chose the sea for his habitation. Five times was he taken prisoner by the British during the war of the Revolution. He was in the Mill prison, at Liverpool, but escaped, and was seized by a press-gang, carried back, and thrown into a noisome dungeon for forty days. Being released, he was again thrown into the Black Hole for singing rebellious songs. Again escaping, he fled to France, and was appointed first lieutenant in the Bon Homme Richard, in the fleet of Paul Jones, which spread such terror along the western coast of Scotland. In the desperate action with the Serapis he distinguished himself, and was wounded in the head. Being appointed captain of an armed merchantman in the American service, he continued to command her to the end of the war. In 1794 he was made captain in the United States navy; and in 1801 he commanded the Mediterranean squadron. In 1802 he retired to private life, and spent the remainder of his days in Philadelphia, where he died in 1826, aged seventy years, loved and honoured by all who knew him. But I should not have introduced his name into this work except for the fact that his religious character, for many years before his death, was as marked as his military one had been before. My acquaintance with him commenced about six or eight years before his death, and was most intimate to the last. His house was my happy home during our General Conventions.

He was one of those open, honest men who could and did speak freely on all subjects to all men and yet not give offence. It was expected of him to reprove sin and irreligion, no matter in whom it was seen. He took an active part with the philanthropic of Philadelphia in all their great plans of benevolence. Especially did he patronize all religious efforts for the seafaring race. He had a large sailors' loft for a chapel, which was always considered as Dale's Chapel, and which he often attended, even though he must leave his own church to do it. A pious old Presbyterian minister was the officiating clergyman in it, and was most devoted

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ST. BRIDE'S PARISH, NORFOLK COUNTY.

Of the position, lines, and boundaries of this we have no accurate idea, but must refer our readers to the delineation of it in the Act of Assembly, in 1761, which carved it out of Elizabeth River parish. (See Henning's Statutes, 1761.) Having no lists of clergy from 1758 until the year 1773, we must begin with 1773, when, as well as in 1774, we find the Rev. James Pasteur its minister. In the year 1776, the Rev. Emanuel Jones, Jr. becomes the minister. How long he may have continued is not known. We know nothing more of the parish until the year 1787, after the Revolution, when the Rev. Needler Robinson appears on the list for one year, and one only, as minister of St. Bride's parish. We presume he was the last of her ministers.

Which of the old churches were embraced within her bounds I know not, nor whether she erected any new ones.

PORTSMOUTH PARISH, NORFOLK COUNTY.

Of this I have rather more information, though no vestry-book after 1761 affords it.

We have seen that the Rev. Charles Smith was its minister when he died in 1773. He was succeeded in 1774 by the Rev. William Braidfoot. He was a native of Scotland, and had not been long in the ministry when it became evident that war between England and the Colonies was inevitable; and, as he believed the Colonies were contending for their just rights, he warmly espoused their cause, and entered the army as chaplain, continuing to fill that station until the close of the war, when he returned to Portsmouth parish, and died at the glebe about the year 1784 or 1785.

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to his work. I have attended with the old commodore in that loft, and preached to his congregation with great satisfaction. Although full of charity to all others, and holding no exclusive views, yet was Commodore Dale warmly attached to the Episcopal Church, and may be regarded as the father of St. Stephen's, which was built for his nephew, Dr. Montgomery. It was good to see his large manly form go through all the postures, and hear his bold seaman's voice in all the responses of the Liturgy.

Commodore Dale was in his religious as in his military character no halfway man: he did not attempt to serve God and Mammon,—to carry religion in one hand and the world in the other. He was among the first in Philadelphia to break away from an old system of Churchmanship which allowed such a compromise with the world. May his spirit descend to his latest posterity, and his example be faithfully copied!

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Mr. Braidfoot married a Miss Mosely, of Princess Anne, and left one son, whose descendants are now living in Portsmouth. Mr. Braidfoot was succeeded by the Rev. Arthur Emmerson, son of one of the same name who was minister on the Eastern Shore. The son was minister in Meherrin parish, Greensville, and in Nansemond, before coming to Portsmouth parish in 1785. He ministered there from that time until 1801, much esteemed as a man and minister, though from feeble health unable to lead an active life. His wife was the widow of the Rev. John Nivison. He was followed by the Rev. George Young, who continued until the year 1808 or 1809. After his death or resignation there was a vacancy until the year 1821, when the present rector, the Rev. Mr. Wingfield, began his labours in that parish. In the absence of any vestry-book to supply the names of vestrymen before the time of Mr. Wingfield, I mention the following names of old friends of the Church:—Sproull, Chisholm, Agnew, Herbert, Hansford, Joins, Dyson, Porter, Godfrey, Wilson, Wallington, Tankard, Parker, Veal, Roberts, Nivison, Marsh, North, Edwards, Davis, Luke, Cowper, Blow, Braidfoot, Dickson, Thompson, Young, Kearns, Grew, Garrow, Kidd, Mathews, Brown, Etheridge, Mushrow, Shelton, Pearce, Satchwell, Milhado, Cox, Butt, Maupin, Swift.

As to churches, there were three built in Portsmouth parish,—one in the town of Portsmouth, in 1762, on a lot in the centre of the town, given by William Crawford, Esq., the original proprietor of the land on which the town is built; one on the north bank of the Western Branch, and one near a village called Deep Creek. The church in Portsmouth was rebuilt and enlarged in 1829, under the rectorship of Mr. Wingfield. The country churches have long since fallen into ruins. When the present rector took charge of the parish, in 1821, the vestry had long since been dissolved, and the members of the three congregations had united themselves—as in many other places—with the various surrounding denominations.

A few years since, another congregation was formed in Portsmouth, a church built, and the Rev. James Chisholm called to be its rector. After labouring zealously and preaching faithfully and affectionately for some years, he fell a victim, during the summer of 1855, to the yellow fever, when, with the spirit of a martyr, he was nursing the sick and dying of his congregation and of the town. For the particulars of the life and death and character of this most talented and interesting young minister of the Gospel, I

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refer my readers to the Memoirs of the Rev. James Chisholm, by his particular friend and former parishioner, Mr. Conrad, of Martinsburg,—a biography which for thrilling interest is not easily surpassed. For the biography of his brother and companion in toils and sufferings and death, the Rev. William Jackson, the minister of St. Paul's, Norfolk, I refer in like manner for a faithful sketch of him to the work of the Rev. Mr. Cummings.

I now add, what was omitted in the proper place, that it was to the labours of the Rev. Mr. Boyden, during the rectorship of Dr. Ducachet in Christ Church, that the congregation of St. Paul's owed its revival after a long, deathlike slumber. Its life was continued and its energies increased under his successor, the Rev. Mr. Atkinson. The Rev. B. M. Miller, who followed him, increased it still more, especially by his attention to the poor. The Rev. Mr. Caldwell was doing a good work, when failing health required his withdrawal. The Rev. Joseph Wilmer and Leonidas Smith had each rendered temporary services, not to be regarded as those of regular pastors, as had also the Rev. R. K. Meade; but it was reserved for the Rev. William Jackson and his faithful and acceptable services to fill the church to such overflowing that it was evident, if his life had been spared, a new and larger church would have been built for him. His successor is the Rev. Mr. Okeson.

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ARTICLE XXIII.

Parishes in Nansemond.—No. 1.

THERE were settlements in Nansemond at a very early period. The Acts of Assembly in dividing counties and parishes are nearly all of its early history that can be gotten. A vestry-book of the upper parish, commencing in 1743 and continuing to 1787, contains all the statistics I can get. These are painfully interesting. But as I propose to follow the course of the North Carolina and Virginia line in some of the following articles,—if materials can be obtained in time,—I think it best to begin with some notice of the borders on that line. The running of it, in the year 1728, by Colonel Byrd, Fitz William, and Dandridge, commissioners on the part of Virginia, and others on the part of Carolina, led to some information which must be interesting to all who take pleasure in such things, and especially to the citizens and Churchmen of the two States. This has recently been given to the public in a small volume entitled "Westover Manuscripts,"—taken from a large folio volume of Colonel Byrd's manuscripts on various subjects, which is in the hands of one of his descendants, or deposited for safe-keeping in the rooms of the Historical Society of Virginia, in Richmond. Colonel Byrd was a man of great enterprise, a classical scholar and very sprightly writer. The fault of his works is an exuberance of humour and of jesting with serious things, which sometimes degenerates into that kind of wit which so disfigures and injures the writings of Shakspeare. Although he never loses an opportunity of a playful remark about Christians, and especially the clergy, it is proof of an admission on his part that Christianity is divine and excellent, that he took with him, on this difficult and somewhat hazardous expedition, the Rev. Peter Fontaine, his parish minister, to be chaplain to the joint company, with a salary of twenty pounds for the expedition. Of Mr. Fontaine, the Huguenot minister, we have something to say in the proper place. His conduct in this journey, and all the witticisms of Colonel Byrd, testify to his piety. What I have to say will be chiefly in the language of Mr. Byrd's journal, which is to be taken with the qualifications above stated. After the com-

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missioners had wandered for some time about the Dismal Swamp, they reach "Colonel Andrew Meade's, who lives upon Nansemond River. They were no sooner under the shelter of that hospitable roof but it began to rain hard, and continued so to do during the night." On leaving that, with a cart-load of provisions to eat and drink, which Colonel Meade insisted on sending with them, he says,—

"We passed by no less than two Quaker meeting-houses. That persuasion prevails much in the lower end of Nansemond county, for want of ministers to pilot the people a decenter way to heaven. The ill reputation of the tobacco in these lower parishes makes the clergy unwilling to accept of them, except such whose abilities are as mean as their pay. People uninstructed in any religion are apt to embrace the first that offers. It is natural for helpless man to adore his Maker in some form or other; and, were there any exception to this rule, I should expect it to be among the Hottentots of the Cape of Good Hope and of North Carolina. . . . . For want of men in Holy Orders, both the members of the Council and magistrates are empowered to marry all those who will not take each other's word. But for the ceremony of christening their children they leave that to chance. If a parson comes in their way, they will crave a cast of their office, as they call it; else they are content that their children should remain as arrant pagans as themselves. They do not know Sunday from any other day any more than Robinson Crusoe, which would give them a great advantage were they given to be industrious."

During a few days' delay at a certain point, the chaplain was allowed "to take a turn to Edenton, to preach the Gospel to the infidels and to christen the children there." Of Edenton at that time he says, "I believe this is the only metropolis in the Christian or Mohammedan world where there is neither church, chapel, mosque, synagogue, or any other place of public worship of any sect or religion whatever. Justice herself is but indifferently lodged, the court-house having much the air of a common tobacco-house." "Our chaplain," the journal proceeds, "returned to us, having preached in the court-house and made no less than nineteen Christians,—that is, baptized so many."

On their route the company stop and tarry for a time at Nottoway Town, which must be near the dividing line and either in Nansemond or Southampton, and which we suppose to be *Christina*, where the Indian school was, and of which we shall soon speak. Of the people of Nottoway Town, Colonel Byrd thus writes:—

"The whole number of people belonging to the Nottoway Town, if you include women and children, amounts to about two hundred. These are the only Indians of any consequence now remaining within the limits of Virginia. The rest are either removed or dwindled to a very incon-

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siderable number, either by destroying one another, or else by smallpox or other diseases; though nothing has been so fatal to them as their ungovernable passion for rum, with which, I am sorry to say it, they have been but too liberally supplied by the English that live near them. And here I must lament the bad success Mr. Boyle's charity has hitherto had toward converting any of these poor heathen to Christianity. Many children of our neighbouring Indians have been brought up in the College of William and Mary. They have been taught to read and write, and have been carefully instructed in the Christian religion till they came to be men; yet after they returned home, instead of civilizing and converting the rest, they have immediately relapsed into infidelity and barbarism themselves.

"And some of them, too, have made the worst use of the knowledge they acquired among the English, by employing it against their benefactors. Besides, as they unhappily forget all the good they learn and remember the ill, they are apt to be more vicious and disorderly than the rest of their countrymen. I ought not to quit this subject without doing justice to the great prudence of Colonel Spottswood in this affair. This gentleman was Lieutenant-Governor of Virginia when Carolina was engaged in a bloody war with the Indians. At that critical time it was thought expedient to keep a watchful eye upon our tributary savages, whom we knew had nothing to keep them to their duty but their fears. Then it was that he demanded of each nation a competent number of their great men's children to be sent to the College, where they served as so many hostages for the good behaviour of the rest, and, at the same time, were themselves principled in the Christian religion. He also placed a schoolmaster among the Saponi Indians, at a salary of fifty pounds per annum, to instruct their children. The person that undertook that charitable work was Mr. Charles Griffin, a man of good family, who, by the innocence of his life and the sweetness of his temper, was perfectly well qualified for that pious undertaking. Besides, he had so much the secret of mixing pleasure with instruction, that he had not a scholar who did not love him affectionately. Such talents must needs have been blessed with a proportionate success, had he not been unluckily removed to the College, by which he left the good work he had begun unfinished. In short, all the pains he had taken among the infidels had no other effect than to make them cleanlier than other Indians are. The care Colonel Spottswood took to tincture the Indian children with Christianity produced the following epigram, which was not published during his administration, for fear it might then have looked like flattery:—

> "'Long has the furious priest assay'd in vain
> With sword and fagot infidels to gain;
> But now the milder soldier wisely tries,
> By gentler methods, to unveil their eyes.
> Wonders apart, he knew 'twere vain t'engage
> The fixed perversions of misguided age:
> With fairer hopes, he forms the Indian youth
> To early manners, probity, and truth.
> The lion's whelp, thus, on the Libyan shore,
> Is tamed and gentled by the artful Moor,
> Not the grim sire inured to blood before.'

"I am sorry I cannot give a better account of the state of the pains Indians with respect to Christianity, although a great deal of pains com-

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been taken and still continues to be taken with them. For my part, I must be of opinion, as I hinted before, that there is but one way of converting these poor infidels and reclaiming them from barbarity, and that is, charitably to intermarry with them, according to the modern policy of the most Christian King in Canada and Louisiana. Had the English done this at the first settlement of the Colony, the infidelity of the Indians had been worn out at this day, with their dark complexions, and the country had swarmed with people more than it does with insects. It was certainly an unreasonable nicety that prevented their entering into so good-natured an alliance. All nations of men have the same natural dignity, and we all know that very bright talents may be lodged under a very dark skin. The principal difference between one people and another proceeds only from the different opportunities of improvement. The Indians by no means want understanding, and are in figure tall and well proportioned. Even their copper-coloured complexions would admit of blanching, if not in the first, at the furthest in the second generation. I may safely venture to say, the Indian women would have made altogether as honest wives for the first planters as the damsels they used to purchase from aboard the ships. It is strange, therefore, that any good Christian should have refused a wholesome straight bedfellow when he might have had so fair a portion with her as the merit of saving her soul."

Colonel Byrd often speaks of Mr. Fontaine as preaching to the heathen of North Carolina, and baptizing their children to the number of one hundred during the route, and in his way taunts the Carolinians for not caring for the souls of their children enough to take the trouble of bringing them over into Virginia to have them made Christians, and thinks that if the clergy of Virginia were as zealous as they ought to be, they would make more frequent excursions into Carolina for the same purpose. He was under the impression that there was not a single minister in North Carolina. In this he was, we think, mistaken, although correct in the statement that the moral and religious condition of the people was most deplorable, and that the clergy, when any were there, were not allowed to marry, the perquisite for this being claimed by the magistrates. The following statement, in the third volume of the Rev. Mr. Anderson's History of the Colonial Churches, is doubtless the true one. Speaking of the missionaries sent out by the Propagation Society in the beginning of the last century, he says:—

"Foremost among these were the services of John Blair, who first came out in 1704 as an itinerant missionary through the courtesy of Lord Weymouth, and, after suffering many hardships, returned to encounter them a second time as one of the permanent missionaries of the Society and Commissary of the Bishop of London. At the time of Blair's first visit, he found three small churches already built in the Colony, with glebes belonging to them. His fellow-labourers sent out by the Society in 1707 and the few next years were Adams, Gordon, Urmston, Rainsford, Newman,

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Garzia, and Moir, some of whom, worn out by the difficulties and distresses which poverty and fatigue and the indifference or hostility of the people brought upon them, returned not long afterward to England. Compelled to lodge, when at home, in some old tobacco-house, and, when they travelled, to lie oftentimes whole nights in the woods, and to live for days together upon no other food but bread moistened in brackish water, journeying amid deep swamps and along broken roads through a wild and desert country, and finding themselves at the distance of every twenty miles upon the banks of some broad river, which they could only cross by good boats and experienced watermen, neither of which aids were at their command; encountering upon some of the plantations the violent opposition of various non-conformists, already settled there in preponderating numbers; receiving in others the promise of some small stipend from the vestry, which was called a 'living,' and, if paid at all, was paid in bills which could only be disposed of at an excessive discount; forced, therefore, to work hard with axe and hoe and spade to keep themselves and their families from starving, and discerning not in any quarter a single ray of earthly hope or comfort,—it cannot be a matter of surprise that some of them should have sought once more the shelter and rest of their native land. Governor Eden, and, after him, Sir Richard Everett, both appear to have done what they could to bring about a better state of things; and, at a later period, (1762,) Arthur Dobbs, who filled the same high office, made earnest but vain appeals to the authorities at home, that a Bishop might be sent out to the Province. The Assembly, also, had passed an act as early as the year 1715, by which the whole Province was divided into nine parishes, and a stipend, not exceeding fifty pounds, was fixed for their respective ministers by the vestries. But, regard being had to the peculiar condition of the Colony at that time, the letter of such an enactment served only to provoke and aggravate dissensions. There was no spirit of hearty co-operation in the great body of the people; and the unwillingness of the magistrates of the several districts to set an example of earnest and true devotion may be learned from a strange fact recorded by Blair upon his first visit to the Province,—that, while he administered every other ordinance required of him by the Church, he abstained from celebrating any marriage, because the fee given upon such occasions was a perquisite belonging to the magistrates, which he was not desirous to deprive them of.

"Of the zeal and diligence of the clergy of North Carolina, whose names I have given above, the reports which reached the Society in England were uniformly satisfactory; and a deeper feeling, therefore, of regret arises, that one of them should afterward have forfeited his good name at Philadelphia.

"Two more of the North Carolina clergy at this time deserve to be named with especial honour, because they had both resided as laymen for some years in the Province, and therefore been eye-witnesses of the hardships to which the Church there was exposed. Nevertheless, they came forward with resolute and hopeful spirit to encounter them, and were admitted into the ranks of her ordained missionaries. The first of these—John Boyd—received from the Bishop of London authority to enter upon his arduous work in 1732; and the manner in which he discharged his duties in Albemarle county, North Carolina, until his death, six years afterward, proved how fitly it had been conferred upon him.

"The other—Clement Hall—pursued a yet more distinguished course,

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and for a longer period. He had formerly been in the commission of the peace for the Colony, and had officiated for several years as lay-reader in congregations which could not obtain the services of an ordained minister. The testimony borne to him in the letters which he took with him to England, in 1743, from the Attorney-General, sheriffs, and clergy of the Province, was amply verified by the zeal and piety with which he afterward fulfilled the labours of his mission. Although chiefly confined to Chowan county, it was extended at stated periods to three others; and the number and variety of his services may be learned in some degree from one of his earliest reports, from which it appears that he had preached sixteen times and baptized above four hundred children and twenty adults in three weeks. But the mere recital of numbers would describe very imperfectly the amount of labour involved in such visitations. The distance and difficulties of the journeys they required must also be taken into account; and, in the case of Hall, the difficulties became greater through his own weakness of health. But no sooner did he end one visitation than he made preparation for another; and, except when sickness laid him prostrate, his work ceased not for a single day. In the face of much opposition and discouragement, he still pressed onward, and in many places was cheered by the eager sympathy of the people. The chapels and court-houses of the different settlements which he visited were seldom large enough to contain half the numbers who flocked together to hear him. Sometimes the place of their solemn meeting was beneath the shades of the forest; at other times, by the river-side or upon the sea-shore, the same work of truth and holiness was permitted to 'have free course and be glorified.' A summary of the labours of Clement Hall, made about eight years after he had entered upon them, shows that at that time (1752) he had journeyed about fourteen thousand miles, preached nearly seven hundred sermons, baptized more than six thousand children and grown-up persons, (among whom were several hundred negroes and Indians,) administered the Lord's Supper frequently to as many as two or three hundred in a single journey, besides performing the countless other offices of visiting the sick, of churching of women, and of catechizing the young, which he was everywhere careful to do."

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The reader will more than excuse us for the foregoing notices of the early condition of our sister State and diocese of North Carolina.

According to promise, I now present a view of the Indian school at Christina, in a report to the Bishop of London by its teacher, the Rev. Mr. Griffin:—

"Christina, January 12, 1716.

"My Lord:—Being employed by Colonel Spottswood, our Governor, to instruct the Indian children at this settlement, I thought it my duty to address your lordship with this, in which I humbly beg leave to inform you what progress I have made in carrying on this charitable design of our excellent Governor. Should I presume to give an account of the kind reception I met with at my arrival here from the Indian Queen, the great men, and, indeed, from all the Indians, with a constant continuance of their kindness and respect, and of the great sense they have of the good that is designed them by the Governor in sending me to live with them

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to teach their children, as also at the great expense he has been at, and the many fatigues he has undergone by travelling hither in the heat of summer, as well as in the midst of winter, to the great hazard of his health, to encourage and promote this most pious undertaking, I should far exceed the bounds of a letter, and intrude too much on your lordship's time. I shall, therefore, decline this, and humbly represent to your lordship what improvements the pagan children have made in the knowledge of the Christian religion, which I promise myself can't but be very acceptable to you, a pious Christian Bishop. We have here a very handsome school-house, built at the charge of the Indian Company, in which are at present taught seventy Indian children; and many others from the Western Indians, who live more than four hundred miles from hence, will be brought hither in the spring to be put under my care, in order to be instructed in the religion of the Holy Jesus. The greatest number of my scholars can say the Belief, the Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments, perfectly well; they know that there is but one God, and they are able to tell me how many persons there are in the Godhead, and what each of those blessed Persons have done for them. They know how many sacraments Christ hath ordained in his Church, and for what end he instituted them; they behave themselves reverently at our daily prayers, and can make their responses, which was no little pleasure to their great and good benefactor, the Governor, as also to the Rev. Mr. John Cargill, Mr. Attorney-General, and many other gentlemen who attended him in his progress hither. Thus, my lord, hath the Governor (notwithstanding the many difficulties he laboured under) happily laid the foundation of this great and good work of civilizing and converting these poor Indians, who, although they have lived many years among the professors of the best and most holy religion in the world, yet so little care has been taken to instruct them therein, that they still remain strangers to the covenant of grace, and have not improved in any thing by their conversing with Christians, excepting in vices to which before they were strangers, which is a very sad and melancholy reflection. But that God may crown with success this present undertaking, that thereby his Kingdom may be enlarged by the sincere conversion of these poor heathen, I humbly recommend both it and myself to your lordship's prayers, and beg leave to subscribe myself, with great duty, my lord, your lordship's

"Most dutiful and most obedient, humble servant,

"CHARLES GRIFFIN."

I am sorry to add that, Mr. Griffin's labours proving much less successful at Christina than he fondly anticipated in his letter, he was some years after this removed to the Brafferton Professorship at William and Mary College, and the institution at Christina abandoned. He, however, still continued to pay attention to such Indian youth as came to the College.

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ARTICLE XXIV.

Parishes in Nansemond.—No. 2.

Having thus availed myself of the journal of Colonel Byrd, and the report of Mr. Griffin concerning the Indian School, and Mr. Anderson's account of the Church in North Carolina, I return to the brief sketch of the Church in Nansemond. It was divided into two parishes,—the upper and lower. The lower was sometimes called Suffolk parish, although the town of Suffolk was in the upper parish. All that I have yet learned of the Suffolk or lower parish is, that there are two old brick churches in it, one on the left and the other on the right bank of the Nansemond River, each about ten miles from Suffolk. There is a valuable glebe attached to them, which, being a private donation, has not been touched. There is no minister in the parish.

The vestry-book of the upper parish dates back as far as November 30th, 1743. At the first vestry-meeting there were present Colonel Andrew Meade, Edward Norfleet, Lemuel Reddick, John Gregorie, John Norfleet, Daniel Pugh, Jethro Sumner. In the year 1744 Captain William Wright and Captain Williams appear on the list, and the Rev. Mr. Balfour is minister. In the year 1745 Mr. David Meade and Mr. Daniel Pugh take the places of Colonel Andrew Meade and Colonel Daniel Pugh, the sons succeeding the fathers. In this year the Rev. Mr. Balfour is arraigned by the vestry for drunkenness, swearing, and other vices, and nothing more is heard of him. In the year 1746 Henry Temple, Christopher Norfleet, Miles Reddick, and Mr. Wimburn are vestrymen. In this year a new brick church is ordered in Suffolk in the place of the old one. In the year 1747 the Rev. Willis Webb is elected minister, Richard Baker chosen vestryman, and a chapel at Holy Neck ordered,—the minister to preach at Middle Chapel and Somerton Chapel until the new chapel is built. In the year 1748 the order for a new church at Suffolk is renewed. It is to be a handsome brick church, and David Meade and Lemuel Reddick allowed to put up, at their own expense, galleries for their families. Wm. Moore, Thomas Sumner, Messrs. Hunter and Rawles, Henry Holland, and John Ashburn, vestrymen. In the year 1758 a chapel is ordered at Mr. Norfleet's, like that at Nottoway. Richard

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Webb, James Gibson, Josiah Reddick, are elected vestrymen. In the year 1760 the Rev. Mr. Webb either died or removed, having been minister without reproof for thirteen years. In the same year the Rev. Patrick Lunan is chosen to preach at Nottoway Chapel, Cypress Chapel, Holy Neck, and Suffolk Church, and the Rev. Mr. Burgess assisted. In the year 1766 Jeremiah Godwin was chosen vestryman, and the Rev. Mr. Lunan was presented by the vestry to Commissary Robinson; and in the following year Mr. David Meade and Thomas Gilgrist were ordered to prosecute the case, and to apply to the Attorney-General and Mr. Wm. Waller. This, and several other cases in different parishes, led Commissary Robinson to write to the Bishop of London, stating the uncertainty of the authority given to the Commissaries for the purpose of discipline over the clergy. I presume that no change was made, and this and other cases were left to be settled by the vestry as they could; for we find that, though this Mr. Lunan did not preach for the parish, he held the glebe until the year 1775, when he relinquished all claim on glebe and parish for three hundred pounds, paid in three annual instalments. In the year 1774 the Rev. Mr. Agnew preached at Cypress Church and Suffolk, and the Rev. Mr. Burgess at Holy Neck Chapel once a month. In the year 1775 the Rev. Mr. Andrews is elected. Going back two years, we find that in the year 1773 Mr. Lemuel Reddick resigned on account of age and infirmities, having served forty years, and Mr. David Meade being about to move from the county, having served twenty-seven years, John Reddick and Andrew Meade were chosen in their room. Walls Cooper, Willis Streaton, and William Pugh and Samuel Cohoon appear on the vestry. In the year 1777 Mr. Andrew Meade removed; and Jacob Sumner resigned. John Driver and Christopher Roberts were elected. In the year 1781 John Brinkle and John Coles were vestrymen. In the year 1785, according to Act of Assembly, a new vestry was elected. There were six of the Reddicks placed on it, and Richard Baker, Dimsey Sumner, and John Giles, William King and Abraham Parker. Richard Baker and Willis Reddick were appointed to attend the Episcopal Convention to be held at Richmond that year. The church-wardens were directed to advertise for a minister. Meetings of the vestry were also held in the years 1790 and 1791, when Henry Harrison and Hardy Parker were chosen vestrymen. Thus closes the journal. The misconduct of several of the ministers, and several other circumstances, had combined for a long time to bring the Church and religion to a sad condition.

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On the journal of the Convention of 1785, the Rev. Arthur Emmerson appears as the clerical delegate, and Willis Reddick, Richard Baker, and Solomon Shepherd as lay delegates. In the years 1790 and 1791 a Rev. Mr. Taylor appears on the journals from Suffolk. In the year 1812 the Rev. Jacob Keeling's name appears on the journal, he having been ordained by Bishop Madison, but how long before is not known. The excellencies of this simple-hearted and single-minded man are known to some now living. During the latter years of his ministry he had much aid from the Rev. Mr. Jones, of the adjoining parish in the Isle of Wight, and the Rev. Mr. Wingfield, of Portsmouth. In process of time the Rev. Mr. Disbrough became the minister of the parish, and during the period of his ministry the present brick church was erected. After his departure, the Rev. Aristides and the Rev. Leonidas Smith rendered much service to the congregation while engaged as instructors of youth in Norfolk. The Rev. Chauncey Colton is its present minister.

Having thus presented the fullest sketch of the parish history I have been able to get, I close, as in some others, with a notice of some families which once belonged to it. Though there may be others more deserving of notice, yet, as that of my own ancestors is the only one known to me, I will be excused for saying something of that. It is chiefly taken, even to the letter, from papers found among the relics of the late David Meade, of Kentucky, eldest brother of my father, who lived to be more than ninety years of age, and was much addicted to the study of genealogy.

The family is traced by him to Thomas Cromwell, a blacksmith of Putney, in Ireland, who was the father of Thomas Cromwell, servant of Cardinal Wolsey, and his successor in the favour of Henry the Eighth, but who, forfeiting that, was beheaded by his orders. Oliver Cromwell was his nephew. One branch of this family was the Everards, of Essex, from whom Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was derived, who, together with his wife, was killed by the falling upon them of a stack of chimneys in a thunderstorm. From him came the name of Richard Kidder, so frequent in the family, and from the Everards the name of Everard, also common in the family. The name of Oliver is also to be found in it. The paternal ancestor of the family in this country, Andrew Meade, was born in the county of Kerry and kingdom of Ireland about the latter part of the seventeenth century. Tradition says, that on leaving his native country he went first to London, and from thence came to New York, where he, though a Romanist, married

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Miss Mary Latham, a Quakeress, of Flushing, (a family still residing there,)—a heterogeneous kind of union, less obnoxious to nature than to bigotry, says Mr. Meade. Some five years after, he removed to Virginia and settled in Nansemond county. It has never been certainly ascertained whether he formally renounced the Catholic faith, though he was for many years a representative of his county in the House of Burgesses, judge of the county, and colonel of the militia.*

He is said to have been a large, muscular man, of great corporal strength, and rather hard-featured in the face, but of fine form. He died in the year 1745, leaving a character without a stain, having had the glorious epithet connected with it, *The Honest.* One son and daughter were all the children which he left. His son David Meade, and wife Susannah, afforded their posterity an example of conjugal felicity which has been rarely equalled. The God of Love was present at their first interview, and made them feel the effects of his disposition at the same moment. But there was a considerable lapse of time between their first meeting and marriage. Her father was Governor Everard, of North Carolina, then living with his family in Edenton, and was unwilling to leave his daughter in the wilds of America when he should return home. When about to sail,—the ship in which they were to embark lying in Hampton Roads, then called Nansemond River,—there was no other house at that time, convenient to the place of embarkation, at which they could be well accommodated but Andrew Meade's. To this they went; and, being detained some time by adverse winds, or other causes, the earnest entreaties of a most affectionate father, almost distracted at the thought of parting with his only son, (who was determined to follow her,) at length prevailed, and they were immediately married;† and the daughter of Andrew Meade was named Priscilla, and married a Mr. Wilson Curle, of Hampton, by whom she had two daughters and not less than six sons.

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* From his holding these offices, we may certainly conclude that he had renounced it, since test-oaths were required of such officers, and he was reputed to be an *honest* man. In this I am further confirmed by the fact, that the name of Colonel Andrew Meade stands first on the list of vestrymen in the year 1743, when the list I have commences. He was at Suffolk, and a hospitable entertainer, in 1728, as Colonel Byrd testifies.

† The case of David Meade and Susannah Everard had something so touching in it as to give rise to some little novel or poem, but of which nothing remains but uncertain tradition. David Meade is represented as rigid in his morals, and one who could not tolerate vice. He was active in enforcing discipline against evil ministers.

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David Meade had two daughters and five sons. His daughters were Anne, who married Richard Randolph, of Curls, and Mary, who married Colonel Walker, each of them leaving many children, who are scattered over the land. The sons were David Meade, who inherited the estate in Nansemond, married a Miss Waters, of Williamsburg, then settled at Macox, in Prince George, then removed to Kentucky, devoting his time and fortune to the improvement of the seats on which he lived, and which were celebrated all over Virginia and Kentucky. The others were R. K. Meade, aid to General Washington, Everard Meade, aid to General Lincoln and afterward raised to the rank of General, Andrew Meade, who settled in Brunswick, and John, who died in his youth. The three elder children were sent to England for their education, and placed under the care of Dr. Thackery, the Principal of Harrow School, and Archdeacon of Surrey. The celebrated Sir William Jones, Sir Joseph Banks, and Dr. Parr were at that time among its scholars.*

As it is good sometimes to wander amidst ruins and graveyards, I will take my readers for a few moments to the spot where my ancestors lived and some of them died and were buried, and from whence they will rise up on the great day. It stands on an eminence about a mile back of the town of Suffolk. An avenue of trees led from it to the church in Suffolk, through which the family, at the sound of the bell, repaired to church. Andrew Meade, having made a handsome fortune, first by the fur-trade with Indians up the Roanoke in Virginia and North Carolina, and then by the lumber-trade, built a large house on this spot for his residence, and store-houses also, as he still carried on trade by a creek which came up almost to his door. The mansion has long since been consumed by fire, and the other houses mouldered into ruin. The estate has passed into many hands since the last of the family parted with it. But there was one spot which it was hoped would be spared until the dissolution of the earth,—the graveyard,—so well was it guarded. It was a small square lot, around which cedar-trees were planted so thick that their bodies reached within one or two feet of each other. A better enclosure, and one more likely to endure, cannot well be imagined. I visited the place some years since for the first

* The talented and unhappy Dr. Dodd, of London, used to preach at Harrow to the boys of that school. I have seen his sermons to them, and heard my father speak of his eloquence. When he was executed, the boys of the school were either sent or permitted to go. My father witnessed the scene. I may be permitted to add concerning my father, that while at the school his teacher said of him that he would never make a great scholar, but he will be what is much better,—*vir probus.*

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time, and was sorry to find that the last owner of it had cut down every tree and converted them into stakes and firewood. The stumps, however, were perfectly apparent. The graveyard was thickly covered with grass, leaves, briers, and shrubs,—so much so, that a friend and connection of the family who was with me could with difficulty get a few yards into it, to search for some memorial of the dead, for nothing of the kind appeared on the surface. The corner of one slab, thickly covered with grass and mould, was all that he could see or feel. We left the spot, convinced that a better protection for the place and its monuments, whatever they were, could not be provided, than that which they then had. But we were mistaken. A few months since, I wrote to that same friend and companion, saying that in view of this work which I am now engaged in, I wished him to get some suitable hands with proper implements, and remove all the trees, shrubs, briers, and rubbish, so as to find out what was concealed by them. According to my request, he went to the spot prepared to make the examination, when to his surprise he found not a stump or shrub remaining, but only a number of small fragments of tombstone about the spot, which was now in the midst of a cultivated field, itself ploughed up and cultivated. The names of Caruthers and Vail were all that could be distinguished. That of Meade could not be made out on any of the fragments. Perhaps no tombstone with that name was ever there, although some of the family must have been buried there.

I shall be excused for adding in this place some other particulars concerning my father. He married, at the age of nineteen, Miss Jane Randolph, of Curls, sister of Richard Randolph, who married his sister, and aunt of John Randolph, of Roanoke, who always called him Uncle Kidder. His wife was some years older than himself, which called from the elder Judge Tucker some humorous poetry, entitled Happy Dick, in which he condoles with the younger ladies on James River upon their disappointment. This wife lived but a few years, having several children during the time, and leaving none behind. During his first marriage he lived at Coggin's Point, in Prince George, the present possession and residence of Edmund Ruffin, and which he sold during the war, though, by means of the depreciation of money, he realized but little from it. In Prince George he was a vestryman, but resigned because the vestry would not discharge an unworthy clergyman. He entered early into the Revolutionary War, being one of twenty-four persons—among whom were James Monroe, George Wythe,

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Benjamin Harrison, Colonel Bland, &c.—who, in June, 1775, seized upon the arms and ammunition in Dunmore's house, in Williamsburg, carrying the powder to the magazine, and dividing the arms among themselves for safe-keeping and the service of the country. In December of that year he was found at the battle of Great Bridge, near Norfolk,—the first battle fought in Virginia. He had raised a company, and was then serving as captain under General Woodford. [See the account which he gives in the Bland Papers.] He was soon taken into the family of General Washington as his aid, and was the most active in reconnoitring, being a good rider and having a fine animal,—the black mare so well known to the British as well as American armies. [See Campbell's History of Virginia.] He used to say that Hamilton did all the head-work for the General, and he the riding, reconnoitring, and carrying orders on the field. He was with Washington in all the great battles of the Revolution. To him was committed the superintendence of the execution of Major André, of which he always spoke with much feeling, saying that he could not forbear tears at seeing the execution of so uncommon and interesting a man, though he entirely approved the order. At the close of the war he married the widow of Mr. William Randolph, of Chattsworth, near Richmond, the brother of Governor Beverly Randolph, of Cumberland, and Colonel Robert Randolph, of Fauquier. She is mentioned in Campbell's History as among the female contributors to the expenses of the war in a time of great need. Her contribution was eight hundred dollars. Perhaps this circumstance may have first attracted my father's attention to her. When Washington was taking leave of some of his aids, a circumstance occurred which showed his estimate of their different characters. To Hamilton he said, "You must go to the bar, which you can reach in six months;" to Laurens, something as appropriate; to Colonel Meade, whom he then called by his familiar name, "Friend Dick, you must go to a plantation in Virginia; you will make a good farmer and an honest foreman of the grand jury of the county where you live." And so it proved; for he became a most attentive, successful, and, at first, hard-working farmer, and was, while health permitted, always the foreman of the grand jury of the old District Court of Frederick county. He rejoiced as a citizen in those blessings which his military services had helped to obtain, and often said that there was no debt he so gladly discharged as the taxes levied for the maintenance of our free and happy government. He never allowed a tax-gatherer to come to his house in search of what was due, but

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always anticipated this by paying it beforehand at some appointed place. The same was true of all his debts. As infirmities of body increased, the foundation of which were laid in his exposure during the war, and he could no longer fell trees and maul rails with the very few servants saved from the wreck of his estate, he still laboured in other ways. A box of tools, imported from England, stood in the corner of the old log dining-room, and a saddler's bench during the winter season was on one side. All the helves, rakes, cradles, gates, and plantation-gear were made by his own hands; and so expert was he in the latter manufacture as to produce a compliment from an old friend, that "a good saddler was spoiled in the attempt to make a gentleman of him." Nevertheless, he did not entirely discard books and politics, but sometimes wrote an article for the press on some subject which deeply involved our country's interests. Nor did Washington disdain to consult with him as to the choice of officers when, in the near prospect of war with France, he was called on once more to head the armies of our country. The year before the death of Washington, my father paid him a visit at Mount Vernon. They had not met since the close of the war. The general was on his farm. They met in one of the fields, near a pair of draw-bars. Each, recognising the other, dismounted and shook hands over them, the General insisting that he would pull down his own bars, and my father that he would be his aid still.

My father survived but a few years. Several interesting obituaries, in prose and verse, appeared at his death. From them I take the following extracts. The first is from the pen of Mr. Robert Page, of Janeville, Frederick county:—

"His virtues, though of that dignified kind which enforce respect, were yet so tempered by gentleness and condescension that they never failed to conciliate affection. In public life his conduct was such as to secure the esteem and friendship of those accurate discerners of merit, Washington and Hamilton. This speaks sufficiently his eulogium. His benevolence was ardent, active, and disinterested; and one of his greatest pleasures consisted in promoting the happiness and welfare of all around him. The death of his friend, General Hamilton, made an impression of melancholy on his mind, which, it is believed, was not obliterated until the hour of his death."

The following is from the Rev. Mr. Wiley:—

"The heart that beat for public weal,
Where justice held her steady way,
Where glow'd the flame of patriot zeal,
Is now a lump of inert clay

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But memory often shall rejoice,
With pensive pleasure, to retrace
His form, the accents of his voice,
And every valued mental grace.
His social gayety, whose flow
Could pleasure ever new impart;
His candour, which could never bow
To veil in dark disguise the heart;
His goodness, active, ardent, great,
And prompt the sufferer's wants to aid;
These, whilst the pulse of life shall beat,
Will never from remembrance fade."

The last is from Mrs. Mary Page, of Pagebrook, Frederick county:—

"Though wars have ceased, the hero claims renown;
With choicest myrtle let his tomb be crown'd;
And ye, sweet nine, your plaintive tribute pay,
And o'er his virtues shed a milder ray.
In scenes domestic man is truly known;
In scenes domestic Meade forever shone.
His soul, unconscious of one narrow thought,
Of self regardless, did the thing he ought.
Where'er his form benignant bent its way,
Grim care soon vanish'd and each heart was gay.
At mercy's call he ever foremost press'd;
For meek-eyed pity sway'd his manly breast.
Hasten, fair nymphs of Frederick's peaceful plains;
Attend, fond youths, to breathe your mournful strains;
Votaries of Hymen, follow to deplore
That Meade, your pride and father, is no more.
But why, blest shade, should friends lament thy doom?
Joys celestial hover o'er thy tomb;
Thy Mary, purer than the snowdrop white,
Shall guide thine offspring to the realms of light."

I conclude this article by a brief reference to one individual belonging to Suffolk parish, whom not to mention in its history were an unpardonable neglect. In the history of Bruton parish, Williamsburg, we have on the list of vestrymen and active members of the Church the name of Prentiss more than once. Mr. Prentiss, of Suffolk, was a worthy successor to the virtues of his ancestors. To his persevering attachment to the Church of his fathers during a long and dark period of almost despair, may be mainly ascribed, under God, its continuance in Suffolk. A more humble and conscientious Christian and more true-hearted Episcopalian, a more honourable and courteous gentleman, a more affectionate husband and tender father, was, and is, nowhere

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to be found. His descendants still cherish the Church in which they were trained, and will so do, we trust, to the latest generations.

Other members might, doubtless, be found among the Reddicks, the Joneses, the Bakers, the Hallidays, and other families of the parish of Suffolk, most worthy of special notice; but the writer has not the necessary information for the purpose.

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ARTICLE XXV.

Parishes in Isle of Wight and Southampton.

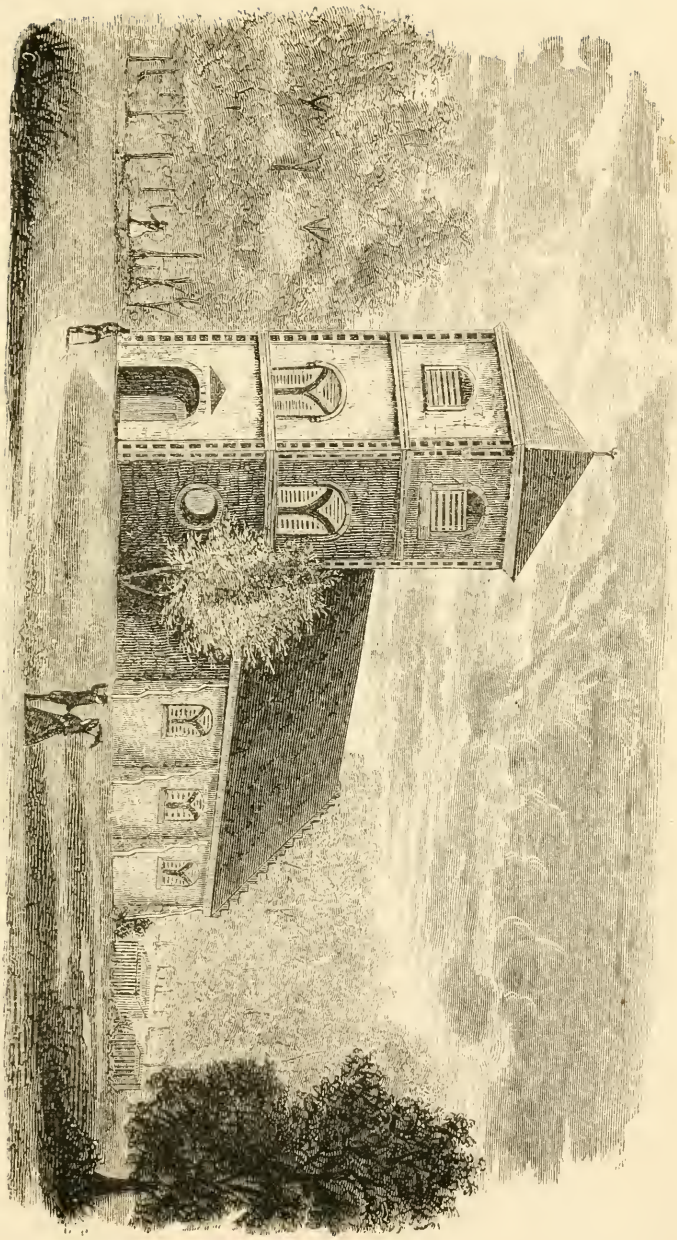
The Isle of Wight was one of the eight original shires in the year 1634, and embraced what is now Southampton, extending from James River to the North Carolina line,—a distance of ninety miles. The first name it bore was Warrosquoyacke, which, in the course of three years, was changed to its present. In all the early notices of the Colony we have frequent mention of this settlement, for it was among the earliest, being not far from Jamestown, on the other side of the river. We find in Henning's Statutes, that in 1642 it was divided into two parishes, the upper and lower, or Newport and Warwicksqueake, each extending the full length of the county, or ninety miles. The condition of the division, however, was that the Rev. Mr. Falkner, the minister, should not lose any thing of his salary by the change. In the year 1734, those parts of the two parishes which lay south of Blackwater were united in one, under the name of Nottoway parish, while those on the north of it were to be united under the name of Newport parish. In the year 1748, fourteen years later, Southampton was cut off from Isle of Wight, the parish still retaining the name of Nottoway. In the year 1762 this was again divided by the Nottoway River running through Southampton, into two parishes, and St. Luke's established. There are no Church records of this parish to which I can resort for information about it. At the time of Tarleton's invasion of Virginia, he sent a detachment to Macclesfield, the residence of Colonel Josiah Parker, of Revolutionary memory, in hopes to take him and destroy his papers, &c. In the former he failed, but in the latter succeeded. Among the effects destroyed were the vestry-book and some Church-papers, which he, as a warm friend of the Church, had in keeping. It appears, however, that, notwithstanding the vigilance of Arnold's men, some papers relating to the Church were preserved and remained in possession of his daughter, Mrs. Cowper, until the war of 1812, when a militia force which was stationed near Macclesfield, being in want of cartridge-paper, obtained from the servants what they supposed was waste paper; and thus what remained of Church records was used in the service of the country. Such being the case, I must rely on tradi-

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tion for any statements not provable by later records. There have been some very old persons in the county, who have transmitted to the present generation some testimonies which have probable accuracy in them. There is a tradition that the old and venerable brick church a few miles from Smithfield was built in 1632 and was the second church erected in the Colony. Dr. Hawks mentioned this as probable. It is quite likely that the date of its erection was as early as 1632, but that it was the second church in the Colony is disproved by all the early writers, who tell us of one at Henrico in 1611. Others, no doubt, though of a rude character, were raised in earlier settlements long before this time, and perhaps some cheap and plain one at Warrosquoyacke itself. The building of which we are speaking is a remarkable one. All of its materials must have been of the best kind, and its workmanship superior,—whether those materials were from England and the workmanship as to the interior done in England, as tradition says, or not. Its present condition fully proves this. Its thick walls and high tower, like that of some English castle, are still firm, and promise so to be for a long time to come. The windows, doors, and all the interior, are gone. It is said that the eastern window—twenty-five feet high—was of stained glass. This venerable building stands not far from the main road leading from Smithfield to Suffolk, in an open tract of woodland. The trees for some distance around it are large and tall and the foliage dense, so that but little of the light of the sun is thrown upon it. The pillars which strengthen the walls, and which are wide at the base, tapering toward the eaves of the house by stair-steps, have somewhat mouldered, so as to allow various shrubs and small trees to root themselves therein. Some few, indeed, though quite small, have issued from between the bricks beneath the eaves, on other parts of the walls. This, arising from the dense shade around, gives the building and the picture of it (which I have) a deeply-interesting appearance.* Some twenty or thirty years ago a new roof was put upon it and worship occasionally held there, in which I have partaken on

* Some years since, in the month of November, toward the close of day, I passed by this church in company with an active young man; and, as usual, turning aside to survey it, I saw among the shrubs a delicate young cedar, about a foot long, issuing out of the wall just under the cornicing of the roof. On expressing a wish that I had it, without dreaming that it could be gotten, my companion immediately began to clamber up the pillar nearest to it, and, ascending twelve feet, got in a position which enabled him to remove several of the loosened bricks and get the young plant, with good roots, from its nest. It is now a flourishing tree, eight feet high, near my study-window.

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OLD SMITHFIELD CHURCH.

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occasions; but, the neighbourhood being deserted of Episcopal families and a new church built in Smithfield, it is now, like the tomb or body of Sir John Moore, "left alone in its glory."

There were two other old churches in this county. The Bay Church was a brick building about five miles northwest of Smithfield, near a bend in James River called Burwell's Bay, (some of that name having settled there at an early period,) originally Warrosquoyacke Bay. It was erected about the middle of the last century on the lands of Colonel Burwell, who was a Colonial clerk of the county. About the year 1810, the estate came into other hands; the church was pulled down and a kitchen built of the bricks; the sides and backs of the pews were used to make stalls for a stable and divisions in a barn, which was last struck with lightning and burned down. The bell of the church was exchanged in Richmond for a brandy-still. The other church, called the Isle of Wight Chapel, was a framed wooden building about fifteen miles southwest of Smithfield, and was erected about the year 1750. It was destroyed by fire some thirty or forty years since. The new church at Smithfield was built in 1832, and has been under the charge of the Rev. C. J. Hedges, Thomas Smith, Jonathan Smith, John Downing, John C. McCabe, H. T. Wilcoxon, and Chauncey Colton.

Of the ministers in the county of Isle of Wight, previous to the year 1724, we have not yet been able to learn any thing except what has been already stated,—that, in the year 1642, the Rev. Mr. Falkner was rector of the whole county. It was then divided into two parishes. In the year 1724 the same division continued. The Rev. Alexander Forbes was minister of the upper parish, called Warwicksqueake, and Thomas Bayley of the lower or Newport parish. I have before me a letter from each of them, in that year, to the Bishop of London, giving an account of their parishes. Mr. Forbes enlarges in a second letter on all the points contained in his first, and gives a most particular, faithful, and painful history of all the difficulties and trials of his ministry, and of the unhappy condition of things in his parish and in the Colony. His parish is eleven miles wide along the river, and more than sixty miles long, extending to the North Carolina line. He has three churches, one of which was doubtless the old one near Smithfield. He speaks of the impossibility of any successful efforts at doing much good either by preaching or catechizing, whether in churches or private houses,—both of which he had diligently tried,—by reason of the extent of his parish and the scattered position of the families

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of his charge. He complains much of the Quakers, who annoyed him not a little; somewhat of the Anabaptists, who were then finding their way into Virginia; but most of all of some of our own clergy, whose evil lives hindered the religion of the laity. His nearest neighbour, as we shall see, was an instance of this. He speaks of the Indian settlement on the Nottoway River,—Christina,—where Mr. Griffin's school was, and which was in his parish, though afterward in Southampton,—which was cut off from the Isle of Wight,—and deplores the ill example of the Colonists and its influence on the natives. There were no schools in his parish. His number of communicants not more than thirty or forty. His glebe was indifferent and had no house on it. The tobacco raised there, being of bad quality, sold at a very reduced price, so that his salary was small. From the testimony of Commissary Blair and others, he was, however, not a mere complainant, but a very faithful and laborious man, who continued at his post for a long time,—perhaps until his death.

As to his neighbour,—the Rev. Mr. Bayley, in the lower parish,—he was, from all the accounts we have of him, the very reverse. Commissary Blair and Governor Spottswood speak of him, in their letters to the Bishop of London and others, as a most notoriously wicked man. Mr. Blair says that he has tried sharp reproof without effect, and thinks that he shall be obliged to adopt something more severe. Whether he ever did does not appear. He acknowledges that the difficulties in the way of discipline were so great, and ministers so scarce, that he was obliged to pass by many offences.

From his answers to the Bishop of London, it appears that Mr. Bayley had been ten years in the States,—during a part of which he was minister of St. John's Church, Baltimore,—that there were four hundred families in his parish, and about forty communicants. He also had the small parish of Chuckatuck, in Nansemond, under his care, at which he preached during the week. In answer to the question whether there were any infidels in his parish, he says, "Yes, both bond and free;" and the method of their conversion was "by baptism and instruction." He speaks also of there being some unendowed schools in his parish, but in such way that we conclude they are none other than private schools.

After these we learn, by oral tradition, that there was a Mr. Pedier, who probably was minister of the parish in which the old church was situated, as he was buried in the aisle of it. Then the Rev. J. H. Burgess, afterward of Southampton, was minister of

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the parish for the years 1773, 1774, 1775, and 1776; how much longer we know not. He went from thence to Northampton. The last of whom we hear was the Rev. Mr. Hubard, who was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1766. When he entered on his charge we know not, as he was minister in Warwick in the year 1776. He died in the parsonage on the glebe of Newport parish, after the year 1802. He manifested his attachment to the Church by preaching to the last, though there were only two or three persons present.

No vestry-book furnishing us with a list of the vestrymen, we insert the names of some of the families in this parish:—Bridger, Smith, Pierce, Parker, Young, Cary, Pedier, Wills, Godwin, Burwell, Cocke, Holliday, Todd, Purdy, Tucker, Butler, &c. The tombstone of an ancestor of the Bridgers still stands on a farm a few miles from the Old Brick Church, with an inscription which declares him to have been a Councillor of State for Virginia under Charles II., and that he died in 1682.

Since writing the foregoing, I have received further information concerning this parish from a friend, who has come into possession of the fragments of an old vestry-book, which partially cover the period lying between 1724 and 1771. As we have stated above, the worthy Alexander Forbes was the minister in 1724, as appears by his letter to the Bishop of London in that year; but, according to the vestry-record, in two years after the Rev. Mr. Barlow is the minister officiating occasionally, being the minister of some neighbouring parish. In the year 1727, we find the Rev. Mr. Bayley—the minister of the lower parish, of whom we spoke as being so unworthy a man—applying for this parish. The vestry dispose of his application by electing him on the condition that "he make it appear that he is not in any ways debarred or silenced by any order of Government." It appears, from other documents in my possession, that he had been thus "debarred and silenced." He was a notorious character, and, either before or after this, was in North Carolina and other parts of Virginia, seeking employment.

In the year 1729, the Rev. John Gammill was chosen minister, and continued so until his death in 1744. The following letter from Governor Gooch to the vestry speaks well of him:—

"Gentlemen:—

"It is a great satisfaction to me that I can now recommend to your parish, which has been so long without a minister so good a man as the

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bearer hereof, the Rev. Mr. Gammill, whose good life and conversation will be very agreeable to you, as it is to, gentlemen,

"Your affectionate friend and humble servant,

"WILLIAM GOOCH.

"WILLIAMSBURG, March 3, 1729–30."

Commissary Blair also recommends him highly.

After Mr. Gammill's ministry the Rev. Mr. Camm occasionally officiated in this parish. Then the Rev. Mr. McKensie preached nine sermons. In the year 1746, we find the Rev. John Reid present with the vestry; and he seems to have been the minister until 1755, when the record becomes defective. In 1766, the Rev. Mr. Milner is the minister, and resigns in 1770. Tradition says, as we have stated, that a Rev. Mr. Pedier was once minister, and was buried in Old Smithfield Church. It is probable he succeeded Mr. Milner. Then came Mr. Burgess and Hubard, as before stated. The old vestry-book confirms what has been stated as to the position of the three churches of this parish.

The following is the list of vestrymen during the period of which it is a record:—

"Laurence Baker, Samuel Davis, Matthew Jones, Thomas Walton, William Kinchin, William Crumples, William Bridger, James Day, George Reddick, Matthew Wills, Reuben Proctor, Nathaniel Ridley, Thomas Woodly, John Goodrich, George Williamson, James Ingles, John Porson, John Davis, John Simmons, William Wilkinson, Joseph Godwin, Henry Lightfoot, James Bridger, John Monro, Thomas Parker, Hardy Council, Henry Pitt, Arthur Smith, Richard Wilkinson, Henry Applewhaite, Thomas Day, John Laurence, Hugh Giles, Thomas and John Applewhaite, Thomas Tynes, John Eley, Thomas Smith, Jordan Thomas, John Darden, Dolphin Drew, John Wills, William Hodsden, William Salter, Robert Barry, Charles Tilghman, Robert Burwell, Miles Wills, Edmund Godwin."

In the foregoing list, my friend remarks, are forty different surnames, almost all of which are now to be found in Isle of Wight and Southampton counties; that is, within the original bounds of old Warwicksqueake shire and parish. It appears from the vestry-book that, in the year 1737,—that is, one hundred and five years after it was first built,—the Old Smithfield Church had a new covering of shingles put upon it. This was doubtless the first repair of the kind since its erection, for it was no uncommon thing for a well-built roof to last thus long. Old Yeocomico Church, in Westmoreland, has one on it at this time of greater age.

I have alluded to the families of Bridger and Parker, and their mansion at Macclesfield,—a few miles from Old Smithfield Church,

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—in the first part of this article, and to a tombstone thereat; and a friend has furnished me with the following inscription, with the explanatory remarks:—

"*Inscription on the tomb of the Hon^ble^ Joseph Bridger, Paymaster-General to the British troops in America during Bacon's Rebellion, in the reign of Charles the Second of England.*

"Sacred to the memory of the Hon^ble^ Joseph Bridger, Councillor of State to Charles the 2d. He dyed Aprill 15, Anno Domini 1688, aged 58 years, mournfully leaving his wife, three sons, and four daughters."

Some eulogistic verses are added, from which we select the following:—

"Can nature silent mourn, and can dumb stone
Make his true worth to future ages known?
Here lies the late great minister of state,
That royall virtues had, and royall fate."

Perhaps it was as great an honour to him to be the son of the man who built Old Smithfield Church as to have been one of the Councillors of the corrupt Charles II., and to have acted with Sir William Berkeley against him who is called the rebel Bacon. That he was the son of the man who contracted for the church is stated in the following words accompaning the inscription:—

"General Bridger was the son and heir of the Joseph Bridger who superintended the building of St. Luke's, (the Brick Church,) in Newport parish, Isle of Wight county."

My friend adds these words:—

"The above is taken from a copy made by the late Mrs. Anne P. P. Cowper, of Macclesfield, from the tombstone, which is erected on a farm about three miles below the Old Brick Church, and is still in a perfect state. This farm was a part of an immense landed estate which descended to Mrs. Cowper from her mother, who was a widow Bridger, and married Colonel Josiah Parker, of Revolutionary celebrity."

I have also referred to a small parish, called Chuckatuck, in Nansemond county, of which I could say nothing for want of any documents. A friend has sent me the copy of a portion of an old vestry-book of this parish, which contains the proceedings of the vestry from December of the year 1702 to 1709. I will first give the names of the gentlemen composing the vestry during that period:—

"Captain Edmund Godwin, Major Thomas Swann, Captain L. Havield, Mr. James Davis, Mr. Oliver Slaughter, Mr. James Cewling, Mr. Thomas

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Drury, Colonel Thomas Godwin, Captain John Pitt, Mr. Thomas Corbell, Colonel George Norsworthy, Captain Charles Drury, Mr. John Brasseur, Major Thomas Jordan, Captain B. Kearne, Mr. John Lear, Peter Best, Thomas Cutchins, John Isles."

The vestry seems to have been an energetic and decided one. In April, 1703, is their first action :—

"The vestry, being willing to embrace the first opportunity for the service of God, have therefore entertained and agreed with Mr. William Rudd, minister, to preach a sermon every intervening Thursday until the 1st of October next, at the rate of three hundred and eight pounds of tobacco per sermon, and also to pay twelve shillings for his ferrying over the river: which Mr. William Rudd accepts, and promises, with God's assistance, to perform his duty. During the summer they invite him to become their minister and preach every other Sunday, for eight thousand pounds of tobacco."

Mr. Rudd was then the minister of Norfolk, in Elizabeth River parish, and it was customary to ask the consent of the Governor to a separation; wherefore the vestry addressed a letter to Governor Nicholson. Mr. Rudd became their minister, and remained such for some years. After this they had the services of the Rev. Thomas Hassell, but how long is not known. It was during the infancy of this vestry that Governor Nicholson was endeavouring to establish his authority over the vestries in relation to induction of ministers and the supply of vacancies. The opinion of Sir Edward Northy, the King's Attorney, was sent to all the vestries and ordered to be recorded on the vestry-books. The vestry of the little Chuckatuck parish obeyed the Governor's order and placed the document on record, but added this spirited resolution to it :—

"But as to presenting our present or any other minister for induction, are not of opinion, [here is something not very intelligible by itself, but rendered perfectly so by what follows,] but are willing to entertain our present minister upon the usual terms, as formerly hath been used in this Colony."

I do not know that there was ever more than one church in this parish. That is still standing, and has been occasionally supplied by ministers from Suffolk and Smithfield. I have often been in it, and enjoyed the services held therein.

On the few pages of this vestry-book which are before me, I find all the oaths which at that time were required of vestrymen and churchwardens. As they varied according to times and circumstances, and some are to be seen in one vestry-book and some

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in another, I will present them all to the reader as they here appear:—

"*The oaths appointed to be taken, as by an Act of Parliament, in the reign of William the Third, instead of allegiance and supremacy.*

"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be true and faithful, and bar [bear] true allegiance to his Majesty King George the Third. So help me God.

"I, A. B., do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and *hereticall*, that damnable doctrine and position, that Princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or *murthered* by any of their subjects whatsoever; and I do declare, that no foreign Prince, Person or Prelate, State or Potentate, hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, predominance, or authority, *ecclesiasticall* or spiritual, within this Realm. So help me God.

"I, A. B., do sincerely believe that there is not any transubstantiation in the Sacraments of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever."

"*The oath of a vestryman, being the oath of obedience canonical.*

"I, A. B., do swear, that I approve of the doctrine and discipline, or government, in the Church of England as concerning all things necessary to Salvation; and that I will not endeavour, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any Popish Doctrine contrary to that which is so established; nor will I ever give my consent to alter the government of this church by Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, and Archdeacons, &c., as it stands now established, and as by right it ought to stand, nor yet ever to subject it to the usurpations and superstitions of the See of Rome. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever; and this I do heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the faith of a Christian. So help me God."

'*The oath of a churchwarden.*

"You shall execute the office of churchwarden in the parish where you are chosen, according to your discretion and skill, in his Majesties' ecclesiastical laws of this Realm now in force. So help me God."

PARISHES IN SOUTHAMPTON.

Having exhausted our little stock of information concerning the Isle of Wight parishes, we proceed to Southampton, which was cut off from it in the year 1748, and the parish called Nottoway, which was in a few years divided and St. Luke's parish established. In the year 1758 we find a Rev. Thomas Burgess minister of the undivided Nottoway parish; and in the year 1773, the Rev. William Agur minister of Nott y parish, and the Rev. George Gurley of St. Luke's, and the in 1774. But in the year 1776, the

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Rev. William Andrews takes the place of Mr. Agur in Nottoway parish. In the year 1785, Mr. George Gurley appears in the Convention at Richmond as rector of St. Luke's still, and in 1786 the Rev. Benjamin Blunt has taken his place. This is the last representation from Southampton until after the revival of the Church in Virginia. I have, however, some private information concerning a portion of its intermediate history. During the war the Rev. John Henry Burgess, who had been before ministering in Newport parish, Isle of Wight, moved into Southampton, and there both preached the Gospel and instructed the youth. He probably preached at all the churches in the two parishes, and supported himself by teaching, as the salaries of the ministers were very badly paid during the war, if at all, and many of them ceased to preach. There were not less than seven churches in the two parishes, including one built under his auspices. The names of five of them were Lecock, Oberry's, Simmons's, Jones's, and Millfield. The latter, Millfield, was near his residence, and is now in possession of the Baptists. All the rest have passed away. Mr. Burgess's school was held in high esteem. Among those which were educated in it we may mention one of the late Presidents, William Henry Harrison. To the number of patriotic ministers we may surely add the Rev. Mr. Burgess; for so zealously did he advocate the cause of America, both privately and publicly, that the British got possession of him during the war, and kept him a prisoner until the close of it. So entire was the prostration of the Episcopal Church in this county, that it was some time after our efforts at resuscitation commenced before attention was turned toward it. The Revs. Edmund Withers and Edward B. McGuire gave a portion of their time and labours to it a few years since, and not without effect. The Rev. Mr. Gibson, of Petersburg, and Robert, of Greensville, have added their occasional services since then, and we hope the time is not far distant when we shall have a regular ministry and temples of our own.

PARISHES IN SURREY COUNTY.

This county originally contained all that is now Surrey and Sussex. There were two parishes in it in 1738, called Lawn's Creek and Southwark, running the whole length of the county toward the Carolina line, being one hundred and twenty miles. At that time each of them were curtailed; and, as in the case of the Isle of Wight parishes, Black River divided them. Those parts of the parishes which lie south of Blackwater River formed

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a parish by the name of Albemarle, in what is now Sussex county, and the parts north of Black River formed another parish, retaining the name of Southwark,—that of Lawn's Creek being henceforth dropped. Although there were many ministers in the parishes of Surrey before the year 1724, and between that and 1754 and 1758, and though I have their names on different documents in possession, I am not able to identify or locate them, because these documents do not appropriate them to their parishes. I am able to say who were the ministers in 1724, because their answers to the Bishop of London show it. I can say who were the ministers in 1754 and 1758, because I have a list both of the ministers and parishes of those years. Had I the old vestry-books, they would supply the deficiency; but I have none of either of these parishes; and yet they may be in existence, though in some tattered form.

I give, first, some of the answers of the Rev. John Worden, who says,—

"I arrived in Virginia in 1712, when Governor Spottswood sent me for six months to Jamestown. Thence I went to the parishes of Weynoake and Martins Brandon, both of which parishes were hardly sufficient to support a minister; therefore I removed to this parish, where I have been since January 30th, 1717." His parish, he says, "is ten miles wide along the river, and one hundred and twenty long, with seven hundred tithables in it. There are some Indians, bond and free, and negroes, bond and free. Some masters will have their negroes baptized; and some will not, because they will not be sureties for them. I cannot persuade parents and masters to send their children and servants to be catechized. I sometimes get eight shillings and fourpence for my tobacco, per hundred, and sometimes not so much; and if I send it to Europe, perhaps it brings me in debt, as of late years it hath happened. The vestry will not keep my glebe-house in order; but if I choose to do it myself, I may and welcome. I have a church and chapel thirty miles apart,—twelve communicants at the former, and thirty or forty at the latter."

The following are the answers of the Rev. John Cargill, minister of Southwark parish:—

"I have been here sixteen years. My parish is twenty miles in width, and one hundred inhabited in length, being a frontier-parish. It has three hundred and ninety-four families. The school of Mr. Griffin, called Christina, for Indians, is on the borders of my parish. There is one church and two chapels, and seventy or eighty communicants. My tobacco now sells at five shillings per hundred; my salary from thirty to forty pounds. My glebe-house is in a very bad condition, and the parish will not repair it, so I must look out for a house elsewhere. No school, no library, in the parish."

Such is the sad account in 1724 of the two parishes in Surrey county.

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In the year 1758, after the arrangement by which all on the north side of Blackwater is united in Southwark parish, we find the Rev. Peter Davis its minister; in the years 1774 and 1776, the Rev. Benjamin Blagrove. In the year 1785, the Rev. John Henry Burgess, of whom we recently spoke as minister in Southampton, appears in the Convention as minister of Southwark; and, in the years 1790 and 1792, the Rev. Samuel Butler. After this we hear of it no more. Its last minister was a man of pleasure, so devoted to the turf that he was made President of the Jockey Club of Surrey and Charles City, as I was informed by the clerk of the same. Nothing else was to be expected but that the Church should perish in such hands.

Since the revival of our Church in Virginia, efforts have been made in behalf of the parishes in Surrey, and not without some effect. Between twenty-five and thirty years ago the Rev. John Cole, encouraged by the zeal of good Mrs. Falcon and others of Southwark parish, preached for one year at Old Surrey and Cabin Point Churches, reviving not a little the hopes of our few remaining friends. At a later period the Rev. Edmund Christian spent some time in the same; and for the last few years the Rev. John McCabe, recently of Hampton, has devoted one Sunday in four to Old Surrey Church. Under his ministry the congregation increased, and a new church has been recently erected near the old one.* I know of no other churches in Surrey but those of Old Surrey and Cabin Point, unless there be one standing about eight or ten miles from the court-house. I made one visit to it about twenty years ago. In company with a zealous female member of the Church, some notice having been previously given, I approached the old and desolate-looking place. No horses or carriages were around it; but on the sill of an open door was sitting an old negro man, who I was told had in former times been the sexton. We three were the congregation. My visit has not been repeated.

To the foregoing I add the following communication from my esteemed friend, William Harrison, of Brandon:—

"In the will of Benjamin Harrison, of Surrey, who was buried at the chapel near Cabin Point, and who, according to the epitaph on his tombstone, was born in Southwark parish in 1645, and which will was admitted to probate in 1712, I find the following passage:—'Item, I give twenty pounds sterling to buy ornaments for the chapel, and that my exe-

* The old one was built in the year 1754; the age of the one at Cabin Point unknown.

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cutor take care to provide them, so soon as may be, after the new chapel is built; and my will is that five acres of my land be laid out, where the old chapel now stands, and that it be held for that use forever.' "

The plate of this church, I have reason to believe, was sold by a person having charge of it, and the proceeds applied to private use. The Harrisons, Shorts, Allens, Cockes, and Peters, in olden time, were leading families around this church.*

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* To this I add the following from the History of Virginia, by Mr. Charles Campbell. The following is the epitaph:—"Here lyeth the body of the Honourable Benjamin Harrison, Esquire, who 'did justice, loved mercy, and walked humbly with his God,' was always loyal to his Prince, and a great benefactor to his country." He had three sons, of whom Benjamin, the eldest, settled at Berkeley. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Lewis Burwell, of Gloucester, and was an eminent lawyer, and sometime Speaker of the House of Burgesses. He died in April, 1710, aged thirty-seven, leaving an only son, Benjamin, and an only daughter, Elizabeth. A monument was erected at the public expense to his memory in the old Westover churchyard. The son Benjamin married a daughter of Robert Carter, of Corotoman, (called King Carter,) in Lancaster county. Himself and two daughters of this union were killed by the same flash of lightning at Berkeley. Another daughter married Mr. Randolph, of Wilton. The sons were Benjamin, the signer of the Declaration of Independence, Charles, a general in the Revolution, Nathaniel, Henry, Colin, and Carter H. From the last-mentioned descended the Harrisons of Cumberland. Benjamin Harrison, Jr., the signer of the Declaration, and otherwise celebrated, married a Miss Bassett. Their children were Benjamin, father of the late Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, Carter B., sometime member of Congress, and William Henry, President of the United States; one daughter who married a Mr. Randolph, and another who married a Mr. Copeland. The second son of Benjamin Harrison, of Surrey, (the first of the family in Virginia,) was Nathaniel. *His* eldest son was also named Nathaniel, and *his* only son again was Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon, member of the Council of Virginia at the same time with Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, about the commencement of the Revolution. This Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon, who married a daughter of the last Colonel Byrd, of Westover, was father of the present William Harrison, of Upper Brandon, and of the late George Harrison, of Lower Brandon, on James River, besides four daughters. If the first of the name was a zealous friend of the Church and liberal contributor, his posterity have ever continued true to it; and the two last named, with their families, have done much to its partial revival within the last thirty years. The ministers have ever found their seats to be hospitable homes when in that part of the parish. They have set good examples in encouraging the religious teaching of their servants, and, in order to promote this, have built a chapel between them for the especial benefit of the same.

For a full description of Mr. Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, Governor of Virginia, and holder of so many offices during and after the war, I refer the reader to Mr. Griggsby's book on the Convention of 1776. Of the family of Harrison he says, "Of all the ancient families in the Colony, that of Harrison, if not the oldest, is one of the oldest. The original ancestor some time before the year 1645 had come over to the Colony; but, as his name does not

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SUSSEX COUNTY.

A few words suffice for Sussex county, and Albemarle parish in Sussex county. The parish, as has been stated above, was divided from Lawn's Creek and Southwark parishes in 1738. We have an old tattered register, which seems to have begun in 1738, and at the bottom of each page is the name of William Willie, minister. It continues until 1776 with the same name. I find the name of William Willie, as its minister, on a list in 1754,—the earliest list to be found on record. I find it also in a list for 1776 in an old Virginia almanac. In both instances he is the minister of Albemarle parish, Sussex. The parish, I doubt not, began and ended with him, as does the old register, for we hear no more of him or the parish after the year 1776. It is by far the most particular register I have ever met with. It states the days on which he preaches at each of his four churches,—St. Mark's, St. Andrew's, St. Paul's, and Nottoway, and the number of persons present, and occasionally other circumstances. It states the births, baptisms, deaths, marriages, sponsors, names of masters, of bond and free, black and white. So methodical and pains-taking a man, living for thirty-eight years among a people (judging from the names in the register) as respectable as any in Virginia, was, it is to be hoped, a worthy minister in other respects.

In speaking of the church in Sussex as being born and dying with Mr. Willie, we do not mean to say that there were no churches and ministers in that region before,—the contrary being evident,—but that its separate parochial existence commenced with him and died with him so far as regular ministerial services were concerned. Nor do we mean to say that no efforts have been made of late to resuscitate it. Some years since a new church was erected by the

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appear in the list of early patentees recorded by Burk, it is probable that he purchased land already patented, or may have engaged in mercantile pursuits. The first born of the name in the Colony of whom we have any distinct record was Benjamin Harrison, who became a member of the Council, and was Speaker of the House of Burgesses, and died in Southwark parish, in the county of Surrey, in the year 1712, in his sixty-second year." Mr. Griggsby thinks it probable that his father was the Herman Harrison who came over in what is called the "second supply" in Smith's History, or of Master John Harrison, who was Governor in 1623, and adds:—"That from the year 1645 to this date—a period of more than two centuries—the name has been distinguished for the patriotism, the intelligence, and the moral worth of those who have borne it."

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zeal of a few surviving friends and members of the church, and the Rev. Mr. Withers, McGuire, and others, have performed services in it. We hope the ground will never be abandoned, but that in this and the neighbouring county of Southampton the twelve churches which once were, but now are not, may in time have their places supplied by the blessing of God on the labours of faithful men.

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ARTICLE XXVI.

Parishes in Charles City, Surrey, and Sussex.

Although Charles City was one of the eight original shires or counties into which the Colony was partitioned in 1634, and holds so central a position among the old counties, and lies on one of our noblest rivers, yet have we little knowledge of either its civil or ecclesiastical history during the first century of our Colonial existence. We read indeed of Westover Hundred, and Weynoake Hundred, and Charles City Hundred, as early settlements on James River, within its bounds, and of the destruction or great injury of them by the Indians in the great massacre of 1622. We read of a school being established, or about to be established, at Charles City Hundred, in aid of the proposed College at Henrico, without being able to ascertain the location of it,—though we presume it was somewhere on the river. The dimensions of the parish we are able accurately to define. As was the case with some other counties on this and other rivers, it extended some distance on both sides of James River. Inconvenient as this must have been to the inhabitants in many respects, yet such was the unwillingness to divide what God had divided, that two court-houses were used in the one county, one on each side of the river, for a long period of time. Still more inconvenient must this have been to the ministers of religion and the people of their charges, whose parishes were thus divided. There were two parishes in Charles City,—Westover or the upper, and Weynoake or the lower,—each divided by the river into two parts, until the year 1720, when the two parts of Westover and Weynoake on the north of James River, together with a part of another parish called Wallingford, extending to the Chickahominy, were all united into one, and took the name of Westover parish; while the two parts of Weynoake and Westover on the south of the river were united to one called Martins Brandon in Prince George, which latter county had been taken from Charles City, being that part of it lying south of James River. It is not until after this arrangement that we have any account of the ministers of Charles City county and Westover parish as they now are. We have no means of ascertaining the

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name of a single minister of this ancient shire for nearly a century after its establishment. In the year 1724, the Rev. Peter Fontaine gives an account of himself and his parish. He came into it nine years before that time,—had officiated in Wallingford, Weynoake, Martins Brandon, and Jamestown, before the new arrangement. He had now three churches in Westover parish, the upper or Westover Church, and the lower church near the Chickahominy, formerly in Wallingford parish. The length of this parish was thirty miles; the number of families two hundred and thirty-three, of communicants seventy-five. He was as attentive to the instruction of children and servants as circumstances would allow. There were two glebes in his parish, neither of which had houses on them, and the best of them rented for thirty shillings. He lived in his own house and on his own farm. His salary, besides perquisites, was from fifty to sixty pounds. Mr. Fontaine is the same minister of whom we have spoken as accompanying Colonel Byrd on that most laborious and dangerous expedition for running the dividing-line between Virginia and North Carolina. Colonel Byrd evidently held him in the highest esteem, as doubtless did all his parishioners. We find him still living in their affections and labouring among them in the year 1757. He died in the month of July of that year. After expressing a firm trust in a joyful resurrection through the blood of a merciful Redeemer, he concludes his will by saying, "My will and desire is, that I may have no public funeral, but that my corpse may be accompanied by a few of my nearest neighbours; that no liquors be given to make any of the company drunk,—many instances of which I have seen, to the great scandal of the Christian religion and abuse of so solemn an ordinance. I desire none of my family to go in mourning for me."

Concerning this good man and his family, something more must be said. I have already, in my article on one of the parishes in Albemarle, referred to the interesting history of the Fontaine family as set forth by Miss Ann Maury and Dr. Hawks. I refer to it again, and commend it to all as having all the interest of the best novels, without their imperfections and evils. Mr. Peter Fontaine was one of six children (five sons and one daughter) of two pious and valiant Huguenots, who fled from France to England. Giving their children a good education, especially as to religion, they committed "them to the providence of a covenant God to seek their fortune in the wide world." All of them came to America, though two of them—Moses and John—returned to England. The

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daughter, Mary Ann, married Matthew Maury, from Gascony, and, coming to America, became the mother of a numerous posterity. James Fontaine settled in King William as a farmer, and is also the ancestor of many most respectable families in Virginia and elsewhere. Francis was the minister of whom we have already spoken in our article on York-Hampton. Peter is the worthy person of whom we are now speaking, and who also has his descendants spread over our own and other States. Nor are the names of Fontaine and Maury absent from the lists of our present American Episcopal clergy. Of Mr. Peter Fontaine, who spent his whole ministry of about forty years in the county of Charles City, with the exception of a short time at Jamestown and Wallingford parish, it becomes us to add something more. His letters to various relatives, and one of his sermons, furnish us with the means. It was the pious custom of the Fontaines to assemble annually, and hold a solemn religious thanksgiving in commemoration of their deliverance from persecution in France, and remarkable preservation when attacked by French privateers in the North of Ireland. I have before me a sermon on one of those occasions, preached by Peter Fontaine. After a suitable prayer, which is prefaced to it, he takes for his text that passage from Romans,—"That ye may with one mind and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." After a general consideration of the duty enjoined by the text, he applies it to their particular case. Alluding to the former, he says,—

"Several months was our parent obliged to shift among forests and deserts for his safety, because he had preached the word of God to a congregation of innocent and sincere persons, who desired to be instructed in their duty and confirmed in their faith. The woods afforded him a shelter and the rocks a resting-place; but his enemies gave him no quiet, until, of his own accord, he delivered himself up to their custody. They loaded his hands with chains, his feet stuck fast in the mire, a dungeon was his abode, and murderers and thieves were his companions, until God by means of a pious gentlewoman, whose kindness ought to be remembered by us even to latest posterity, withdrew him from thence, and was the occasion that his confinement was more tolerable."

He exhorts them in the close of the sermon never to forsake their annual meetings, which were so calculated to keep up the remembrance of their parent's virtues and sufferings, and the wonderful deliverance of God. "Would to God," he says, "that you would make it your business to teach them to your children, that they may be qualified to perpetuate them to infinite generations to

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come, and thereby engage the protection and draw the blessing of the Almighty upon them; for God is not like Jacob, who hath only one blessing in store. He hath millions of millions to bestow on those who love and fear him." We believe that the recollection of these things has had a happy religious effect on very many of this wide-spread family. A passage from one of the letters of Mrs. Maury, the sister of Peter Fontaine, concerning his family, is worthy of insertion:—

"My brother Peter's first wife, Lizzy, was one of the loveliest creatures I ever saw. God had endowed her with all the virtues of a good Christian wife and a watchful mother. *She never let the least thing pass in her children that had any apperance of evil in it, and was very tender of them.* His present wife is a lovely, sweet-tempered woman, and she, Mary Ann, and Peter, have an unusual tenderness for each other; and I believe if they were her own children she could not show more tenderness to them. My brother has two children by her,—a boy and a girl. The boy is named Thomas. I hope God will spare my brother's life to raise them as he hath the other two, who are examples of piety and wisdom, and a great comfort to their parents and us."

There is one passage from a letter of Mr. Fontaine to one of his brothers in England, on the subject of preserving health, which is worthy of him as a man and as a minister. Besides commending active exercise in the open air on foot and horseback, and a careful consideration of one's own constitution so as to be our own physician, he adds this valuable hint:—"I drink no spirituous liquors at all; no small beer; but when I am obliged to take more than ordinary fatigue, either in serving my churches or other branches of duty, I take one glass of good old Madeira wine, which revives me and contributes to my going through without much fatigue."

Happy would it have been for the Church of Virginia had all her members prescribed such bounds to themselves. Mr. Fontaine, though living in the midst of the opulent and voluptuous gentlemen on James River, was no wine-bibber sitting at their tables and quaffing glass after glass of their rich wines after having imbibed something stronger, perhaps, before and at dinner, but confined himself to one glass of pure wine when weariness called for it, eschewing all other liquors. Though we think expediency and a due regard to personal security now call for even more abstinence, on the part of the clergy especially, yet we are free to say that if all had restricted themselves as did Mr. Fontaine, there would have been no need, so far as the clergy are concerned, of a temperance-society. No one can doubt on which side of the question Mr.

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Fontaine would be were he living in our day. And had the rich gentlemen of Virginia but followed his example, how many estates would have been saved from ruin, how many families from dispersion, how many young men from the grave of the drunkard!

Our remaining work as to the ministers of Westover parish will be brief. In the year 1758—three years after the death of Mr. Fontaine—we find on an English list the name of William Davis as minister of this parish; and the same is found on a list in the Virginia Almanac for 1773. In the year 1776 we find the name of James Ogilvie. No accounts have reached us of the character of either of them. In the year 1786 we meet with the name of the Rev. John Dunbar,—a name to be met with previously as ministering in other parishes. For the honour of the Church it were to be wished that it had never been on any list of the clergy. He married a daughter of Colonel Byrd, of Westover, of whom we have already spoken.* By none was he better known and more despised than by the members of that family. Often has one of its most pious members, who in infancy was baptized by him, spoken to me with concern about her baptism, asking whether it could not be repeated, saying that she found it hard to regard herself as baptized. Nor is it wonderful, when it is considered that, besides other vices, he openly renounced the ministry and with it the Christian faith, and, if I have been rightly informed, fought a duel in sight of Old Westover Church, in which he had once officiated. Happily, he left no descendants to blush at the above recital.

In the year 1793 we find the Rev. Sewal Chapin in the Episcopal Convention at Richmond, with Mr. Charles Carter, of Shirley, as lay delegate. Mr. Chapin continued on the list of clergy as long as the Conventions continued; that is, until the year 1805, when they ceased until 1812. How long Mr. Chapin was minister after 1805 we are unable to state, nor can we speak with any certainty as to his religious views and character. Thus ends the history of

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* There were three of the name of Byrd in Virginia, of whom we read in various Virginia documents. The first, who was the father of the family and early owner of lands about Richmond and of the place called Belvidera, is spoken of in my Lambeth Documents as being engaged with Commissary Blair in the incipient steps about the College of William and Mary. The part of it called the Chapel was contracted for and the erecting of it superintended by him in the time of Governor Andros, between the years 1690 and 1700. The second was Colonel Byrd, the author of the Westover Papers and owner of Westover. The third was the last of the name who owned Westover, and was with General Washington when encamped at Winchester and defending the frontiers against the Indians.

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Westover parish previous to the revival of the Church, which commenced in 1812. So low was the condition of the parish that it was some time before even an effort was made in its behalf. In the year 1833 the Rev. Farley Berkeley, now of Amelia, acted as missionary in Charles City, Chesterfield, and King William, and somewhat revived the hopes of these old parishes. He was followed in Westover parish in the year 1835 by the Rev. Alexander Norris, who continued its minister until 1838. The Rev. Mr. Leavell succeeded Mr. Norris, and continued in the parish until 1853. The Rev. Mr. Okeson took his place. Mr. Okeson resigned his charge the past year, (1856,) and the Rev. Dr. Wade has accepted a call from the parish.

As to the churches in Westover parish, we know nothing of the history of that at Weynoake, or of that near the Chickahominy, except that they are now nowhere to be seen. The Old Westover still stands, a relic and monument of ancient times. A new church in the neighbourhood of Weynoake was put up some years ago, but has recently been destroyed by fire. Another is now rising up upon tne same site.

I wish it were in my power to furnish a list of the vestrymen of Westover parish from an early period, as in so doing I should give the names of the principal Episcopal families of Charles City; but, no remnant of a parish-record being preserved, I am unable to do any thing more than mention a few names familiar to my ears. The Lightfoots, Minges, Byrds, Carters, Harrisons, Tylers, Christians, Seldens, Nelsons, Lewises, Douthats, and Wilcoxes, are those best known to me.

The following extract from the letter of a friend is an interesting addition to this article:—

"The old church and churchyard were near the present Westover House,—about one-quarter mile up the river-bank,—where are some very old tombstones, besides that of Benjamin Harrison. The present Westover Church was built by Mrs. Byrd on her land, called Evelington. The minister once resided on the adjacent tract, called Westing, which also belonged to the Westover estate, across the creek from the Westover House. Perhaps it was only Mr. Dunbar who occupied that farm; for the glebe proper was between the two churches, and below the present court-house about two miles.

"The clerk of the county has told me that the county was divided into two parishes,—Westover and Mapsco. The part above the court-house was called Westover, and the part below called Mapsco, from an Indian tribe who gave name to the creek near where the Old Brick Church, called Mapsco, stood, about seven miles below the court-house and immediately on the road to Sandy Point,—the old seat of the Lightfoot family. That

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church was convenient to the Chickahominy neighbourhood, being only seven or eight miles from the mouth of that river, where the most of the earlier friends of the Church in that part of the county must have resided; and it was behind the Old Mapsco Church that it is said that one of its ministers—either Davis or Dunbar—fought a duel. The quarrel originated about a horse-race. An additional fact was related to me by the late Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley,—viz.: That this Mr. Dunbar offered to be the bearer of a challenge from Benjamin Harrison, of Berkeley, to Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon, assuring the former, as his friend, that the conduct of the latter justified such notice. But Mr. Harrison, of Berkeley, was not persuaded by him. The note was at Berkeley, and Mr. Harrison promised to show it to me when he had more leisure; but he died suddenly soon after.

"In addition to the names of the old ministers you have mentioned in your article, I have been told by some very old servants, and some of the oldest citizens too, that there were two others remembered besides Chapin, who was the last occupant of the glebe, whilst the churches mouldered away or were used as barns. That of Westover was so used at the time the friends of the Church got possession of it, when the family at Berkeley and Shirley undertook its repairs. The other two ministers were Black and Blagrove. Several servants told me they were christened by Parson Black. Old Mr. Chapin occupied the glebe until persuaded by Mr. F. Lewis, of Weynoake, and Mr. Colier Harrison, of Kettiuvan, to rent out the place and come and live with them. He died at Weynoake, the residence of Mr. F. Lewis, and was buried in the aisle and under the present chancel of the Westover Church. I have made frequent inquiry for his sermons, &c., but have never been able to find any: all that could be remembered of them was that they served the young ladies for paper in which to roll up their hair at night."

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ARTICLE XXVII.

Parishes in Gloucester.—No. 1. *Petsworth and Kingston.*

Gloucester is recognised as a county in 1652, when it was represented in the House of Burgesses by Colonel Hugh Gwinne and Francis Willis. No change took place in it until 1790, when Mathews county was cut off. The parishes in Gloucester in 1754 were Petsworth, Abingdon, Ware, and Kingston, the last being cut off with Mathews in 1790. The Rev. Mr. Carraway, having hunted up some mutilated copies of the vestry-books of Petsworth and Kingston, has furnished the following summary of the contents of the former:—"Petsworth exists only on paper: its church and worshippers have alike ceased to be." The writer, feeling a common interest with those who wish to gather up the history of the Colonial times, proceeds to note some facts drawn from the old vestry-book. This book contains, with a slight exception, the records of the vestry-meetings from the year 1677 to 1793. When commenced and closed, its torn condition permits us not to discover. In 1677 there is an order for the completion and furnishing of a church at Poplar Spring. At this date there is mention of a lower church within the parish, which in the year 1695 is spoken of as the "Old Church." It being then a ruin, it was determined not to rebuild on its site, but to have only one place of worship, and that to be kept in "thorough order and repair."

In 1684 we find the following entries:—"His Excellency the Governor, having given to this Church one large Bible, one Book of Common Prayer, one Book of Homilies, the Thirty-nine Articles, and Book of Canons of the Church of England: it is ordered that the clerk of the vestry enter the same in the register, to the end His Lordship's so pious a gift may be gratefully remembered." "Ordered, that the clerk enter into the register of this parish the generous and pious gift of the Hon. Augustine Warner, deceased, to this church,—viz.: one silver flagon, two silver bowls, and two silver plates, which, though long since given, hath not yet been entered." In 1723 an order was made for the building of a new church at Poplar Spring,—the cost of said building, exclusive of painting, &c., to be eleven hundred and ninety pounds Virginia

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currency. This church was standing a few years since, and but for the ruthless hand of cupidity it might have stood for centuries. The writer will never forget his feelings as he looked upon it when the work of destruction and desecration was going on. There remained enough then of its former condition and elegance to assure the beholder that they who erected this temple entered into the meaning of God's ancient prophet, who taught that sacred edifices should exceed, in comfort and stability and magnificence, private abodes. We gather from the records in the large expenditure for painting, and in the way of furnishing and ornamenting, that no means were spared to present a church of the finest taste and finish. Such it doubtless was,—perhaps too gorgeous for our republican simplicity. The writer has talked with persons who remembered this church. One of them—the late Mrs. Page, of Shelly—had much to say of the former glory of old Petsworth. She, in childhood, had been a worshipper within its hallowed courts, and had united her voice in songs of praise with the swelling notes of the organ. In confirmation of the liberality of this congregation and the elegance of the church, we make the following copies from the record:—At a vestry-meeting in 1735, it is noted that "there were great subscriptions made by the present vestry for an organ, to be purchased for the use of the church at Petsworth; also, it was directed that seven hundred gold leaves be ordered for the use of the painter. In 1751 the vestry ordered Mr. Augustine Smith to send to England for 'pulpit, and table-cloth, and cushion;' the cloth to be of crimson velvet, with a gold fringe and lace." A subsequent entry shows that the cost of the same was one hundred and fifty-four pounds, sixteen shillings, sixpence, current money. Much refinement and wealth were found in the numerous families who worshipped within the venerable church. Among those who were active in the duties of the parish may be mentioned the name of Porteus. It appears on the record from the earliest date. This is the family of Beilby Porteus, Bishop of London, who, it is supposed, was a native of Gloucester. Also, Colonel John Washington, and son Warner, and their ancestor, Augustine Warner.*

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* The following letter is from a lady who in her youth saw this church at Poplar Spring:—

"Dear Bishop:—I have been thinking you might perhaps like to hear a little of Old Poplar Spring Church, in Gloucester, which was a few miles above Rosewell, on the road that passed up to King and Queen. My first recollections of it were very pleasing, as I was going with my mother in the old Rosewell coach. It was in warm weather, and mamma desired the driver to stop under the shade near the spring, while we all got out; and, after drinking some of the cool water, she took us into the

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A LIST OF THE MINISTERS OF THE PARISH.

In 1677, Rev. Thomas Vicaris, who continued until his death in 1697, when the Rev. Joseph Holt was employed as a temporary supply. In 1700, Rev. George Young was elected upon the nomination of Governor Nicholson; he remained only a few months, when the Rev. Emanuel Jones was chosen, who served until his death, in the year 1739. Rev. John Read supplied the pulpit until the return of Mr. Ford. In 1741, Robert Yates, a member of the congregation, was sent to England for Orders. He continued the minister until his death, in 1761. In 1762, Rev. James Horrox served in the place of Mr. James Maury Fontaine, who had been sent to England for Orders. In 1764, the Rev. James M. Fontaine was the minister for a few months, and removed to Ware parish. The vestry then elected one of their own body, Captain Charles Minn Thruston, who went to England for Orders. In 1767, Rev. Charles M. Thruston; he served until the year 1768, when he resigned. In 1768, Rev. Arthur Hamilton: no mention of him after this year. 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, supposed to be vacant. In 1782,

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church, and showed us the remains of the fine painting, over what had been the chancel, and told us how it had been when she first remembered it. I think I then first received a correct idea of the solemn use and importance of a church, as I must have been very young. I remember a broad cornice, painted with the resemblance of a bright blue sky, and clouds rolling off on either hand; below this were fragments of the plaster, extending farther down at the corners, and representing an immense crimson curtain drawn back. I remember seeing part of what seemed a very large cord and tassel. Mamma said there used to be an angel just where the curtain was drawn on one side, with a trumpet in his hand, and rolling on toward him were vast bodies of clouds with angels in them, and that she used to fancy one of the faces was like her dear little brother John, who was drowned when only ten years old, and who had been her playfellow, she being next to him in age. I feel sure that then I first understood about the last Judgment; for I seldom think of that great day, but what my dear mother and the painting at Poplar Spring Church are not united in my memory as a kind of picture, the groundwork being the ruined church, the bright green grass, the shade, and the cool spring. Our dear mother's teachings, on that and other occasions, were so mixed with a sorrow for the state of the Episcopal churches, and the want of ministers 'since Mr. Fontaine's death,' that, childlike, I thought Mr. Fontaine must have been the best and greatest man in the world, except my grandpapa. Most of the flagstones in the middle aisle were there on my first visit. On passing it in later years, all trace of the bright colours had departed, and the stones which had so often echoed the steps of those who came to worship God had been removed for more unhallowed purposes. And the last time I saw it some cows were reposing on the bare ground within, and swallows, bats, and other birds occupied the large roof. As regards the painting, I have so often heard my mother speak of it, that I am sure I cannot do it full justice by my description, but can only say what I remember."

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Rev. Thomas Price: not known how long he served. In 1790, Rev. James Elliott. In 1791, Rev. James Fontaine was elected as weekly lecturer; in 1792, Rev. Thomas Hughes. Mr. Hughes was a member of the congregation, and ordained by Bishop Madison.

We make the following significant extract from the vestry-book. It has reference to one who had been the minister of the parish for many years:—"Ordered, that Mr. Vicaris, the present minister, continue in his charge and exercise his ministerial functions until the next shipping, in hopes of his future amendment, he declaring his willingness then to leave the place if not approved by the precinct and vestry." He became a reformed man, and was minister for some years. (By the next shipping was meant the next importation of ministers from England.) On agreeing with a clergyman it was ordered, "That he, the said clergyman, will behave himself in his ministerial function upon all occasions."

The site of this church, now only marked by a few ancient tombs, is claimed as private property. The glebe was sold under the law of 1802. No information is possessed by the author concerning the plate. The sermons of the Rev. Robert Yates were found in the library of Mr. John Randolph, and were sold and purchased with other books and manuscripts.*

Vestry of Petsworth Parish.

John Buckner, Robt. Lee, Thomas Royston, Philip Lightfoot, William Thornton, Thomas Pate, William Pritchet, John Ascough, William Throckmorton, William Hansford, Thomas Ramsey, Thomas Miller, Richard Barnett, Ralph Greene, Robert Carter, Charles Roan, William Thornton, Jr., Robert Cobb, Edward Porteus, William Grymes, Thomas Buckner, James Dudley, John Evans, Colquit Wyatt, Robert Yeardley, Captain John Smith, Richard Stignor, William Barnard, William Brooking, Thomas Cook, Nicholas Smith, David Alexander, William Dodsley, William Upshaw, John Pate, Robert Porteus, John Pratt, John Coleman, Albion Throckmorton, Augustine Smith, Philip Smith, Richard Seaton, Henry Willis, Francis Wyatt, Thomas Green, Thos. Booth, Sr., Bayley Seaton, Thomas Stubbs, Francis Thornton, John Read, John Washington, William Miller, Thomas Green, Captain John Alexander, Seth Thornton,

* The following account of the bricks has been given me:—

"Several efforts were made to remove the bricks from Petsoe, and were prevented by presentments before the Grand Jury; but some years since, Mr. ——, whilst building a hotel at Old Point, purchased from Mr. ——, who owned the land, any right he might have in the remains of the old church, and under that deed Mr. —— removed the bricks. The hotel was struck by lightning and injured before its completion."

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Samuel Buckner, Mr. John Throckmorton, Thomas Booth, John Royston, David Alexander, George Reade, Gwynne Read, Bayley Seaton, Warner Washington, John Stubbs, James Carter, James Hubard, Edward Wyatt, John Shirmon, William Thornton, Richard Jones, Peter Kemp, Francis Stubbs, Ludwell Grymes, John Wyatt, John Scott, Geo. Booth, John Buckner, Chas. Minn Thruston, John Roots, Alexander Dalgleish, James Hubard, Jr., Henry Whiting, Richard Taliafero, Lewis Booker, William Duval, John Fox, Captain John Hubard, Jonathan Watson, Sterling Thornton, Peter Wyatt, Wm. Sears, Robert Yates, Charles Tompkins, M. Anderson, Benjamin Dabney, James Baytop, Lewis Booker, Jr., Christopher Garland, Meaux Thornton, Major John Hughes, William Booth, Francis Duval, Lewis Wood. [The remainder torn out.]

KINGSTON PARISH, MATHEWS COUNTY.

This was originally one of the parishes in Gloucester. There are loose leaves of an old vestry-book, going back to the year 1677, the first of which leaves do not indicate how much older the book was. It was called the parish in North River precinct. It has a peculiarity distinguishing it from all other parishes. With the vestrymen, who were generally very few, there met a larger number of the inhabitants, who seem to have managed the affairs of the parish in conjunction.

From 1677 to 1691 the Rev. Michael Typerios and James Bowker were ministers; but when their ministries began or ended cannot be made out. In the year 1740 the Rev. John Blacknal appears on the first page of another imperfect vestry-book. It cannot be ascertained how much of the vestry-book was lost, and how long Mr. Blacknal may have been the minister before 1740. He died in 1747, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Dixon in 1750, the Rev. John Locke having served meanwhile for three months. In the year 1770 Mr. Dixon resigned, and died in 1777. Four applicants appeared for the parish,—the Revs. Thomas Baker, Thomas Field, Arthur Hamilton, and Archibald Avens, of whom Mr. Field was chosen,—Mr. Baker having previously served three months. In the year 1778, Mr. Field either dying or resigning, Revs. Robert Read and William Dunlop were candidates, when the former was chosen. In the year 1784 the Rev. Thomas Hopkinson became its minister, and in the year 1789 the Rev. James McBride. In 1794 the Rev. Armistead Smith, of the old family of Smiths in that part of Virginia, became the minister, being ordained by Bishop Madison. He served the parish until his death in 1817. "His descendants and relatives," says the Rev. Mr. Carraway, the present minister of the parish, "are amongst the foremost friends of the

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Church, and most of them communicants." One of the family, the late Miss Elizabeth Tompkins, was the instrument under God for the revival of the church. Under circumstances the most discouraging, she determined to build a house of prayer, in which the few scattered ones "who loved the old paths" might worship the God of their fathers. Her efforts were crowned with success. She lived to witness the completion of her dear little church, and her highest earthly joy was experienced when she first heard within its walls these solemn words:—"The Lord is in his holy temple," "declared by the minister of salvation." Mr. Carraway adds that there were once four places of worship in the parish, over two of which the plough and the harrow have passed. On the sites of the others two churches have recently been erected,—the one just mentioned, and another under his special care. Tradition says that one of the old churches was a private chapel of the "family of Hesse," the residence of the Armisteads.

By giving a list of the old vestrymen we shall see who were the most prominent persons in Church matters. Mr. Carraway mentions them as the "Dudleys, Armisteads, Carys, Tabbs, Gwynns, Billops, Throckmortons, and Sir John Peyton,"—the latter being the patriot of the Revolution as well as the Churchman.

Names of the Vestrymen, beginning in 1677.

Richard Dudley, James Ransom, James Hill, Sands Knowles, George Burge, Thos. Bayley, Robert Elliot, Ambrose Dudley, Peter Ransom, John Billop, William Tompkins, Charles Jones, John Coot, Humphrey Tompkins, Edmund Roberts, George Dudley, John Hayes, Hugh Gwinne, Robert Barnard, Charles Debrum, William Marlow, Humphrey Joye Tabb, Wm. Armistead, Kemp Plumer, Gwinne Reade, Thomas Hayes, Wm Tabb, Chas. Blacknal, John Peyton, Captain Thomas Smith, Kemp Whiting, George Dudley, John Armistead, James Ransom, Robt. Tabb, Wm. Plummer, Wm. Armistead, of Hesse, Edward Hughes, Francis Armistead, John Willis, Gabriel Hughes, John Billop, Walter Keeble, Edmund Custis, Edward Tabb, John Dixon, Thomas Peyton, Robert Mathews, Dudley Cary, Mordecai Throckmorton, James Booker, Josiah Dean, Thos. Smith, Jr., Samuel Williams, Joel Foster, Armistead Smith, Robert Cary, Thomas Tabb, Richard Gregory, James Bibber, Sands Smith, John Cary, Wilton Glasscock.

In the above list hundreds scattered through Virginia and various parts of the land will see the names of their forefathers.

The remaining history of Kingston parish is very brief. The erection of a church, chiefly through the zeal of Miss Elizabeth Tompkins, near her father's house, led to the employment of a

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missionary about the year 1841 or 1842. The Rev. Mr. Rooker spent some time between the two counties of Mathews and Middlesex in this capacity. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Carraway, who to this day continues to perform the arduous labours required by so large a field. Under his ministry a new church on the opposite side of the county has been built on the ruins of one of the old ones.

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ARTICLE XXVIII.

Gloucester County, Abington, and Ware.—No. 2.

I TAKE these together, since they have so long been identified in the public mind, so long under one minister, and so little to be said of them, though so much might be said, had we any ancient records. The following letter from the Rev. Mr. Mann, the present rector, forbids the hope of ever recovering what is lost in regard to these parishes:—

"MY DEAR BISHOP:—Nothing has astonished me more in this county than the utter ignorance of the people as to the early history of the Church. All our records of former times are lost,—the church registers, with the county records, by the burning of the court-house many years since. The late Dr. Taliafero told me that the first church in Ware parish stood on Mr. William P. Smith's land, where there is an old graveyard, and near to which was the glebe. The parish church of Ware is built on land granted to the parish by the Throckmorton family,—the female ancestors of the Taliaferos: when erected, no one knows. On the outside of the church is the tombstone of the Rev. James Black, a native of England, and many years minister of Ware parish. He died in 1723. On the inside, near the chancel, are the tombstones of the Rev. John Richards and his wife, and their beloved servant Amy. Mr. Richards was once rector of Nettlehead, and vicar of Leston, England, and died rector of Ware in 1735. Adjoining these is a stone erected by the Rev. John Fox over his wife, who died in 1742, and two of his children, who died in 1742 and 1743. The Rev. James Maury Fontaine was once minister of this parish and kept a school near it.* The Rev. Mr. Smith, father of Mr. W. P. Smith and Colonel Thomas Smith, and of the first Mrs. Colonel Tompkins and the first Mrs. Tom Tabb, held the church, I believe, until his death, preaching in all the churches of this county and Mathews. Then came a long vacancy, and with it the desolation and destruction of the building, which continued until the Rev. Mr. Carnes took charge of it, when it was repaired by the exertions of Colonel Thomas Smith, Mr. Tom Tabb, Dr. Taliafero, and others, and remained as they left it until last year, (1854,) when a new roof was put upon it, and the inside altered and improved. A few hundred dollars will render it a handsome as it is now a convenient place of worship. Dr. Taliafero, Jr., has lately placed the old subscription in my hands which was made for Mr. Carnes, and I

* There is no mention of this minister in the history of the Maury and Fontaine families by Dr. Hawks and Miss Ann Maury; but we doubt not he was one of them,—probably the son of Mr. James Fontaine, one of the five brothers, and killed in King William.

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find very much the same names of families now attending the church. The Corbins and some others have removed from the county. The first subscription to Mr. Carnes was four hundred and ten dollars.

"Of Abington as little is known as of Ware. The first church stood near the present building, and its foundations are easily traced. It seems originally to have been a very small building to which a section was subsequently added. Then the present noble building was erected. On the arch of the door, 1765 has been cut, but whether at the time of building no one can say. This church was repaired by the exertions of Colonel Lewis, of Eagle Point, the present residence of J. R. Bryan."

To the foregoing information as to the earlier ministers of Abington I am able to add something from documents in possession. In the year 1724 the Rev. Thomas Hughes writes to the Bishop of London "that he has been living in this parish for four or five years, after having lived in the upper parish of Nansemond for three years; that he was not inducted,—only four ministers in the Colony being inducted; that he has three hundred families under his charge, about two hundred attendants at church, sixty or seventy communicants, no surplice used in the parish, as is the statement in many other reports, a free-school endowed with five hundred acres of land and servants; no parochial library here or in any other parish in the colony." There being no minister in Ware parish, he gives a portion of his time to it.

In the years 1754 and 1758 the Rev. William Gates was minister of Abington, and the Rev. John Fox of Ware parish. In the years 1773–4 and 1776 the Rev. Thomas Price was minister of Abington, and the Rev. James M. Fontaine of Ware. In the year 1785 neither Abington nor Ware was represented in the Convention by the clergy, Mr. John Page (Governor) being the lay delegate from Abington, Mr. Thomas Smith from Kingston, and Matthew Anderson from Petsworth. Mr. Page attended the next two Conventions, and Mr. Anderson one. Mr. Thomas Lewis also attended from Abington in 1787. After this we find no more delegates, either clerical or lay, from Abington until long after the revival of the Church commenced. The Rev. Mr. Carnes was the first minister after that work commenced. He continued for some years in zealous prosecution of it, and was succeeded by the Rev. John Cole, now in Culpepper, who was followed by the Rev. Mr. Mann, the present rector of the parishes of Abington and Ware.

In the absence of all records from which to draw the names of vestrymen, and thus ascertain who have been the leading families, from the earliest to the present times, in the parishes of Abington and Ware, we furnish the following imperfect list of families

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known to us, or mentioned to us by one who is better acquainted with the history of the old settlers.

Of the Burwells, who at an early period settled at Carter's Creek, we have already said something when speaking of the family at King's Mill and the Grove, in York and James City. To this we add the Manns, who settled at Timberneck Bay, on York River, not far from Shelly and Rosewell, the Montagues, the Kempes, the Carys, the Tabbs, the Taliaferos, the Dabneys, Thrustons, Catletts, Throckmortons, Roots, Lewises, Nicholsons, Nelsons, Vanbibbers, Pages, of Shelly and Rosewell, Byrds, Corbins, Joneses, Ennises, Curtises, Robinses, Harewoods, Dicksons, Roys, and Smarts.

Of old Mrs. Vanbibber and Dr. Taliafero—two of the props of the Church in the day of her adversity—I need not speak to the present generation in Gloucester, as there are still some living who knew their religious worth and continue to dwell upon the same before the younger ones. Of Mrs. Vanbibber some interesting notices appeared many years since in one of our religious papers. Of Dr. Taliafero I may say from personal knowledge that it is not often we meet with a more pious and benevolent man or more eminent physician. There is one name on the foregoing list to which I must allude as having, at an early period in the history of Virginia, been characterized by a devotion to the welfare of the Church and religion,—that of Kempe. The name often occurs on the vestry-book of Middlesex county in such a way as to show this. The high esteem in which one of the family was held, is seen from the fact that he was the Governor of the Colony in 1644, and the following extract from the first volume of Henning's Statutes will show not only the religious character of those in authority at that day, but the probability that Governor Kempe sympathized in the movement, for the Governors had great power either to promote or prevent such a measure. In 1644 it was

"Enacted by the Governor, Council, and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly, for God's glory and the public benefit of the Colony, to the end that God might avert his heavy judgments that are upon us, that the last Wednesday in every month be set apart for fast and humiliation, and that it be wholly dedicated to prayers and preaching, &c.

"Richard Kempe, Esq., *Governor.*"

I do not remember ever to have seen such an indefinite and prolonged period appropriated by a public body to public humiliation. It speaks well for the religion of our public functionaries of that day. What would be thought of such a measure at this?

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Of Governor Page and his family I have already spoken somewhat in treating of the Church in Williamsburg, where the first of his name were buried; but, as the celebrated Rosewell and its graveyard full of tombs with that name are in Abington parish, I shall add something. And first I must take occasion to speak of the great folly of erecting such immense and costly houses as that of Rosewell, even in monarchical and aristocratic days. Richly-carved mahogany wainscotings and capitals and stairways abound, and every brick was English. The house was built, or rather begun to be built, by Mr. Mann Page, grandson of old Sir John Page, who wrote the good book to his son Matthew, father of Mann. I am sure the grandfather would not have approved the act of his grandson. It may be said that, as his mother was the rich heiress of Timberneck Bay, he had a right to do it, and could afford it, as he was the first-born son and chief heir. We do not admit that any one has a right thus to misspend the talent given to him by God to be used for his glory, and God often punishes such misconduct by sending poverty on the persons thus acting, and on their posterity. A most remarkable exemplification of this appears in the case of Mr. Page, who began to build Rosewell, and which was finished by his widow and son.

Whoever will look into the fifth volume and at the 277th page of Henning's Statutes will see an Act of Assembly covering more than seven octavo pages, and describing all the property in lands and servants belonging to Mr. Page, and the former of which his embarrassed son, Mann Page, Jr., petitioned to be allowed to sell, in order to pay off his father's debts in Virginia and England, and which all his real estate, though he had many servants on various estates, was incompetent to discharge. His landed estates were in Prince William, Frederick, Spottsylvania, Essex, James City, Hanover, Gloucester, and King William. He had eight thousand acres in Frederick called Pageland, more than ten thousand in Prince William called Pageland also, four thousand five hundred in Spottsylvania, one thousand called Pampatike in King William, two thousand in Hanover, near two thousand in James City, &c., besides other lands not mentioned. Leave is asked and granted that his son Mann might sell them, in order to pay off the debts which had been for many years accumulating by interest, and which the real estate was unable to discharge, and in order to pay the portions of his brothers and sisters. For a long time had he been labouring from the proceeds of the estates to do this, but in vain. Now, it cannot be doubted that the tradition is correct that

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much if not all of the original debt was contracted for the erection of this immense pile of building, every brick of which, and doubtless much other material, together with the workmen, were imported from England and not paid for, except by his agents and friends there, until the sale of these lands in Virginia enabled his son, long after, to do it. The whole of the roof of this ancient building was covered with heavy lead over the shingles. The result of this immense expenditure was not only the entailing a heavy debt upon his estate, and the causing a sale of lands which might have furnished his posterity for some generations with farms, but the keeping up such an establishment has been a burden on all who have possessed it to the present day, as must be the case with all such establishments. For a long time old Rosewell has been standing on Carter's Creek, in sight of York River, like an old deserted English castle, in solitary grandeur, scarce a tree or shrub around it to vary and beautify the scene. No one of the name of him who built it has owned it or could afford to own it for generations. "Some stranger fills the Stuarts' throne." "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

Would that this were the only folly of the kind in ancient or modern Virginia! The Acts of Assembly give us other instances in old Virginia. Mr. Lewis Burwell, of King's Mill, near Williamsburg, built a large house worthy of his first-born son to live in; and that first-born son, after his father's death, was obliged to petition the Legislature for leave to break the entail and sell a large tract of land in King William to pay for it. The folly is still going on in many parts of our land; the greater folly now, because the law of primogeniture being happily abolished, and different and better views prevailing as to the division of estates among children, the proud homestead must be sold or be an expense and burden to the child who inherits it. Even in England—the land of entails and primogeniture—the philanthropic Howard, a man of birth and inherited wealth, instead of listening to the plea that our houses must be proportioned to our wealth, to the extent even of palaces, and that it was a charity to the poor to employ numbers of them in the erection of stupendous and costly mansions, built one of more moderate size and expense for himself, and employed greater numbers of workmen in rearing neat and comfortable cottages for the poor on his large and numerous estates. How much of that now needlessly expended in building and furnishing large houses might be more rationally and charitably devoted to the improvement of the dwellings of the labourers, whether on the plantations of the South or the neighbourhoods of the North!

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ROSEWELL HOUSE.

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How much wiser was it in the first William Randolph, of Turkey Island, to live in a house of moderate dimensions himself, though with every comfort, and to build during his lifetime good houses for his numerous children in various parts of the State! How much more becoming Christians, instead of building extravagant mansions for themselves, to see that the houses of worship are comely and comfortable, and that all God's ministers are well provided with houses becoming their station and the means of living in them!

To return from this digression, let me say that Governor Page, though living in this proud mansion of his forefathers, was not himself a proud man. He was not only a true republican in politics, but an humble man in his religion, and doubtless often wished himself, on more accounts than one, well rid of his large abode. The poor, I doubt not, were often kindly treated at Rosewell, and the servants justly dealt with. There was once a picture—among many others of higher degree—on the walls of Rosewell parlour, which shows that he was not too proud to allow the head of a poor African to be there. It was the head of Selim, an Algerine negro, well known at Rosewell, York, and Williamsburg, which Mr. Page had taken while he was a member of Congress in Philadelphia, and hung up among his portraits. There was something so touching and very remarkable in the captivity, conversion, and latter end of Selim, that the Rev. John H. Rice, a Presbyterian minister of high standing, wrote an account of him, which was published in a Presbyterian magazine, I think. It is so interesting and so edifying in a religious point of view that I shall insert it in these sketches; and I am the more induced so to do because I am able to add some particulars not contained in Mr. Rice's notice.

Before I introduce this, however, (reserving it for another article,) I will add that Mr. Page was not only the patriot, soldier and politician, the well-read theologian and zealous Churchman,—so that, as I have said before, some wished him to take Orders with a view to being the first Bishop of Virginia,—but he was a most affectionate domestic character. His tenderness as a father and attention to his children is seen in the fact that, when attending a Congress held in New York, he was continually writing very short letters to his little ones, even before they could read them. I have a bundle of them, from which I extract the following:—

"New York, March 16th, 1789.

"My dear Bobby:—My letters to your brother Mann and your sisters will inform you how and when I arrived here. I will tell you then what

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I have not told them, and what you, a young traveller, ought to know. This town is not half so large as Philadelphia, nor in any manner to be compared to it for beauty and elegance. Philadelphia, I am well assured, has more inhabitants than Boston and New York together. The streets here are badly paved, very dirty, and narrow as well as crooked, and filled up with a strange variety of wooden, stone, and brick buildings, and full of hogs and mud. The College, St. Paul's Church, and the Hospital are elegant buildings. The Federal Hall also, in which Congress is to sit, is elegant. What is very remarkable here is, that there is but one well of water which furnishes the inhabitants with drink, so that water is bought here by every one that drinks it, except the owner of this well. Four carts are continually going about selling it at three gallons for a copper; that is, a penny for every three gallons of water. The other wells and pumps serve for washing, and nothing else.* I have not time to say more about this place and the other towns through which I passed, but will by some other opportunity write you whatever may be worth your knowing. You must show this to Frank. Give my love to him, and tell him I will write to him and Judy next. Kiss her for me, and be a good boy, my dear. Give my love to your brothers and sisters and to your cousin Mat and Nat. Tell Beck [a maid-servant] that Sharp [the servant that went with him] is well, and sends his love to her, [his wife, I suppose.] That God Almighty may bless you all, my dear, is the fervent prayer of your affectionate father, JOHN PAGE."

These letters were written on very coarse, stiff, dingy paper, such as no country-merchant would use in wrapping any but his heaviest and roughest goods in at this day. Some of them were sent by the two Randolphs,—John and Theodoric,—who were going to school in New York at that time.†

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* In another letter he says that he was mistaken—that there were several good wells.

† Mr. Page, of Rosewell, was twice married. First to Miss Frances Burwell, of the Isle of Wight, and next to Miss Louther, of New York, whom he met with while in Congress, which sat in that place. I have before me the funeral sermon preached on the occasion of the death of the former by the Rev. James Maury Fontaine, minister of Petsoe parish, and for some time of Ware parish, Gloucester. I quote a few passages from it, not only to show the character of Mrs. Page, but also the theology of Mr. Fontaine:—

"The voice of all proclaim aloud her praise. It was Mrs. Page's peculiar felicity to have no enemies. This is only to be accounted for by her having no competitions with the world but that laudable one, who should outdo in kindness and good offices A contest of this kind always leaves the victor as amiable as triumphant. To be more particular: she was a faithful member of our Church. Her piety was exemplary. Her charity was universal. Her patience and fortitude in travelling the painful and gloomy road to dissolution were uncommonly great. She was a fair pattern of conjugal perfection. A better wife never died. She was a complete example to mothers. Sensible of the great blessing of early instruction, she laboured gradually and pleasingly to infuse into the tender minds of her offspring suitable portions of knowledge and virtue, and, knowing the force of good example, she did what she would have her children practise, and was what she wished them

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GLOUCESTER, THE RESIDENCE OF POWHATAN AND POCAHONTAS.

We are now in the region where by general consent the chief residence of King Powhatan has been placed, after discussion and accurate investigation. Mr. Howe, in his laborious though sometimes inaccurate History of Virginia, quotes from Captain John Smith as saying that "twenty-five miles lower (than what is now West Point, the junction of the Pamunkey and Mattapony) on the north side of this river (York River) is Werowocomico, where their great king inhabited when I was delivered to him a prisoner," and where Smith in another place says "for the most part he was resident." Mr. Howe says, "Upon a short visit made to that part of Gloucester county a year or two ago, I was satisfied that Shelly, the

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to be. She was an amiable pattern for mistresses; a fast, valuable friend, and emphatically a good neighbour; in fine, a pattern to her sex and an ornament to human nature."

Although we could wish to have seen more of the Gospel throughout the sermon, yet at the close there is a recognition of it which shows that he understood and, we hope, practised it. In exhorting the bereaved members of the family to a proper resignation, he says, "Others have been as deeply afflicted as you. Jesus, the Captain of our salvation, was made perfect through sufferings. He knows how to pity you. And his sorrows have sufficient efficacy in them to convert yours into real blessings. Let patience have her perfect work. Still confide in the power, goodness, and faithfulness of God. Still rely on the mediation, advocacy, and grace of the Lord Jesus Christ. And still expect those aids and support from the blessed Spirit which you may yet need."

The effects of paternal as well as maternal examples have been seen in the numerous descendants of Mr. Page who have embraced the religion and loved the Church of their fathers, instead of abjuring the former and deserting the latter, as too many of that day did. Of one of them I may be permitted to speak a special word. She inherited her mother's name as well as her virtues. I mean the late Mrs. Frances Berkeley, of Hanover. Her first husband was Mr. Thomas Nelson, of York, son of General Nelson, by whom she had a daughter who was dearer to me than life itself. They owned and for a time lived at Old Temple Farm, the ancient seat of General Spottswood, the head-quarters of Washington during the siege of York, and the place where Cornwallis signed his capitulation. After the death of Mr. Nelson his widow married Dr. Carter Berkeley, of Hanover. Each of them contributed a number of children by their first marriage to the joint family at Edgewood, and others were born to them afterward. Instead of discord and strife, a threefold cord of love was formed, seldom to be seen. Mrs. Berkeley was added to the number of those excellent ones belonging to the much-abused family of step-mothers, who knew no difference between her own and adopted children, while all regarded her equally as their own mother and each other as children of the same parents. She was in mind and person and character one of "nature's nobles," sanctified by divine grace to be among the finest specimens of renewed humanity. Less than this I could not say of one who was to me as a mother.

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seat of Mrs. Mann Page, is the famous Werowocomico. Shelly adjoins Rosewell, formerly the seat of John Page, (sometime Governor of Virginia), and was originally part of the Rosewell plantation; and I learned from Mrs. Page, of Shelly, that Governor Page always held Shelly to be the ancient Werowocomico, and accordingly he at first gave it that name, but afterward, on account of the inconvenient length of the word, dropped it and adopted the title of Shelly, on account of the extraordinary accumulation of shells found there. The enormous beds of oyster-shells deposited there, especially in front of the Shelly House, indicate it to have been a place of great resort among the natives. The situation is highly picturesque and beautiful; and, looking as it does on the lovely and majestic York, it would seem of all others to have been the befitting residence of the lordly Powhatan."

Our worthy fellow-citizen, Mr. Charles Campbell, of Petersburg, after having adopted the above opinion, has renounced it in favour of another place only two or three miles, I believe, lower down York River. On paying a visit a few years since to Shelly and the neighbourhood, for the purpose of examining the question, he became satisfied that Timberneck Bay, in Gloucester, the ancient seat of the Manns, only a mile from Shelly, is the famous spot. Smith, he says, in his work "Newes from Virginia," says "the bay where Powhatan dwelleth hath three creeks in it." "I have visited," says Mr. Campbell, "that part of Gloucester county, and am satisfied that Timberneck Bay is the one referred to by Mr. Smith. On the east bank of this bay stands an old chimney known as 'Powhatan's chimney,' and its site corresponds with Werowocomico as laid down in Smith's map." Mr. Campbell supposes this to be the chimney of the house built by the Colonists to propitiate the favour of Powhatan, and says he is supported by tradition. May not the two opinions be reconciled in the following manner? Shelly may have been the original place of his residence or of his frequent residence; but when it was offered to build him a house after the English fashion, he may have preferred a situation a few miles off, for reasons best known to his royal majesty. And now, although I have already introduced some documents touching Powhatan and Pocahontas into my article on Jamestown and Henrico, yet, as there is another most worthy of preservation and use, I will do my part toward its perpetuity by inserting it in this place. It is the famous letter of Captain Smith to Queen Anne, soliciting her attention to Pocahontas when in England,—a letter not easily surpassed by any one in any age.

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*"To the Most High and Virtuous Princess, Queen Anne, of Great Britain:**

"MOST ADMIRED MADAM:—The love I bear my God, my King, and my Church, hath so often emboldened me in the worst of extreme dangers, that now honesty doth constrain me to presume thus far beyond myself, to present to your Majesty this short discourse. If ingratitude be a deadly poison to all honest virtues, I must be guilty of that crime if I should omit any means to be thankful. So it was, that about ten years ago, being in Virginia, and being taken prisoner by the power of Powhatan, their chief king, I received from this great savage exceeding great courtesy,—especially from his son, Nantiquaus, the manliest, comeliest, boldest spirit I ever saw in a savage, and his sister Pocahontas, the king's most dear and beloved daughter, being but a child of twelve or thirteen years of age, whose compassionate, pitiful heart of my desperate estate gave me much cause to respect her. I being the first Christian this proud king and his grim attendants ever saw, and thus enthralled in their power, I cannot say I felt the least occasion of want that was in the power of those, my mortal foes, to prevent, notwithstanding all their threats. After some six weeks' fattening among these savage courtiers, at the minute of my execution she hazarded the beating out of her own brains to save mine; and not only that, but so prevailed with her father that I was safely conducted to Jamestown, where I found about eight-and-thirty miserable, poor, and sick creatures to keep possession of all those large territories in Virginia. Such was the weakness of this poor Commonwealth, as had not the savages fed us, we directly had starved. And this relief, most gracious Queen, was commonly brought us by the Lady Pocahontas.

"Notwithstanding all those passages, when inconstant fortune turned our peace to war, this tender virgin would still not spare to dare to visit us; and by her our fears have been often appeased and our wants still supplied. Were it the policy of her father thus to employ her, or the ordinance of God thus to make her his instrument, or her extraordinary affection to our nation, I know not. But of this I am sure; when her father, with the utmost of his policy and power, sought to surprise me, having but eighteen with me, the dark night could not affright her from coming through the irksome woods, and, with watered eyes, gave me intelligence with her best advice to escape his fury, which had he seen, he had surely slain her.

"Jamestown, with her wild train, she as freely visited as her father's habitation; and during the time of two or three years, she, next under God, was still the instrument to preserve this Colony from death, famine, and utter confusion, which in those times had once been dissolved, Virginia might have lain as it was at our first arrival till this day. Since then this business, having been turned and varied by many accidents from what I left it, is most certain; after a long and troublesome war, since my departure, betwixt her father and our Colony, all which time she was not heard of. About two years after, she herself was taken prisoner, being so detained near two years longer; the Colony by that means was relieved, peace concluded, and at last, rejecting her barbarous condition, she was married to an English gentleman, the first Virginian who ever spake Eng-

* King James's wife was named Anne.

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lish, or had a child in marriage by an Englishman,—a matter surely, if my meaning be truly considered and well understood, well worthy a prince's information. Thus, most gracious lady, I have related to your Majesty what, at your best leisure, our approved histories will recount to you at large, as done in your Majesty's life. And, however this might be presented you from a more worthy pen, it cannot from a more honest heart.

"As yet, I never begged any thing of the State; and it is my want of ability and her exceeding deserts, your birth, means, and authority, her birth, virtue, want, and simplicity, doth make me thus bold humbly to beseech your Majesty to take this knowledge of her, though it be from one so unworthy to be the reporter as myself, her husband's estate not being able to make her fit to attend your Majesty. The most and least I can do is to tell you this, and the rather of her being of so great a spirit, however her stature. If she should not be well received, seeing this kingdom may rightly have a kingdom by her means, her present love to us and Christianity might turn to such scorn and fury as to divert all this good to the worst of evil; when, finding that so great a Queen should do her more honour than she imagines, for having been kind to her subjects and servants, would so ravish her with content as to endear her dearest blood to effect that your Majesty and all the King's most honest subjects most earnestly desire. And so I humbly kiss your gracious hands, &c.

"Signed, JOHN SMITH."

Since the above was in print, we have received the following extract from one of our public papers:—

"POCAHONTAS.—An interesting link in the chain of American Documentary History has just been given by the rector of Gravesend, in Kent, to the Rev. R. Anderson, for his 'Colonial Church History.' It is the fac-simile copy of the entry of the death of Pocahontas, in the register of that parish, where she died three years after her marriage, when on the point of embarking to return to her native land with her husband, who was appointed Secretary and Recorder-General for Virginia. It runs thus:—'1616, March 21. Rebecca Rolfe, wyffe of Thomas Rolfe, gent., a Virginia lady borne, was buried in y^e^ Chauncell.' The present church at Gravesend is an erection later than the date of this entry; so that, in all probability, it is the only tangible relic of the last resting-place of one called by our forefathers 'the first-fruit of the Gospel in America,' of whom Sir Thomas Dale (Marshal of Virginia) wrote, 'were it but the gaining of this one soule, I think my time, toile, and present stay well spent.' Poor Pocahontas! who shall say what emotions passed through her mind, when, strong in affectionate confidence, she accompanied her husband from the pleasant savannas of Virginia, which she was never to see again, to the Court of England, and still (in the words of Purchas) 'did not onely accustom herselfe to civilitie, but carried herselfe as the daughter of a king.' Every trait preserved of her in the records of the time testifies to her 'increasing in goodness as the knowledge of God increased in her. Her true story is one that can never become hackneyed even with familiarity, and should be religiously kept free from burlesque association."

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GRAVEYARDS IN GLOUCESTER COUNTY.

There are three graveyards of some note near to each other:—that at Rosewell, where the Pages are buried; at Timberneck Bay, where the Manns are buried; and at Carter's Creek, where the Burwells alone are buried. Many inscriptions upon the old tombstones have been furnished me.

The first of the Pages was John Page, usually called Sir John, of Williamsburg, who wrote the good book to his son Matthew. His son Matthew married Mary Mann, of Timberneck Bay, a rich heiress, and bequeathed an immense estate to his son Mann, who built Rosewell. His son Mann, Jr. married, first, Judith Wormley, who had only one child who lived; and she married Thomas Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe. Mr. Page's second wife was Judith Carter, daughter of Robert Carter, of Corotoman, commonly called King Carter. By this marriage he had Mann Page, of Rosewell, John Page, of North End, Gloucester, and Robert Page, of Broadneck, Hanover. The first of these three married Alice Grymes, of Middlesex, by whom he had two children,—John Page, of Rosewell, alias Governor Page, and Judith, who married Lewis Burwell, of Carter's Creek. At the death of his first wife, Alice Grymes, Mann Page married Miss Ann Corbin Tayloe, sister of the first Colonel Tayloe, of Mount Airy, by whom he had Mann Page, of Mansfield, near Fredericksburg, who married his cousin, sister of the late Colonel Tayloe, of Mount Airy; Robert Page, of Hanover Town, who married a daughter of Charles Carter, of Fredericksburg; Gwinn Page, who married first in Prince William and then in Kentucky; Matthew Page, of Hanover Town, who died unmarried; Betsey Page, who married Mr. Benjamin Harrison, of Brandon; Lucy Page, who married first Colonel George Baylor, and then Colonel Nathaniel Burwell.

The second son of Mann Page and Judith Carter—John Page, of North End—married Jane Byrd, of Westover, whose son Mann married Miss Selden, and was the father of William Byrd Page, of Frederick, who married Miss Lee, and was the father of the Rev. Charles Page, and many others.

John Page, second son of John, of North End, married Miss Betty Burwell, and had several children. Their daughter Jane married Mr. Edmund Pendleton. William, third son of John, of North End, married Miss Jones, and had three children,—Jane, Byrd, and Carter. Carter Page, of Cumberland, fourth son of

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John, of North End, married, first, Polly, daughter of Archibald Cary, then Lucy, daughter of General Nelson, of York. Robert Page, of Janeville, Frederick county, married his cousin Sarah, of Broadneck. The sixth son was Matthew, who died unmarried. The seventh, Tom, who married Mildred, daughter of Edmund Pendleton, of White Plains. The eighth, Judith, who married Colonel Hugh Nelson, of York. The ninth, Molly, who married Mr. John Byrd, and had no children. The tenth, Jane, who married Nathaniel Nelson, and was the mother of Mrs. Nathaniel Burwell, of Saratoga. The eleventh, Lucy, who married Mr. Frank Nelson, of Hanover. The above eleven were all the children of Mr. John Page, of North End, second son of Mann and Judith Page, of Rosewell. Their third son was Robert, of Broadneck, Hanover county, who married Miss Sarah Walker. Their children were, first, Robert, who married a Miss Braxton, and was the father of Carter B. Page, John White Page, Walker Page, and three sisters. Second, John, of Page Brook, who married Miss Byrd, of Westover, and left many children. Third, Matthew Page, of Annfield, who married Miss Ann R. Meade, and left two daughters. Fourth, Catharine, who married Benjamin Waller, of Williamsburg. Fifth, Judith, who married Mr. John Waller. Sixth, Sarah, who married Mr. Robert Page, of Janeville.

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OLD SELIM.

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ARTICLE XXIX.

Gloucester.—No. 3. *History of Selim, the Algerine Convert.*

The following article was written by the Rev. Benjamin H. Rice. The addition is from a descendant of Mr. Page, of Rosewell:—

THE CONVERTED ALGERINE.

The following narrative was committed to writing by an aged clergyman in Virginia, and is communicated for publication by a missionary of known character. Its authenticity may be relied on. It is introduced by the writer with the following paragraphs:—

I have long been of opinion that even the short account I am able to give of Selim, the Algerine, is worth preserving, and suppose that no person now living is able to give so full an account of him as myself, not having the same means of information.

Had Selim ever recovered his reason so far as to be able to write his own history and give an account of all the tender and interesting circumstances of his story, it would undoubtedly have been one of the most moving narratives to be met with. All I can write is the substance of the story as related to me, most of it many years ago. I have been careful to relate every particular circumstance I could recollect worthy of notice, and make no additions and very few reflections of my own. I publish these narratives at this time for the sake of a few observations which they naturally suggest, and which I think seasonable at the present day.

About the close of the war between France and England in Virginia, commonly called Braddock's War, a certain man, whose name, as I have been informed, was Samuel Givins, then an inhabitant of Augusta county, in Virginia, went into the woods back of the settlements to hunt wild meat for the support of his family,—a practice which necessity renders customary for the settlers of a new country. He took more than one horse with him, that it might be in his power to bring home his meat and skins. As he was one day ranging the woods in quest of game, he cast his eyes into the top of a large fallen tree, where he saw a living creature

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move. Supposing it to be some kind of a wild beast, he made ready to shoot it, but had no sooner obtained a distinct view than he discovered a human shape, which prevented the fatal discharge. Going to the place, he found a man in a most wretched and pitiable condition,—his person entirely naked (except a few rags tied about his feet) and almost covered over with scabs, quite emaciated and nearly famished to death. The man was unacquainted with the English language, and Givins knew no other. No information, therefore, could be obtained who he was, whence he came, or how he was brought into a state so truly distressing. Givins, however, with the kindness of the good Samaritan, took a tender care of him, and supplied his emaciated body with the best nourishment his present circumstances would afford. He prudently gave him but little at a time, and increased the quantity as his strength and the power of digestion increased. In a few days the man recovered such a degree of strength as to be able to ride on horseback. Givins furnished him with one of those he had taken with him to carry home his meat, and conducted him to Captain (afterward Colonel) Dickerson's, who then lived near the Windy Cave. Dickerson supplied his wants, and entertained him for some months with a generosity that is more common with rough backwoodsmen, who are acquainted with the hardships of life, than among the opulent sons of luxury and ease.

The poor man considered that he had no way to make himself and his complicated distresses known, without the help of language: he therefore resolved to make himself acquainted with the English tongue as soon as possible. In this his progress was surprising: he procured pen, ink, and paper, and spent much of his time in writing down remarkable and important words, pronouncing them, and getting whoever was present to correct his pronunciation. By his indefatigable application, and the kind assistance of Colonel Dickerson's family, he in a few months was so far master of English as to speak it with considerable propriety. When he found himself sufficiently qualified for communicating his ideas, he gave the colonel and others a most moving narrative of his various unparalleled misfortunes. He said his name was Selim; that he was born of wealthy and respectable parents in Algiers; that when a small boy his parents sent him to Constantinople, with a view to have him liberally educated there; and that after he had spent several years in that city, in pursuit of learning, he returned to Africa to see his parents, with a view to return to Constantinople to finish his education. The ship in which he embarked was taken

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by a Spanish man-of-war or privateer, and Selim thus became a prisoner of war. The Spaniards were at this time in alliance with France against England. Falling in with a French ship bound to New Orleans, they put him on board this vessel, which carried him to the place of its destination. After living some time among the French at New Orleans, they sent him up the rivers Mississippi and Ohio to the Shawnee towns, and left him a prisoner of war with the Indians, who at that time lived near the Ohio. There was at the same time a white woman, who had been taken from the frontiers of Virginia, a prisoner with the same tribe of Indians. Selim inquired of her, by signs, whence she came. The woman answered by pointing directly toward the sunrising. He was so far acquainted with the geography of America as to know that there were English settlements on the eastern shore of this continent; and he rightly supposed the woman had been taken prisoner from some of them. Having received this imperfect information, he resolved to attempt an escape from the Indians to some of these settlements. This was a daring attempt, for he was an entire stranger to the distance he would have to travel and the dangers which lay in his way; he had no pilot but the sun, nor any provisions for his journey,—nor gun, ammunition, or other means of obtaining them. Being thus badly provided for, and under all these discouraging circumstances, he set out on his arduous journey through an unknown mountainous wilderness of several hundred miles. Not knowing the extent of the settlements he aimed at, he apprehended danger of missing them should he turn much to the north or south, and therefore resolved to keep as directly to the sunrising as he possibly could, whatever rivers or mountains might obstruct his path. Through all these difficulties Selim travelled on until the few clothes he had were torn to pieces by bushes, thorns, and briers. These, when thus torn and fit for no other service, he wrapped and tied about his feet to defend them from injuries. Thus he travelled naked, until his skin was torn to pieces with briers and thorns, his body emaciated, his strength exhausted with hunger and fatigue, and his spirits sunk under discouragements. All he had to strengthen and cheer him was a few nuts and berries he gathered by the way, and the distant prospect of once more seeing his native land. But this pleasing prospect could animate him no longer, nor could these scanty provisions support him. His strength failed, and he sank into despair of every thing but ending a miserable life in a howling wilderness, surrounded by wild beasts! Finding he could travel no farther, he

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fixed upon the top of the tree where Givins found him, as the spot where his sorrows and his life must end together. But God, whose providence is over all his creatures, had other views. While Selim was dying this lingering, painful death, and was scarce able to move his feeble limbs, relief was sent him by the beneficent hand of Givins: he is again restored to life, and hope once more revives and animates his sinking heart. No doubt Colonel Dickerson was sensibly touched with this moving tale of woe, and the generous feelings of his humanity greatly increased. I infer it from his conduct; for he furnished Selim with a horse to ride, treated him as a companion, and took him to visit the neighbours and see the country. He accompanied the colonel to Staunton, where the court of Augusta county sat, and where the inhabitants of the county were assembled, it being court-day. Among the rest was the Rev. John Craig, a Presbyterian minister of the Gospel, who resided a few miles from town. When Selim saw Mr. Craig he was struck with his appearance, turned his particular attention to him, and after some time came and spoke to him, and intimated a desire to go home with him. Mr. Craig welcomed him to his house, and then, or afterward, asked him why he desired to go home with him in particular, being an entire stranger, whom he had never seen before. Selim replied:—

"When I was in my distress, I once in my sleep dreamed that I was in my own country, and saw in my dream the largest assembly of men my eyes had ever beheld, collected in a wide plain, all dressed in uniform and drawn up in military order. At the farther side of the plain, and almost at an immense distance, I saw a person whom I understood to be one of great distinction; but, by reason of the vast distance he was from me, I could not discern what sort of a person he was. I only knew him to be a person of great eminence. I saw every now and then one or two of this large assembly attempting to go across the plain to this distinguished personage; but when they had got about half-way over, they suddenly dropped into a hole in the earth, and I saw them no more. I also imagined that I saw an old man standing by himself, at a distance from this large assembly, and one or two of the multitude applied to him for direction how to cross the plain in safety; and all who received and followed it got safe across. As soon as I saw you," added Selim, "I knew you to be the man who gave these directions; and this has convinced me that it is the mind of God that I should apply to you for instructions in religion. It is for this reason I desire to go home with you. When I was among

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the French, they endeavoured to prevail on me to embrace the Christian religion. But, as I observed they made use of images in their religious worship, I looked on Christianity with abhorrence; such worship being, in my opinion, idolatrous."

Mr. Craig cheerfully undertook the agreeable work he seemed called to by an extraordinary Providence. He soon found that Selim understood the Greek language, which greatly facilitated the business. He furnished a Greek Testament; Selim spent his time cheerfully in reading it, and Mr. Craig his leisure hours in explaining to him the Gospel of Jesus Christ. In the space of about two weeks he obtained what Mr. Craig esteemed a competent knowledge of the Christian religion. He went to Mr. Craig's house of worship, made a public profession of Christianity, and was baptized in the name of the adorable Trinity. Some time after this, Selim informed Mr. Craig that he was desirous to return to his native country and once more see his parents and friends. Mr. Craig reminded him that his friends and countrymen, being Mohammedans, entertained strong prejudices against the Christian religion, and that, as he now professed to be a Christian, he would probably be used ill on that account, and that here in America he might enjoy his religion without disturbance. To which Selim replied, that his father was a man of good estate, and he was his heir; that he had never been brought up to labour, and knew no possible way in which he could obtain a subsistence; that he could not bear the thought of living a life of dependence upon strangers and being a burden to them; that he was sensible of the strong prejudices of his friends against Christianity, yet could not think that, after all the calamities he had undergone, his father's religious prejudices would so far get the better of his humanity as to cause him to use his son ill on that account; and that, at all events, he desired to make the experiment. Mr. Craig urged that the favourable regards of his friends and a good estate on the one hand, and a life of poverty and distress on the other, might prove a too powerful temptation to renounce that religion he now professed to believe true, and to return again to Mohammedanism. Selim said, whatever the event might be, he was resolved never to deny Jesus.

When Mr. Craig found that he was fully resolved, he applied to some of his neighbours, and, with their assistance, furnished Selim with as much money as they supposed sufficient to defray his expenses to England, from whence he said he could easily get a passage to Africa. He furnished him, also, with a letter to the Hon. Robert Carter, who then lived in Williamsburg and was

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noted for his beneficence to the poor and afflicted, requesting him to procure for the bearer an agreeable passage in some ship bound to England. Mr. Carter did more than was requested of him: he furnished Selim plentifully with sea-stores. Being thus provided for, he set sail for England, with the flattering prospect before him of being once more happy in his own country and in the arms of his affectionate parents. For many months no more is heard of him by his American acquaintance.

How long after this I do not recollect,—perhaps some years,—the poor unfortunate Selim returned again to Virginia in a state of insanity. He came to Williamsburg, and to the house of his old benefactor, Mr. Carter. His constant complaint was, that he had no friend, and where should he find a friend? From which complaint the cause of his present very pitiable situation was easily conjectured: his father was not his friend. Notwithstanding the derangement of his mental powers, he had certain lucid intervals, in which he so far enjoyed his reason as to be able to give a pretty distinct account of his adventures after he left Virginia. He said he had a speedy and safe passage to England, and from thence to Africa; and that, on his arrival, he found his parents still alive, but that it was not in his power long to conceal it from them that he had renounced Mohammedanism and embraced the Christian religion, and that his father no sooner found this to be the case than he disowned him as a child and turned him out of his house. Affection for his parents, grief for their religious prejudices and his own temporal ruin, tormented his tender heart. He was now turned out into the world, without money, without a friend, without any art by which he could obtain a subsistence. He left his own country, the estate on which he expected to spend his life, and all his natural connections, without the most distant prospect of ever seeing or enjoying them more. He went to England, in hopes of there finding some way to live, where he could enjoy his religion when every other source of comfort was dried up. But, having no friend to introduce him to the pious and benevolent, he found no way to subsist in that country; on which he resolved to return to America, it being a new country, where the poor could more easily find the means of support. In his passage to Virginia—while he had probably no pious friend to console him in his distresses nor to encourage and support him under them, and while he had little to do but pore over his wretched situation—he sunk, under the weight of his complicated calamities, into a state of insanity.

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Though Selim's great distress was that he had no friend and he was constantly roving about in quest of one, yet of friendship he was incapable of enjoying the advantages. In pursuit of his object he went up to Colonel Dickerson's, but to no purpose. From thence he wandered away to the Warm Springs, where was at that time a young clergyman of the name of Templeton, who, having understood something of his history, entered into conversation with him. He asked him, among other things, whether he was acquainted with the Greek language; to which he modestly replied that he understood a little of it. Mr. Templeton put a Greek Testament into his hand, and asked him to read and construe some of it. He took the book and opened it, and, when he saw what it was, in a transport of joy he pressed it to his heart, and then complied with Mr. Templeton's request. By these actions he showed his great veneration for the Sacred Scriptures, and how long he had retained the knowledge of the Greek in circumstances the most unfavourable. From the Warm Springs he went down to Mr. Carter's, (who, by this time, had removed from Williamsburg to his seat in Westmoreland county,) in hopes that gentleman would act the part of a friend, as he had formerly done; but still, poor man, he was incapable of enjoying what he greatly needed and most desired. He soon wandered away from Mr. Carter's, was taken, and carried to the madhouse in Williamsburg.

The above account I received from Mr. Craig, Mr. Carter, and Mr. Templeton; and it is the substance of all I knew of Selim before I came to reside in this State. Since my arrival here I have seen several men who were personally acquainted with him while in a state of derangement. They say he was commonly inoffensive in his behaviour, grateful for favours received, manifested a veneration for religion, was frequently engaged in prayer,—that his prayers were commonly, though not always, pretty sensible and tolerably well connected,—and that he appeared to have the temper and behaviour of a gentleman, though he was in ruins; that he went roving from place to place, sometimes almost naked for want of sense to keep on the clothes that he had received from the hand of charity, until he was taken with the sickness which put an end to his sorrows; that when he was taken sick his reason was restored and continued to his last moments; that the family where he lay sick and died treated him with great tenderness, for which he expressed the utmost gratitude, and that, at his request and importunity, no persons sat up with him on the night

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in which he died. It appears, however, that he died with great composure; for he placed himself, his hands, his feet, and his whole body, in a proper posture to be laid in his coffin, and so expired.

The following is added by a descendant of Mr. Page:—

"Among the pictures that made the deepest impression on me at Rosewell, and which decorated the old hall, was that of Selim. He was painted Indian fashion, with a blanket round his shoulders, a straw hat on his head, tied on with a check handkerchief. This portrait Governor Page had taken in Philadelphia, by Peale; and, when the box arrived at Rosewell, the family and servants were all assembled in the hall to see it opened. Great was their astonishment and disappointment to find, instead of a portrait of their father and master, Selim's picture, which was greeted instantly with his usual salutation, 'God save ye.' He was a constant visitor at Rosewell, and was always kindly received by servants and children, who respected him for his gentleness, piety, and learning. One of his fancies was never to sleep in a house, and, unless he could be furnished with regimentals, disdained all other clothing. One of his greatest pleasures, when in Williamsburg, was to read Greek with Professor Small and President Horrocks, of William and Mary, and at Rosewell, with Mr. Page, and his youngest son, who read Greek and Hebrew at a very early period; but it was always out of doors.

"When in Yorktown, the old windmill (which was blown down by a late tornado, and was long a relic of olden times, and which ground nearly all the bread used in York) was his resting-place. The only time he was ever in the York House he was coaxed by General Nelson's oldest daughter and niece to take his seat in Lady Nelson's sedan-chair. As they bore him in and rested in the passage, he rose up, and sang melodiously one of Dr. Watts's hymns for children,—

'How glorious is our heavenly King!'

The first time it was ever heard in Yorktown. Where he learned it was never known, but we suppose it must have been from his Presbyterian friends in Prince Edward. He had a trick of constantly passing his hands over his face, and, when questioned about it, would say, 'It is the blow—that disgrace to a gentleman—given me by that Louisiana planter; but—*thank God! thank God!* but for the Saviour I could not bear it.'

"I have always understood he went to South Carolina from Philadelphia with a gentleman who took a fancy to him and got him off with the promise of a full suit of regimentals, and there we lose sight of him."

The picture of Selim may still be seen in the library of Mr. Robert Saunders, of Williamsburg. Mr. Saunders married a daughter of Governor Page, and thus inherited it. Selim, out of his attachment to Mr. Page, either followed or went with him to Philadelphia, where the American Congress was sitting, of which Mr. Page was a member. Mr. Peale was then a most eminent painter.

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ARTICLE XXX.

Gloucester.—No. 4. *Supplement to the Articles on Gloucester.*

According to a purpose expressed in one of my previous numbers, I have visited some places in Gloucester, with a view of obtaining the most accurate information concerning some antiquated places which have interest in them for more than mere antiquaries. My first visit was to the old stone chimney which tradition says belonged to the house built by Captain Smith for King Powhatan at or near his residence on York River, in Gloucester. I acknowledge that I had never placed much confidence in this tradition; for, though I did not doubt but that Captain Smith had built a log room with a stone chimney for the King, yet I did doubt whether any remains of the room or chimney could now be seen. I am sure that there is now no other remnant of such architecture, either in stone or wood, to be found in Virginia. I went therefore to the spot with no little of skepticism on the subject. On a high point of land, divided by Timberneck Creek from Mr. Catlett's farm, the former seat of the Manns, there is a wooden frame room, of more recent construction, attached to a low, Dutch-built chimney intended only for a single-story house. The chimney has recently been covered on the outside with a coat of plastering. The fireplace within was eight feet four inches wide—that is, the opening to receive the wood—and four feet deep, and more than six feet high, so that the tallest man might walk into it and a number of men sit within it around the fire. All this was royal enough; but as many of the old chimneys in Virginia, especially of the negro quarters, were as large in former days, when wood abounded, my skepticism was not entirely removed until I perceived, in the only crack which was to be seen outside of the wall, something which showed that the material was of no ordinary kind of stone, but like that of which the old church at York was built,—viz.: marl out of the bank, which only hardens by fire and by exposure. To render this more certain, I asked the owner of the house if he could not get me a small block of the material from the bottom of the chimney, near the ground, so as not to injure it. He obligingly consented, and, bringing an old axe, by repeated and heavy blows disengaged from the chimney a

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fragment of it, which I found to be what I conjectured,—a particular kind of marl, composed of shells, and which abounds on some of the high banks of York River, on both sides. I am now satisfied that this is really the stone chimney built by Captain Smith. There is no other kind of stone—if this may be called stone—in this region; and it was much easier for Captain Smith to use this than to make and burn brick. It is, moreover, more durable than brick or stone. It is impossible to say how many generations of log or frame rooms have been built to this celebrated chimney. There is a contest between this spot and Shelly for the honour of being Powhatan's residence; and it is thought by some that the old chimney decides it in behalf of this. Shelly, in a straight line, is little more than a mile from this, and may have been the residence of the King and his tribe (and there are some strong marks of this) at the time, though he may have preferred to have this house built on the high and commanding bluff on which it stands. Moreover, Smith and his men may have preferred, while at their work, to be at a little distance from his royal majesty and his treacherous people.

Bearing away with me the piece of marl-stone from Powhatan's chimney, to be kept in proof of what I now believe to be fact, I crossed the creek, and sought at the old homestead of the Manns for some sepulchral monument showing that tradition was true in relation to the residence of a family whose name is only to be found incorporated with other names, inheriting an estate which not only once covered the half of Gloucester, if report be true, but was scattered in large parcels over numerous other counties. In or near the stable-yard, in an open place, there is to be seen a pile of tombstones lying upon and beside each other in promiscuous confusion, on which may be read the following inscriptions:—

"Here lyeth the body of John Mann, of Gloucester county, in Virginia, gentleman, aged sixty-three years, who departed this life the 7th day of January, 1694."

Also,—

"Here lyeth the body of Mrs. Mary Mann, of the county of Gloucester, in the Colony of Virginia, gentlewoman, who departed this life the 18th day of March, 1703–4, aged fifty-six years."

Their daughter and only child married Matthew Page, son of John Page, the first of the family. They buried a child at this place, whose tombstone is a part of this pile, and reads as follows:—

"Here lyeth the body of Elizabeth Page, daughter of Matthew Page,

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of the Colony of Virginia, gentleman, aged three years, who departed this life the 15th of March, Anno Domini 1693."

THE TOMBS AT ROSEWELL.

My next visit was to Rosewell,—the mansion of which I have spoken in one of the preceding articles.

Mr. Matthew Page moved to this place from Timberneck. Three of his young children—Matthew, Mary, and Ann—are buried here before the month of August, 1704. This appears, or did appear, from their tombs. The following is the inscription on the heavy ironstone tomb of Matthew Page:—

I.

"Here lyeth interred the body of the Hon^ble^ Col. Matthew Page, one of Her Majesty's most Hon^ble^ Council, of the parish of Abington, in the county of Gloucester, Colony of Virginia, son of the Hon^ble^ John Page, of the parish of Bruton, in the county of York, in the aforesaid Colony, who departed this life the 9th day of January, Anno Domini 1703, in the 45th year of his age."

II.

"Here lyeth interred the body of Mary Page, wife of the Hon^ble^ Matthew Page, Esquire, one of Her Majesty's Council of this Colony of Virginia, a daughter of John and Mary Mann, who departed this life the 24th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1707, in the 36th year of her age."

III.

"Here lie the remains of the Hon^ble^ Mann Page, Esquire, one of His Majesty's Council, of the Colony of Virginia, who departed this life the 24th day of January, 1730, in the 40th year of his age. He was the only son of the Hon^ble^ Matthew Page, Esquire, who was likewise member of His Majesty's Council. His first wife was Judith, daughter of Ralf Wormley, Esquire, Secretary of Virginia, by whom he had two sons and a daughter. He afterward married Judith, daughter of the Hon^ble^ Robert Carter, Esquire, President of Virginia, with whom he lived in the most tender reciprocal affection for twelve years, leaving by her five sons and a daughter. His public trust he faithfully discharged, with candour and discretion, truth and justice. Nor was he less eminent in his private behaviour; for he was a tender husband and indulgent father, a gentle master and faithful friend, being to all courteous and beneficent, kind and affable. This monument was piously erected to his memory by his mournfully surviving lady."

There were tombstones with inscriptions over each of the wives of this, the first Mann Page,—one in Latin and the other in English. The latter was first broken and then crumbled away.

One of the sons of the above-mentioned Mann Page was named Mann, and inherited Rosewell. The following is the inscription over his first wife:—

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IV.

"Here lyeth the body of Alice Page, wife of Mann Page, who departed this life the 11th day of January, 1746, in childbed of her second son, in the 23d year of her age, leaving two sons and one daughter. She was the third daughter of the Hon^ble John Grymes, Esquire, of Middlesex county, one of His Majesty's Council in this Colony. Her personal beauty and the uncommon sweetness of her temper, her affable deportment and exemplary behaviour, made her respected by all who knew her. The spotless innocency of her life and her singular piety, her constancy and resignation at the hour of death, sufficiently testified her firm and certain hope of a joyful resurrexion. To her sacred memory this monument is piously erected."

His second wife was Miss Ann Corbin Tayloe. Two of their sons, who died young, are buried at Rosewell, having tombs and inscriptions. Governor Page, of Virginia, was a son by his first wife, Alice Grymes. There is no tombstone over the second Mann Page. Governor Page died in Richmond, and was buried in the old churchyard around St. John's.

My next visit was to the old seat of the Burwells, about two miles from Rosewell, on Carter's Creek, and in full view of York River. It was formerly called Fairfield, and is so marked on Bishop Madison's map of Virginia. It has for some time past been called Carter's Creek only. The house, as appears by figures on one of the walls, was built either in 1684 or 1694. A portion of it has been taken down: the rest is still strong and likely to endure for no little time to come. The graveyard is in a pasture-lot not far from the house. Being unenclosed, it is free to all the various animals which belong to a Virginia farm. Hogs, sheep, cows, and horses, have free access to it; and, as there is a grove of a few old trees overshadowing it, the place is a favourite resort in summer. The tombs are very massive. The slabs on which the inscriptions are engraved are of the same heavy ironstone or black marble with those at Rosewell, Timberneck, and Bellfield, of which we have spoken. The framework underneath them has generally given way, and they lie in various positions about the ground. A large honey-locust, around which several of them were placed, having attained its maturity, was either blown down by the wind or struck by lightning, and fell across them, breaking one of the largest into pieces. The young shoots of the tree, springing up, have now themselves become trees of considerable size, and afford shade for inanimate tombs and living beasts. None of the family have for a long time owned this ancient seat.

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TOMBS AT CARTER'S CREEK, OR FAIRFIELD.

I.

"To the lasting memory of Major Lewis Burwell, of the county of Gloucester, in Virginia, gentleman, who descended from the ancient family of the Burwells, of the counties of Bedford and Northampton, in England, who, nothing more worthy in his birth than virtuous in his life, exchanged this life for a better, on the 19th day of November, in the 33d year of his age, A.D. 1658."

II.

"The daughter of Robert Higginson. She died November 26th, 1675. . . . . She was the wife of Major Lewis Burwell."

III.

"Here lyeth the body of Lewis, son of Lewis Burwell and Abigail his wife, on the left hand of his brother Bacon and sister Jane. He departed this life y^e^ sixteenth day of September, 1676, in the 15th year of his age."

IV.

"Here lyeth the body of Mary, the daughter of Lewis and Martha his wife. She departed this life in the first year of her age, on the 20th of July."

V.

"To the sacred memory of Abigail, the loving and beloved wife of Major Lewis Burwell, of the county of Gloucester, gent., who was descended of the illustrious family of the Bacons, and heiress of the Hon. Nathaniel Bacon, Esq., President of Virginia, who, not being more honourable in her birth than virtuous in her life, departed this world the 12th day of November, 1672, aged 36 years, having blessed her husband with four sons and six daughters."

VI.

"Beneath this tomb lyeth the body of Major Nathaniel Burwell, eldest son of Major Lewis Burwell, who, by well-regulated conduct and firm integrity, justly established a good reputation. He died in the 41st year of his age, leaving behind him three sons and one daughter,* by Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Robert Carter, Esq., in the year of our Lord Christ 1721."

VII.

"Here lyeth the body of the Hon. Lewis Burwell, son of Major Lewis Burwell and Lucy his wife, of the county of Gloucester, who first married

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* Of these, the daughter, Elizabeth Burwell, married President William Nelson, and was the mother of General Thomas Nelson, &c. One son, Lewis, was the grandfather of the late Lewis Burwell, of Richmond, &c., and father of Mrs. P. B. Whiting; and the other was Carter Burwell, of The Grove, who married Lucy Grymes, the sister of Alice, wife of Mann Page, and daughter of the Hon. John Grymes; and he was the father of Col. Nathaniel Burwell, of Carter Hall, in Frederick county, Virginia; and the third son was Robert Carter Burwell, of the Isle of Wight, the father of Nathaniel Burwell of the same county, (whose children were Robert C. Burwell, of Long Branch, Frederick, and his four sisters,) and Fanny, the first wife of Col. John Page, of Rosewell, since Governor of Virginia.

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Abigail Smith, of the family of the Bacons, by whom he had four sons and six daughters; and, after her death, Martha, widow of the Hon. William Cole, by whom he had two sons and eight daughters, and departed this life 19th day of Dec., 1710, leaving behind him three sons and six daughters."

VIII.

"Sacred to the memory of the dearly-beloved . . . Martha, daughter of . . . . of Nansemond county, in Virginia, married to Col. William Cole, by whom she had no sons and no daughters. Afterward married to Major Lewis Burwell, by whom she had six sons and three daughters; resigned this mortal life the 4th day of Aug. 1704."

Copies of inscriptions on the tombstones of Ware Church, which stones were covered by the erection of a new chancel-floor in said church in June, 1854.

I.

"Underneath this stone lyeth interred the body of Amy Richards, the most dearly-beloved wife of John Richards, minister of this parish, who departed this life 21st of November, 1725, aged 40 years.

"Near her dear mistress lies the body of Mary Ades, her faithful and beloved servant, who departed this life the 23d of November, 1725, aged 28 years."

II.

"Here lyeth the body of Mrs. Ann Willis, the wife of Col. Francis Willis, who departed this life the 10th of June, 1727, in the 32d year of her age. Also the body of A., daughter of the abovesaid, aged 7 days."

III.

"Underneath this stone lyeth the body of Mr. John Richards, late rector of Nettlestead, and vicar of Teston, in the county of Kent, in the kingdom of England, and minister of Ware, in the county of Gloucester and Colony of Virginia, who, after a troublesome passage through the various changes and chances of this mortal life, at last reposed in this silent grave in expectation of a joyful resurrexion to eternal life. He died the 12th day of November, in the year of our Lord MDCC . . . V., aged 46."

IV.

"Here lyeth the body of Isabel, daughter of Mr. Thomas Booth, wife of Rev. John Fox, minister of this parish; who with exemplary patience having borne various afflictions, and with equal piety discharged her several duties on earth, cheerfully yielded to mortality, exchanging the miseries of this life for the joys of a glorious eternity, on the 13th day of June, in the year of our Lord MDCCXLII., of her age 38."

V.

'Here also lie the bodies of Mary and Susannah, daughters of the above-mentioned John and Isabel. The one departed this life on the 5th day of September, 1742, in the 4th year of her age; the other on the 8th of October, in the 3d year of her age, MDCCXLIII."

Doubtless there are other tombstones in the county bearing the names of the old worthies of former days; but no information con-

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cerning them has been furnished me. There is, I am told, an old graveyard, with tombstones, at the old seat of the Washingtons, in Gloucester, on the Piankatank, from which I have been desirous to hear, but have failed. One of the sons of the first John Washington married a Miss Warner, of Gloucester, and settled at the above-mentioned place. Hence sprung the combination of the names Warner and Washington, so common in these families.

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ARTICLE XXXI.

Parishes in Middlesex.—No. 1.

Middlesex county was originally a part of Lancaster county, when the latter covered both sides of the Rappahannock River for an indefinite distance. Between the years 1650 and 1660 it is probable that it was made a separate county. Until that time one minister served the whole county, although it is probable there were two parishes on either side of the river before the division of the county. Those on the south side were called Lancaster and Piankatank. They were originally one, and called Lancaster; and, in 1666, became one again, under the name of Christ Church, Lancaster county.

I have before me the vestry-book of the parish, from the year 1663 to the year 1767, commencing two years before the reunion. There is reference to a Rev. Mr. Cole, who was minister of both of the parishes in the year 1657; also to a Mr. Morris, as being minister previous to the reunion. A short time afterward, some dissensions as to the bounds of the two parishes and other matters led to the reunion.

The first entry states the appointment of Mr. Henry Corbin to keep the register of the parish, according to a late Act of Assembly.

The next is the vestryman's oath:—

"I, A. B., as I do acknowledge myself a true son of the Church of England, so I do believe the articles of faith therein professed, and do oblige myself to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline therein taught and established; and that, as a vestryman of Christ Church, I will well and truly perform my duty therein, being directed by the laws and customs of this country and the canons of the Church of England, so far as they will suit our present capacity; and this I shall sincerely do, according to the best of my knowledge, skill, and cunning, without fear, favour, or partiality; and so help me God."

Previous to the reunion, the vestry of Lancaster parish had determined to build a church, after the model of that of Williamsburg, either on the north or south side of Sunderland Creek. By lot it fell on the north side; but it was never done.

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In the reunion, in 1666, it was agreed by the vestry to build a mother-church,—by the name of Christ Church,—at a place about midway the parish, after the model of that at Williamsburg, the glass and iron to be gotten from England. It was accordingly built about midway between Brandon and Rosegill, the seats of the Wormleys and Grymeses, not far from the Rappahannock River, and was used until the year 1712, when a new one was built in the same place.

On the 29th of January, 1666, it was resolved to continue Mr. Morris as the minister, but that he be not inducted. On the following day, at a meeting of the vestry, his salary was paid, and he was dismissed. I suppose he would not consent to serve without induction, or that some difficulty arose between himself and the vestry. Major-General Robert Smith and Mr. Henry Corbin were directed to write to Richard Perrott, then in England, for a minister. Measures were also taken for the purchase of a glebe. In the year 1668 it was agreed to employ the Rev. Mr. Shephard for six months. At the end of that time he was chosen for twelve months, and so on until the year 1671, when he was elected as rector for the future. Mr. Shephard continued their minister until his death, in 1683. The following extracts from the proceedings of the vestry will show their estimate of his character, and their desire for a worthy successor:—

"It is ordered by this present vestry, that, whereas it hath pleased Almighty God to take out of this life Mr. John Shephard, our late worthy minister, and this vestry and the whole parish desiring to have his place supplied with a gentleman of good life and doctrine, and a true son of the Church of England,—and they knowing of none such at present in this country but have benefices,—it is, therefore, unanimously agreed by the vestry, that the Hon. Ralph Wormley, Esq., and Mr. Robert Smith, be desired and empowered to write in the name of this vestry to the Hon. the Lady Agatha Chichely and Major-General Robert Smith,—who, it is hoped, are now safe in London,—to request them, or either of them, that they will please to take the trouble to procure a fit minister in England to come over and supply the place of Mr. Shephard; and for whose better encouragement this vestry do promise, and accordingly resolve, that they will entertain no minister in the said parish, except for the present time only, until they have an answer from those honourable persons; and that they will willingly accept and receive into this parish such minister as they shall persuade to come and recommend to this vestry; and that such minister shall have, beside the glebe-land and plantation, (which contains four hundred acres of land,) the sum of sixteen thousand pounds of tobacco and caske, yearly paid him by this parish, besides all perquisites and other profits which have been enjoyed by our said worthy minister, Mr. John Shephard."

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In the interval between the death of Mr. Shephard and his successor, the parish was supplied by the Revs. Mr. Superiors and Mr. Davis. In November of that year, Major-General Robert Smith appears on the vestry-book, having returned from England and brought with him the Rev. Duell Read, who was chosen their minister for one year; and in proof that the earnest desire and endeavour of the vestry were rewarded of God, by sending a faithful minister, I adduce the following extract from the vestry-book the year after his entrance on the ministry:—

"*Memorandum:*—That the Rev. Duell Read, our present minister, out of his pious intentions to the good of the souls of his flock, mentioned that the blessed sacrament of the Lord's Supper (too much neglected) might for the future be more frequently administered and attended. To this intent, he, the aforesaid Mr. Read, propounded the monthly observation thereof; that is to say, on the first Sunday in every month according to course, that the congregation should assemble to divine service at the mother-church, then and there the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should be celebrated. And, moreover, that this great solemn mystery might as well worthily as frequently be observed, he, the said Mr. Read, did then frankly and freely promise a sermon at the said church monthly; that is to say, on the Saturday, in the afternoon, for the guiding the communion,—not doubting that all parents and masters of families, who ponder the everlasting welfare of the souls committed to their charge, would readily comply, and allow convenient liberty to their children and servants to repair to church at such times, there to be instructed and prepared for this religious duty. This motion was then thankfully and cheerfully entertained by the present vestry, and they did unanimously concur with the said Mr. Read therein."

The duty of more frequent communions in the churches of Virginia was evident. By Act of Assembly, which was only the renewal of one of the canons of the English Church, it was only required that the sacrament be administered twice a year at the parish churches, the chapels of each not being provided for. Even in this case it is only proposed to have it at the mother-church, which was about midway of a parish forty miles in length. There were two chapels or churches toward either end of the county, not less, we suppose, than twelve or fifteen miles distant from the central one. Those communicants who lived at either end of the parish must have had twenty miles to travel in order to partake of the communion. At a later date the communion was administered at all the churches. Mr. Read's services continued seven years,—at the end of which time he returned to England; cause not known. That he did not forget his parishioners is evident from the following entry on the vestry-book:—

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"I, Duell Read, late of Middlesex, in Virginia, having lived in the said county for at least seven years past, and received divers kindnesses from the parishioners thereof, and Almighty God in his great goodness having preserved me through many dangers in my return to England, and being most kindly received by my Right Honourable and Right Rev. Henry Lord Bishop of London, do, in point of gratitude to Almighty God and in honour for the Church of England, freely give and bestow, for the use of my successors in the said parish, four milch-cows and calves, four breeding sows, a mare and colt, to be delivered on the glebe of said parish to the next incumbent, he to enjoy them and their increase for his own use, and leaving the like number and quality on his death to his successors; humbly requesting my aforesaid Right Rev. Diocesan to give charge to his Commissary there to take due care herein, and to settle it in such manner as to him shall seem fit, according to the true intent hereof.

"Witness my hand, in London, this 12th day of November, in the second year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord and Lady, King William and Queen Mary, &c.

"Duell Read."

Should any smile at the value and character of the bequests, they should remember that they were, in all probability, his whole property, not to be despised until the widow's mite has lost its value with heaven. Nor were they so valueless as some might suppose. In those days a few such animals were of great use and worth. In proof of which I adduce the following act of the vestry in this parish, in the year 1665:—

"The following gentlemen, vestrymen of the parish,—viz.: Henry Corbin, Richard Perrott, Abraham Weeks, John Hastewood, Richard Cock, Robert Chewning, agree, each of them, to mark one cow-calf with a crop in the right ear, to be kept as well as their own cattle until they be two years old, then given to the vestry as stock for the parish."

In the year 1692 the Rev. Matthew Lidford was chosen minister of the parish for one year, but soon died. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Gray, who agreed, in 1698, to relinquish, for a certain amount of tobacco, all claim on the parish arising from his induction. Mr. Gray was a most unworthy minister. The records of the court show him to have been much engaged in lawsuits,—either suing or being sued for property. At length he caused the death of one of his slaves, by severe whipping, and was tried for his life. This, it is presumed, was the occasion of his resignation.

In the year 1699 the Rev. Robert Yates is minister, and continues so until the year 1703 or 1704, when he returned to England in ill health. He appears to have been esteemed by his vestry, who continued his salary for some time in the hope of his return. The Rev. Bartholomew Yates (believed to be his son) succeeded

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him. After eighteen years of faithful service, the parish of York-Hampton, a more desirable one, endeavoured to obtain his services. The vestry of Middlesex, however, raised his salary to twenty thousand pounds of tobacco, and enlarged and improved his house. The following entry shows that, in order to raise his salary, they thought it necessary to make application to the Legislature:—

"*To the Honourable the General Assembly:*—

"The humble petition of the vestry held for Christ Church parish the 7th day of May, 1722, showeth that this vestry, taking into consideration the great satisfaction given to this parish for about eighteen years, and the general good character of our minister, Mr. Bartholomew Yates, which we are apprehensive has induced some other parishes to entertain thoughts of endeavouring to prevail with him to quit this parish for some of those more convenient, humbly pray they may be enabled to make use of such measures as may be proper and reasonable to secure so great a good to the parish.

"And they shall pray, &c.

"JOHN ROBINSON."

Such were the manifestations of regard for him that he continued their minister until his death, in 1734, being more than thirty-one years their pastor. Having sons in England at college, the vestry waited for two years until his son Bartholomew was ordained. In the interval the parish was served by the Revs. John Reade and Emanuel Jones, from neighbouring parishes. He served them until the year 1767. In 1758, we also find the Rev. William Yates and the Rev. Robert Yates, ministers of the adjoining parishes of Petsworth and Abington, in Gloucester county, believed to be either sons or grandsons of the elder Bartholomew Yates, and grandsons or great-grandsons of the Rev. Robert Yates. All of them are believed to have been worthy ministers of the Gospel. They have been often quoted as proof that there were some deserving ones among the old clergy of Virginia, and that ministers' sons are not always the worst in the parish, as some enemies of religion say. A large tombstone was placed, by the parishioners, over the grave of the elder Bartholomew Yates, which is still in good order and the inscription legible. It is as follows:—

"Here lie the remains of the Rev. Bartholomew Yates, who departed this life the 26th day of July, 1734, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. He was one of the visitors of William and Mary College, as also Professor of Divinity in that Royal Foundation. In the conscientious discharge of his duty few ever equalled him, none ever surpassed him. He explained the doctrine by his practice, and taught and led the way to heaven. Cheer-

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fulness—the result of innocence—always sparkled in his face, and, by the sweetness of his temper, he gained universal good-will. His consort enjoyed in him a tender husband, his children an indulgent father, his servants a gentle master, his acquaintance a faithful friend. He was minister of this parish upward of thirty years; and, to perpetuate his memory, this monument is erected at the charge of his friends and parishioners."

The descendants of Mr. Yates are numerous, and scattered over the State. One of them—the late Mr. Yates, of Jefferson county, Virginia—charged all his children in turn to protect and preserve this tomb.

The Rev. John Klug succeeded to Mr. Yates in 1767, and, it is believed, continued until his death, in 1795. His name appears on the list of delegates to the two first Conventions of the Church in Virginia, in 1785 and 1786. He is represented to have been a pious and efficient minister. He was followed by the Rev. Mr. Heffernon, who was a dishonour to the Church for eighteen years. To him I have alluded in my first article. He married into one of the most respectable families of that part of Virginia, but, happily, left no posterity to be ashamed of their father's name, which was a by-word and proverb at that day, and continues so to the present time. Hunting, gambling, drinking, were his constant occupations. I have before me the following copy of an extract of the will of Mr. William Churchill, in 1711:—

"I give £100 sterling to the vestry of Christ Church parish in Middlesex, which said £100 I would have put to interest, and the interest-money to be given to the minister for preaching four quarterly sermons yearly, against the four reigning vices,—viz.: atheism and irreligion, swearing and cursing, fornication and adultery, and drunkenness; and this I would have done forever. I give to the said parish and vestry aforesaid £25 sterling, to be put to interest, and the interest-money to be given yearly to the clerk and sexton attending said sermon."*

Mr. Heffernon, with all his vices, preached—or professed to preach—these sermons in one of the churches, and received the benefit of this bequest. I have often heard old Mr. Nelson, my father-in-law, say that the last time he saw Mr. Heffernon was in

* By atheism we must not understand a denial of the existence of a God, but rather irreligion,—a living without God in the world; for, at this time, infidelity was unknown in the Colony. In the year 1724—thirteen years later—the clergy informed the Bishop of London that there were no infidels in Virginia but Indians and negroes. When the first infidel book was imported into Virginia, after the year 1730, it produced such an excitement that the Governor and Commissary communicated on the subject with the authorities in England.

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a tavern-porch in Urbanna, reeling to and fro with a bowl of toddy in his hand, inviting the passers-by to come and drink with him.* From the year 1813—the time of Mr. Heffernon's death—no effort was made to have any services in that church. Indeed, it is presumed that there were none for many years before his death. The prostration of the church seemed to be complete. There was, however, a kind of farce following that sad tragedy, to which I must refer. In the year 1836, at the Convention in Fredericksburg, a person calling himself Robinson, and professing to be a minister of the Episcopal Church of England, presented himself to Bishop Moore and myself, and produced some worn and dingy papers, purporting to be letters of Orders. We neither of us were pleased either with him or his papers. Bishop Moore soon turned him over to me. He expressed a wish to unite with the Church in Virginia; said that he did not care for salary, being in abundant circumstances; that he wished to settle in some good society, and not far from the ocean; that he had some of the best English breed of sheep and Durham cattle, and wished to purchase a farm. I told him plainly my opinion as to his course of duty; that, if he wished to be useful in the ministry, he had better dispose of his cattle and engage earnestly in the duties of it. He expressed surprise that I should seem to think an attention to fine cattle inconsistent with the duties of the ministry, and spoke of one or more of the English Bishops who were great patrons of cattle. We soon parted, mutually dissatisfied with each other, and I never met him again. He took a fancy to the lower part of Middlesex, in sight of the bay, bought or rented a farm there, and moved some cattle to it, I believe. He had quite a library and a great deal of English plate. He invited company, and entertained at late fashionable hours. He also preached, either at some old church or the court-house. His robes were those of English Fellows or Doctors, having several pieces of different colours, besides the gown and surplice. The same dress, I am told, he used when performing the service at the White Sulphur Springs, in Western Virginia, making changes in it during the service. How long he continued in Virginia I know not; but, determining on a visit to England, he wrote me a long letter, containing many questions concerning the Church in America, which he said would doubtless

* What became of that fund I have not yet been able to ascertain. It ought to be carefully inquired for, and sacredly applied according to the will of the testator. Surely the overseers of the poor could not have claimed this?

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be proposed on his return to England, and to which he wished for answers. My reply to him was very short, and such as he would take care not to show. A few months after this, we received intelligence that he was taken up as an impostor and swindler in Liverpool, and was then on his way to Botany Bay. All that he had brought with him to America was stolen, and he went back to replenish his treasury, and had wellnigh, by a forged note, robbed the bank at Liverpool of a very large sum of money. Indeed, he had it in his possession, and was on the point of sailing to America, when pursued and overtaken. This closes, I hope, forever, the disgrace of the Church in Middlesex. Henceforth we look for better times. But before we enter upon those I wish to add something concerning the laity of the old Middlesex parish.

P.S.—A recent communication states that this impostor got away from his place of exile and reached California, where he died a few years since.

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ARTICLE XXXII.

Parishes in Middlesex.—No. 2.

Hitherto we have been entirely occupied with the history of the clergy of this county. This being an early settlement, lying on one of the finest rivers in Virginia, and near the bay, we might expect to find here many of the ancestors of some of the most respectable families of Virginia. As the vestrymen were chosen from the leading citizens of each parish, we shall give, in the order in which they appear on the vestry-book for more than one hundred years, a full list of all who served the parish in that capacity. Those who have any acquaintance with the Virginia families, and with many who have dispersed themselves throughout the West and South, will readily trace great numbers to the parish of which we are treating. For the sake of brevity we shall only mention the surnames, and afterward be more specific as to a few of them. Corbin, Perrott, Chewning, Potter, Vause, Weeks, Willis, Cock, Curtis, Smith, Dudley, Thacher, Skipwith, Beverley, Wormley, Jones, Miller, Scarborough, Woodley, Whitaker, Robinson, Warwick, Gordon, Chichester, Midge, Churchill, Burnham, Wormley 2d, Kemp, Smith 2d, Cary, Dudley 2d, Smith 3d, Daniel, Price, Mann, Seager, Vause 2d, Cock 2d, Cant, Skipwith 2d, Wormley 3d, Thacher 2d, Grimes, Beverley 2d, Kilbee, Kemp 2d, Corbin 2d, Robinson 2d, Walker, Jones 2d, Wormley 4th, Stanard, Churchill 2d, Robinson 3d, Walker 2d, Robinson 4th, Hardin, Wormley 5th, Corbin 3d, Smith 4th, Grymes 2d, Stanard 2d, Reid, Carter 2d, Elliot, Miles, Montague, Grymes 3d, Nelson, Smith 5th. (The figures 2, 3, 4, 5 signify how many of the same name and family held the office of vestrymen at different times. They were probably sons, grandsons, &c.) The old English aristocracy is apparent on the vestry-books. Sir Henry Chichely, Baronet and Knight, (he was once Deputy-Governor of Virginia,) Sir William Skipwith, Baronet and Knight, appear always at the head of the vestrymen as written in the vestry-books, these titles giving them the precedence. They appear to have been active and liberal, giving

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land and plate to the churches. John Grymes and Edmund Berkeley appear to have been churchwardens for a longer period than any others. The Thackers and Robinsons were also constant attendants and active churchwardens for a long time. So also the Smiths, Churchills, Curtises, Corbins, and Beverleys. Many of the above-mentioned vestrymen were members of the Council, and held other offices in the Colonial Government. The first Beverley on the list was the celebrated Robert Beverley, so noted in the early history of Virginia as a martyr in the cause of liberty. He was Clerk to the House of Burgesses, and father of Robert Beverley, the historian of Virginia, and ancestor of the other Beverleys. There were always three lay readers, one to each of the churches,—the middle or mother, or Great Church, and the upper and lower. We read the names of Chewning, Baldwin, and Stevens, among the lay readers. They were required not only to read Homilies, but to catechize the children and see that every thing about the churches was kept clean and in order, that the leaves around the churches (which were built in the woods) should be burnt, in order to preserve the churches from being destroyed by some of the great fires which were common in the woods. It was not always easy to get suitable persons as lay readers. We find at one meeting an express act of the vestry, requiring that they be sober and reputable men; and this was only an echo of the Act of Assembly. Complaints appear on the vestry-books of the irregular attendance of the members, and a fine was imposed of so much tobacco for each failure. The vestry appear on several occasions to have taxed themselves with something extra for the clergyman, though for every thing done and furnished for the church, even the wealthiest made charges, as for communion-wine, putting up a horse-block, &c. The duties of the vestrymen were to see that the salaries of the ministers be collected, which was no easy matter, seeing that it must be gotten from the whole country. They also took care of the poor, of orphan and illegitimate children, imposed fines, and appointed persons to procession the lands,—that is, renew the landmarks from time to time. Certain offences against good morals were sometimes punished by them. In one instance a lady of respectable family was fined five hundred-weight of tobacco for breaking the seventh commandment.* The

* It is due to these times to say that the courts and juries were not entirely negligent of their duties, but sometimes set examples which those of our day would do well to follow. The following extracts from the presentments of a Grand Jury of Middlesex in 1704 are proofs of this:—

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greatest difficulty which they appear to have had was with the hired servants, of whom, at an early period, great numbers came over to this country, binding themselves to the richer families. The number of illegitimate children born of them and thrown upon the parish led to much action on the part of the vestries and the legislature. The lower order of persons in Virginia, in a great measure, sprang from those apprenticed servants and from poor exiled culprits. It is not wonderful that there should have been much debasement of character among the poorest population, and that the negroes of the first families should always have considered themselves a more respectable class. To this day there are many who look upon poor white folks (for so they call them) as much beneath themselves; and, in truth, they are so in many respects. The churchwardens in this parish, among other things, were directed to assign seats in the churches to the different families, which they no doubt did with some reference to family and wealth, as in England. Mr. Matthew Kemp, as churchwarden, received the commendation of the vestry for displacing an unworthy woman, who insisted on taking a pew *above her degree*. Four of the families of Wormley, Grymes, Churchill, and Berkeley, obtained leave of the vestry to put an addition of twenty feet square to one of the churches (the lower one) for their special use. It was very common, as we shall see hereafter, for certain families to build galleries for themselves after the manner of their forefathers in England, and it was hard sometimes to dislodge their descendants, even when their position was uncomfortable and not very safe. There was one very important duty which the vestries had to perform, and which was sometimes a subject of dispute between them and the Governor of Virginia,—viz.: to maintain their rights, as representing the people, in the choice and settlement of ministers. In the English Church the congregation have no part in the choice of their ministers. Patrons appoint them, and livings support them. In Virginia, as the salary was drawn directly from the people by the vestries, the vestries sometimes claimed not only the right to choose the ministers, but to turn them away at pleasure. In the absence of Bishops and

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"1st. We present Thomas Sims for travelling on the road on the Sabbath-day with a loaded beast.

"2d. We present William Montague and Garrett Minor for bringing oysters ashore on the Sabbath-day.

"3d. We present James Lewis for swearing and cursing on the Sabbath-day.

"Ordered, That John Hutney be fined according to law for being drunk on the Sabbath-day."

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canons to try the ministers, it is evident that there would be a strong temptation on the part of the vestries to act arbitrarily if the power was entirely vested in them. To prevent this, the Governor claimed to be the ordinary, and to act as Bishop in relation to this point. He, appealing to an English canon, allowed the vestries the right of choosing their minister and presenting to him for induction. Being inducted, the minister could not be displaced by the vestry: he had a right to the salary, and might enforce it by an appeal to law, unless, indeed, for misconduct, he could be deprived by some difficult and tedious process under the direction of the Governor. Should the vestry not appoint a minister within six months after a vacancy, then the Governor might send one, and induct him as the permanent minister, not to be removed by the vestry. The Governor of Virginia in 1703, Mr. Nicholson, at the time about which I am writing, maintained also that he had a right to send a temporary supply to any parish immediately on the occurrence of a vacancy, which supply might be superseded by one of their own choice within the six months. It is the same power which some have proposed to vest in our Bishops in relation to a temporary supply of vacant parishes. It is evident that such a power would very much interfere with the free choice of ministers by the vestries, since the minister thus sent as the supply would have a great advantage over others who might be obtained. To refuse him after trial would be to condemn the choice of the Bishop, and be an offence to himself. The above is the view taken of the relative power of the vestry and Governor, in an opinion of the Queen's Attorney-General, Mr. Edward Northy, which was sent by the Governor to all the vestries of the Church, and directed to be put on record.* The action of the vestries uniformly show their determination to defend themselves as well as they could against the evils consequent upon such a construction of the law. As to the immediate temporary supply of the vacancies, that does not appear to have been attempted by the Governor, although the right was claimed. In order to prevent the minister being suddenly inducted and put upon them for life, (whether one of their own choice or of the Governor,) who might soon prove unworthy, while in reality there was no method of getting rid of him, since no civil Governor

* Beverley, in his History, expresses the following opinion of Governor Nicholson:—
"And lastly, Governor Nicholson, a man the least acquainted with the law of any of them, endeavoured to introduce all the quirks of the English proceedings, by the help of some wretched pettifoggers, who had the direction both of his conscience and his understanding."

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could depose a minister, the vestries fell upon the expedient of employing ministers for a limited time, generally twelve months, sometimes less, repeating the same again and again until they were sufficiently satisfied of their worthiness and suitableness, and then of presenting him to the Governor for induction and permanent settlement. Against this there was no law, and the Governor acquiesced in it. And who can blame them for adopting such a course? Bad as the state of things was even under that wise precaution, how much worse would it have been, if the choice of the vestry or the appointment of the Governor, after such a slight acquaintance as either of them were likely to have with foreigners, must be perpetuated for better for worse, even as the marriages of some in that day, who imported their wives from England without knowing them! It is but justice to the vestries to say, that as a general thing, when they secured the services of a respectable minister, they retained him during life. Although I shall shortly show one instance to the contrary, I shall also show a number in confirmation of it. It is also due to the vestries to say, that, in compliance with the decision of the Governor, they always allowed to the ministers who were not inducted the same rights, perquisites, and privileges with those who were inducted. This principle is, I believe, confirmed by one of the canons of our General Convention.

If now it be asked what was the state of morals and religion in the parish where the leading men, the nobility and the gentry, took such an active part in support of the public service of God, and when the moral character of the ministers appears to have been good, whatever may have been the substance and style of their preaching, I must point to the fact that a pious man, Mr. William Churchill, being a churchwarden, by his last will, in the year 1711, left a sum of money, whose interest was to be used for the encouragement of the minister to preach "against the four reigning vices of atheism and irreligion, of swearing and cursing, fornication and adultery, and drunkenness." They must have been prevalent in that day to have prompted such a bequest. That they increased more and more, even to the time of the French Revolution, is but too probable. It was so with all ranks of the community. The seats of the rich and the educated were the scenes of a more refined voluptuousness, while many of the abodes of the poor were filled with the lowest vices. And what has been the end of these things? But for the uneducated and sometimes fanatical ministers, who, in the providence of God, were after a time permitted to preach the Gospel to the poor in Middlesex, where would have been the Church

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of God in that region, during a long, dark period? What has become of the old Episcopal families, the Skipwiths, Wormleys, Grymeses, Churchills, Robinsons, Berkeleys, and others? What has become of, or who owns, those mansions where were the voluptuous feasts, the sparkling wine, the flowing bowl, the viol and the dance and the card-table, and the dogs for the chase, and the horses for the turf? I am told, and I believe it, that the whole of that county was at one time in possession of some few of these old families, and that now not a rood of it is owned by one of their name, and scarcely by one in whom is a remnant of their blood. Old Brandon, the seat of my maternal ancestors, the Grymeses, is gone, except a small part of it. Rosegill, where the Wormleys lived in English state, has passed from hand to hand, and is reduced to less than half its size. Even the places of many others cannot now be found. The ploughshare has been over them, as it has been over the ruins of many an old church in Virginia. But still there were good and holy men and women there, in whom the spirit of the Gospel and of the Prayer Book reigned, and that spirit has possessed many of their exiled posterity. While some of the descendants of those whose names I have recorded have been but too well known in Virginia as unworthy, there have been a good number of both sexes who have proved themselves to be an honour to the State, and active agents in rebuilding the Church of their fathers. Old Middlesex, too, once about to be deserted of its inhabitants by reason of disease, exhaustion, and barrenness, has of late years entered upon a new and unexpected career. Resting as it were on a bed of richest marl, her agriculture has been revolutionized, and she bids fair one day, and that not a distant one, to compare with some of the fairest portions of our land. And what has become of the old Mother-Church—the Great Church, as she is styled in her journal—standing in view of the wide Rappahannock, midway between Rosegill and Brandon? More perhaps than fifty years ago it was deserted. Its roof decayed and fell in. Every thing within it returned to its native dust. *But nature abhors a vacuum.* A sycamore-tree sprung up within its walls. All know the rapidity of that tree's growth. It filled the void. Its boughs soon rose above and overspread the walls. In the year 1840, when it pleased God to put it into the hearts of some, in whom the spirit of old Virginia Episcopalians still remained, to seek the revival of the Church's dry bones in Middlesex, that huge, overspreading tree must first be removed piecemeal from the house, and the rich mould of fifty years' accumulation, to the depth of two feet, must be dug

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up, before the chancel-floor and the stone aisles could be reached. The walls—faithful workmanship of other days—were uninjured, and may still remain while generations of frail modern structures pass away. The house is now one of our best country-churches. The graves of our ancestors are all around it. In scattered fragments some of the tombstones lie; others, too substantial to be broken, too heavy to be borne away, now plainly tell whose remains are protected by them. To the attention and kindness of a young female near the spot, I am indebted for the following inscription, selected from many others, and which will not be without interest to some Virginians, and to others who have long since left the old homes of their fathers for the Far South or West:

EPITAPH OF MR. JOHN GRYMES. *

"Here lies interred the body of the Honourable John Grymes, Esq., who for many years acted in the public affairs of this Dominion, with honour, fortitude, fidelity to their Majesties King George I. and II. Of the Council of State, of the Royal Prerogative, of the liberty and property of the subject, a zealous asserter. On the seat of judgment, clear, sound, unbiassed. In the office of Receiver-General, punctual, approved. Of the College of William and Mary an ornament, visitor, patron. Beneficent to all, a pattern of true piety. Respected, loved, revered. Lamented by his family, acquaintance, country. He departed this life the 2d day of November, 1748, in the 57th year of his age."†

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* Mr. John Grymes was the grandfather of Mrs. General Nelson, of York, and of Mrs. Susan Burwell, first wife of Colonel Nathaniel Burwell, of Carter Hall, Clarke county, Virginia, all now deceased.

† In connection with this epitaph on Major John Grymes, who appears to have been highly esteemed in Church and State, we give the following account of the family, which is taken from tradition, the vestry-records, and some registries of baptisms and marriages. It is believed that Thomas Grymes, who was a lieutenant-general in the army of Cromwell, was the father of the first Grymes who came to Virginia; that his son was well pleased to come to Virginia after the fall of Cromwell and the restoration of monarchy, and there is a tradition that he even made some change in his name when coming to this loyal Colony. The son's name was John, who appears on the vestry-book as one of the vestry in 1694. He and Anne his wife were sponsors to a child of the Rev. Mr. Gray, the minister in 1695 and 1696. They lived in Middlesex, near to Piankatank, at a place called Grymesby to this day. Their tombstones still lie in an open field, upon the ground, and the ploughshare sometimes passes over them. Although the family has long since parted with the place, I am happy to say that it is in contemplation to remove the monuments to the old churchyard, where so many of their descendants are buried. This John Grymes continued to act as vestryman until 1708, when he withdrew,—no doubt from old age or infirmity, as he died not long after. His son John, whose epitaph we have given, was born in 1693, and became a vestryman in 1711, when only eighteen years of age, and continued to be such until his death in 1748,—thirty-seven years. Whether the first John Grymes had other children besides the second

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The following have also been sent me:—

"This monument is erected to the memory of Ralph Wormley, Esq., of Rosegill, who died on the 19th day of January, 1806, in the 62d year of his age. The rules of honour guided the actions of this great man. He was the perfect gentleman and finished scholar, with many virtues founded on Christianity." *

"Beneath this marble lies interred the remains of Mrs. Eleanor Wormley, widow of Ralph Wormley, Esq., of Rosegill, and sister of Col. John Tayloe, of Mount Airey, who died the 23d day of February, 1815, in the 60th year of her age. Few women were more eminently distinguished for

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John does not certainly appear; but from a baptismal registry we think it probable he had a son named Charles, as one of that name had a child baptized in 1734.

The second John and Lucy his wife had the following children between 1720 and 1733:—Lucy, Philip, Charles, (who died early,) Benjamin, Sarah, Charles, Ludwell. Of these, Lucy married Carter Burwell, of The Grove, near Williamsburg; Philip married Mary Randolph, daughter of Mr. John Randolph, of Williamsburg, in 1742; and Benjamin married Miss Fitzhugh, sister of William Fitzhugh, of Chatham, near Fredericksburg. Lucy was the mother of Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, of The Grove, who afterward moved to Frederick.

Philip was the father of Lucy, John, (who died early,) Philip Ludwell, John Randolph, Charles, Benjamin, Susannah, Mary, Peyton, and Betty. Lucy married General Thomas Nelson; Philip Ludwell married, first, a Miss Randolph, daughter of John Randolph who went to England, but had no children, then Miss Wormley, by whom he had Mrs. Sayres and others. John Randolph Grymes followed Mr. John Randolph to England and there married his daughter. Of Charles we know nothing certain. Benjamin married Miss Robinson, of King William, and had numerous children, (names of all not known.) of whom only Peyton Grymes, of Orange, and one sister, survive. Betty married Dr. Pope. Susannah, Mr. Nathaniel Burwell, of The Grove, and afterward of Frederick. Mary married Mr. Robert Nelson, of Malvern Hill, brother of General Nelson. Benjamin, the son of the second John Grymes, and who married Miss Fitzhugh, settled near Fredericksburg and had large iron-works. He was the father of Mrs. Colonel Meade, of Frederick, and of Captain Benjamin Grymes, of King George, by his first wife; and, by a second, of Ludwell Grymes, Charles Grymes, Randolph Grymes, Mrs. Wedderburne, and Mrs. Dudley.

The following is also worthy of insertion:—

"Here lyeth the body of Lucy Berkliey, who departed this life y^e^ 16th day of December, 1716, in y^e^ 33d year of her Age, after she had been married 12 years and 15 days. She left behind her 5 children, viz.: 2 Boys and 3 Girls. I shall not pretend to give her full character: it would take too much room for a Gravestone: shall only say she never neglected her duty to her Creator in Publick or Private, she was Charitable to the Poor, a Kind Mistress, an Indulgent Mother, and Obedient Wife. She never in all the time she lived with her husband gave him so much as once cause to be displeased with her."—*Copied from a tombstone at Barn Elm, Middlesex.*

* Mr. Wormley attended a number of the Episcopal Conventions after the Revolution. After his death, the descendants of Colonel Edmund Berkeley appear to be almost all that remained of the church. That family preserved the vestry-book, from which I have obtained the foregoing information.

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correctness of deportment and for the practice of all the Christian virtues: as a wife she was conjugal, as a widow exemplary, as a mother fond and affectionate, as a neighbour charitable and kind, as a friend steady and sincere."

There were also buried within the church Sir Henry Chichely, Knight, Deputy-Governor of Virginia in 1682. The Rev. John Shephard in the same, and the Honourable Lady Madam Catharine Wormley, wife of the Honourable Ralph Wormley, (the first Ralph Wormley,) in the year 1685. The following is a communication from the present minister of our partly-resuscitated Church in Middlesex, (the Rev. Mr. Carraway.)

"The upper and lower churches or chapels are still standing. One of them is about to be repaired by the Baptists, who will claim the chief though not exclusive use of it. The lower chapel retains some appearance of antiquity, in spite of the efforts to destroy every vestige of Episcopal taste and usage. The high pulpit and sounding-board have been removed, and the reading-desk placed within the chancel, before which is the roughly-carved chest that formerly held the plate and other articles for the decent celebration of the Holy Communion. There were three sets of plate in the parish. A descendant of one of the earliest families, now the wife of one of our Virginia clergy, on removing from this county, took with her, in order to keep from desecration, the service belonging to the lower chapel. She lent it to a rector of one of the churches in Richmond, with the understanding that upon the revival of the parish it must be restored. Application was accordingly made in the year 1840, and the vestry received the value of the plate in money, which was given at their suggestion, they having a full service in their possession. The plate owned by Christ Church was presented by the Hon. Ralph Wormley. It numbered five pieces. But for the inscription bearing the name of the donor, it would have shared the fate of much that was irreligiously and sacrilegiously disposed of. The administrator of Mr. Wormley deposited it in the bank at Fredericksburg, where it remained for more than thirty years. It has been in use up to a few months since, when, we regret to say, it met with almost entire destruction by fire. Enough has been gathered up to make a service more than sufficient for the present little company of communicants. It will perpetuate the name of the donor and indicate his pious intention. The third set, belonging to the upper chapel, was sold by the overseers of the poor. We omitted to mention in the proper place that there are some slight traces of the foundation of a building, now overgrown with pine-trees, which tradition says was the chapel of the Buckingham farm, the residence of Mr. Henry Corbin."

A few words will suffice for the history of efforts for the revival of the Church in Middlesex. The Rev. Mr. Rooker was employed as missionary, in this and the adjoining county of Mathews, for a few years after 1840. His preaching and labours excited a considerable zeal in the few remaining members of the Church in those counties. He was succeeded by its present minister, the Rev. Mr.

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Carraway, who has devoted himself now for about ten years most faithfully and laboriously to those two counties. Though the fields be large and comparatively unproductive, requiring great toil and a large amount of itinerancy, and the salary small, still, no invitations to more promising and less laborious positions have tempted him to leave them. Himself and companion are now, and have been for some years, the welcome inmates of the family of Captain Bailey, who, with his excellent wife, (a pious member of the Church,) is living at old Rosegill, the ancient seat of the Wormleys, on the high banks of the Rappahannock, a few miles from Christ Church. Captain Bailey, (the relative of our old friend Colonel Chewning, of Lancaster, one of whose descendants was vestryman and another lay reader in Middlesex, whose dwelling is on the opposite shore,) when an orphan boy, in a spirit of independence, left Lancaster to seek his fortune in the wide world. He launched forth for Baltimore in a merchant-vessel, traversed many seas, visited many lands and experienced many dangers and hardships, was shipwrecked often, (Mrs. B. being with him in one shipwreck,) but still preserved by a kind Providence. Occasionally, in the midst of his various efforts to realize a fortune, in which he was at length most successful, he would return to his native place, and, as Colonel Chewning has often told me, cast a wishful eye on old Rosegill, towering on the high banks of the Rappahannock, and declaring his determination, if Providence spared his life and prospered his efforts, that he would spend the evening of his days as the owner of that mansion. Providence has spared his life and prospered his efforts in laying up a fortune gathered from various seas and countries, and he and his wife are now the hospitable owners of Rosegill. More than half of the huge pile has been removed by him, and the remainder exalted, beautified, and improved. Hospitality, though modified and improved from former times, still distinguishes the place. Captain B. and his excellent wife are glad to have the society of Mr. and Mrs. Carraway as permanent guests, free of all charge. Besides patronizing old Christ Church on the one side of him, he has recently purchased the old court-house in Urbanna on the other, and converted it into a neat and comfortable house of worship. Mr. Carraway's services are very acceptable, and the Episcopal Church is gradually rising in the estimation of the inhabitants of Middlesex.

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ARTICLE XXXIII.

Parishes in King and Queen and King William.—Stratton Major.

This is one of our oldest parishes, being established in 1664–65. Of the ministers previous to the year 1724 we know nothing. In that year the Rev. Mr. Skaife, who had been its minister for thirteen years, and continued to be so for twelve years longer, informs the Bishop of London that his parish was eighteen miles in length and thirteen in breadth; that there was only one church, and that open every Sunday; that there were three hundred attendants, two hundred and twenty communicants; that his salary was eighty pounds. In answer to the question, Are there any infidels in your parish? the reply is, Generally negroes are unbaptized; they that desire it have it; the church is open to all. In 1736 the Rev. John Reade becomes minister, and either dies or resigns in 1743. The following year the Rev. Mr. Robinson becomes the minister, and so continues until his death in 1767 or 1768. Of him we shall speak more in a little while. On the 4th of April, 1768, the Rev. William Dunlap is received as their minister. In the year 1773 a letter is received from Mr. Dunlap,—in the West Indies,—asking leave of six months' absence longer, which is granted, and the Rev. Mr. Dixon, from a neighbouring parish, is employed every other Sabbath. In the year 1778 the vestry and their minister, Mr. Dunlap, seem to be involved in a difficulty. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap writes them a letter, which they wish to consider as a resignation, and so record it, directing the churchwardens to advertise his resignation three times in the Virginia Gazette. This is in April; but in September of the same year we find the following record:—"Ordered that churchwardens make application to the Rev. William Dunlap and the Rev. Arthur Hamilton about moving from the glebe; and, provided they refuse to move, the churchwardens are hereby authorized to commence suit against them." In the following year I find the following order:—"That the churchwardens wait on the Rev. Mr. Hamilton, offering him the use of the glebe, house, garden, &c., on condition that he preach once a month and be ready to remove whenever required, and that the churchwardens rent out the glebe." These unhappy notices are the last

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on the record about the ministers of this once flourishing parish. There are subsequent records of vestry-meetings and proceedings, but not a word is written about even an effort to secure the services of a minister. The last entry was in 1783. In vain do we turn over the pages of our journals of Convention from the year 1785 and onward in search of some clerical or lay delegate from this parish. The name of Stratton Major is nowhere to be found upon them.

About twenty-five years ago, for the first and last time, I passed through that part of the county where I think it probable that this old church, of which I shall soon speak, stood. At a little distance from the road I saw (for I had not time to stop, having to travel thirty-five miles that day across three counties to my appointment) a large and venerable old church, which had long been in possession of others. One of the noble trees which almost touched its walls, and gave shade to the house and those around and within, had a short time before been cut down, by some idle and wanton ones, merely to obtain a small quantity of wild honey which was supposed to be in some hollow part of it. Whether its walls are still standing, or what is its condition, I know not.

There never were, so far as the vestry-book shows, but two churches in this parish, called in the entries of the book the Upper and the Lower. In the year 1768, as soon as the new church of which we are about to speak was finished, the vestry order that the Upper Church should have the doors and windows studded and boarded if necessary. It is probable that, after this, the new church, which may have been in some central position, was the only one used.

This new church was probably the largest and best church built in Virginia before that time, and for years after. That in Petsworth parish, built a few years before, cost eleven hundred pounds, and far exceeded any thing before seen; but this was contracted for with Mr. Henry Gaines, for thirteen hundred pounds. Its dimensions were fifty by eighty feet, and of corresponding height, with galleries. When finished, the pews were not rented or sold as now, but were assigned by the vestry to the individuals and families of the parish. On two pages of the large folio vestry-book are the names of two hundred and seventy-five individuals or heads of families to whom these pews, or seats in them, are assigned. The Hon. Richard Corbin's and John Robinson's (Speaker Robinson, though he was just dead) families seem to be assigned the highest seats. Commissary Robinson and family had one near the pulpit. Then come the Merediths, Roots, Shacklefords, Gaines, Whitings,

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Taliaferos, Metcalfs, Andersons, Hunts, Dudleys, Wares, Wedderburnes, &c., though it does not appear whether the aristocratic principle was adopted in the general distribution. Whoever would see the names of half the families in King and Queen one century ago would probably find them on this vestry-book.

The following list of vestrymen, commencing in 1739, will show who were the leading men in all the civil and ecclesiastical matters of the parish and county:—Richard Roy, Richard Johnson, Henry Hickman, Edward Ware, Thomas Foster, Thomas Dudley, John Collier, Gawin Corbin, Valentine Ware, Roger Gregory, Richard Anderson, John Robinson, Benjamin Needler, Robert Dudley, John Livingston, Robert Gaines, Philip Roots, John Ware, Richard Shackleford, William Taliafero, John Strakey, William Lyne, Charles Collier, Thomas Thorpe, Thomas Langford, John Shackleford, John Foster, Philip Roots, Francis Gaines, John Whiting, Thomas Reade Roots, John Whiting, James Prior, Thomas Dillard, Lyne Shackleford, Hon. Richard Corbin, William Hall, John Taylor Corbin, Benjamin Robinson, Humphrey Garrett, Richard Bray, James Didlake, Philip Taliafero, Lyne Shackleford, Jr., Thomas Dillard, John Kidd.

It is painful to see in this and other vestry-books, how, as the Church began to decline and dissent to increase, and some of the old friends disappeared from the vestries, it was difficult to supply their places. Some who were elected refused to serve, and even some who had served resigned their places. It must be said, however, of the vestry of Stratton Major, from its first beginning to its close, that it seems to have been attentive to all its duties, especially in providing for the comfort of its ministers. While most of the vestries purchased miserable glebes for eighty or a hundred pounds, and were content with glebe-houses in proportion, this vestry gave seven hundred pounds for one glebe, and when it was expedient to dispose of that bought another for six hundred pounds, and provided all necessary houses upon them of a comfortable kind, even to a hen-house twenty feet long, and a dairy suitable for the purpose. Mr. Richard Corbin is the first instance I have met with who furnished the bread and wine for sacrament gratuitously. He also presented a marble font to one of the churches, and the land on which the new church was built was his gift. It was built on a place not far from his residence, called "Goliath's Field." Its size and walls were answerable to that name. The walls began with five bricks at the foundation, and ended with four at the top, and were twenty-seven feet high.

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The Rev. William Robinson, as appears by the following extract of a letter to the Bishop of London, and the records of the vestry-book, was ordained in 1743, and became minister of Stratton Major in 1744, continuing to be so until his death in 1767 or 1768. He became Commissary in the year 1761. Governor Fauquier was much dissatisfied with his appointment, and so expressed himself in a letter to England. The opposition of the Governor was no sure proof of the unworthiness of Mr. Robinson. He was an arbitrary and high-tempered man, who could not brook opposition, and Mr. Robinson was no negative submissive character to crouch before authority. They had had one or two serious rencounters. During the six or seven years of his Commissaryship, his correspondence with the Bishop of London on the affairs of the Church was lengthy and able. He espoused the cause of the clergy on the occasion of the Two-Penny Act, or Option Law, with zeal and fearlessness, though without success. He had an independent fortune of his own, and was therefore the less liable to be charged with mercenary motives. The following extract from a letter to the Bishop of London in 1765 shows that he had reason to believe that he still had enemies whose communications to the ears of the Bishop were unfavourable. The continuance of his labour during the whole of his ministry, for twenty-four years in the same parish, and where there was much of character and wealth and talent, and such zeal and liberality in regard to all Church matters, speaks well in his behalf.

Extract of a letter from Mr. Robinson to the Bishop of London, dated May 23, 1765.

"My Lord:—I have some reasons to apprehend that endeavours have been made to prejudice your Lordship against me, but in what particular I know not. I must therefore beg your Lordship's patience while I give some account of myself. I was born in Virginia. At ten years old I was sent to England for my education, which was in the year 1729. I continued at school in the country until the year 1737, at which time I was admitted a member of Oriel College, in Oxford. After I had taken my B.A. degree, I was chosen by the Provost and Fellows to one of Dr. Robinson's Bishop of London's exhibitions, (who was my great-uncle,) which I enjoyed for three years, the term limited by his Lordship. In June, 1743, I was ordained Priest by Dr. Gibson, Bishop of London. I returned to my native country in the year 1744, (October;) the November following I was received into Stratton Major parish in King and Queen county, where I have continued rector ever since.

"I can with truth assure your Lordship, I have always lived in the greatest harmony with my parishioners, and I believe no minister can be more respected by them than I am. I have always studiously avoided giving any just cause of offence to any one, especially those in authority. Your Lordship, I hope, will excuse my saying so much in my own behalf; but

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there is a time when it is requisite for a man to praise himself; and as to the truth of what I have said, I can appeal to my whole parish."*

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* The first of the Robinson family of whom we have any account was John Robinson, of Cleasby, Yorkshire, (England,) who married Elizabeth Potter, of Cleasby, daughter of Christopher Potter, from whom no doubt the name of Christopher, so common in the family, was derived. The fourth son of John Robinson was Dr. John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, and, while Bishop, was British Envoy for some years at the court of Sweden, writing, while there, a history of Sweden. He was also British Plenipotentiary at the Treaty of Utrecht, being, it is supposed, the last Bishop or clergyman employed in a public service of that kind. He afterward became Bishop of London, in which office he continued until his death, in 1723. He was twice married, but left no issue. He devised his real estate to the eldest son of his brother Christopher, who had migrated to what was Rappahannock, on the Rappahannock River. He was one of the first vestrymen mentioned on the vestry-book in Middlesex county, in 1664, and married Miss Bertram. His oldest son, who inherited the Bishop of London's estate, was John Robinson, who was born in 1683, who was also a vestryman of Middlesex, and became President of the Council of Virginia. He married Catharine Beverley, daughter of Robert Beverley, author of the "History of Virginia" published in 1708. He had seven children; one of them, named John Robinson, was Treasurer and Speaker of the Colony. Another —Henry—married a Miss Waring. Another married in New York. Christopher Robinson, who first came over to Virginia, had six children. Of John, the eldest, we have already spoken. Christopher married a daughter of Christopher Wormley, of Essex. Benjamin, Clerk of Caroline county, married a Miss King, and was the father of the Rev. William Robinson, minister of Stratton Major, in King and Queen. His daughter Clara married Mr. James Walker, of Urbanna, in Middlesex. His daughter Anne married Dr. John Hay. Of his daughter Agatha nothing is known. One of the descendants of the family married Mr. Carter Braxton, and others intermarried with the Wormleys, Berkeleys, Smiths, &c. The worthy family of Robinsons, in Norfolk and Richmond,—also those in Hanover,—were derived from the same stock. A branch of this family moved to Canada; and some of them have held high civil and military station under the English Government there, and in the mother-country. The reputation of Mr. Speaker Robinson suffered from the fact that as Treasurer he loaned to some of his friends large sums of the public money. The Government, however, sustained no loss, as it was all made good out of his private estate at his death. In all other respects he stood high in the public confidence. He was never suspected of using the public money for his own private advantage. He was held in high esteem by General Washington, as their correspondence shows.

The following epitaph has been furnished me:—

EPITAPH.

"Beneath this place lieth all that could die of the late worthy John Robinson, Esq., who was a Representative of the county of King and Queen, and Speaker to the House of Burgesses above twenty-eight years. How eminently he supplied that dignified office, and with what fidelity he acted as Treasurer to the country beside, is well known to us, and it is not unlikely future ages will relate. He was a tender husband, a loving father, a kind master, a sincere friend, a generous benefactor, and a solid Christian. Go, reader, and to the utmost of your power imitate his virtues."

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ST. STEPHEN'S PARISH, KING AND QUEEN.

This parish was probably established in 1691, there being no certain account of it.* In the years 1754 and 1758, and again in the years 1773–74 and 1776, the Rev. Mr. Dunbar was minister of this parish. No minister appears on our journals to represent this parish until the year 1793, when the Rev. Thomas Andrews appears from St. Stephen's parish, but whether St. Stephen's of King and Queen, or of Northumberland, does not appear; but there were some faithful laymen in that parish, who steadily adhered to its falling fortunes. Anderson Scott and Henry Young appear as lay delegates in 1785 and 1786. Mr. Thomas Hill and William Fleet are lay delegates in 1796. Mr. Thomas Hill had attended alone, without minister or associate layman, during several of the preceding Conventions; but, after 1796, St. Stephen's parish appears to be deserted.

Of the churches in this parish I know nothing, unless the following is a description of one of them:—"In the northwest of the county, in an old and venerable grove, stands St. Stephen's Church, I think in the form of a cross. There is no wall around it, but it is in good repair. It is principally used by the Baptists, but Episcopal services have sometimes been held in it of late years, and one of the Bishops has visited it, I believe."

From this whole county Episcopalians have nearly disappeared, either by death, removal, or union with other denominations.

KING WILLIAM COUNTY AND THE PARISHES IN IT.

King William was taken out of King and Queen in 1701. At that time St. John's parish was the only one in the county. In 1721, St. Margarett's parish was established. A part of this being in Caroline, when that county was established in the year 1744, St. Margarett's was divided, and that part in Caroline was called St. Margarett's still, and that in King William called St. David's, so that the two parishes in King William were henceforth St. John's and St. David's. In the year 1754, the Rev. Alexander White, afterward minister in Hanover county, and one of those

* In 1724 the Rev. John Goodwin was minister. The parish was thirty miles long, had three hundred families, sixty communicants, a very poor house and glebe, two or three little schools, unendowed. The parish-library consisted of three books,—the Book of Homilies, the Whole Duty of Man, and the Singing Psalms.

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who opposed the Two-Penny Act by a lawsuit, was the minister of St. David's, and Mr. John Robertson of St. John's parish. The same continued in these parishes in 1758. In the years 1773–74–76, the Rev. Alexander White is still the minister of St. David's, and the Rev. William Skyren of St. John's. At the first Convention in 1785, the Rev. William Skyren is still the minister of St. John's, attended by Mr. Carter Braxton as lay delegate, Mr. William Temple being the lay delegate from St. David's. In 1786, the Rev. Mr. Skyren is still in St. John's; Mr. Carter Braxton the lay delegate from the same, and Mr. Benjamin Temple and William Spiller from St. David's. In 1787, Mr. Skyren still from St. John's, and his lay delegates, William D. Claiborne, William Spiller, and Benjamin Temple, from St. David's. In the year 1790, Rev. Reuben Clopton appears in Convention from St. David's, with Nathaniel Burwell as lay delegate. There was no representative from St. John's, the Rev. Mr. Skyren having removed to Hampton. In 1791, Mr. Clopton is still the minister of St. David's; also in 1792, with Mr. Nathaniel Burwell as lay delegate. St. John's is once more represented by Carter Braxton, Jr. as lay delegate, in 1792. In 1794, St. David's is represented by Mr. Joseph Guathney as lay delegate, and in the following year by Mr. Thomas Fox and Mr. William Dabney. In the year 1797, the Rev. Thomas Hughes and Mr. Benjamin Temple represent St. David's, and the Rev. John Dunn and Mr. James Ruffin represent St. John's. In the year 1799, the Rev. Thomas Hughes and Mr. Thomas Fox represent St. David's, and Mr. Edward Chamberlayne and John Lord represent St. John's. In the year 1805, the Rev. Duncan McNaughton and Mr. John Hull represent St. Stephen's parish, but whether the parish of that name in Northumberland or King William is not known. This concludes the list of ministers of King William county, until the Rev. Farley Berkeley was sent there as missionary, who remained one year.

The Rev. John McGuire, while minister in Essex, often visited one or more of the old churches in King William, and since his removal the Rev. Mr. Temple has done the same; but the revival of the Church in that county is at this time very unpromising, the old Episcopal families having long since either removed or united with other denominations.

Of the old churches in King William I have received the following account:—

"King William has still not less than four old Episcopal churches

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First, West Point Church, or St. John's, in the central part of the lower section. There is neither grove or graveyard now around it. The pulpit was of the ancient and customary shape,—that of a bottle turned upside down, the neck of the bottle representing the stem on which the body was sustained. The stem is said to be still preserved somewhere in the church. A new and ruder pulpit has been substituted. The second is called Acquinton Church. It is a large old church, in the form of a cross, having the aisles paved with flagstones. The third is St. David's, about ten miles higher up, which is a regular quadrangular building, and is sometimes called Cattail. Fourth, Mangochick Church, in the upper part of the county,—which is also quadrangular. All of the churches are said to be in pretty good preservation. The old high-back pews have in some, perhaps in all of them, given place to benches, and the Commandments disappeared, except in two of them, from the walls. They have been regarded and used as common property for a long time. I have officiated in two of them. In one of them I found the old pulpit still standing, though a new one or a kind of stage has been erected in another part of it, and used, I was informed, by one of two contending parties, who officiated in the church,—the others still preferring the old pulpit.

POSTSCRIPTS TO THE ARTICLES ON THE PARISHES OF KING AND QUEEN, AND KING WILLIAM.

Two letters from brethren who are well acquainted with these counties enable me to correct some errors in the preceding account. As to King and Queen, I was mistaken in supposing that I may have once passed by the large church in Stratton Major parish, which was built on Mr. Corbin's land, called Goliath's Field. The one I saw was in St. Stephen's parish, and is still standing, being in possession of the Baptists. The Stratton Major Church has been sold, some years since, and the bricks entirely removed. There is still one church standing in Stratton Major parish. A third was destroyed by fire. There was also another church in St. Stephen's parish, called the Apple-Tree Church. Among the families belonging to St. Stephen's parish may be mentioned the Temples, Hoskins, Scotts, Youngs, Hills, and Fleets.

The following account of the Rev. Henry Skyren, the last of the ministers who regularly officiated in the churches of King William and King and Queen, will be read with deep interest:—

"The Rev. Henry Skyren was born at White Haven, England. The date of his birth I am unable to give, as the family Bible was lost, though it may be seen on his tombstone at Hampton. The exact time of his arrival in this country is not known; but the first field of his *ministry* was in King and Queen and King William counties, preaching alternately in two or three of the old Colonial churches, and residing in the family of Colonel Corbin, of Laneville. In 1774, he married Miss Lucy Moore, the youngest of the three daughters of General Bernard Moore and Kate

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Spottswood, whose education he had completed, having resided in her father's family for several years previous to his marriage. He continued in the same parish for four or five years; afterward removed to Hampton, where, after officiating for six years, he died universally beloved and lamented. It is much to be regretted that his widow, who was too amiable to refuse a favour, no matter how unreasonable, allowed the ministers of the neighbouring parishes to pick over and take away the best of his sermons, which were never returned; so that when her brothers-in-law, Mr. Walker, of Albemarle, and Mr. Charles Carter, of Shirley, sent to her for them for publication, only a few fragments could be collected.

"He was said to be an elegant scholar and accomplished gentleman, who was alike remarkable for his eloquence and piety, never participating in any of the worldly amusements so common in that day with the clergy.

"These last facts we have learned from the elder residents in Norfolk and Hampton, many of whom a few years back were living, who retained a perfect recollection of him; and there is a lady living in this place, (Fredericksburg,) Mrs. John Scott, Sr., who recollects to have heard him spoken of in her early youth as the most eminent divine of the age in this diocese. He left three sons and three daughters. None of his sons ever married, and the name became extinct in this country with the death of Colonel John Spottswood Skyren. His eldest daughter first married Mr. Frazier, of Washington, and afterward Dr. Lewis, of King William. The youngest married Mr. Tebbs, of Culpepper. The second, the only one of his children now living, married the late Robert Temple, of Ampthill, eldest son of Colonel Benjamin Temple, of King William, and is now residing in Fredericksburg. Her children and grandchildren number upward of fifty, many of whom still cling to the Church of their fathers with a strong affection, mingled with veneration and love for the memory of their ancestors; and it may be well to add that Colonel Benjamin Temple and Parson Skyren were both members of the first Episcopal Convention ever held in Virginia. A reliable witness says that, when Mr Skyren preached in King William, 'the Acquinton Church was always so crowded that the people used to bring their seats and fill up the aisle after the pews were full. The other churches in which he preached were Cattail, and what was called the Lower Church. The church at Hampton was in a very flourishing condition, and it was with difficulty Mr. Skyren could get the consent of his congregation to preach in Norfolk, where he was frequently invited.'"

During the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Dalrymple in New Kent, in the years 1843 and 1844, he made an effort to revive the old churches in King William, by preaching there, and the parishes were received into the Convention. The Rev. Edward McGuire, who succeeded him, also officiated occasionally, I believe; but sufficient encouragement was not afforded for the settlement of a minister among them. We will not, however, despair.

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ARTICLE XXXIV.

Parishes in New Kent.—St. Peter's and Blissland Parishes.

New Kent was cut off from the upper part of York county in 1654. It commenced on Scimon's Creek, on the north of York River, some distance above Williamsburg, and extended to the heads of Pamunkey and Mattapony Rivers, and returned again on the north of Mattapony to the Prepotanke Creek, north of York River, including what are now King William and King and Queen counties, as well as Hanover county to the west. On the north of the York and Pamunkey Rivers there was a parish called St. John's; on the south, one called St. Peter's. About the year 1684 or 1685, a parish, east of St. Peter's, on Pamunkey and York Rivers, toward Williamsburg, was formed, by the name of Blissland, which continued to have a minister until after the Revolutionary War. We shall begin with such notices as we have been able to obtain of St. Peter's parish. We have an old vestry-book, which probably commenced in 1682, though we can only use it from 1685, the previous pages having been torn out. A friend, however, has supplied the deficiency in some measure. Our materials from English archives enable us to go back yet further, and furnish us also with some information of a later date, not to be found in the vestry-book. We begin with these. In the year 1699, Governor Nicholson addressed the following letter to the High-Sheriff of New Kent county, ordering a meeting of the clergy in Jamestown. It will not only show the spirit of the age and of those in authority, but the peculiarly dogmatic spirit of the man:—

"Sir:—I do hereby, in his Majesty's name, will and require you to acquaint the minister or ministers within your county, that (God willing) they do not fail of meeting me here on Wednesday, being the 10th of April next, and that they bring with them their Priests' and Deacons' Orders, as likewise the Rt. Rev. the Father in God, the Lord-Bishop of London his license for their preaching, or whatever license they have, and withall a copy out of the vestry-books of the agreement they have made with the parish or parishes where they officiate. If there be any parish or parishes within your county who have no minister, I do hereby, in his Majesty's name, command that the vestry of said parish or parishes do, by the said 10th of April, return me an account how long they have been without a minister,

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and the reason thereof, as also if they have any person that reads the Common Prayer on Sundays and at their church. This account must be signed by them, and they may send it by the minister who lives next to them. So, not doubting of your compliances therein, I remain your loving friend, FRANCIS NICHOLSON.

"You are not to fail of making a return to these my orders, as you will answer the contrary to me. FRANCIS NICHOLSON."

The first notice I find of the religious condition of the parish and of the neighbouring parishes is from a letter in the year 1696, from the Rev. Nicholas Moreau, who was the minister of St. Peter's for two years. He appears to have been a pious man, and was probably one of the French Huguenots who were driven to America about this time by the persecution growing out of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

The following extract is from a letter to the Bishop of London :—

"Your clergy in these parts are of a very ill example. No discipline nor canons of the Church are observed. Several ministers have caused such high scandal of late, and have raised such prejudices amongst the people against the clergy, that hardly can they be persuaded to take a clergyman into their parish. As to me, my lord, I have got into the very worst parish of Virginia, and most troublesome nevertheless. But I must tell you I find abundance of good people who are willing to serve God, but they want good ministers,—ministers that be very pious, and not wedded to this world as the best of them are. God has blessed my endeavours so far already, that with his assistance I have brought again to church two families who had gone to the Quakers' meeting for three years past. If ministers were as they ought to be, I dare say there would be no Quakers or Dissenters among them. A learned sermon signifies nothing without good example. I wish God would put it into your mind, my lord, to send here an eminent Bishop, who, by his piety, charity, and severity in keeping the canons of the Church, might quicken these base ministers, and force them to mind the whole duty of their charge." Again: "An eminent Bishop being sent over here will make hell tremble, and settle the Church of England here forever. This work, my lord, is God's work; and if it doth happen that I see a Bishop come over here, I will say, as St. Bernard saith in his Epistle to Eugenius, '*Tertius hic digitus Dei est.*'"

The next information is from the report of the condition of this parish to the Bishop of London in 1724, by the Rev. Henry Collings. His parish had two hundred and four families in it, forty or fifty communicants, only one church, (St. Peter's,) about one hundred and seventy or one hundred and eighty attendants. His salary eighty pounds, more or less. Glebe and parsonage rented out for six pounds five shillings per annum. Catechizing had been much neglected: he intended to introduce it.

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The next is from the Rev. Mr. Lang, who succeeded Mr. Collings in 1725 and continued two years.

The Rev. Mr. Lang came highly recommended from England to Governor Drysdale and Commissary Blair, and by them as highly to the parish of St. Peter's, in New Kent. On the 7th of February, 1725–26, he writes thus to the Bishop of London:—"I observe the people here are very zealous for our Holy Church, as it is established in England, so that (except some few inconsiderable Quakers) there are scarce any Dissenters from our communion, and yet at the same time supinely ignorant in the very principles of religion, and very debauched in morals. This, I apprehend, is chiefly owing to the general neglect of the clergy in not taking pains to instruct youth in the fundamentals of religion, or to examine people come to years of discretion before they are permitted to come to Church privileges." He speaks of the gross ignorance of many, who on their death-beds, or on Christmas-day, desire to receive the sacraments; of the great ignorance of those who offer themselves as sponsors; of the evil lives of the servants who have been presented by their owners to baptism. "The great cause of all which" (he says) "I humbly conceive to be in the clergy, the sober part being slothful and negligent, and others so debauched that they are the foremost and most bent on all manner of vices. Drunkenness is the common vice." He goes on to specify instances among clergy and laity of great unworthiness, concluding as to the former by saying:—"How dreadful it is to think that men authorized by the Church to preach repentance and forgiveness through Christ should be first in the very sins which they reprove!" It is not wonderful that this should be among the first parts of our State in which dissent began, as we are informed was the case under Samuel Davies, some twenty or thirty years after the date of Mr. Lang's letter.

I now proceed with a list of the ministers of St. Peter's Church from the year 1682. The Rev. William Sellake was minister in 1682. Rev. John Carr from 1684 to 1686. Rev. John Hall from 1686 to 1687. The Rev. John Page from 1687 to 1688. The Rev. Mr. Williams officiated for a short time in 1689. Rev. Jacob Ward from 1690 to 1696. Rev. Nicholas Moreau from 1696 to 1698. Rev. James Bowker from 1698 to 1703. Rev. Richard Squire from 1703 to 1707. Rev. Daniel Taylor from 1707 to 1708. Rev. Daniel Gray from 1708 to 1709. Rev. Benjamin Goodwin from 1709 to 1710. From the year 1710 to 1720 the Rev. William Brodie. During the two following years the Revs. Thomas Sharp,

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Broomscale, Brooke, Forbess, and Francis Fontaine, officiated there. From 1722 to 1725 the Rev. Henry Collings. From 1725 to 1727 the Rev. Mr. Lang. He was succeeded by the Rev. David Mossom, who continued the minister for forty years. He was the person who officiated at the nuptials of General Washington, at the White House, a few miles from St. Peter's Church. It was in that parish, and under the ministry of Mr. Mossom, that the Rev. Devereux Jarratt was born and trained. In his Autobiography he gives a poor account of the state of morals and religion in New Kent. He considers himself as a brand plucked from the burning by the grace of God. Illustrative of the condition of things, he mentions a quarrel between Mr. Mossom and his clerk, in which the former assailed the latter from the pulpit in his sermon, and the latter, to avenge himself, gave out from the desk the psalm in which were these lines:—

"With restless and ungovern'd rage,
Why do the heathen storm?
Why in such rash attempts engage
As they can ne'er perform?"

Nevertheless, from the long continuance of Mossom in this parish, we doubt not that he was a more respectable man than many of his day. He was married four times, and much harassed by his last wife, as Colonel Bassett has often told me, which may account for and somewhat excuse a little peevishness. He came from Newburyport, Massachusetts, and was, according to his epitaph in St. Peter's Church, the first native American admitted to the office of Presbyter in the Church of England.

Mr. Mossom was followed by the Rev. James Semple, who continued the minister of the parish for twenty-two years. The Rev. Benjamin Blagrove was the minister in the year 1789. The Rev. Benjamin Brown was the minister in the year 1797.

After a long and dreary interval of nearly fifty years, we find the Rev. E. A. Dalrymple the minister from 1843 to 1845.* Then the Rev. E. B. Maguire from 1845 to 1851. Then the Rev. William Norwood from 1852 to 1854. Then the Rev. David Caldwell from 1854 to 1856.

Having disposed of the ministers, we now give a list of the vestry so far as furnished by the vestry-book from the year 1685 to the year 1758. They are as follows—George Jones, William Bassett,

* The Rev. Farley Berkeley officiated some time before this as missionary at St. Peter's Church.

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Stephen Carlton, Henry Wyatt, Thomas Mitchell, John Park, William Paisley, J. Renor, Cornelius Dabnee, (Dabney,) Gideon Macon, Matthew Page, George Smith, George Joands, John Rojor, (Roger,) David Craford, James Moss, John Lydall, Mr. Forster, W. Clopton, John Lewis, Nicholas Merriwether, John Park, Jr., Richard Littlepage, Thomas Butts, Thomas Massie, William Waddell, Henry Childs, Robert Anderson, Richard Allen, Samuel Gray, Ebenezer Adams, Charles Lewis, Charles Massie, Walton Clopton, William Macon, W. Brown, W. Marston, John Netherland, William Chamberlayne, David Patterson, Michael Sherman, John Dandridge, Daniel Parke Custis, Matthew Anderson, George Webb, W. Hopkins, Jesse Scott, Edmund Bacon, William Vaughan, William Clayton, John Roper.

It deserves to be mentioned to the credit of the vestry, that it does not appear to have been unmindful of its duty as guardian of the public morals. On more than one occasion, at an early period, it enjoins on the churchwardens to see that the laws are enforced against such as violated the seventh commandment; and in the year 1736, when some unworthy persons disturbed the congregation during service, an order was passed that a pair of stocks should be put up in the yard, in order to confine any who should thus offend.

It appears also from the vestry-book that the parish was divided in 1704, and St. Paul's, in Hanover, taken off.

St. Peter's Church was built in 1703, at a cost of one hundred and forty-six thousand-weight of tobacco. The steeple was not built until twelve years after. If the early history of this parish be not creditable to its piety, let not those unto whom in the wonderful providence of God it has been transmitted, and who are permitted to worship in the venerable church of St. Peter's, be discouraged. The first sometimes become last and the last first. So may it be with this parish! May its latter end greatly increase in all that is good! That it yet survives is proof that God has a favour toward it, and will strengthen the things which seemed ready to perish.*

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* Mr. Jarratt, as will appear hereafter in his memoirs, speaks of cards, racing, dancing, and cockfighting, as most prevalent in this parish, and of himself as being trained to them. At that time the Church had nearly come to an end. In the course of my travels through the State, and my recent researches into its past history, I find that in those parts of it where such things most prevailed, there religion and morality sank to the lowest ebb. Where gambling, racing, and even the low practice of cockfighting, were encouraged, there were the lost estates, the ruined,

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OF BLISSLAND PARISH.

A few words will suffice for the little we have to say of this. No vestry-book remains to tell its history.

Though a small parish, yet being near to Williamsburg it was doubtless continually supplied, from its establishment in 1684 or 1685, until the year 1785, when we lose sight of it from the list of clergy and parishes and the journals of Conventions.

In the year 1724 the Rev. Daniel Clayton was the minister, and had been for twenty years, as he writes to the Bishop of London. There were two churches in it. The parish had one hundred and thirty-six families. His salary was eighty pounds per annum. The glebe was worth nothing. No school or library was in the parish.

In the year 1758 the Rev. Chichely Thacker was the minister. In the years 1773, 1774, 1776, and 1785, the Rev. Price Davies was the rector. In the latter year he appears in the Convention at Richmond, attended by Mr. Burwell Bassett as lay delegate, while the Rev. James Semple and Mr. William Hartwell Macon represented St. Peter's parish. What has become of the churches of Blissland parish I am unable to say. Perhaps I may yet learn. I think one of them was an old brick church, on the roadside from New Kent to Williamsburg, about twelve miles from the latter, and which I have seen in former days,—the walls still good, and nothing else remaining.

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scattered families; there were the blasted hopes of parents, the idle, intemperate sons, and the sacrificed daughters. Now that horse-racing has become so discreditable that it has gone into the hands of a lower order of characters, and cockfighting is deemed too mean even to be encouraged by those, we can scarcely realize that such idle and destructive diversions as the former, and such a cruel and degrading one as the latter, should ever have found the favour which was once shown them. That they should ever regain that favour, we delight to think of as a moral impossibility; but, in order to this, Christian parents should train their children to an utter abhorrence of them, and Christian gentlemen frown upon them and avoid them, as unworthy of genteel society, remembering the past and consulting for the future

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ARTICLE XXXV.

Parishes in Essex County.—No. 1. *South Farnham.*

This parish was erected in 1692. It was called South Farnham to distinguish it from one in Richmond county, on the north side of the Rappahannock, called North Farnham.

There were two churches in this parish, called Upper and Lower Piscataway. The first minister of the parish of whom we have any account was the Rev. Lewis Latane, a Huguenot, who came to this country and settled in this parish in the year 1700. He must have taken charge of the parish very soon after his arrival, as a letter from Governor Spottswood to the vestry of South Farnham — found among his papers, and bearing date 17th December, 1716—speaks of Mr. Latane as having been the minister of the parish for nearly sixteen years. This letter is in relation to an attempt on the part of the vestry to displace Mr. Latane, and severely reprehends their conduct, and threatens to interpose the authority of the Governor if persisted in. It must have been abandoned, as appears from the journal of a Mr. John Fontaine, who, travelling from Williamsburg through this region of country, heard Mr. Latane preach at the parish church, as he called it, in 1717, and speaks of his sermon and himself in high terms of commendation. This was the year after the date of the letter referred to. Mr. Latane seems to have been a quiet man, moving on in the even tenor of his way, but feeling keenly the injustice done him by his vestry. The opposition to him was not on the ground of immorality or ministerial unfaithfulness or inefficiency, but on account of his dialect, to which Mr. Latane thought they ought now to have become accustomed. He felt aggrieved that, after preaching for them so many years, the objection should be made at so late a day. An anecdote connected with this matter is related of him, which seems to be characteristic of the man. He was riding with one of his parishioners, when the subject of his removal was talked over by them. The other expressed his sorrow, but thought it better on the ground that Mr. Latane's sermons were rendered unintelligible by his foreign brogue. Before separating they came to the minister's gate. "Go by," he said,

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"and get something to drink;" which was readily agreed to. This he said to prove him. "Now," said the minister, "you can readily understand me when I tempt you to do wrong, but you can't understand me when I counsel you to do right."

How long he continued to officiate in the parish church cannot be ascertained. No records of the parish pertaining to the church are to be found, even after diligent inquisition made. The proceedings of the vestry of South Farnham, in relation to the work of processioners who were appointed by the vestry under authority and by direction of the court of Essex, have been found; but they only show who were the ministers and who the vestrymen of the parish at each meeting for that business. The first meeting was held in 1739, when the Rev. William Philips was present. Nothing but the name of this person can be gathered from this or any other source. He is mentioned as being present at subsequent meetings up to 1744.

An interval of eight years occurs, and the Rev. Alexander Cruden appears in 1752 and continues until 1773. There is no one living in the parish who can remember any thing of Mr. Cruden. Vague tradition represents him as having been a fine preacher in his day. Nothing is known as to his piety. He was a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, as is believed, and returned to that country during the Revolutionary War. He must have relinquished his charge two years before the war commenced. There was no minister in the parish from that time till 1792, when the Rev. Andrew Syme, of Glasgow, Scotland, came to the village of Tappahannock as tutor in the family of Dr. John Brockenbrough, and preached in the churches of South Farnham. He received a small salary raised by voluntary contribution. What were the fruits of his *ministerial* work: whether the scattered sheep were collected and their drooping spirits revived, or the tide of infidelity which was then rising and afterward spread over this region was stayed by his labours, does not appear. Being the first minister after the Revolution, he doubtless had many difficulties to contend with, and his usefulness must have been lessened by his school. He removed from Essex to Petersburg in 1794. More than twenty years elapsed before there were again any regular services in the parish. The Rev. Mr. Mathews, of St. Anne's parish, Essex, the Rev. Mr. Carter, of Drysdale parish, King and Queen county, and the Rev. Mr. Krew, of Middlesex county, officiated in South Farnham for the rites of baptism, marriage, and burial, when sent for by the few remaining followers of the Epis-

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copal Church. When regular services were again resumed, it was under the ministry of the Rev. John Reynolds, in 1822, who came to this country from England a Wesleyan Methodist and afterward entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. He was called by the two parishes of Essex united. The parishes continued so under the ministry of the Rev. J. P. McGuire, who was called to the rectorship of St. Anne's and South Farnham parishes in 1825. When he resigned, in 1852, the parishes were each able to support its own minister. During the dreary interval in the history of the Church in South Farnham parish referred to, the influence of the Church had waned until it seemed almost lost. That it should be revived, humanly viewed, seemed more improbable than that it should become extinct. It was "the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes." The few remaining friends were now without minister or temple. Both churches in the parish had been destroyed,—one being pulled down, the other burned. The feeling of hostility to the Church engendered by the establishment under the Colonial Government, and transmitted from generation to generation, was greatly increased in this vicinity by the imprisonment of some of the Dissenting ministers, —a proceeding which was unjustly identified with the Episcopal Church. This feeling, at its height when the influence of the Church was at the lowest, joined with the stronger feeling of rapacity, led, as may be supposed, to wholesale plunder of the churches and church-property. The destruction in this parish has been complete. Nothing is to be found but the durable materials of which the buildings were made. The bricks may be recognised where seen; but they are nowhere found except in other buildings. The flagstones, too, from the aisles, may be seen in walks and in hearths; but not a whole brick, much less one upon another, nor a piece of timber, is to be seen where the temples of the living God stood. The monuments of the dead were not even spared in the general depredation. These were dragged from their resting-places and made into grindstones, and may still be identified by parts of the original inscriptions.

As mentioned, no vestry-book is to be found belonging to the parish, no Bible, Prayer Book, font, nor Communion-table; and the strange fact can only be accounted for by supposing that they shared one common ruin with the churches.

One of these buildings was preserved from destruction by a worthy old gentleman who is said to have watched, with his servants, night after night, to protect the house of God. When

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he died, the work of destruction went on, nor ceased till nothing was left to tempt the cupidity of the plunderers. The other was spared, to meet, if possible, a worse fate. The bricks and nails were the most tempting materials in this house; and, as the readiest way to obtain these was to fire the building, this was done accordingly. But the first attempt to burn it was unsuccessful; the fire, after burning for a time, went out of itself. No one of sensibility could see this house of God as it then stood—charred and blackened by fire, hacked by axes, and otherwise injured by Vandal hands—and not have his feelings deeply moved. But this condition did not suffice the spirit that was bent on its destruction. It stood a short time longer, was again fired, and burned to the ground. It had been a noble structure of the kind, must have been one of the oldest Colonial churches, and, until within a few years of its destruction, had much of venerable grandeur in its appearance. Having, up to the time of its destruction, so far withstood the influence of three natural elements, and a still worse and more cruel in the bosom of man, with no guardians left but the venerable oaks which had watched over it in better days, and were still stretching out their arms toward it as if to afford help in its fallen state, it was an object of peculiar interest. Few indeed must have been the friends then to ask, "Who saw this house in its first glory, and how do ye see it now?" or they had not had so soon to take up the lamentation, "Our holy and our beautiful house, where our fathers praised thee, is burned up with fire, and all our pleasant things are laid waste." But there was "a remnant, according to the election of grace," who "sighed for the abominations" they could not prevent, mourned over the desolations of Zion, "who took pleasure in her stones, and favoured the dust thereof." They were as the "two or three berries on the top of the uppermost bough" left after the vintage. But they were "mothers in Israel," and nourished a seed for the future Church. The glebe belonging to the parish, together with the plate belonging to both churches, was sold, and the fund accruing invested for the support of the parish poor. The fund yields about one thousand dollars per annum. The plate was massive, and sold, at a sacrifice, for some three hundred or four hundred dollars.

The glebe was a donation from Rev. Lewis Latane, the first minister of the parish. Had this plea been urged, after proper steps to establish it,—as might have been done in the bar of the sale,—it had no doubt been prevented. The following are the

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names of persons who constituted the vestry of South Farnham parish from 1739 to 1779:—

"Hon. John Robinson, Captain Nicholas Smith, William Roane, Mr. William Covington, Isaac Scandrith, John Vass, Captain William Dangerfield, Alexander Parker, Abraham Montague, James Reynolds, Captain Francis Smith, Mr. Henry Young, James Webb, John Clements, John Upshaw, Henry Vass, James Mills, William Montague, William Young, Thomas Roane, Samuel Peachy, Merriwether Smith, Archibald Ritchie, John Richards, James Campbell, William Smith, James Edmonson, Newman Brockenbrough, John Beal, John Edmonson.

"The Rev. Lewis Latane fled from France to England after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, in October, 1685, and remained there until the year 1700. He was ordained Deacon, September 22, and Priest, October 18, of that year; reached Virginia, March 5, 1701, and took charge of the parish of South Farnham, April 5 of that year. He was married once before he came to this country, and twice afterward. His third wife, of whom alone any thing is known, was Miss Mary Dean, a relative and protégé of Mr. William Beverley, of Blandfield, in Essex county, and of the adjoining parish of St. Anne's. Mr. Latane died in 1732, leaving a widow, and one son named John, and five daughters. In his will we have the following characteristic trait of him:—'My will is, that whatsoever I am justly indebted to any person be duly paid by my executor; and whereas Mrs. Phœbe Kater, in her last will and testament, disposed of such things to my daughters C., P., and S., as were not in her power to give, my will is that none of my said daughters shall have any of the said legacies paid them. But, if any of them shall be so refractory as to insist on having any of the said legacies paid them, then I give to each of my said daughters twelvepence, in full of all the legacies hereafter in this my will to them given and bequeathed.'"

Faithfully have the descendants of this upright and conscientious man followed the example of his integrity. Perhaps there is no instance to be found in Virginia, where a whole family have been more remarkable for truth and fidelity in all their dealings and character. John, his only surviving son, married a Miss Mary Allen. William, *his* only surviving son, married a Miss Ann Waring, leaving a large number of sons and daughters. His daughter Lucy, third in descent from Mr. Latane, married Mr. Payne Waring, of Essex, so well known as the zealous and liberal friend of the Church in that county and in the diocese, and father of the present Mrs. Richard Baylor. His son Henry, now seventy-three years of age, has several children who are members of the Church, one of whom is preparing for the ministry. His daughter Mary married Mr. John Temple, one of whose sons is the minister of Old South Farnham parish at this time, and one of whom died at the University in the year 1829, a model of piety and all excellence. A brief tribute is due to his memory. In the year 1829,

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a most pestilential and fatal disease broke out in the village of Charlottesville and at the University. Nine of the students in the latter fell victims to it, and among them young Temple. Being invited by the authorities of the University to improve that most afflictive dispensation, I prepared and delivered a discourse, which was published. From it I extract the concluding sentences, which will show in what high esteem young Temple was held:—

"Is there upon earth a sight so interesting as that of a young man, at a seat of learning, in the midst of temptation, surrounded by other youths of widely-differing sentiments, yet steadily holding on 'the even tenor of his way,' resisting pleasure, avoiding evil communication, acting from religious principle, and not ashamed to call himself by the name and seal himself with the seal of Christ? Have you seen none such, my young hearers? Amidst all your young associates, was there not one who loved his Saviour, one whom you all loved, all esteemed, whom you could not but love and esteem, and who was a witness to the truth of that which I have spoken to-day?

"Was young Temple less beloved by you all because young Temple was a Christian, because a portion of his Sabbaths was spent in teaching the young and ignorant, because the Bible was his daily study? And, when death was sent to summon him away, was he less happy? Which one of you present, now in your own mind hostile to religion and in your conduct furthest removed from it, but would, if called to die, rather be as young Temple was, than as you now are?"

The following documents explain themselves:—

"At a Council held at the Capitol, the 23d day of January, 1716, present the Governor and Council.

"On reading at this Board a representation from Mr. Commissary Blair, setting forth that the vestry of South Farnham parish, in Essex county, have taken upon them to suspend Mr. Lewis Latane, their minister, from the exercise of his ministerial office, without any previous accusation or conviction of any crime; and that the said vestry have also prohibited the performance of divine service in the said parish, by causing the church-doors to be shut, and praying the consideration of this therein, and the order of the vestry for suspending Mr. Latane being also read, it is the unanimous opinion of this Board that the said vestry have no power to turn out their minister in the manner they have done; and, therefore, it is ordered that the churchwardens cause the doors of the church to be opened, and that the said Mr. Latane be permitted to exercise his ministerial functions therein, until he be legally tried and convicted of such crime as renders him unworthy to be continued, for which there are proper judicatures to which the said vestry may apply, if they have any thing to charge him with. And it is further resolved, that in case the said vestry shall refuse to pay their minister, in the mean time, his salary due by law, that proper measures be taken for obliging them to do him justice.

"(Copied.) WM. ROBERTSON, *Clerk of Council*"

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Letter of Governor Spottswood to the Churchwardens and Vestry of South Farnham Parish in Essex.

"WILLIAMSBURG, December 17th, 1716.

"GENTLEMEN:—I'm not a little surprised at the sight of an order of yours, wherein you take upon you to suspend from his office a clergyman who, for near sixteen years, has served as your minister, and that without assigning any manner of reason for your so doing. I look upon it that the British subjects in these Plantations ought to conform to the Constitution of their mother-country in all cases wherein the laws of the several Colonies have not otherwise decided; and, as no vestry in England ever pretended to set themselves up as judges over their ministers, so I know no law of this country that has given such authority to the vestry here. If a clergyman transgresses against the canons of the Church, he is to be tried before a proper judicature; and though in this country there be no Bishops to apply to, yet there is the substitute of the Bishop, who is your diocesan, and who can take cognizance of the offences of the clergy; and I cannot believe there is any vestry here so ignorant but to know that the Governor, for the time-being, has the honour to be intrusted with the power of collating to all benefits, and ought, in reason, to be made acquainted with the crime which unqualifies a clergyman from holding a benefice of which he is once legally possessed. In case of the misbehaviour of your minister, you may be his accusers, but in no case his judges; but much less are you empowered to turn him out without showing any cause. But your churchwardens, ordering the church to be shut up, and thereby taking upon them to lay the parish under an interdict, is such an exorbitant act of power, that even the Pope of Rome never pretended to a greater; and if your churchwardens persist in it, they will find themselves involved in greater troubles than they are aware of.

"By the small number of vestrymen present at the making the late order, and the dissent of several that were, I apprehend the turning out of Mr. Latane, and what has followed on it since, to be the effect of some sudden heat, and therefore I am willing to believe that, upon cooler deliberation in a full vestry, you will think fit to reverse that order, and give your minister the opportunity of a fair trial, if you have any thing to accuse him of, which is what every subject ought to have before he is condemned. But if, contrary to my expectations, you persist in that unwarrantable way you have begun, I recommend to your inquiry what success a vestry who took upon them the like power met with at Kichotan, (Hampton) But I hope, without obliging me to exert that authority his Majesty has intrusted me with, in this case you will rather choose to be reconciled to your minister, which will be more for the quiet of your parish, and much more obliging to,

"Gentlemen, your most humble servant,

A. SPOTTSWOOD."

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ARTICLE XXXVI.

Parishes in Essex.—No. 2. *St. Anne's Parish.*

This parish was established in 1692, the same year with the neighbouring parish of South Farnham, of which we have just given some account. We are unable to ascertain* who were its ministers previous to 1725. We learn from his own journal that the Rev. Robert Rose became its minister in February, 1725. Nor do we learn any thing of his ministry until the year 1746, as his journal does not commence until that year, which he says was the twenty-first of his incumbency in the parish of St. Anne. This journal has been an object of great interest and desire to the antiquaries of Virginia. Mr. Charles Campbell, of Petersburg, in his valuable History of Virginia, laments its supposed loss in the Western wilds, whither it had been carried by some of his descendants. I am so fortunate as to have it in temporary possession, through the kindness of Mr. Henry Carter, of Caroline county, Virginia, who has recently gotten it from the West,—Mr. Carter being one of the posterity of Mr. Rose. It will, in one important respect, disappoint

* On examination of the Lambeth Records, I find that the Rev. John Bagge was the predecessor of the Rev. Robert Rose; that he came into the Colony in 1709, in Deacons' Orders, but was allowed to take charge of St. Anne's parish. He soon after settled in another, but says he was driven out by an influential layman. In 1717 he returned to England for Priests' Orders, then had a difficulty with a Rev. Mr. Ransford about St. Anne's parish, in which Governor Spottswood took his part but could not support him. We find him, however, the minister of St. Anne's in 1724, but, dying soon after, he is succeeded by the Rev. Robert Rose. He speaks of Governor Spottswood as a valiant defender of the rights of the clergy and the Governor against the usurpations of the vestries, but acknowledges the failure of his efforts. He admits that there were not more than four inducted ministers in the Colony. There were two churches in the parish of St. Anne. His salary was from sixty to eighty pounds, according to the quality and price of tobacco,—his perquisites about twelve hundred-weight of tobacco. On the counties bordering on North Carolina, he says that the tobacco is so mean, and of so little value, that but little is made, and the ministers are obliged to receive their salaries in tar, pitch, pork, and other commodities, and that it is difficult to get ministers to settle there. This agrees with Colonel Byrd's account of the border-parishes a few years after this. Mr. Bagge mentions seven or eight parishes, in different parts of the State, then vacant. He says that they have no parish library or public school.

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the expectations of those who have longed for it. It only covers the last five or six years of his life,—from January 21, 1746, to June 13, 1751, soon after which he died. It is, however, in some respects an interesting narrative, exhibiting the character of its author to the life, and casting light on men and things of that early period. Mr. Rose came from Scotland early in the last century. It is confidently believed that he came under the auspices of Governor Spottswood. There was certainly a great intimacy between them to the day of General Spottswood's death. Mr. Rose was, I presume, from a large account-book bound up with his journal, or to which his journal is appended, going back to the year 1727, his executor. He certainly had much to do with the settlement of the estate, and with his widow and children after the death of General Spottswood in 1737. Mr. Rose partook very much of the character of General Spottswood, being a man of great labour, decision, benevolence, and of extraordinary business-talents. If the previous years of his life partook in any good degree of the character of the last five or six, he must have done an amount of labour such as few men ever accomplish,—too much indeed of a secular kind to consist with that spirituality which ought ever to characterize a minister of the Gospel. He was the executor of various persons besides General Spottswood. It is due to him to say that a benevolent feeling seems to have prompted to this, for the widow and the orphan were the objects of his care. At an early period after his settlement in Essex, we find him taking charge of the estate and family of the Rev. Mr. Bagge. It is also due to him to say that he never seems to have neglected the duty of preaching. Wherever he was on the Sabbath, whether in his own parish or on his journeys, he records his preaching. Very often also he speaks of preaching during the week at private houses, and baptizing children. About the time his journal commences, he was preparing to move into Nelson county, where he had purchased lands at a cheap rate, and where he settled his four sons, Hugh, Patrick, Henry, and Charles. His journal mentions all his visits to and fro between Nelson and Essex; in making which he passes through Stafford, Spottsylvania, Louisa, Orange, Albemarle, Culpepper, and calls on all the first families in these counties, sometimes preaching, sometimes marrying, at other times baptizing. Wherever he went, accounts are brought out to him for examination and settlement, as though there was none other capable of it. His judgment as to farms is often consulted. He would not only visit them, but sometimes help to survey them. He was equally good at settling family disputes, and was often engaged

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in it. He was also a man of much public spirit. He once visited Western Virginia with some friends, going as far as the Cow Pasture, sleeping out at nights in cold weather, and drinking, as he records, wretched whiskey for want of something better,—though he was still a sober man. He was the first to descend James River, with one or two others, in an open canoe, as far as Richmond, and thus establish its navigability. At that and at other times, when travelling by land, we find him passing through all the counties lying between Nelson and York, stopping at all the chief places on James River,—at Colonel Jefferson's, in Goochland, (father of the President,) at Tuckahoe, Curls, Westover, &c. We find him repeatedly at Williamsburg,—having business with the court and Legislature,—dining or supping with the Governor and Council, with Commissary Blair, President Burwell, Speaker Beverley, with the Nelsons and others at York,—then passing through Gloucester to Middlesex,—visiting at Brandon and Rosegill,—thence to his parish in Essex. About twice a year for five years he seems to have made excursions of this kind, more or less extensive. He was doubtless a very popular man in Virginia, and enjoyed the affection and confidence of the first men and families in the State. The manner and place in which he terminated his life is one proof of this. When the city of Richmond was about to be laid out, he was invited, by those to whom the duty was intrusted, to meet with them and aid by his counsel. It was while thus engaged that he sickened and died. He lies buried in the graveyard of the old church on Richmond Hill, with the following inscription:—

"Here lyeth the body of Robert Rose, Rector of Albemarle parish. His extraordinary genius and capacity in all the polite and useful arts of life, though equalled by few, were yet exceeded by the great goodness of his heart. Humanity, benevolence, and charity ran through the whole course of his life, and were exerted with uncommon penetration. In his friendship he was warm and steady; in his manners gentle and easy; in his conversation entertaining and instructive. With the most tender piety he discharged all the domestic duties of husband, father, son, and brother.* In short, he was a friend of the whole human race, and upon that principle a strenuous asserter and defender of liberty. He died the 30th day of June, 1751, in the 47th year of his age."

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* Mr. Rose had four brothers, who, from his journal, must have settled somewhere in Virginia not very far from him. His brother Charles was the minister of Cople parish, in Westmoreland county. In his journal he speaks of visiting him there. Visits are also exchanged with his other brothers, though their residences are not so exactly defined. He speaks affectionately of his brothers, wife, and children.

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He must have entered on his charge in Essex when he was but twenty-one years of age, for in his journal of February 1, 1746, he says that that was the twenty-first year of his incumbency in St. Anne's parish. If ordained Deacon during the year preceding his entrance into the parish, he must have been in his forty-third year at the time of this entry on the journal; and he lived five years and five months after this. It is difficult to reconcile these dates, and there may be a mistake either in the entry or the inscription.

I doubt not but that the inscription is far more just to his character than most of the records of that period. I have not been able to meet with any of the sermons of Mr. Rose, and therefore cannot speak of his theology or style of preaching; and there is nothing in his entries which give us any light into his religious character and sentiments, or the state of religion at that time. He only records his sermons, their texts, and the times and places of their delivery, and some baptisms and communions. Once only does he mention meeting with a Baptist,—an ignorant ploughman,—who tried to get him into a controversy about election and reprobation, and to whom the only advice he gave was, as he says, that of John the Baptist, that every man attend to his own business. The Baptists were then making considerable progress in Virginia, and I have no idea that Mr. Rose or any of the clergy of the Episcopal Church of that day were calculated to oppose them successfully. The style of the sermons and the delivery of the same were altogether too tame for that purpose. They were written, in almost every instance that I have seen, in a very small hand, and with very close lines, as if paper was too scarce and dear to admit of any thing else. They must have read very closely in order to get through with such manuscripts. The location and form of their pulpits were also such as to show that they kept their eyes very near to the manuscript, and did not care to look at the congregation. The pulpits in the old churches were always either on the side of the church, if oblong, or on one of the angles, if cruciform. The aisles were wide, and a cross aisle and door nearly opposite the pulpit, so that only a small portion of the congregation could be seen by the minister. It was also so deep, that unless he were a very tall man his head only could be seen. In the earlier part of my ministry I have often been much at a loss how to elevate myself in many of these old churches which I visited, and have sometimes hurried to church before the congregation assembled, in order to gather up stones, bricks, and pieces of plank to raise a little platform under me, and which was not always very steady. I have preached repeatedly in two of

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the old churches, built under the auspices of Mr. Rose, whose pulpits were remarkably deep. In one of them, a large round block sawed from the body of a tree, more than a foot high, had been provided by some one of his successors, and stood in the centre of the pulpit; and even on this I found it uncomfortable to stand and preach. All of these old pulpits have been lowered and their location changed.

But I have something more to say of Mr. Rose from his journal. He was a kind of universal genius. Now he is in the house reading Cicero's Orations, now on the farm engaged in all kinds of employment, now at his neighbours', instructing and helping them in various operations. Now he writes in his journal a recipe for the best mode of curing tobacco.* His visits to friends in neighbouring parishes are recorded. We find him in the Northern Neck, at the Fitzhughs' and Stewarts'; then going over to Maryland, visiting at Dr. Gustavus Brown's, five of whose daughters married clergymen, as we shall see hereafter; at Dr. John Key's, who married another; associating with some of the Romish clergy, who treated him very kindly. His association with numbers of the clergy of Virginia is mentioned. He speaks of Mr. Stewart, of King George,—then Stafford,—as an eloquent preacher, as being an exception to the scriptural rule, for he was a prophet who had honour in his own country. He mentions in an account-book Mr. Alexander Scott, of Stafford, as being minister in 1727, and Mr. Moncure, his successor, at a later period. He visits Mr. Mayre, of Fredericksburg,

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* The following information is from a reliable source:—

"During the early part of my life,—say some fifty years ago or more,—I heard my grandfather, or my great-uncle, I do not recollect exactly which of them, relate an anecdote of Parson Robert Rose. There had been a year of great drought, producing, if not a famine the succeeding year, great scarcity and tribulation among the settlers of the upper part of Amherst and Nelson counties.

"Parson Rose, hearing of the distress of the people, gave information, by advertising, that he had a quantity of corn which he could spare, and all those wishing to get a share should come to his house on a certain day. Many of the good people attended promptly to his summons, and when he thought they had all arrived he requested all those who wanted corn that they should form a line. They did so. When the line was formed, he asked the applicants whether they had the money to pay for the corn: many of them, rejoicing, cried out, 'We have the money;' whilst the greater portion, with looks and eyes cast down, said, 'We have no money.' The parson, with good-humour, commanded all those that had money to step one pace in front. After they had done so he said to them, 'You all have money?' The cry was, 'Yes, yes;' when he again, in great good-nature, said to them, 'As you have money, you are able to get corn anywhere; but as to these poor fellows who have no money, they are to get my corn.' And it was so done."

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—Mr. Dixon, one of the successors of Mr. Latane in South Farnham parish,—mentions Mr. Thompson, of Culpepper, who married the widow of General Spottswood, and between whom and the family, who opposed the marriage, he effected a reconciliation. He speaks particularly of the Rev. Mr. Smelt, who, through his influence, succeeded him in Essex. In his journal, after hearing him preach, he thus writes:—"Rev. Mr. Smelt preached on John, 4th chap. 8–36 verses, (Tillotson's,) delivered modestly and distinctly."* Borrowing sermons was very common in those days. Other ministers also are mentioned, as Mr. Maury, of Albemarle, Mr. Douglass, of Goochland, Mr. Barrett, of Louisa, Mr. Yates, of Middlesex, Mr. Camm, of Williamsburg, Mr. Stith, of Curls Neck, and Mr. Cruden. With the leading families of his parish he appears to have lived on the most intimate terms. He is continually breakfasting, dining, or staying all night, at Colonel Brooke's, at Mr. Beverley's of Blanfield, at Mr. Tarent's, Mr. Fitzhugh's, at Mr. Garnett's, Mr. Rowzie's, Fairfax's, Parker's, Mercer's, and Lomax's. He appears to have been a man of energy and business in Church matters also. When elected minister in Nelson, then part of Albemarle, and in what was called St. Anne's parish, at one meeting of the vestry in 1749 he had an order passed for four new churches,—the Forge, Balinger's, Rooker's, and at New Glasgow, the two former on the Green Mountain, and the latter in what is now Amherst, though he did not live to see them all finished. The habits of Mr. Rose were doubtless temperate. He speaks of turning away an overseer for getting drunk on a certain occasion; and yet, in evidence of the habits of the times, he speaks of bringing home with him one day from Leighton's, on the Rappahannock, "*rum and wine and other necessaries*," and at another time of carrying a quarter-cask of wine into Nelson, the first that ever crossed Tye River, although the Cabels, Higgenbottoms, and Frys then lived there.† In further proof of the manner and habits of the age, I mention the entry of a visit to one of the leading families of his parish, when he found that the head of it had gone to Newcastle (which was in

* The Rev. Mr. Smelt was the grandfather of Miss Caroline Smelt, whose memoirs were written in the year 1818 by the Rev. Moses Waddell, of South Carolina. Mr. Smelt was an Englishman, and a graduate of Oxford. His son Dennis Smelt, after receiving his literary education at William and Mary College, went to England and obtained a medical one. On returning to America he settled in Augusta, Georgia, where he married a Miss Cooper. The religious exercises and character of their daughter Caroline were such as to justify the publication of her memoirs.

† This is questioned.

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another county, and a considerable distance off) to a cockfight. I read of him also as being at a horse-race at Tye River, (probably at New Market, where were races afterward,) but then he adds:—"Memorandum: suffer it no more," as though he had power to prevent it and would do so. I bring this notice to a close by stating that Mr. Rose was twice married. Who his first wife was, or whence she came, I know not. At the death of a daughter in 1748, there is the following entry:—"Buried my daughter's body by the side of her mother and brother Robert, at Mr. Brooke's plantation." His second wife was Miss Ann Fitzhugh, of Stafford, not far from Fredericksburg. With all the families of Fitzhughs in Stafford, King George, and Essex, he seems to have lived on the most affectionate terms. His last wife survived him, but how many years I am unable to say. His four sons, Hugh, Patrick, Henry, and Charles, settled on the farms in Nelson and Amherst left them by their father. His son Colonel Hugh Rose was a man of great decision of character, and for many years acted as lay reader in two of the churches of Amherst,—viz.: Rooker's, and that at New Glasgow. After the war of the Revolution, and when the church was without a minister, a young preacher of another denomination, coming from a distance, and understanding that there was no minister in the parish, gave notice that on the following Sunday he would officiate in the church at New Glasgow. On the Sabbath morning he took possession of the pulpit. Soon after, Colonel Hugh came in, prepared to execute his office. Seeing the pulpit occupied, and learning by whom, he ascended and politely informed him that it was his church, and that he could not give place to another. Whereupon the occupant came down, and the lay reader performed his part. Being an accomplished gentleman, however, as well as staunch Churchman, he insisted on his going home with him, where he treated him with so much kindness and hospitality as to make a deep impression on the young preacher, who took pleasure ever after in speaking of the whole affair.

As to the successors of Mr. Rose in Essex, we are unable to speak fully, for want of documents. Mr. Smelt succeeded him in 1749, and was there in 1758, according to a list which I have from an English paper. I have no other lists of ministers until the year 1774 and 1776. In two Virginia almanacs of those dates, the Rev John Matthews is set down as the minister of St. Anne's parish. From 1776 to 1814 there is no account of it. No delegation, either clerical or lay, appear in any of the Conventions from 1784 to 1805. After the renewal of our Convention, in 1812, two years elapsed

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before there was any representative. In 1814 the Rev. Mr. Norris and myself passed through the Northern Neck and Essex, on our way to Richmond, when the Hon. James Hunter and Thomas Mathews were appointed delegates. In the year 1817 the Hon. James Garnett was sent, and, in the year 1820, Mr. Robert Beverley. In the year 1822 the Rev. John Reynolds took his seat as minister of both of the parishes of Essex. In the year 1826 the Rev. John P. McGuire appears as minister of the same. He continued faithfully serving them for twenty-four years, and performing a large amount of missionary labour in the adjoining counties. During his ministry the old and venerable brick church called Vauter's (built most probably about the year 1731) was repaired, and two others built in St. Anne's parish,—one a very handsome frame building in Tappahannock, the other about ten miles off. The Rev. Mr. Temple, fourth in descent from Mr. Latane, is the minister of the latter, and the Rev. E. C. McGuire, son of the Rev. Dr. McGuire, of Fredericksburg, and nephew of the former minister, the Rev. J. P. McGuire, is the rector of the former,—viz.: Vauter's Church, St. Anne's parish. Some of the descendants of the old families mentioned in Mr. Rose's journal still help to sustain the Church in this region. Many of them are scattered far and wide through the land.

The following communication concerning Old Vauter's Church, from Mr. Richard Baylor, of Essex, is worthy of a place in an article on St. Anne's parish:—

"Upon a branch of Blackburn's Creek, called Church Swamp, stands Vauter's Church, built, as indicated by a date inscribed upon its walls, in 1731. This church, as you know, is in a good state of preservation,—though it has been twice thoroughly shingled and otherwise repaired and modernized within my recollection. The walls over the doors and windows have cracked somewhat, but with proper attention Old Vauter's will yet serve many generations. The first thing that I recollect, as connected with the old sanctuary, is, that my father used to keep the old English Bible at Marl Bank, and when the casual services of a passing Episcopal minister were to be held there, a servant took the old Bible on his head, and accompanied the family, a near walking-way, across this same Blackburn's Creek, and after service brought it back. I still have the old Bible at Kinlock, [the name of Mr. B.'s place,] valued for its antiquity, and on its blank leaves are numerous references in my father's handwriting. I remember when the church-doors always stood wide open, if, indeed, they could be closed, and have taken refuge myself from a storm in the body of the church, leading my horse in with me. Before the old Bible was kept by my father or others, it laid upon the desk; and I have heard that a man told upon himself that he once took the Bible, intending, no doubt, to appropriate it to his own or worse uses, carried it

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some miles or more homeward from the church, when he became so conscience-smitten that he returned and restored it to its own place. I was told by the late Robert B. Starke, of Norfolk, that many years ago he attended, as surgeon, one of a party who fought a duel in Vauter's Churchyard, before the door facing toward Loretto. The parties were the late General Bankhead and a Mr. Buckner, who, after an exchange of one or two shots without physical effect, retired satisfied. We are now indebted to the firm friendship of a lady that Vauter's Church did not share the same fate of other such sanctuaries,—as, for instance, the church at Leedstown, just across the river. So soon as Mrs. Muscoe Garnett heard that persons had commenced carrying away the paving-stones of the aisles, and perhaps some of the bricks, she claimed the church as her own, and threatened prosecution to the next offender. The ground on which she placed her claim was that the church stood on her land, or that of her family. Around the church are numerous graves, all now levelled down; and no one knows, or seems to care to know, who tenants them. The only tombstones to be seen are those over Mr. Anderson and Mr. Miller, who both lived and died at Brooke's Bank. Messrs. Anderson and Miller were merchants, and Brooke's Bank an old trading-place on the Rappahannock."

A friend has furnished me with the following information and statistics, which are well worthy of insertion as a supplement to the two articles on the parishes in Essex county. It will be remembered that, from 1652 to the year 1695, what is now Essex was a part of Rappahannock county, and what are now South Farnham and St. Anne parishes were part of Littenburne parish. The only list of vestrymen in Rappahannock parish is that of the first vestry after its establishment, under a minister by the name of Francis Doughty. In place of the names of vestrymen, the old records of the court furnish us with a list of the magistrates and clerks; and a friend has transcribed the following, who acted from 1680 to 1800:—

Names of Justices of Rappahannock County from 1680 *to* 1695, *when Essex County was established.*

Henry Aubrey, Major Henry Smith, Captain George Taylor, Mr. Thos. Harrison, Colonel Jno. Stone, Colonel Leroy Griffin, Major Robinson, Colonel Wm. Loyd, Captain Samuel Bloomfield, Wm. Fauntleroy, Samuel Peachy, William Soughter, Cadwallader Jones, Henry Williamson. Clerks of the Court, Robert Davis, Edward Crosk.

Essex County, 1695. *Names of Justices from* 1695 *to* 1700.

Captain John Caslett, Captain William Moseley, Robert Brocky, John Taliafero, Thomas Edmunson, Francis Taliafero, Captain John Battaile, Bernard Gaines, James Baughan, Francis Gaulman, Richard Covington. Clerk of Court, William Colson.

From 1700 to 1720: William Tomlin, Samuel Thrasher, Dobyns, Robert Coleman, Thomas Meriwether, Colonel John Lomax, Colonel

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William Dangerfield, Paul Micou, Major Benjamin Robinson, Captain Thomas Waring, Francis Thornton, Joshua Fry. Clerk of Court, Francis Meriwether.

From 1720 to 1740: William, son of Colonel William Dangerfield, Captain Salvator Muscoe, Robert Brooky, Captain Nicholas Smith, Alexander Parker, Thomas Sthreshley, Major Thomas Waring, James Garnett, Richard Tyler, Jr., Mungo Roy, Benjamin Winslow, Thomas Jones, Francis Smith, William Roane. Clerk of Court, William Beverley.

From 1740 to 1760: Colonel William Dangerfield, John Corbin, Samuel Hipkins, Rice Jones, Henry Young, John Clements, William Covington, Francis Waring, Archibald Ritchie, Paul Micou, John Upshaw, William Montague, Charles Mortimer.

From 1760 to 1780: Meriwether Smith, Samuel Peachy, John Lee, Leroy Dangerfield, Thomas Roane, Robert Beverley, John Beale, Robert Payne Waring, William Latane, John Brockenbrough, Humphrey B. Brooke.

From 1780 to 1800: Sthreshley Rennolds, Paul Micou, Jr., John Dangerfield, Maco Clements, Robert Beverley, Jr., James Upshaw, Tunstall Banks, Reuben Garnett, James Sale, Thomas Roane, Jr., Joseph Bahannon, Andrew Monro, Thomas Pitts, John Mathews, James M. Garnett. Clerks of Court, from 1740 to 1800, were Wm. Beverley, John Lee, Hancock Lee, John P. Lee.

"This Joshua Fry mentioned above (continues my friend) married Mrs. Mary Hill, who was a daughter of Paul Micou the first. I have heard from my father that this Joshua Fry was connected with William and Mary College. He has numerous descendants in Virginia. One of this family accompanied General Washington in the Indian wars. John Lomax was the ancestor of Judge John T. Lomax; Paul Micou and Mungo Roy, the ancestors of the Roys and Micous in this State. The Dangerfields mentioned above were lineal descendants of John Dangerfield, the first settler in the county of Rappahannock, who resided at Greenfield, and to whom it was granted in 1660. The last proprietor was Colonel John Dangerfield. Most of the other justices have descendants in this section at this time. Archibald Richie, the ancestor of this family in Virginia, was a Scotchman, and a merchant in Tappahannock."

THE DANGERFIELD FAMILY.

The history of the Dangerfield family in this country, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is contained in the following statement. "The first of the name who emigrated to America were two brothers, John and William, who came to this country early and settled on the James River: one or both of them intermarried with the Blands and Robinsons, and held a high social position in that

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section. The residence of John Dangerfield, in New Kent, retained the family name within the memory of one living at this time. It is not known whether they held any office or not. In 1660, John Dangerfield, a descendant of John, located a patent in the county of Rappahannock, and at Greenfield, which remained in the family till 1821. He married in Rappahannock, and left a son, William. He became a justice and colonel, and married a member of the Batherst family of England,—a Miss Meriwether, of Batherst, Essex county. He left a son William, who married a Miss Fauntleroy, of Nailor's Hold. He was also a justice, and left three sons,—John, William, and Leroy. William inherited the greater portion of his estate, including the family residence, and was one of the seven colonels appointed at the commencement of the Revolution. He married a Miss Willis, of Fredericksburg, and died during the Revolution, at his seat,—Coventry, Spottsylvania,—and left a large family. John, the eldest, inherited the estate in Essex, and succeeded to the offices, civil and military, held by his ancestors. He married, first, Miss Southall, of Williamsburg, and secondly, Miss Armstead, of Hess. Leroy, the brother of the last William, filled the office of justice for several years, and married a Miss Parker, daughter of the first Judge Parker, of Westmoreland county, and descendant of Alexander Parker, a justice of Rappahannock. He removed to Frederick county, Virginia.

To the above contributions from Mr. Micou, the worthy Clerk of Essex, and another friend, I have something more to add. The father of the first Lomax who came to this country was one of the silenced and ejected ministers in the time of Charles I. of England,—a pious, conscientious, and superior man. His son John, who came to this country, intermarried with the Wormlys of Middlesex. Lunsford Lomax, son of John, married Judith Micou, daughter of the first Paul Micou, who settled in Virginia, and who was a French surgeon and Huguenot. Major Thomas Lomax, father of the present Judge Lomax, was his son. The family seat is that beautiful estate situated on Portobago Bay, a few miles below Port Royal, on the Rappahannock. The eldest sister of Judith Micou, who married Lunsford Lomax, married Moore Fauntleroy. One of her daughters married the Rev. Mr. Giberne, of Richmond county. Another of this connection, who was the grandmother of Mr. Micou, the present Clerk of Essex, married the Rev. Mr. Mathews, one of the ministers of St. Anne's parish, Essex.

I have been furnished by a worthy friend with some notices of

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the connection and relatives of the Rev. Mr. Mathews, the substance of which I take pleasure in adding to what has been written concerning St. Anne's parish, Essex. The families of Mathews and Smith and Bushrod intermarried at an early period. The Rev. John Mathews also married a Miss Smith. His son Thomas was a member of one of our earlier Conventions; his daughter Mary married Dr. Alexander Somervail, of Scotland; his daughter Fanny married James Roy Micou, father of the present Clerk of Essex; his daughter Virginia married Dr. William Baynham, of Essex. There were also two other daughters.

The two physicians who married daughters of the Rev. Mr. Mathews were most eminent men in their profession, and of very high moral character.

Dr. Somervail, though brought up in the Kirk of Scotland, was for some time an avowed infidel. It is said that some remarks dropped by Mrs. Hunter, mother of the present Senator in Congress, during a religious discussion she had with the celebrated Dr. Ogilvie and one of his Virginia followers, in the presence of Dr. S., made an impression on his mind, and led him to a serious examination of Christianity, which resulted in his conversion. He was most eminent in his profession, contributing largely to Dr. Chapman's Medical Journal, and being the author of an important discovery, by which one of the most painful diseases of the human frame is relieved. He was the physician of the poor as well as the rich. On leaving Scotland his father said to him, "If you ever oppress the poor my curse is upon you." Neither the curse of his earthly or heavenly Father came down upon him for neglecting the poor. On the very day of his death, in his seventy-sixth year, he paid friendly visits to some of his poor patients. Dr. Somervail, after his conversion, connected himself with the Baptist Church, but was beloved and esteemed by all. The Hon. James M. Garnett sent an extended obituary of him to the National Intelligencer at the time of his death.

Not less eminent was the other son-in-law of the Rev. Mr. Mathews,—Dr. William Baynham. He was the son of an old vestryman of the Episcopal Church in Caroline county, who was also an eminent physician. The son, after studying seven years under his father, completed his preparations for the practice of medicine under the celebrated Dr. William Hunter, of London. Young Baynham distinguished himself while in England, and had he remained there would certainly have attained to the highest

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station in his profession. He also was the discoverer of something very important in the medical department. The eulogies bestowed upon him, both at home and abroad, for moral character and great medical attainments, of which I have specimens before me, prove that he was a man of great celebrity. The Hon. Robert Garnett, of Essex, furnished the press with a high encomium on his character.

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ARTICLE XXXVII.

Parishes in Caroline County.—St. Mary's, St. Margarett's, St. Asaph, Drysdale.

In the year 1827 Caroline county was formed out of the heads or upper parts of Essex, King and Queen, and King William, and, soon after, the parishes of Drysdale and St. Margarett's were formed, it is believed, for I can find no certain account of the time. The parish of St. Mary's had previously, I think, been established in Essex county, most probably soon after the county was established in 1701. Wherefore we find that, in 1724, when the Bishop of London sent his circular to the clergy, an answer was returned from the Rev. Owen Jones, minister of St. Mary's parish, Essex. He had then been twenty years in the parish. The parish was about twenty miles long, extending from below Port Royal up toward Fredericksburg, I suppose, as it now does. There were one hundred and fifty families, one hundred and fifty attendants at church, one hundred communicants; servants neglected, and particular means for their instruction discouraged; no public school, no parish library.

In the year 1754 one of the three John Brunskills was the minister. In 1758 the Rev. Musgrave Dawson was there. In the years 1773–74 and 1776 the Rev. Abner Waugh was minister. In the years 1785 and 1786, after our Conventions commenced, we find Mr. Robert Gilchrist the lay member, but no clergyman, although Mr. Waugh was still the minister of the parish. Nor does he appear until the year 1792, and never again after that. It will be seen that, in the close of life, he was for a short time minister of the church in Fredericksburg.

A friend has furnished me the following tradition concerning some of the old churches in Caroline county: whether all of them were in St. Mary's parish is doubtful:—

"There was one which stood on the south side of Maricopie or Massacopie Creek, in the eastern part of the county, and was, I think, called Joy Creek Church, from a small rivulet close by. Every vestige of it had disappeared before my father's recollection, so that it must have been one of the most ancient of our churches. Another stood near the south-

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western border of the county, near Reedy Creek, and was called Reedy Creek Church. Within my recollection the walls and roof were entire. About thirty years ago the roof fell in, and immediately the bricks were carried away by the neighbours. A third was near the Bowling Green, about a mile northeast of it. This was in good condition about forty or fifty years ago, and services held in it. The Hoomes, Pendletons, Taylors, Battailes, Baylors, and other old families, attended it. Another is the Old Bull Church, or St. Margarett's, with which you are familiar. The last is the present Rappahannock Academy, about two miles from the river and four miles above Port Royal. In my boyhood," says my informant, "an amusing story was told of two men returning one night from muster with too much of what is called Dutch courage in them,—that is, intoxicated. The old church was said to be haunted of the devil, and they determined to drive him out. It was very dark, and one of them planted himself at one door, or where a door had been, while the other entered at the other end with a pole, with which he began to beat about, when something started up and ran to the door where the other man stood with his legs stretched out. It proved to be an ox, which was in the habit of sheltering there, and which, lowering his head as he approached the man, took him on his neck and bore him some distance away."

I have also received a letter from a clerical brother who has long ministered in this region, and from which I make a few extracts:—

"The Mount Church, before it was converted into an academy, was one of the first country-churches in the State. It was in the form of a cross, with galleries on three of the wings, in one of which was the largest and finest-toned organ in Virginia. This organ was sold, under an Act of the Legislature, and the proceeds applied to the purchase of a library for the use of the Rappahannock Academy. It is now in a Roman Catholic church in Georgetown. The aisles were paved with square slabs of sandstone. The enclosure around the church was used as a burial-ground, and, though now a play-ground for the boys, the forms of the graves are apparent. The glebe was first sold, and the proceeds applied to an academy, and, the following year, the house itself was appropriated to the same purpose. John Taylor, of Caroline, John T. Woodward, Lawrence Battaile, Hay Battaile, and Reuben Turner, were the trustees. I have been unable," says my correspondent, "to ascertain the age of Mount Church. It must have been built at a period long anterior to the Revolution. The first minister of the parish was the Rev. Mr. Boucher. All that I can gather concerning him is, that he lived and taught school in Port Royal. The only reminiscence of his acts is a red sandstone monument, which he had erected near the village to the memory of one of his pupils, who died in 1763, aged nine years, on which there is this epitaph:—

> 'Beneath this humble stone a youth doth lie
> Almost too good to live, too young to die:
> Count his few years, how short the scanty span!
> But count his virtues, and he died a man.'"

This may be good poetry, but in the second line there is un sound theology. I suppose we must make a liberal allowance for

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the *poetica licentia*. Mr. Boucher was also, at one time, the minister of Hanover parish, in King George, on the other side of the river. I have often heard my old friend, Mr. Addison, of Maryland, speak of him. He was connected with the Addisons and the Carrs, of Maryland, but in what way I know not. The name of Boucher is still in use among the Carrs of Virginia. The following account of him I take from the third volume of that interesting, laborious, and impartial work of the Rev. Mr. Anderson on the Colonial Churches:—

"I allude to Jonathan Boucher, who was born in Cumberland, in 1738, and brought up at Wigton Grammar-School. He went to Virginia, at the age of sixteen, and was nominated by the vestry of Hanover parish, in the county of King George, to its rectory before he was in Orders. He returned to England for ordination, and, after he had crossed the Atlantic a second time, entered upon the duties of that parish upon the banks of the Rappahannock. He removed, soon afterward, to St. Mary's parish, in Caroline county, upon the same river, where he enjoyed the fullest confidence and love of his people. In the second of two sermons preached by him, upon the question of the American Episcopate, in that parish, and in the year 1771, in which it had been so strongly advocated, he expresses his assurance that he would be listened to with candour by his parishioners, seeing that he had lived among them more than seven years, as their minister, in such harmony as to have had no disagreement with any man, even for a day. The terms of this testimony, and the circumstances under which it was delivered, leave no room to doubt its truthfulness. He was accounted one of the best preachers of his time, and the vigorous and lucid reasoning of his published discourses fully sustains the justice of that reputation. From St. Mary's parish Mr. Boucher went to Maryland, where he was appointed by Sir Robert Eden, its Governor, to the rectory of St Anne's, in Annapolis, the capital of that Province, and afterward of Queen Anne's, in Prince George county. From the latter parish he was ejected at the Revolution.

"His 'Discourses'—thirteen in number, preached between the years 1763 and 1775—were published by him when he was vicar of Epsom, in Surrey, in 1795, fifteen years after the formal recognition by England of the Independence of the United States. They contain, with an historical preface, his views of the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, and are dedicated to General Washington, not because of any concord of political sentiment between him and the writer, for in this respect they had been and still were wide as the poles asunder, but to express the hope of Mr. Boucher that the offering which he thus made of renewed respect and affection for that great man might be received and regarded as giving some promise of that perfect reconciliation between these two countries which it was the sincere aim of his publication to promote. While the language of this 'Dedication' attests the candour and generosity of Boucher's character, still, his courage and hatred of every thing that savoured of republicanism are displayed not less clearly throughout the whole body of his work. The only faults which, in the course of his 'Historical Preface,' he can detect on the part of England, before and during the war which had deprived her of thirteen Colonies, was the

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feebleness of her ministers at home and of her generals abroad. The positive injustice of many of her acts seems never present to his mind. The arguments of Burke and Chatham, exposing that injustice, weigh with him as nothing."

The foregoing extract from Mr. Anderson's work shows the author to be a man of candour and a lover of America, though a good English Churchman too. I hope his work will be patronized in this country.

To these notices of the Rev. Mr. Boucher I add something more from my clerical correspondent in Caroline:—

"The successor of Mr. Boucher was the Rev. Abner Waugh. He was the last minister of Mount Church. He was not engaged in the active duties of the ministry for many of the latter years of his life. Mr. Waugh was chaplain to the Convention which ratified the Federal Constitution.

"The chief families in this parish," he adds, (there being no list of vestrymen.) "were the Millers, Foxes, Grays, Beverleys, Taliaferos, Woodfords, Battailes, Fitzhughs, Corbins, &c. A member of one of the families was buried, according to her own directions, beneath the pavement of the aisle of that wing of the church which was occupied by the poor. She directed this to be done as an act of self-abasement for the pride she had manifested and the contempt she had exhibited toward the common people during her life, alleging that she wished them to trample upon her when she was dead."

In relation to Old Mount Church, where this lady was interred, we conclude with an extract from our report to the Convention of 1838:—

"The services of this place [Grace Church, Caroline] being over, we proceeded to Port Royal. On our way to that place, and only a few miles above it, we passed by a large brick building, once a temple of the living God, where our forefathers used to worship, now, by an act of the Legislature, converted into a seminary of learning. This house, like some others of those built in ancient times, seems destined to outlive generations of those more modern ones, which, hastily and slightly constructed, soon sink upon their own knees and fall into ruins. It stands on an elevated and beautiful hill, overlooking the river and country around, and is rendered very interesting by a number of large and venerable trees not far distant. It was deserted as a place of worship, some time before its conversion into a seminary. The melodious organ that once filled the house with its enrapturing notes (said to have been the first ever imported into Virginia, and of great price) has long since been sold, and is now in a Roman Catholic chapel in the District of Columbia, (either in Washington or Georgetown.) During the interval of its use as a church, and its application to other objects, if common fame is to be credited, (and we fear it deserves it but too well,) this sacred house was desecrated to most unhallowed purposes. The drunken feast has been spread where the holy Supper of our

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Lord was wont to be received, and the footsteps of the dance have sported over that floor where the knees of humble worshippers once bent before the Lord."

ST. MARGARETT'S, CAROLINE COUNTY.

This parish, as we have seen, was established soon after the year 1727.

In the years 1754 and 1758, the Rev. John Brunskill—one of three ministers of the same name—was in charge of St. Margarett's. By another document in my possession, I find that he was in this county before the year 1750. From 1758 to 1773 we have no means of ascertaining who ministered in this parish. From 1773 to 1787, the Rev. Archibald Dick, who was ordained in 1762, was the minister of St. Margarett's. After the disappearance of Mr. Dick from the journals in 1787, we know of no other regular minister in St. Margarett's until the year 1829, when the Rev. Caleb Good represents this parish,—as also in 1830. His zealous labours contributed not a little to revive the hopes of the Episcopalians in that parish. Services were from time to time afforded to Bull Church, or St. Margarett's, by neighbouring ministers; and after some time a church was built at the Bowling Green, which, whether in St. Margarett's or St. Mary's parish, was connected with the congregation in St. Margarett's. In 1833, the Rev. Mr. Friend became the minister of St. Margarett's, and continued so for some years, until his removal to St. Mary's of the same county. Since the removal of Mr. Friend, St. Margarett's has been connected with Berkeley parish in Spottsylvania county, first and for some years under the charge of the Rev. Mr. Ward, until his removal to Westmoreland, and then of the Rev. Dabney Wharton, its present minister. We have no old vestry-books from which to learn who were the early friends of the Church in this region. We can only mention the names of a few families known to ourself,—the Temples, Tompkinses, Swans, Hallidays, Rawlings, Minors, Hills, Harts, Keans, Leavills, Phillipses, Dickensons, Harrises, Nelsons, Fontaines,—as now belonging to this part of Caroline and Spottsylvania.

PARISHES OF DRYSDALE AND ST. ASAPH, IN CAROLINE COUNTY.

These parishes have long since been deserted of Episcopalians, and can soon be disposed of. That of Drysdale was, it is supposed, cut off from St. Mary's in 1713. St. Asaph was taken from Drysdale, which lay partly in Caroline and partly in King

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William, in the year 1779. Drysdale parish, thus reduced, lay alongside of Essex and St. Asaph, toward Hanover county.

In the years 1754 and 1758, we find the Rev. Robert Innes minister of Drysdale parish. In the year 1774, the Rev. Andrew Moreton. In the year 1776, the Rev. Samuel Shield. In the years 1785 and 1787 and 1789, the Rev. Jesse Carter represents the parish in the Convention, since which time we hear nothing of the parish. Mr. William Lyne appears during this time to have been a faithful lay delegate.

St. Asaph parish, as we have seen, was established in 1779, during the war of the Revolution. We can only look for any account of this parish, in the absence of a vestry-book, to the journals of our Conventions, which began in 1785, after the close of the war. In the year 1785, we find it represented by the Rev. Samuel Shield and Mr. John Page, Jr. In the year 1786, by the Rev. James Taylor and Mr. John Page. In the year 1787, by the Rev. James Taylor and Mr. John Baylor. In the year 1796, by the Rev. George Spirrin and Mr. John Woolfolk. St. Asaph only appears these four times on our journals.

Within the bounds of this parish after the separation, and in Drysdale before that time, lived Mr. Edmund Pendleton, President of the Court of Appeals, of whom we have previously spoken as a sincere Christian and steady friend of the Church. Were any vestry-books of Caroline county to be found, there can be no doubt his name would be there. He was the clerk of the vestry, he himself informs us, when a mere boy. Should it be asked why his name never appears on our journals of Convention with those of Governors Wood and Page, and the Nelsons and Carys, and other patriots of the Revolution, it would be sufficient to conjecture that his heavy duties as judge prevented; but it is made certain by the following letter to Richard Henry Lee, which has been sent me by a friend:—

Extract of a Letter from Edmund Pendleton to Richard Henry Lee, June 13, 1785.

"You have heard of a Convention of the clergy and laity of our Episcopal Church last month. I was not able to attend it, but was pleased to learn that the members were truly respectable, and their proceedings wise and temperate. Their journal is not yet printed, but I am told it contains rules for the government of the clergy, and the appointment of deputies to represent us in a Federal Convention to be held in Philadelphia in September next, to whom it is referred to revise and reform our Liturgy. Mr. Page, of Rosewell, and your brother, of Greenspring, [Mr.

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William Lee,] are the lay deputies, and the Revs. Mr. Griffith and McCrosky the clerical. What is become of Bishop Seabury, and how is he received in Connecticut? One would not have expected that the first American Bishop had come to New England."

I am happy also to be able to furnish another document from the pen of Judge Pendleton, toward the close of his life, on a subject of as deep interest at the present as at that time. It is a petition, in his own well-known handwriting, and with his own name at the head of it, from the inhabitants of Caroline, addressed to the Legislature, praying it to take into consideration the evils of treating the voters at annual elections with intoxicating drink. The names of the signers are those of the most respectable citizens of Caroline county. The committee to whom it was referred in the House were also the most eminent men of Virginia, viz.:—Messrs. Venable, Mathews, Ellzey, Jennings, Hill, Shield, and John Taylor.

The petition is as follows:—

"To the Honourable the Legislature of the State of Virginia, the subscribers, inhabitants of the county of Caroline, beg leave to represent, that, beholding with concern the growth of a species of corruption at elections, commonly called treating, as having a tendency to destroy national principles and individual morals, they presume to submit the following considerations to legislative deliberation:—1st. Whether the best mode of enabling electors to judge of a candidate's qualifications is to deprive them of their senses. 2d. Whether corrupting and being corrupted is calculated to produce sentiments of confidence between the people and their representatives. 3d. Whether true patriotism can exist on any other foundation than such confidence and esteem. 4th. Whether, in order to bring merit into preference, success should depend on expense. 5th. Whether, if a political body should appear, where wealth grew out of public spoils, until it was beyond competition, a check upon its pernicious influence will be erected by a consignment of legislation to riches. 6th. Whether liberty will be considered inestimable by those who are in the habit of selling it for a bottle of rum. 7th. Whether the dispensation of corruption is likely to steel the mind of the elected against its introduction, in the exercise of several elective functions confided to the representatives of the people. 8th. Whether the consequences experienced from a septennial repetition (as in England) of the practice we deprecate are sufficient to justify it as an annual custom, and whether virtue or vice is the safest basis for a republican government.

"If the Legislature shall view this mischief in the light we see it, we refer it to their wisdom as calling loudly for an effectual legislative remedy; and we pledge ourselves to support an energetic law by withholding our suffrages from all who shall infringe it. Edmund Pendleton, James Taylor, William Jones, Edmund Pendleton, Jr., Anthony Thornton, Charles Todd, Anthony New, Daniel Coleman, Henry Chiles, John Baylor, Mungo Roy, P. Woolfolk, John Minor, Jr., John Pendleton, Jr., George Gray, Norborne Taliafero, William Stewart, Thomas Kidd,

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David Dickerson, Philip Slaughter, John Walden, Robert Tompkins, Edmund Chapman, George Terrill, R. R. Tyler, J. Woolfolk, Thomas Harris."

Let us consider the above petition, and think upon its signers for a moment. If such a paper were now drawn up and signed by a number of persons, no matter how conscientiously, there are those who would regard it either as fanatical or as an assault on individual rights and liberty, and say, We will sign no such paper and come under no such pledge, but will vote for whomsoever we please, even though they or their friends liberally treat with the intoxicating draught. But how encouraging and strengthening it is to know that old Edmund Pendleton and many of the best men of Caroline county and Virginia, who had just come out of the war of the Revolution, and certainly had some just views of true liberty, did thus denounce an approaching evil, and call upon the Legislature to enact rigid laws against it, promising to sustain the same by their voices on the day of election! There is something of a moral grandeur about this movement of the venerable Pendleton and of his most respectable countymen which is worthy of admiration and imitation. Were he now living, we might surely calculate on his support of any wise and practical measure for the prevention not only of the one mentioned in the memorial, but of the numerous and most destructive evils of intoxicating drinks.

The following extract from the letter of a friend furnishes some additional information concerning St. Margarett's parish :—

"The Rev. Mr. Dick left one son bearing his name, who lived and died in this county; also two daughters,—one who married Mr. Vivian Minor, and who lived to a good old age, and retained to the time of her death a warm attachment to the Episcopal Church, travelling the distance of twelve miles to St. Margarett's, whenever its pulpit was filled, generally reaching it before those in the immediate neighbourhood,—and this after she was seventy years old. The other daughter married Mr. Robert Hart, of Spottsylvania, and also with her descendants continued true to the Church of her fathers. Mr. Boggs preached in this church for thirty years. In the year 1825, the Female Missionary Society of Fredericksburg sent Mr. John McGuire to preach for us, hoping to build up our waste places. By the blessing of God on this effort, a considerable interest was manifested by the few remaining members and others, and his preaching was attended by crowds, generally. The church was then in a very dilapidated condition, but was soon after repaired. After Mr. McGuire located himself in Essex, the vestry called the Rev. Leonard H. Johns, who ministered to them for two years. It was during this time that more members were added to the Church than at any other; but most of them were, I be-

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lieve, the seals of Mr. McGuire's ministry, though Mr. Johns's was very acceptable, and much beloved by all. Mr. Good succeeded Mr. Johns early in the year 1829, and remained until 1831, when he was compelled by ill health to leave the parish, much to the regret of all who knew him. The Rev. Mr. Cooke officiated frequently for us while we were without a minister. In July, 1832, Mr. Friend became our pastor: he continued to preach till June, 1835, in which time the St. Margarett's Church underwent considerable repairs and the church at the Bowling Green was built. Mr. Ward followed Mr. Friend and remained till 1840, when the Rev. St. M. Fackler took his place, continuing with us two years. The Rev. D. M. Wharton took charge of this and the churches in Spottsylvania in the fall of 1843."

The following letter from the Rev. H. M. Denison, formerly of Virginia, deserves a place in the article on Drysdale parish:—

"Louisville, April 29, 1856.

"My Dear Bishop:—I have read with deep interest your account of many of the old churches and families of Virginia. Having just risen from the perusal of that on York-Hampton parish, it seems to me that you have not given all the credit it deserves to the character of the Rev. Samuel Shield.

"He was a clergyman of high character, and was a competitor with Bishop Madison for the Episcopate. He had at one time charge of Drysdale parish, (now unrepresented in Convention,) lying in Caroline and the adjoining counties. He was great-uncle, I think, to the Rev. Charles Shield, grandfather of Dr. Samuel Shield, of Hampton, a worthy son of our Church, grandfather to Mrs. Colonel McCandlish, of W——, and grandfather to the wife of the Rev. Edmund Murdaugh; so that the succession, both Christian and ministerial, is kept up in his family. But I take up my pen to mention to you the following incident, which will not be uninteresting to you even if it be without the scope of your published reminiscences.

"After the massacre by the British and Indians of a large portion of the inhabitants of the lovely Valley of Wyoming in Pennsylvania, the parishioners of Drysdale, through their rector, Mr. Shield, as almoner, sent to the destitute and helpless women and children of the Valley the handsome sum (for those days) of one hundred and eighty dollars to relieve their necessities. The transaction is thus recorded in the History of Wyoming, by the Hon. Charles Miner:—

"At a town-meeting held in Wyoming on the 20th of April, 1780, it was—

"'*Voted*, That whereas the parish of Dresden, [for Drysdale,] in the State of Virginia, have contributed and sent one hundred and eighty dollars for the support of the distressed inhabitants of this town, [Wilkesbarre,] that the Selectmen be directed to distribute said money to those they shall judge the most necessitated, and report to the town at some future meeting.

"'*Voted*, That Colonel Nathan Denison return the thanks of this town to the parish of Dresden in the State of Virginia, for their charitable disposition in presenting the distressed inhabitants of this town with one hundred and eighty dollars.'

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"Some five or six years ago I was at Dr. Samuel Shield's, in Hampton, and the doctor told me he had discovered my name among his grandfather's papers; and upon examination I found the original letter of thanks written by my grandfather, Colonel Denison, to his grandfather, the Rev. Mr. Shield. It was threescore and ten years of age, but had evidently been preserved with much care; and I sent it at once to Mr. Miner, the historian. Very sincerely, but unworthily, your son in the Gospel.

"H. M. Denison."

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ARTICLE XXXVIII.

Parishes in Hanover County.—No. 1. *St. Paul's and St. Martin's.*

This was separated from New Kent county in the year 1720, and the parish called St. Paul's. Its first minister was the Rev. Zachariah Brooke, who was still vicar of Hawkston and Newton in England, leaving a curate there. In 1724 he informs the Bishop of London that his parish is sixty miles in length and twelve in width, (before Louisa county was cut off;) that there were twelve hundred families in it; two churches and two chapels, at the former of which he preached on the Sabbaths, and at the latter during the days of the week; that there were about one hundred communicants at the churches,—at each church, I suppose, though it is not clear; that the glebe and glebe-house were only worth the casks,—that is, the hogsheads in which the tobacco was put up, and which he received in lieu of them. Of the previous ministers we shall speak when treating of the parish of New Kent, from which it was divided in 1720. How long Mr. Brooke continued, I cannot ascertain. In the year 1738, fourteen years later, I find the following letter from the Rev. Charles Bridges, whose spirit breathes something of that which animates the present minister of our Mother-Church bearing the same name. It is addressed to the Bishop of London:—

"My good Bishop:—The little good I find I am capable of doing, without your particular countenance, in first subscribing and getting subscriptions to that your excellent design of instructing the negroes here, according to the method proposed, and pressing the Commissary to follow you, and solicit the Governor and his interest,—I say, all that can be done in this affair without your charitable efforts will, I fear, to my great concern, come to nothing. The Commissary [Mr. Blair] and I grow in years, and the world hangs heavy upon us. I am roused sometimes and then call upon him, and then he is asleep, perhaps, and answers nothing, and I am ready to sleep too. Would to God your powerful voice would sound in our ears, to get up and be doing a little more good while there is time and opportunity, which would make us thankful to your goodness for so great a blessing, and especially to me, your obedient and most dutiful servant, Charles Bridges."

From this it would seem that he was much interested in the welfare of the servants, and doubtless made efforts in their behalf, as

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others of the clergy (from the reports to the Bishop of London in 1724) appear to have done, though, it is to be feared, feebly and with but little success. Many of the coloured children were baptized, and some of them taught the catechism. How long Mr. Bridges continued the minister in St. Paul's parish, Hanover, I cannot say, or who was the minister in the other parish,—St. Martin's,—for another had, in the year 1726, been cut off from it by that name; but in the year 1754 we find that the Rev. Patrick Henry was the minister of St. Paul's, and the Rev. Robert Barrett of St. Martin's. They continued such until the year 1776. Indeed, the name of Robert Barrett appears as the minister of St. Martin's in the year 1785. How long Mr. Henry continued after 1776 does not appear. In the year 1789 the Rev. Peter Nelson, of the same name, though of a different family, from those who formed a part of his congregation, was the minister of St. Martin's, and the Rev. Mr. Talley was minister of St. Paul's. Mr. Nelson, according to the journal, was minister in 1799, and some time after that united himself to the Baptist Church. The Rev. Mr. Talley became a Universalist, and died the death of the drunkard. The Rev. Mr. Boggs, of Spottsylvania, occasionally officiated in St. Martin's parish and at the Fork Church after this for some years; but so low was the condition of the Church, and so few disposed to respond, that he used to read only such parts as needed no response, and not all of them. Such was the case in other parishes also. The Rev. Mr. Hopkins, of Goochland, during a part of the same destitute period preached in Hollowing Creek Church, and perhaps Allen's Creek Church. With the commencement of the resuscitation of the Church in 1812, the hopes of the Episcopalians in Hanover began to revive. In 1815 the Rev. John Philips became their pastor. He was an Englishman of the Wesleyan school, and was ordained for our Church by Bishop Moore. There were some things so peculiar in the person and character of Mr. Philips, that they deserve notice. His person was the most diminutive I ever saw or heard of in the pulpit, but it was remarkable for its quickness and energy of action. He required to be elevated on a high block or platform to be seen at all in the pulpit. When praying in private houses he always knelt in the chair, not by it. He was very animated in preaching, putting his soul and voice into his extempore sermons. He was ultra Arminian in doctrine, and could not tolerate Calvinists. Had he lived in the days of Calvin, or even later, and possessed the power, he would have served him as he (Calvin) did Servetus. As it was, he could not

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refrain from denouncing such in the most violent and offensive terms, in private and public, much to the injury of his usefulness and to the grief of his friends. But he was a faithful and conscientious man, and urged to repentance and faith and the new spiritual birth in the most earnest and effectual manner, on the Sabbath and from house to house. Religion was with him the fixed idea,—the one thing needful. He could talk of nothing else, for he knew nothing else, being a child in all other things. Wherever he was, this was the only theme. Nobody expected any thing else. He never left a house, though only calling for a few moments, without what he called *a word of prayer*. On his visits to Richmond, no matter into what house he entered, (and he entered many of the gay and fashionable, as well as of the serious,) he would say at parting, "Let us have *a word of prayer;*" and then, kneeling in a chair, would offer up a most fervent and special prayer for the members of the same. Of course, there were those who amused themselves at this novel mode of proceeding, but there were those who felt it in their hearts, and if the old man caused smiles in some, he drew tears and sighs from others. The old and the young in Hanover felt the power of his ministry. They who embraced religion as presented by him embraced it as the power of God to the salvation of the soul. His converts were genuine, faithful, true-hearted ones. They saw his defects, but felt and imitated his virtues. They saw that there was such a thing as being entirely taken up with the service of God. During the few years he spent in the parish an entire change took place there, the effects of which are felt to this day. The manner of his death, which took place after his removal to Lunenburg, was as remarkable as that of his life. While riding in a plain conveyance with Mrs. Philips, who always drove him about, as she did many other things for him, he expired without her knowledge, until, stopping at a tavern to water the horse which carried them, it was discovered that he was sitting by her side a lifeless corpse. Although it would be great folly for all ministers to copy after the example of Mr. Philips in all things, yet it would be well for us all to be ever seeking after his entire devotedness of spirit to the work of our calling. It is this spirit which insures the favour both of God and man, and makes those of humblest talents able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit. Mr. Philips was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Wydown, who continued two or three years, and was followed by the Rev. Mr. Barns, who, after labouring two years, was obliged to desist from ill health. To him succeeded the Rev. Mr. Cook, who was the minister from

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1825 to 1834. The next was the Rev. Mr. Bowers, whose ministry, commencing soon after the resignation of Mr. Cook, continued until a few years since. The present minister is the Rev. Horace Stringfellow. There being no remnant left of the old vestry-book of this parish, I am unable to furnish a list of those who in its earlier days took the most active part in its concerns, and whose families composed its congregations. I can only speak of some few from my own recollection and knowledge. In my first visits to the parish, the aged forms of old Captains Shephard and Price presented themselves as the last of a race of old lovers of our communion. Their memory is held in high esteem, and many of their descendants honour them by adhering to the Church of their ancestors. Dr. Carter Berkeley, whose name may be so often seen on the Convention journals of the last and present century, and also on those of our General Convention, is too well remembered to be more than mentioned. Of his mother, of Airwell, a descendant of the Carters, inheriting all their devotion to the Church, one circumstance is too interesting to be omitted. Airwell, the family seat of the Berkeleys, was the place where the communion-plate was kept. After the death of Mr. Berkeley, and death or resignation of the minister, by which, under the law, the glebes were forfeited, the overseers of the poor wished to do what was done in some other parishes,—viz.: bring the sacred vessels under the operation of that act, but which in other parishes was scorned to be done. Those in Hanover, however, well knowing not only the pious attachment of Mrs. Berkeley to every thing belonging to the Church, but that she was a lady of dignity, firmness, and authority, instead of appearing in person to demand the plate, sent an embassy to her for the purpose, through whom she returned this answer:—"Tell the gentlemen to come and take them." They never came, and the vessels are now in use on every communion-day, in St. Martin's parish, Hanover. I cannot forbear remarking that there is no part of the conduct of the opponents of the Episcopal Church which appears so unamiable and unjustifiable as that in regard to the Church plate. It was almost always a private donation, as the vestry-books and the inscriptions show, and even if it had not been, the framers and supporters of the law would have felt themselves insulted, if the insinuation had been made at the time of its passage that such an application of it would be made. But numerous instances have occurred in which such application has been made, while too many have been the cases where individuals have seized upon them and made way with them for their

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private benefit. Returning from this digression, I would add to the list of true friends of religion and our Church the families of the Fontaines, descendants of the good old Huguenot of whom I have yet to speak; of the Nelsons, connected with the minister of whom I have already spoken, but who did not follow his example; of the Morrises, the Wickams, Taylors, Winstons, Pollards, Robinsons, Pages, Prices, Shepherds, and others.

I must also add a few words concerning the widow of General Nelson. The old lady (who was blind for the last seventeen years of her life, and who lived a much longer period than that in Hanover) was an example of the sweetest piety. We have said on a former occasion that we often administered the Holy Communion to her and numbers of her descendants in her room, and on one occasion to more than forty, in that and the passage adjoining, nearly all of whom were her children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. I omitted to mention one constant recipient of the sacrament,—her old and venerable servant, the only property she had in the world, for the house in which she lived, humble as it was, was not her own, and the small funds she annually received were the interest of a few thousand dollars which at her death belonged to some kind creditors of General Nelson, who allowed her the use of it during life. This servant was a member of the Baptist Church, who thought the rule which forbade intercommunion with others was more honoured in the breach than in the observance. Having been taught to read, and reading well, she was a great comfort to her mistress, and read to her all the best books on religious subjects as they appeared, during many of the last years of her life. At her death, she bequeathed to this servant all she had to bequeath,—her freedom,—well knowing that the whole family would see that freedom should not become poverty and want to her. There was, indeed, one small legacy she had been saving; it was twenty dollars, which was found carefully enfolded, with a direction that it be given to her minister. In proof of the rigid economy she had practised, and the strict principle on which she had practised it, it is not unworthy of being told, that only a few nights before her death, and when a number of her children and descendants were sitting around the fire, and supposing she was asleep, the silence was broken by her saying, "Don't bury me in my new gown," to which one of them playfully replied, "Oh, no; don't be troubled: we will put all the old rags around you that we can find." Her remains lie buried at the east end of the Old Fork Church in the

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midst of a number of the family.* As my object is to seek to do good, by referring to excellent traits in the character of some of the best members of our Church, I must add a few words concerning one of the sons of this venerable lady. There are still some

* In connection with old Mrs. Nelson, the following circumstance deserves to be mentioned, not more to show the patriotic spirit which animated the breasts of young and old at the breaking out of the war, but chiefly to illustrate the parental authority and filial submission which characterized the days of our forefathers. When the British were about landing on James River, and Yorktown was peculiarly exposed, General Nelson, then in arms against them, was obliged to send Mrs. Nelson, with an infant three weeks old, to the upper country. When near Williamsburg she met a company of youths, some of them mere boys, armed with their guns, and marching down to fire at the enemy. On meeting the well-known old English coach, they halted and presented arms to Mrs. Nelson, wishing to show her all honour. She received their salutation very courteously, but, perceiving among them two of her own sons, mere boys at the preparatory school, she directed the coachman to stop, and, opening the door, requested them to enter the carriage. Mortifying as it must have been to them, they were too much accustomed to obey to think of refusing. Taking them with her, she sent them to Philadelphia to complete their education, placing them under the care of Mr. Rittenhouse. One of these youths, Mr. Thomas Nelson, was afterward private secretary to General Washington while President, and a great favourite with him and Mrs. Washington. This is only one of a thousand instances which might be adduced to prove that, however we may in in some respects have improved on the manners and habits of our ancestors, we certainly have not in the prompt submission to the will of parents and authority of teachers. The Revolution, with all its blessings, has nevertheless been attended with one evil,—that of insubordination to those in authority, whether parents or others. I shall have occasion to speak of one of the old clergy, who, though importuned to resume the office of teacher after the establishment of our independence, could not be prevailed on to undertake it, saying that it was hard enough to govern boys before, but as for these little democrats he would have nothing to do with them. So important do I deem this subject, that, at the risk of seeming to be very egotistical, as I must have often done already, I add the following. Soon after my father's death my mother sent me to Princeton College. While there, the great rebellion took place, in which one hundred and fifty out of two hundred took part, and for which they were all sent home. Being among the dismissed, and returning home and unable to justify the act, my mother, who was of the old Virginia school, hesitated not to send me back again, with acknowledgment of error and promise of future good behaviour. Nor did I hesitate to obey, for the habit of submission to her authority had been established from my earliest years. There were fifty other sons at that time whose parents or guardians adopted the same course. I fear that it would be difficult now to find many who would follow their example, even in relation to the misconduct of boys at a high-school, so independent have our sons become. I am not given to croaking, or to complaining that "the former days were better than these," as I believe the contrary to be true; but in this respect I believe there is a deterioration. It is due to those who were concerned in the above-mentioned rebellion, to say that, with a few exceptions, there probably never was a collegiate outbreak in which there was less guilt than in this, by reason of misunderstanding and the artful imposition of some ringleaders. Still, it was hard to retract and ask pardon.

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of us remaining who remember old Mr. Francis Nelson as the frequent delegate from this parish. He married one of the descendants of the old Mr. Page of whom we have spoken. They had fourteen children, to whom by good management they contrived to give respectable educations, though living on a poor Hanover farm. Unable to afford other conveyance than a farm-wagon with four mules, his family was punctually at church in that, when the weather would allow, himself being on horseback. The great secret of his bringing up such a family on such a farm was, a conscientious determination to live on its proceeds and never run in debt. He was himself an example of that self-denial which he required of his children. If the allowance of tobacco raised on his own farm and set apart for his own use failed before another crop, and he had not the money to pay for more, he did without it. If tea or coffee could not be had for the elder members of the family, as was often the case, milk served in their stead; if there was not milk enough for the children, water supplied its place. Thus did he live and die without debt. And, what is more worthy of notice than any thing else, all of his fourteen children entered into full communion with the Church of their parents. I conclude this part of the article on Hanover by stating that this parish, though small, has furnished four ministers to the Church,—the Revs. W. N. Pendleton, Washington Nelson, Robert Nelson, and Farley Berkeley. It ought to have furnished many more, but I could wish they had all done as well. In my next, I shall consider what occurred in this county in relation to the Rev. Samuel Davies, and the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in the same, with a review of what is ascribed to the Episcopal Church in the way of intolerance.

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ARTICLE XXXIX.

Parishes in Hanover.—No. 2.

The history of the treatment of other denominations of Christians by the Government and Church of Virginia deserves a special consideration; and I know not where, in the progress of my sketches, it can be more properly examined than in connection with the history of this parish. That the Episcopalians of Virginia should, from the first, have shared in the spirit of the age, and been sometimes guilty of such an exclusive course as marked the Church of England, of Scotland, and of New England, and which all in this age of toleration unite in condemning, was to be expected; but it is not fair that she should be loaded with a heavier reproach than was merited. From a pretty extensive—and, we think, impartial—examination of the subject, we are firmly persuaded that her misconduct in this respect has been greatly exaggerated, and is much misunderstood to this day, even by some of her most attached friends. The press, the pulpit, and the fireside have been, for more than a century, accustomed to retail instances of imprisonment, and fines, and restraints, colouring and magnifying them according to the temperament of the speaker, until many have been impressed with the belief that the bloody persecutions of Nero, in the first ages, were not more wicked. I remember from early boyhood to have heard, from the pulpit and elsewhere, of the dreadful persecution of a worthy old Dissenting minister, and for a long time his name was always associated in my mind with stripes, imprisonment, and the shutting up his lips from preaching the Gospel of Christ. During the last summer I happened at the court-house, where whatever proceedings took place must have been recorded; and I asked to see the records of the same, when one of the clerks, being a descendant of the old martyr, with a smile told me that the persecution was not so cruel as some had supposed. On examination of the record, it appeared that, having violated the Act of Toleration and preached in various places of the parish without taking out a license for the same, he had been presented for it, summoned before the court, and made to give a small security for the observance of the law in the

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future. All that the law required was, to ask for a license to preach in such and such places, and it was freely given. I have, during my life, been accustomed to hear of the persecutions of the harmless Quakers in Virginia and elsewhere, and have ever thought that it must have been proof of a most uncharitable spirit, not to make the largest allowance for their scruples, and not only permit them without molestation to worship God according to their own consciences, but even to have some immunities as citizens on the same account. But recent investigations have convinced me that great injustice has been done to our forefathers in the imputation cast upon them for their treatment of the first of this sect who came into America. I have been, by the kindness of a friend, furnished with extracts from the records of the Court of Accomac,—going back to the year 1632, the oldest documents of the kind in Virginia,—from which I find that, between 1650 and 1660, some persons (called Quakers) appeared in that part of Virginia, and, after a time, having made a few converts, built a log-church,—only ten feet square, so small was their number. They were charged not only with vilifying the ministers and disobeying the laws, but with blaspheming God. Witnesses, in open court, proved their denial that Christ was ever seen in the flesh, that he had any humanity about him, that several of them called God "a foolish old man," and other names. On account of these things they were ordered to be sent over the bay to the Governor and Council. What was done to them does not appear. How entirely does this change the aspect of the case! It seems they were sent over for trial, not for dissenting from the Church of England, but because they were disobedient to law, wicked men, and blasphemers. Were this the only testimony against them, we might hope some mistake had occurred; but, both before and after this, we find the Acts of Assembly and other documents speaking of some belonging to this sect as lawless persons, disturbers of the peace, atheists, and blasphemers. Even at a time when other denominations—as the Huguenots and German Lutherans—were not only tolerated but patronized, these men were put upon the same footing with Papists. In the year 1711, Governor Spottswood, in a letter to the Lord-Commissioner, speaks of them as much embarrassing the Government, and "broaching doctrines so monstrous as their brethren in England never owned, and which cannot be suffered in any government. They have not only," he says, "refused to work themselves, or suffer any of their servants to be employed in the fortifications, but affirm that their consciences will not permit them to contribute

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in any manner or way to the defence of the country, even so much as trusting the Government for provision to support them that do work, though at the same time they say that, being obliged by their religion to feed their enemies, if the French should come here and want provisions, they must, in conscience, supply them." Governor Spottswood was not the man to be thus dealt with. Accordingly he says, "I have, therefore, thought it necessary to put the laws in force against them, since any one that is lazy or cowardly would make use of the pretence of conscience to excuse himself from working or fighting when there is greatest need of his service." As the Quakers became a more respectable body in Virginia, the treatment of them was changed.

I must make the same remark as to another denomination of Christians in Virginia, who were generally called—as on their first appearance in Europe—Anabaptists, and were a very different people from what they are at this time. In the year 1761, the Rev. James Maury addressed a printed letter of some length to the Christians of all denominations in Virginia, calling upon them to unite in opposing that new sect. There was at that time a considerable number of Presbyterians in the Valley, and some in different counties in Eastern Virginia. The Methodists, also, had their preachers and congregations. The ground on which he calls upon them to unite against the Anabaptists was, that they denied all ordination, and claimed that every one had a right to preach, by virtue of the inspiration of the Spirit, and that they were going about, without any licence, disturbing the order of neighbourhoods and churches with wild doctrines. Although Mr. Maury held in high esteem and preference the Episcopal ordination, yet he considered that regularly-appointed preachers of the other Churches, according to some rule, were lawful ministers, of which the Baptists at that time had none. This fact I mention to show that the first opposition made to the Baptists was in a measure caused and strengthened by doctrines and practices which they themselves would now hold in condemnation, and upon which they would exercise discipline. That their preachers were dealt severely with in some instances then, and perhaps at a later date, is certainly true; but let the truth also be admitted, that it was the State, not the Church, which did it; that the civil magistrates, not the clergy, were guilty; that the offences which were the cause of their being arraigned were offences against laws made by the civil legislature, though those laws had reference to religious matters. Let it also be remembered how

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often the clergy themselves condemned and opposed all such interference, and how, when an appeal was made to the Governor and Council, the mildest and most tolerant construction was put upon the law, and the magistrates rebuked. Mr. Sample, in his "History of the Baptists of Virginia," gives some instances of this. We shall also see, hereafter, how the Bishop of London, in his own behalf and that of the whole Church of England, disavows having any thing to do with the making or executing laws against Dissenters. The following extract from the address of Mr. Maury will show of what spirit he was:—

"'Tis true, the author acknowledges himself peculiarly bound by ties of duty, as he is prompted by inclination, to wish—and, if he can, to promote—the prosperity of that *peculiar Church* in which he deems it his honour and happiness to minister. Yet be just enough to believe him, when he declares that he would deem it no small addition to that honour and happiness, could he be an instrument of furthering in any degree the spiritual comfort and edification of any one honest and well-disposed person, of whatever persuasion, within the extensive pale of the Catholic Church at large; that he hath much at heart the eternal welfare of Dissenters and Conformists; and that, as he thinks he sees errors in both, and sincerely laments them, so he is disposed cheerfully to exert his endeavours, weak as they be at best, to rectify whatever may be blameworthy in either."

Having made these preliminary remarks, I proceed to consider the case of the Rev. Samuel Davies and the Presbyterians of Hanover county, Virginia, which has been the subject of much discussion. I introduce it by the following address of five Episcopal clergymen, in Hanover and the counties around, to the House of Burgesses, in the year ——:

"ADDRESS TO THE BURGESSES.

"*To the Worshipful the Speaker and Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses.*

"The humble petition of some of the Clergy of this Dominion showeth:—

"That there have been frequently held in the counties of Hanover, Henrico, Goochland, and some others, for several years past, numerous Assemblies, especially of the common people, upon a pretended religious account,—convened sometimes by merely lay enthusiasts, who, in these meetings, read sundry fanatical books and used long extempore prayers and discourses,—sometimes by strolling, pretended ministers,—and at present by one Mr. Samuel Davies, who has fixed himself in Hanover; and, in the counties of Amelia and Albemarle, by a person who calls himself Mr. Cennick, well known in England by his intimacy with Mr. Whitefield.

"That though these teachers and their adherents (except the abovementioned Cennick) assume the denomination of Presbyterians, yet we

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think they have no just claim to that character, as the ringleaders of the party were, for their erroneous doctrines and practices, excluded the Presbyterian Synod of Philadelphia in May, 1741, (as appears by an address of said Synod to our Governor;) nor have they, since that time, made any recantation of their errors, nor been readmitted as members of that Synod,—which Synod, though of many years' standing, never was reprehended for errors in doctrine, discipline, or government, either by the established Kirk of Scotland, the Presbyterian Dissenters in England, or any other body of Presbyterians whatsoever. Whence we beg leave to conclude, that the distinguishing tenets of these teachers before mentioned are of dangerous consequence to religion in general, and that the authors and propagators thereof are deservedly stigmatized with a name (New-Lights) unknown till of late in this part of the world.

"That your petitioners further humbly conceive that, though these excluded members of the Synod of Philadelphia were really Presbyterians, or of any of the other sects tolerated in England, yet there is no law in this Colony by virtue whereof they can be entitled to a license to preach, far less to send forth their emissaries, or to travel themselves over several counties, (to many places without invitation,) to gain proselytes to their way; 'to inveigle ignorant and unwary people with their sophistry;' and, under pretence of greater degrees of piety among them than can be found among the members of the Established Church, to seduce them from their lawful teachers and the religion hitherto professed in this Dominion.

"Your petitioners therefore, confiding in the wisdom and piety of this worshipful House, the guardians of their religious as well as civil privileges, and being deeply sensible of the inestimable value of the souls committed to their charge, of the infectious and pernicious tendency, nature, and consequences of heresy and schism, and of the sacred and solemn obligations they are under 'To be ready with all faithful diligence to banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines contrary to God's word, and to use their utmost care that the flock of Christ may be fed with the sincere milk of the word only,' humbly pray that the good laws, formerly in that case made and provided, may be strictly put in execution; particularly that entitled 'ministers to be inducted.' And, as we humbly think this law still retains its primitive force and vigour, so we pray that it may on this occasion effectually exert the same, to the end that all novel notions and perplexing, uncertain doctrines and speculations, which tend to the subversion of true religion, designed by its admirable Author to direct the faith and practice of reasonable creatures, may be suitably checked and discouraged. And that this Church, of which we are members, and which our forefathers justly esteemed a most invaluable blessing, worthy by all prudent and honourable means to be defended and supported, being by us in the same manner regarded, may remain 'the pillar and ground of truth,' and glory of this Colony, which hitherto hath been remarkably happy for uniformity of religion.

"And your petitioners, as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

"D. Mossom, Pat. Henry,
"John Brunskill,* John Robertson,
Robert Barrett."

* There were three ministers named John Brunskill at this time in Virginia, two of whom lived in Caroline county, and one in Fauquier. The one in Fauquier was an unworthy person.

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That these memorialists were perfectly sincere and conscientious in their protest, I doubt not; nor have I any reason to suspect the respectability of their character. The following statement, which I take substantially from the history of the Presbyterian Church in Virginia, by the Rev. Mr. Foote, will show the grounds on which the charges in the foregoing letter were made. It must have been somewhere about the year 1740, when the reports of some great awakenings and revivals at the North, and some books differing from those in common use, found their way first into Virginia, and especially excited the minds of some persons in Hanover, Louisa, and other counties around. Finding nothing in the sermons of the Episcopal ministers corresponding with these, some of the laity separated themselves from the usual services, which by law they were bound to attend, and read sermons in private houses. After a time certain ministers came among them from the North, but who were not recognised by the Philadelphia Presbytery. It seems that they, and some of the laymen who set up reading-houses, held some extravagant doctrines, probably Antinomian, which made a great noise. These, and the irregular meetings of the itinerant preachers, and lay readers and exhorters, came to Governor Gooch's ears. They were charged with assailing the Church and its ministers, in private and public, with the most abusive language, and of disturbing the peace and order of society. Governor Gooch, who had always treated the Dissenters with great kindness, and had, in reply to a letter from the Philadelphia Synod a few years before, assured them that their members and people should be allowed the free exercise of conscience in the worship of God, if complying with the Act of Toleration, became much offended, and, summoning a general court, delivered a charge complaining of the conduct of those laymen and preachers who, professing to be Presbyterians, yet utterly disregarded the conditions of the Act of Toleration, and produced much discord in the Colony. This charge was laid before the Synod of Philadelphia by a gentleman from Virginia. The Synod, having considered it, sent the following address to the Governor:—

"May it please your Honour, the favourable acceptance which your Honour was pleased to give our former address, and the countenance and protection which those of our persuasion have met with in Virginia, fills us with gratitude, and we beg leave on this occasion with all sincerity to express the same. It very deeply affects us to find that any who go from these parts, and perhaps assume the name of Presbyterians, should be guilty of such practices, such uncharitable and unchristian expressions, as are taken notice of in your Honour's charge to the Grand Jury. And, in the mean time, it gives us the greatest pleasure that we can assure your Honour

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these persons never belonged to our body, but are missionaries, sent out by some, who, by reason of their divisions and uncharitable doctrines and practices, were, in May, 1741, excluded from our Synod, upon which they erected themselves into a separate society, and have industriously sent abroad persons whom we judge ill qualified for the character they assume, to divide and trouble the churches. And, therefore, we humbly pray, that while those who belong to us, and produce proper testimonials, behave themselves suitably, they may still enjoy the favour of your Honour's countenance and protection. And praying for the divine blessing on your Honour's person and government, we beg leave to subscribe ourselves your Honour's, &c. &c.

"ROBERT CATHCART, *Moderator.*"

The following is an extract from the Governor's reply:—

"GENTLEMEN:—The address you were pleased to send me, as a grateful acknowledgment for the favour which teachers of your persuasion met with in Virginia, was very acceptable to me, but altogether needless to a person in my station, because it is what by law they are entitled to."

The Synod soon after this, in reply to a petition from the people in Hanover, sent them, as a temporary supply, two most venerable men, Messrs. Tennent and Finley, who were kindly received by the Governor and permitted to preach in Hanover. Then followed the Rev. Mr. Blair, and soon after Mr. Whitefield, who, in passing through Virginia, preached for them five days. During the intervals of their visits, it is said that the Non-conformists and itinerant preachers and lay readers were harassed by the pains and penalties of the law, by which I presume is meant the fines for not attending the Established Church. The meetings for reading were, however, kept up, although forbidden. Those ministers and readers who had been summoned to Williamsburg for violation of law, and for the use of most abusive language, seemed all to have been dismissed, and there was no terror in the law for any who chose to worship God in their own way and place, except a trivial fine for being absent from church, which, I will venture to say, was seldom enforced, as few could be found who would undertake to present them. Those who are persecuted are very apt to magnify their sufferings, and those who come after them to magnify them much more.

We now come to the time when the Rev. Samuel Davies, afterward President of Princeton College, settled in Hanover, as the regular pastor of the Presbyterians there and in some other places around. Calling at Williamsburg, and showing his credentials as a minister of that denomination, the Governor and Council licensed four places at which he was allowed to officiate. His zeal and eloquence soon attracted crowds, and drew many from the Episcopal

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churches. His fame spread through the counties around, and in a short time three other places were licensed, and then three more were called for. Meanwhile, complaints were made to the Governor that he also was nothing more than an itinerant proselyter, as those who had gone before him, and who had been condemned by the Philadelphia Synod itself. About this time the letter from the five clergymen, which goes before, was addressed to the Burgesses. The Governor was much excited, and, with the Council, questioned whether it was according to the true intent of the Act of Toleration to allow one man to have any number of houses licensed, in any number of counties, at which to preach and draw away the people from their regular places of worship, to which they were attached, and which they were bound to attend by law. Mr. Davies appeared before them and plead his own cause,—no doubt with great ability. The result, however, was a refusal to license any more without consultation with the authorities of England, and Mr. Davies was required to content himself with his seven congregations in five or more counties. The Governor himself, in his letter to the Synod of Philadelphia, had said, after condemning itinerant preachers, who disturbed the order and peace of the community, "Your missionaries producing proper testimonials, complying with the laws, and performing divine service in some certain place appropriated for that purpose, without disturbing the quiet and unity of our sacred and civil establishments, may be sure of my protection." On such terms Mr. Davies was supposed to have come to Virginia, and for the alleged violation of such was opposition made to the licensing of so many places of service. We have the whole subject discussed in a kind of triangular correspondence between the Bishop of London, Mr. Davies, and the excellent Dr. Doddridge of England. I shall briefly state the main points of these letters,—enough to exhibit the subject in its proper light. The Bishop of London says, that, as to any methods of oppression with the Dissenters, neither he nor his Commissaries have any power, nor desire it; that if any is exerted, the civil Government alone is concerned; that if the Church of Virginia is in such a state of corruption as the Church of Rome was at the Reformation, then, without any law authorizing it, such methods as Mr. Davies pursues are justifiable; but, that though Mr. Davies gives a much worse account of the clergy than he receives, yet he does not justify himself on that ground; that he places it on the right given by the Toleration Act, in which he (the Bishop) differs from him, thinking that it never was designed to give such unlimited license. The Bishop evidently considers that

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Mr. Davies had come from a great distance (three hundred miles) to disturb the minds of a people, where he admits that only a few years before there were not more than five or six Dissenters. The Bishop alludes to the opposition made at the North to the plan he had submitted to Government of sending some Bishops, though only to the Southern part of the country, where the Episcopal Church prevailed, and asks what would be thought if the people of New England were not allowed to settle ministers for themselves, but must send them over for Orders to Geneva. He also alludes to the fact of their persecuting and imprisoning members of the Episcopal Church for not contributing to the support of their preachers. In view of all these things, he asks, is it consistent to be sending a minister to Virginia to disturb the minds of a people acknowledged to be Episcopal, and to be a true Church?* Dr. Doddridge, in his letter, differs from the Bishop as to the construction to be put on the Act of Toleration, and shows clearly that the practice in England is altogether different, and in favour of what Mr. Davies pleads for; that it is only required that three men apply to have a place licensed, and that every licensed minister may officiate. He agrees with the Bishop, that it is a great hardship that the Episcopalians of America should be obliged to send their candidates to England for ordination, and says that he has always condemned his brethren for their opposition. As to requiring Episcopalians in certain parts of New England to pay for some other ministry, which may be the established one, he is not sufficiently acquainted with the nature of the Establishment to speak, but says that he has always maintained that, in England, it was reasonable that Dissenters should pay something to the Church which the majority had established. Of the Church of England he speaks in kind terms, "as a most respectable body, and heartily prays that it may in every regard be more and more the glory of the Reformation." "As for myself," he concludes, "having now lived for almost a century, I consider myself (if all my best hopes do not deceive me) as quickly to join that general assembly and Church of the first-born, where our views and hearts will be forever one; and, as that prospect approaches, I really find every thing that would feed the spirit of a party daily losing its influence on me. These sentiments I daily cultivate in

* Dr. Doddridge's letter to the Bishop of London, and the memorial of the five clergymen, I have in manuscript, taken from the archives of Lambeth; the others may be seen in Mr. Foote's first volume of Sketches of the Presbyterian Church of Virginia

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my own heart, and in the young people whom I am endeavouring to form for the service of the sanctuary." Mr. Davies's letter to the Bishop of London is like his sermons,—very long and very good. He declares that, so far from coming to stir up the beginnings of strife in Virginia, the work of separation had been going on among the laity for at least six years; that a number of congregations had been actually organized; that he was called to supply them;* that he had carefully forborne to assail any peculiarities of the Church, but contented himself with preaching the great doctrines of the Gospel; that in so doing he had been the honoured instrument of converting a number of souls; that it must, of course, happen that some of those were brought up in the Episcopal Church; that although he esteemed that Church as sound and evangelical in its doctrines, and believed that some of its ministers were so also, while others were only learned and moral men, yet he was obliged to say that many of them were immoral and irreligious, and that the laity also were in a most deplorable state of ignorance as to true religion, and many of them of intemperate and vicious lives. He also, I think, clearly shows that he had not violated the law as understood and acted upon in England.† It certainly came to be more and more thus understood and acted upon in Virginia, until the necessity for a license was done away by the destruction of the Establishment and the placing of all denominations upon an equal footing. While we rejoice that such is the case, we cannot join with those who condemn, as bigoted and intolerant, all who at different periods approved and promoted measures for preventing the introduction of different denominations. A sincere love of order, peace, and unity, may have influenced their policy and conduct. Experience shows that they were mistaken, and that all the interests of Virginia would have been the better, and the condition of the Episcopal Church certainly not the worse, had a more liberal course been pursued from the first, and free permission granted to all denominations from the mother-country to settle here. But let none imagine that the desire to prevent inroads upon Church unity

* One of these was called the Fork Church, and some of his printed sermons are dated there. It was not, as some have supposed, that now called the Fork Church, and which was always an Episcopal Church.

† Mr. Davies also unites with Dr. Doddridge in approving the plan of sending Bishops to Virginia, and declares that such was the case with his Presbyterian brethren of the North. This, however, he was obliged to retract, on discovering that he was mistaken. Their opposition was general and violent. This cannot be denied. The milder spirit of Davies revolted at it.

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was peculiar to the Episcopalians of Virginia. It belongs equally to all denominations, and all congregations, with their ministers. What Church previously established in any land or portions of a land, what congregation being first established in any village or neighbourhood, and having filled up the same, does not desire to retain possession, and think it hard that efforts should be made to divide, and sow discord and unhappiness therein? We say not this to excuse our Church for wrong she hath done, or to cast undue blame on others. If we know our own heart, it is our desire to seek the truth and do justice to all. When we consider how much and what has been said, written, and preached against the Episcopal Church for more than a century,—what efforts have been made to excite political and religious prejudices against her,—and more especially what pains have been taken to bias the minds of the poor, to warn them against her assemblies, even since her ministers have been acknowledged to be evangelical, experimental, and faithful preachers, and holy men in their lives,—we cannot but ask the question, Which of all the Churches in Virginia has, in the sight of God, been most persecuted during the last hundred years? We would beseech our Christian brethren, of other denominations especially, to consider whether, when seeking to array the rich and the poor, the learned and unlearned, against each other, they are not committing a great sin against society and government, and against that God who has joined all together in his Church, and forbids us to separate whom he hath united. While so many have for so long a time been exposing the faults of our communion, and questioning whether there has been or is true piety in the same, it may be permitted to one in these latter days, in imitation of those of other communions, to speak the praises of some who have been the subjects of God's grace among us, without denying the melancholy fact, that too many have in times past brought reproach upon our Zion and its sanctuary. He who undertakes the task has not only been for a long time going in and out among this people, becoming acquainted with several generations, but has inquired of our fathers who are no more, and searched much in ancient and veritable documents, and in his own old age asks the privilege of gratifying his own heart, and the hearts of others, in bearing testimony to the piety of a goodly number, as pure perhaps as is anywhere to be found in this evil world, and especially in whose hearts was and is to be found a large share of the true spirit, not only of toleration, but of Christian kindness to all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, by whatever name they be called.

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ARTICLE XL.

Parishes in Prince George, Martins Brandon, and Bristol.

Martins Brandon was a very early parish in Charles City when that county extended across the river. How long before we know not. Prince George county was taken out of Charles City in 1702. Bristol parish was cut off from Martins Brandon in 1642. We have already seen that the parish of Martins Brandon had been enlarged, in 1720, by the addition of those parts of Westover and Weynoake parishes which lay on the south side of James River. We have neither an old vestry-book nor register of this parish, nor even a report to the Bishop of London, in 1724, from which to gather any materials for a notice of it in early times. The first minister of whom we have any record is the Rev. Alexander Finnie, whose name is on the list of clergy on the Lambeth Record, for 1754, as rector of Martins Brandon. From our worthy citizen, the elder Mr. Edmund Ruffin—who, from his age and extensive acquaintance with many much older than himself, and laudable curiosity about former days and men, is well qualified to speak on the subject of tradition—I have received some interesting accounts of Mr. Finnie. Although perhaps not so strict in some things as becomes one in so serious a profession, yet he was a conscientious and upright man, doing and saying whatever he considered his duty. Being also independent in his circumstances, and somewhat eccentric in character, he was the more fearless in preaching what he thought to be his duty. This eccentricity and independence were remarkably displayed in one department of the pastoral office,—the preaching of funeral sermons. He considered this to be an occasion in which he must make full trial of his ministry, by declaring the whole truth about the deceased for the benefit of the living. The old Roman maxim, "*De mortuis nil nisi bonum*," he eschewed in theory and practice. Whether they were rich or poor, high or low, he recommended their good qualities and warned his hearers against their evil ones. Some memorable instances are handed down. One wealthy lady left in her will a positive prohibition of a funeral sermon; but without avail, for he never departed from this practice. He re-

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garded it as his great instrument for doing good. Even this custom, which we do not mean to defend, is better than those unfaithful, flattering, and fulsome eulogies which are so often uttered on such occasions. Better far have none at all, in most cases, and let "expressive silence" speak both the praises and censures of the dead. How long Mr. Finnie had been in the parish before 1754, and continued afterward, is not known. He was in other parishes besides this, and has left a respectable posterity in Virginia. In the years 1773, 1774, and 1776, I find the Rev. William Coutts on the list as minister of Martins Brandon. In the years 1785 and 1786, the Rev. Benjamin Blagrove. In the years 1790 and 1794, the Rev. John Spooner. After this, the parish seems to have been deserted, as no delegation—either clerical or lay—appears on the journal until the year 1829, when the Rev. Mr. Cole is a delegate from Surrey and Prince George.* Since that time, the parish has enjoyed the services of the Rev. Mr. Denison, Mr. Minnegerode, Mr. Murdaugh, and, being recently divided, has the benefit of the labours of the Rev. Mr. Johnson in the upper parish, in addition to those of Mr. Murdaugh in the lower.

I have no means of ascertaining what—if any—were the churches in Martins Brandon besides the Old Brandon Church, near the estates of the Harrisons at the two Brandons, and Old Merchant's Hope. A new church has recently been erected in place of the Old Brandon Church, and very near to it. At City Point also, some years since, the Rev. Malcolm McFarland, now of Baltimore, in some measure at his own expense, erected a neat brick church, and, for some years, served the people of that place and vicinity gratuitously. He was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Okeson. The Rev. Mr. Murray now occupies it. A parish by the name of St. John's has been organized at City Point.

BRISTOL PARISH.

I am now brought, in the order of time and geography, to Bristol parish. This parish was formed in 1662, on either side of the Appomattox River, beginning at its junction with James River, at City Point, and extending to the Falls. By the Falls

* I find that I was under a mistake in saying that, during this period, no efforts had been made in this parish and no minister employed. A very worthy young man from Rhode Island, whose name I am unable to recall, spent some time in most acceptable services here; but failing health put an end to them. Colonel Peterson, and other laymen, co-operated zealously with him.

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we presume must be meant those at or a little above Petersburg, though, as we shall see hereafter, the vestry, in the course of time, seem to have acted for a much larger territory.

It was called Bristol parish, because the river was then called Bristol as well as Appomattox. Within the bounds of this parish was the old settlement of Sir Thomas Dale, in 1611, called Bermuda Hundred, at the junction of James River and Appomattox. Settlements were, from time to time, formed along the river up to the Falls, where is now the town of Petersburg. The mother or parish church was at Bermuda Hundred, opposite to City Point, and it was desirable to organize a parish and provide for those who were settling higher up the Appomattox or Bristol River. That the mother-church was at this place is evident from an early entry in the vestry-book, where, for the first and only time, the mother-church is mentioned,—and then in connection with the ferry at the Point, (City Point,) which is directed to be kept in good order for persons, on Sunday, going over to the "mother-church," called, in the Act of Assembly, the "Parish Church." The next place of worship in the parish was probably the "Ferry Chapel," near the Falls, and not far from the Old Blandford Church, which took its place in the year 1737 or 1738. From the year 1720, when the vestry-book begins, to the year 1737, the vestry-meetings are invariably held at the Ferry Chapel, and afterward at the Brick Church, on Wills's Hill, or Blandford Church. There was a church built, it is believed, in 1707, according to some marks on it, and called Wood's Church, about five miles from Petersburg, on the north side of the Appomattox. Of this we shall speak when treating of Dale parish, in Chesterfield, in which it now stands. The first and most accurate account we have of Bristol parish is from a letter to the Bishop of London, by its incumbent, the Rev. George Robertson, in the year 1724. He had been, at that time, its minister for nearly thirty-one years, and so continued for sixteen more, making in all forty-six years. The extent of the parish was twenty-five miles wide and forty miles long. It, of course, must then have extended up the Appomattox into Brunswick and Amelia. He complains that but a few of the masters send their servants to be catechized, as he exhorts them to do, though some do it at home and then bring them to baptism. He had one church and one chapel, at which he alternately preached, and had full congregations in good weather,—sometimes more than the pews would hold. His tobacco being of inferior quality, his salary was not more than forty-five or forty-six pounds sterling. His glebe

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had forty acres of barren land, with no house on it, and not cultivated.* No public school nor library. His services were confined to the Ferry Chapel, at Petersburg, and to the mother-church, at Bermuda Hundred. Although Mr. Robertson had only these two places at which he officiated in 1724, we find the vestry determined to build chapels in the year 1721, three years before, at Saponey Creek and Nansemond Creek, a considerable distance up the river. These, however, were not built until the year 1727. Meanwhile, a chapel was built elsewhere—and, as we believe, lower down the parish—in the year 1723. The person contracting for it was a Mr. Thomas Jefferson; and we suppose it to be the same building spoken of by Mr. Stith, in his "History of Virginia," in 1740, as being in Chesterfield, and which was so near to James River that a minister of Henrico parish connected it at a later period with his. It was called Jefferson's Church,—probably after the builder: I am not sure but that there are remains of it to this day.

In the year 1727, it appears that four surplices were ordered, which shows that there must have been at least four churches then in the parish. In the year 1729, additions are made to each of the churches recently built at Saponey and Namoisen Creeks. In the year 1730, another church—between Smacks and Krebbs—is determined upon, for "the remote inhabitants" of the parish, on Flat Creek, near Samuel Cobb's, to be built by Richard Booker, with the privilege of putting up a pew for his family by the side of the communion-table. In 1733, a committee is appointed to examine the Ferry Chapel and see whether it is worthy of being repaired. The report being unfavourable, in 1734 it was determined to build a new one, on Will's Hill, of the best materials and workmanship, —sixty feet by twenty-five,—the aisle to be laid of white Bristol stone. Thomas Ravenscroft contracted to build it for four hundred and eighty-five pounds sterling. The building of this church involved the vestry in great pecuniary difficulty, so that the minister, Mr. George Robertson, agreed to serve them gratuitously until they were relieved. The vestry seems also to have been tempted to resort to very doubtful means of discharging their engagements. The Assembly had established two new parishes in the year 1735, —viz.: Dale parish, in Chesterfield, taking in that part of Bristol parish lying north of the Appomattox, and Raleigh parish, now in Amelia, but then parts of Bristol and St. Andrew's parishes. After

* In reply to the question, Is your glebe-house kept in good repair? he says, "*Nonentibus nulla sunt accidentia;*" (To nonentities no accidents happen.)

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the passage, but before the execution, of the law, a levy was made on these new parishes for the means of paying for Blandford Church. Complaint being made, the next Assembly declared the levy improper, and ordered it to be refunded.

In proof of an increasing population and desire for places of worship, we state that petitions for two new chapels were addressed to the vestry in the year 1737. In the year 1738 one was ordered to be built on the north side of Hatcher's Run, which was undertaken by Isham Eppes for one hundred and nineteen pounds and fifteen shillings; and in the year 1739 one was ordered to be built for the convenience of the lower parts of the parish, and Mr. John Ravenscroft undertook to build it for one hundred and thirty-four pounds and ten shillings, on Titmassie's land. That on Hatcher's Run being burned down, another is ordered in 1740. Another at Jones's Hole was also completed that year. An addition being found necessary to Blandford Church, in the year 1752 it was ordered that one, thirty by twenty-five feet, be put to it, and that a brick wall be placed around it. Since the completion of Blandford Church in 1738, the vestry appears to have been duly attentive to the wants of the minister as to a glebe and glebe-houses. In the year 1761 we find another entry of an order for building a small church in the outward part of the parish. Again, in 1769, we find an order for one sixty feet by twenty-eight, in the upper part of the parish that lies in Dinwiddie county. On the approach of the war the vestry resolved to pay a salary of one hundred and forty-four pounds, instead of tobacco, and Mr. Harrison, their minister, agrees to wait three years for a balance due him, on account of the distress of the country.

In the year 1789 we find Jones's Hole Church forcibly entered, through the windows and doors, for the purpose of worship,—the vestry giving notice that if this be again done, or the church entered without leave, the offending persons shall be dealt with according to law, which proves that the Episcopalians were the subjects of some persecution at that time. This forcible entry of some of our churches has continued ever since. Surely, in view of such forcible entries, when the Legislature confiscated the glebes, it would have declared the churches common, in the plainest manner, had such been the design of the law. Mr. Chapman Johnson once told me that, after the fullest investigation of the subject, he was well convinced that the law never contemplated any interference with the entire right of Episcopalians with the Church buildings. Nevertheless, we have not, like the dog in the manger, refused to

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use them ourselves or let others do it, but when reduced in numbers so as to have only irregular or infrequent services, or having utterly failed in the neighbourhood of many of the old churches, have either allowed the partial use of them, or quietly surrendered them to others. With the above act in 1789 the records of the old vestry-book of Bristol parish terminate. To other sources we must be indebted for any information touching the churches in this parish after this. As to the numbers which, as we have stated, were built in different parts of the parish, without the towns of Petersburg and Blandford, we are unable to give any account of them, save that, with the exception of Old Saponey Church,—Mr. Jarratt's Church, as it has been often called,—they are gone, and the places thereof know them no more. Being of framework, they were not destined to much duration, and, being occupied and abused by all, soon came to desolation. Old Blandford Church also began to experience the effects of age, and the increasing prosperity and numbers of Petersburg, standing on the adjoining hill, made it expedient to begin to think of deserting her, and preparing a place of worship more convenient to the majority of the worshippers. Accordingly, in the year 1802, measures were taken for building a church in Petersburg near the court-house. This answered the purposes of the congregation until the year 1839, when another and larger one was built in a more convenient place. That having been consumed by fire a few years since, another larger and more expensive one has recently been erected. Two other churches have also been built in Petersburg under the auspices of the Rev. Mr. Gibson within a few years past, the first of them being disposed of when the second was erected. A small missionary chapel was also erected in another part of the town, but has failed of its object.

We have thus, contrary to our usual order, given in the first place an account of the churches of Bristol parish, and now proceed to state what we have been able to collect of the history of its ministers. After the early mention of Alexander Whittaker, Mr. Wickham, and Stockam, who, from the year 1611 and onward, officiated at Bermuda Hundred, in connection with the church at Henrico City, about five or six miles off, on the north side of James River, we have no record of even the name of a minister until the year 1693, when Mr. Robertson came to it, and continued to be the minister till 1740.

At the death of Mr. Robertson in 1740, an agreement was made with a Rev. Mr. Hartwell to become the minister; but, misunderstandings taking place as to the terms, it was never carried

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into execution. Mr. Robert Ferguson was then chosen, and continued to be the minister for ten years,—until 1750. He was succeeded by the Rev. Eleazer Robertson, who continued two years, and was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Wilkinson, who resigned in 1762, and was succeeded by the Rev. William Harrison, who resigned in 1780, though continuing to reside in Petersburg until his death in 1814, being eighty-four years of age. The parish being advertised as vacant, the Rev. Mr. Kennedy and the Rev. Dr. Cameron were candidates in 1784. The latter was chosen, and ministered in the parish until 1793, when he resigned. Of him I shall speak in another place. In the following year the Rev. Andrew Syme was elected, and continued until his resignation in 1839, —a period of forty-five years. He continued to reside in Petersburg until his death, esteemed and beloved, by all who knew him, as "an Israelite in whom there was no guile." For further particulars of him the reader is referred to my article on South Farnham parish, Essex county, from which he removed to Bristol parish, and to the Rev. Mr. Slaughter's full and very interesting pamphlet on Bristol parish. For some years previous to his resignation of the parish, Mr. Syme, on account of increasing infirmities, had called for an assistant, and obtained the services of the Rev. Hobart Bartlett, from New York, whose fine talents, popular preaching, and agreeable manners contributed much to the increase of the congregation. In the year 1839 I was induced, under peculiar circumstances, to take the temporary charge of the congregation, but soon accomplished the object had in view, and procured for the congregation the services of the Rev. Mr. Cobbs, now Bishop of Alabama. His ministry, during the few years of its continuance, was very prosperous in all respects. During that period a general awakening of the souls of the people of Petersburg took place, and the ministers of all denominations laboured faithfully in prayer, and sermons, and exhortations, private and public. Instead of discouraging such extraordinary efforts for so extraordinary an outpouring of the Spirit of God as was granted, Mr. Cobbs came behind none, and went beyond some, in the frequency and continuance of his religious exercises. The result was, that no congregation was more highly blest in the results thereof. I laid my hands on the heads of ninety-three at that time, who, for the last three months, had been receiving the daily instructions of their minister, either public or private, and of such other ministers as he was able to bring to his help. During Mr. Cobbs's ministry the ladies of the Wilmer Association—who had for so many years been the most active of all in support-

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ing beneficiaries at our Seminary, sending at times to the amount of five and six hundred dollars to the treasury—began to divert their funds from this to the promotion of missionary labours in the town of Petersburg. The result has been the establishment of the prosperous church under the care of the Rev. Mr. Gibson. In the year 1843 the Rev. Mr. Slaughter accepted a call to this parish, after the resignation of the Rev. Mr. Cobbs. His services were so acceptable to the people, that at the end of the six months which he had proposed to himself as a trial, he agreed to continue, nor did he cease to labour there until his health so failed as to make it improper to add further efforts. He was succeeded by the Rev. Horace Stringfellow, who continued until the year 1854. His place has been supplied during the present year (1856) by the Rev. Mr. Platt, from Alabama.

A few words concerning Petersburg and Blandford will close my remarks. We naturally like to know the origin of the names of places in which we take interest. In looking over documents which have been furnished me, I find the name of Petersburg ascribed to the fact that a great number of persons by the name of Peter, especially of the family of Jones, were among the first settlers.* As to Blandford, which was, as to the time of its settlement, considerably in the advance of Petersburg, the name is supposed to have been given it because so much of the property around was once in the possession of the family of Blands. Concerning the venerable old church at Blandford, now and for a long time past only used for funeral services of those who are buried around it, and which reminds the traveller of the "moss-grown battlements and ivy-mantled towers" of our fatherland, I need only present to the reader the following lines of some unknown one, which are

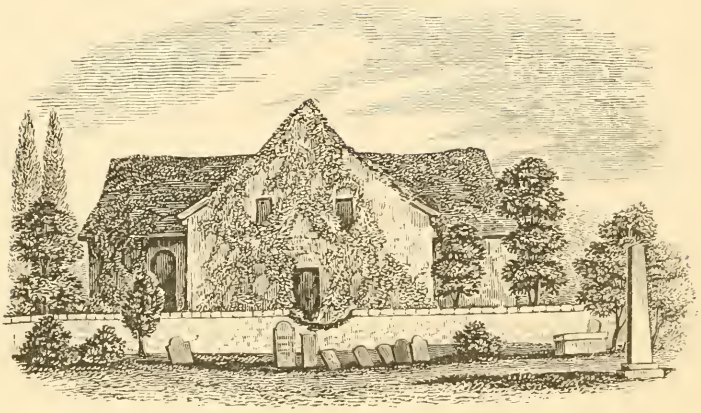
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* Colonel Byrd, in his visit to Eden (as he calls his land on the Roanoke) in the year 1733, took with him a Mr. Peter Jones. In his journal he says, "When we got home, we laid the foundation of two cities,—one at Shocco's, to be called Richmond, and the other at the point of Appomattox River, to be called Petersburg. Thus we did not only build castles in the air, but cities also." We learn that the locality was first called Peter's Point, subsequently changed to Petersburg.

In the year 1762 the town of Petersburg was enlarged by taking in twenty-eight acres of land belonging to one Peter Jones, and the following gentlemen, with very large powers, made trustees of the town,—viz.: Robert Bolling, Roger Atkinson, William Eaton, John Bannister, Robert Ruffin, Thomas Jones, Henry Walker, George Turnbull, and James Field. It appears that until the year 1784 there were four towns clustered together in that place,—viz.: Blandford, Petersburg, Pocahontas, and Ravenscroft, all of which, by an act of the Legislature of that year, were united under the one name of Petersburg.

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OLD BLANDFORD CHURCH, PETERSBURG, VA.

"Lone relic of the past! old mouldering pile,
Where twines the ivy round its ruins gray."

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engraven on its walls, and refer them to the not less exquisite ones to be found in Mr. Slaughter's pamphlet,

"Thou art crumbling to the dust, old pile,
Thou art hastening to thy fall,
And around thee in thy loneliness
Clings the ivy to thy wall.
The worshippers are scatter'd now
Who met before thy shrine,
And silence reigns where anthems rose
In days of old lang syne.

"And rudely sighs the wandering wind.
Where oft, in years gone by,
Prayer rose from many hearts to Him,
The highest of the high.
The tramp of many a busy foot
Which sought thy aisles is o'er,
And many a weary heart around
Is still'd for evermore.

"How oft ambition's hope takes wing!
How droop the spirits now!
We hear the distant city's din:
The dead are mute below.
The sun which shone upon their paths
Now gilds their lonely graves;
The zephyrs which once fann'd their brows
The grass above them waves.

"Oh, could we call the many back
Who've gather'd here in vain,
Who careless roved where we do now,
Who'll never meet again,—
How would our souls be stirr'd
To meet the earnest gaze
Of the lovely and the beautiful,
The light of other days!"

The following is a list of the vestrymen whose names are in the record from the year 1720 to 1788. For the continuation of the list, reference is made to the fuller sketch of this parish by the Rev. Mr. Slaughter:—Robert Bolling, Robert Munford, A. Hall, L. Green, Henry Randolph, Thomas Bott, William Kennon, G. Wilson, Peter Jones, George Archer, Robert Kennon, I. Herbert, Drury Bolling, William Poythress, Theophilus Field, A. Bevell, Charles Fisher, William Starke, D. Walker, F. Poythress, J. Bannister, William Hamlin, Theodoric Bland, T. Short, W. Eppes, G. Smith, L. Dewey, J. Gordon, J. Boisseau, J. Murray, A. Walker, T. Wil-

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liams, Alexander Bolling, William Eaton, Roger Atkinson, G. Nicholas, Sir William Skipwith, N. Raines, John Ruffin, R. Bolling, William Kall, Dr. Theodoric Bland, (afterward Colonel Bland of the Revolution,) Richard Taylor, Thomas Jones, Peter Jones, J. P. Wheat, Robert Skipwith, W. Brown, William Robertson, John Kirby, R. Bolling, James Field, William Diggs, B. Kirby, R. Turnbull, John Shore, T. G. Peachy, A. G. Strachan, J. Hull, J. Geddy, R. Gregory, J. Bonner, E. Harrison, A. Gracie, T. Bolling, J. Campbell, R. Williams, D. Hardaway, John Grammar, Sr., George Keith Taylor, Thomas Withers, A. Macrae, W. Prentiss, E. Stott, J. Osburne, R. Moore, D. Maitland.

To this we add, that, on examining the list of baptisms from 1720 and onward, we find the following names, among many others:—Birchett, Bolling, Hardaway, Jones, Poythress, Buchan, Peebles, Hinton, Vaughan, Pegram, Peterson, Walthall, Sturdivant, Stith, Rowlett, Bragg, Batte, Bannister, Guilliam, Hammond, Bland, Chambliss, &c.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE BLANDS.

From the genealogy of the Blands preserved at Jordans, we take a few extracts, sufficient to comply with the character of these sketches,—their religious character. It is an old and highly-respectable English family. I leave it to others to speak of the gallant conduct and fatal end of Giles Bland in Bacon's Rebellion, and begin with Theodoric Bland, who settled at Westover, in Charles City, in 1654, and died in 1671. He was buried in the chancel of the church, which church he built and gave it, with ten acres of land, a court-house and prison, for the county and parish. His tomb is now to be seen in old Westover graveyard, lying between those of two of his friends, William Perry and Walter Aston. The church is fallen down. He was one of the King's Council for Virginia, and was both in fortune and understanding inferior to none in the Colony. He left three sons,—Theodoric, Richard, and John. We confine ourselves to his son Richard and his posterity. He was born at Berkeley, the neighbouring estate, in 1665, and married first a Miss Swan, and secondly Elizabeth, daughter of William Randolph, of Turkey Island. His daughters, three in number, married Henry Lee, William Beverley, and Robert Monford. His sons were Richard and Theodoric, who moved to Prince George and lived at Jordans and Causons, near City Point. Richard was the one who took so active a part in the affairs of both Church and State before and during the war of the Revolution. He wrote a treatise on Baptism

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against the Quakers, of which sect some of his ancestors or relatives in England had been. He died in 1776, and was buried at Jordans. He married a Miss Poythress and had twelve children. The other son of Richard Bland, Sr., was Theodoric, who lived at Causons. He married a Miss Bolling, descendant of Pocahontas, and had one son Theodoric, and five daughters, who married Messrs. Bannister, Ruffin, Eaton, Haynes, and Randolph of Roanoke, father of John Randolph, member of Congress. At Mr. Randolph's death she married St. George Tucker, who was afterward Judge of the Court of Appeals. His son Theodoric was Lieutenant of the county, Clerk, Burgess, and vestryman. He was active to the close of the war, as his letter to Colonel Theodoric Bland, his son, shows. His son received a complete English education, being in England eleven years, and returning a thorough-bred physician. But, not liking that profession, and engaging warmly in the dispute with England, he entered the army and signalized himself. He attained to the rank of colonel, and stood high in the esteem of Washington. His letters to Lord Dunmore, at the opening of the war, have not a little of the spirit and genius of Junius in them. In the year 1769, while living at Blandford, or Petersburg, and practicing medicine, we find his name on the list of vestrymen, thus following his father's footsteps.

Of old Mr. and Mrs. Grammar, on whom for a considerable time, by general consent, the very existence of the Episcopal Church in Petersburg seemed to hang, I need not speak, or seek for any epitaph. They live in the hearts of children and children's children yet alive, and in the memories of many others who revere their characters and endeavour to follow their example. The social prayer-meetings held at their house, when the old lady was unable any longer to go to the house of God, were refreshing seasons to ministers and people.

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ARTICLE XLI.

Parishes in Chesterfield, Dale, and Manchester.

CHESTERFIELD was originally part of Henrico shire and parish, as established in 1632. In ——, that part of the parish lying some miles north of the Appomattox was taken into Bristol parish, but at the establishment of Dale parish was incorporated into it. Dale parish, therefore, included the whole of Chesterfield until Manchester parish was separated from it. In this region were some of the earliest settlements. Bermuda Hundred was established in 1611, by Sir Thomas Dale. A large portion of the College Lands were laid along James River, on its northern bank, toward Manchester. Here the Indian massacre in 1622 was great. On Colonel Berkeley's plantation alone—at Falling Creek—himself and twenty others were destroyed. At an early period settlements were made on James River and the Appomattox, from City Point to what are now Manchester and Petersburg.

The first ministers were in one corner of the county, at Bermuda Hundred, Whittaker, Wickham, and Stockham, of whom we have already spoken. In the sketch of Bristol parish we have given the names of those who have ministered in this part of the State from 1693 to the time of the establishment of Dale parish.

The first of whom we read after this is the Rev. George Frazer, in 1754, who was also minister in 1758. How long he continued afterward cannot be ascertained. In the years 1773–74–76, the Rev. Archibald McRoberts is on the list of clergy as minister of this parish. Having been ordained in 1763, he may have been there some years before. He was the bosom-friend of Mr. Jarratt for a number of years, but left the Church about the year 1779, during the war, and after the Church had become very unpopular. His defence of this act will, I think, be considered by nearly all as a very weak one. He was not the minister of Dale parish at the time, but of one in Prince Edward. His letter in reply to two written to him by Mr. Jarratt, inquiring into the truth of his reported change, and as to his reasons for it, is dated Providence,

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July 13, 1780. This was the name of the glebe near Prince Edward Court-house. In it he says,—

"Upon the strictest inquiry it appears to me that the Church of Christ is truly and properly independent; and I am a Dissenter under that denomination. Ecclesiastical matters among the Presbyterians I find every day verging toward my sentiments, and will, I believe, terminate there. There is very little that divides us even now. They constantly attend my poor ministry. Several of Mr. Sanky's people have joined my congregation, and I have lately had a most delightful communion-season at Cumberland, where I assisted Mr. Smith, at the urgent request of himself and the elders. Soon after my dissent, as my concern for the people had suffered no change, I drew up a set of articles including the essential parts of natural and revealed religion, together with the Constitution and Discipline of the Christian Church, and proposed them to their consideration; since which they have formed a congregation at the chapel, and a few have acceded at French's and Sandy River.* I preach at the churches by permission, and intend to continue, God willing, until the first of January, at which time, if congregations should not be formed at the lower churches, my time will be confined to the chapel, and such other place or places as Providence may point out and the good spirit of God unite his people at."

It appears that, failing to attach his old Episcopal congregations to the Independent Church, which he was endeavouring to establish, he afterward connected himself with the Presbyterian, which was then gaining ground in that region, as we find him spoken of as a minister of that communion. Of his subsequent history we know little. That he was a pious and conscientious man we are well convinced.†

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* These are the distinguishing-names of the three churches in the parish in which he had been minister.

† A correspondent, (not of the Episcopal communion,) who seems well acquainted with the history of this period and region, writes thus concerning Mr. McRoberts:—"He was, like many other of the old Episcopal clergy, a Scotchman by birth. The opinion you express concerning him was, I dare say, the general one, and is certainly the judgment of charity. There were persons, however, who thought that he showed something of the wariness of his countrymen in abandoning a sinking ship. He married a daughter of Robert Munford, of Mecklenburg, (whose wife was Maria Bland.) Mrs. McRoberts was amiable indeed, but more remarkable for genius than for those domestic virtues which best befit a minister's wife." My correspondent also mentions an anecdote of Mr. McRoberts which will not be without interest to our readers:—"Most of the able-bodied men of Prince Edward were off with the army, on duty elsewhere, when Tarleton with his troop of cavalry made his foray through that and the neighbouring counties. He visited sundry houses in Prince Edward, attempted to frighten women and children, destroyed much furniture, and otherwise did wanton mischief. A detachment was also sent to the glebe, and Mr. McRoberts had hardly time to escape. They ripped open feather-beds,

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After Mr. McRoberts, in 1776, we have no records to inform us who was the minister of Dale parish until the Convention of 1785, the first after the Establishment was put down, when the Rev. William Leigh, who was ordained by the Bishop of London in 1772, was the clerical delegate. His name does not appear after this, and I am informed that he died in the year 1786 or '87, aged thirty-nine years. In the year 1776, I find he was the minister of Manchester parish in the same county. He was the only son of Ferdinand Leigh, of West Point, in King and Queen county, Virginia. His father early dedicated him to the ministry. He was educated at William and Mary College. He married the daughter of Benjamin Watkins, Clerk of Chesterfield county. He lived at Dale glebe, near Petersburg, and preached at Wood's Church and Ware Bottom, or Osburne's, alternately, and sometimes at Saponey Church, of Chesterfield. Mr. Leigh was the father of Judge William Leigh, of Halifax county, and Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Richmond, both of them so well known in Virginia,—the one as lawyer and judge, the other as lawyer and statesman; also of two sisters, Mrs. Finnie and Mrs. Harris, zealous members of our Church.*

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broke mirrors, &c., and went off, having set fire to the house. It burned slowly at first, but the building would have been consumed had not a shower of rain come up suddenly and extinguished the flames. Mr. McRoberts, who regarded this as a special interposition of Providence, called the place *Providence*,—a name it has borne to this day. When the glebe was sold he became the purchaser. It afterward became the property of Colonel Venable, one of whose children still owns it."

* The name of Watkins is often to be found on our vestry-books as members of the vestries in different parishes. Many of the name have for a century past been found in different connections. In the year 1745, a Mr. Thomas Watkins, of Henrico, son of Edward Watkins, is presented for reflecting upon the Established Church, and saying, "Your churches and chapels are no better than synagogues of Satan." He was, however, dismissed without fine or injury. This was probably the commencement of defection in that family from the Established Church. I have before me a pamphlet by Mr. Francis Watkins, of Prince Edward, in which is contained a full genealogy of all the branches of this wide-spread and respectable family, so far as it can be ascertained, to the present time. It is supposed to be of Welsh descent. The name of James Watkins appears among the early emigrants to Virginia in 1607 or 1608. He was a companion of Smith in his perilous voyages of discovery in Virginia, and may, it is supposed, have been the first ancestor of the family; but nothing was certainly known except of the descendants of Thomas Watkins, of Swift Creek, Cumberland county,—now Powhatan,—whose will bears date 1760. He had eight children. His eldest son, Thomas, of Chickahominy, is spoken of thus by the late Benjamin Watkins Leigh, his great-nephew:—"Of Thomas Watkins, of Chickahominy, I have heard very full accounts from my mother (wife of the Rev. William Leigh, of Chesterfield) and from my uncle Thomas, both of whom knew him well. He was a man of the highest respectability in every point

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Of the Rev. Mr. Leigh, the testimony of children and of many others speaks nothing but what is good. He was succeeded by the Rev. Needler Robinson, whose name first appears on our journal as its minister in 1790. He continued to be its minister—nominally at least—until his death, in 1823. The Episcopal Church in Chesterfield nearly disappeared during the period of his ministry. Indeed, his time and labours were chiefly devoted to a school from the first. Although he lived so many years after our Conventions in Richmond were renewed, and was so near the place, he never attended them.

I have been furnished with a few leaves from the vestry-book of Dale parish, from the years 1790 to 1799, from which I am able to give a list of the vestrymen during that period. They are as follows:—Jerman Baker, John Botts, George Robertson, Richard Bosker, Blackman Morly, Thomas Bolling, King Graves, Arch. Walthall, Arch. Bass, Jesse Coghill, Daniel McCallum, Charles

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of view, and in particular a man of indefatigable industry." He reared a large family of children, four sons and seven daughters, from whom have proceeded numerous families of numerous names, in and out of Virginia. Of his son Joel Watkins, of Charlotte, Mr. John Randolph of Roanoke, in a manuscript left behind him, says,—"On Sunday, the second of January, departed this life Colonel Joel Watkins, beloved, honoured, and lamented by all who knew him. Without shining abilities or the advantages of an education, by plain, straightforward industry, under the guidance of *old-fashioned* honesty and practical good sense, he accumulated an ample fortune, in which it is firmly believed there was *not one dirty shilling*." Much is said of the worth and piety of other children of Thomas Watkins, in the pamphlet referred to, and of the descendants of the same, which is worthy of perusal. In the appendix of the same there is a special notice of his brother Benjamin Watkins, youngest son of the first Thomas, of Powhatan, who married Miss Cary, of Warwick. He was the first clerk of Chesterfield county, which office he held until his death. He was a man of genius, a scholar and patriot, took an active part in the affairs of the Revolution, and was a member of the Convention of 1776. The Rev. Mr. Leigh, of Chesterfield, married his daughter, and was the father of the late Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Richmond, and the present Judge William Leigh, of Halifax; also of Mrs. Finnie, of Powhatan, and Mrs. Harris, of Petersburg. One of the sons (Thomas) of Benjamin Watkins, the clerk of Chesterfield, married Rebecca Selden, daughter of Miles Selden, of Henrico parish. Their daughter Mary was the first wife of Benjamin Watkins Leigh. Their daughter Rebecca married Judge William Leigh, of Halifax, and their daughter Hannah Dr. John Barksdale, of Halifax. The eldest daughter (Hannah) of Benjamin Watkins married a Mr. William Finnie, of Amelia, from whom have descended numerous families of Finnies, Royalls, Woreshams, Sydnors, and others in Virginia, South Carolina, and the West. It will be remembered that we have spoken of a Rev. Alexander Finnie, as a minister in Prince George in the year 1774, and probably before and after that. On inquiry we find that he was connected with this family, but how nearly cannot be ascertained. He may have been closely allied to the first-named William Finnie, of Amelia.

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Graves, George Woodson, Henry Winfree, Roger Atkinson, Thomas Friend, Charles Duncan, Daniel Dyson, John Hill, Henry Archer.

On the same loose leaves we have a number of subscription-lists, on which are names well known to us at this day. The object, we presume, was for repairing the churches about the year 1790. Among them, besides the above-named vestrymen, were the following,—a few among many:—Osborne, Rowlett, Burton, Roisseau, Taylor, Gibbs, Royall, Shore, Worsham, Branch, Tanner, Randolph, Burwell, Goode, Ward, Clarke, Hardaway, Walke, Barber, Donald, Bragg, Epps, Belcher, Hodges, Marshall, &c.

Nothing is heard of this parish for a long and dark period.

In the year 1835, the Rev. Farley Berkeley takes charge of Raleigh parish, Amelia, and extends his labours to Old Saponey Church, in the neighbourhood of a few zealous friends of it,—the Thweats, Johnsons, and others. He has been succeeded for some years by the Rev. Mr. Tizzard, who devotes his whole time and labours to the county of Chesterfield.

The Old Saponey is deserted: a new church has been erected some miles off, in a more convenient location. Wood's Church is still standing. The following communication in relation to it comes from such a source that I feel sure I shall not do injustice to any one in publishing it:—

"About 1831 or 1832, the old deserted church was repaired by the united efforts of two bodies of Christians, and occupied by them until it was abandoned by both in 1848. Another repairing being found necessary, it was undertaken by a gentleman attached to the Episcopal Church By him it was restored to the Episcopalians, and at his invitation the first sermon preached by a minister of that body. Before the next Sunday, however, the house had been entered, the main door fastened up. a lock put upon a side-door, and the building taken possession of by one of those bodies which had deserted it. Anxious to recover their lawful right to this venerable building, the Episcopalians of the neighbourhood made application to the judge to appoint two of their number to hold it as Episcopal property. The application was rejected, on the ground that it was public property, and belonged no more to Episcopalians than to any other body of Christians. During the last repair the workmen discovered on one of the upright beams the figures 1707, showing that it was built thirty years before the Old Blandford Church."

In regard to the right of property I have before said, that that most eminent jurist, Mr. Chapman Johnson, after the most thorough examination of the question, gave it as his opinion that the right of the Church to the old houses of worship was not impaired

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by any Act of the Virginia Assembly. It would appear very unlikely that such a body would pass an act so well calculated to engage all bodies of Christians in such disgraceful broils as must ensue from declaring them common property, to be used as art or violence might determine. It would have been far better to offer them to the highest bidder,—as was done in regard to the glebes and parsonages, which were, as the churches, built by levies on all the tithables. As when Episcopalians have abandoned their churches and others take possession, so, when these in turn have abandoned them, and we, under altered circumstances, repair and re-enter them, it would seem just and reasonable that we be allowed so to do.

MANCHESTER PARISH, CHESTERFIELD COUNTY.

This parish was taken from Dale parish in 1772. The dividing-line commenced at the mouth of Falling Creek, on James River, and ended at the mouth of Winterbock Creek, on the Appomattox. In the following year the line was altered; the upper part, including Manchester, was Manchester parish. At Falling Creek there are, I believe, still the remains of an old and venerable church,—whether built before or after the division I am unable to say, but most probably before I presume there must also have been one in or near Manchester. The troublous times of the Revolution being at hand when it became a parish, it is probable that nothing was done toward building churches in it after the division.

As to ministers, we read of the Rev. William Leigh, who took charge of it in 1773 and kept it until 1777; how much longer we cannot say, as we have no lists of the clergy after that until 1785, and in 1786 he was minister of Dale parish. In 1785, the Rev. Paul Clay is minister for one year. In the year 1790, the Rev. William Cameron, brother of Dr. John Cameron, was minister, and continued so for four years. In the year 1799, the Rev. John Dunn is the minister. After this there is no delegation from this parish, except when the names of Mr. David Patterson and James Patterson appear as laymen in 1805. I remember the former well, as a constant attendant at our Conventions in Richmond after their revival in 1812. He took a deep interest in all the movements of the Church until his death. If not a reader at Falling Creek Church before, he was appointed such by Bishop Moore, and continued to the last to officiate to the few who remained in our communion around the old temple.

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I conclude the little I have to say of the parish of Manchester and Falling Creek Church with the following notice of it by a young brother in the ministry, who visited them both a few years since:—

FALLING CREEK CHURCH.

"I visited Falling Creek Church in 1849, and note the following particulars concerning it:—

"This church is in Chesterfield county, about thirteen miles southwest of Richmond. It is situated in what is now a very secluded spot. I instinctively raised my hat as I crossed the old decaying threshold and stood under the roof of this ancient edifice. It is a wooden building, the timbers of the very best quality, and even at the time [1849] in a state of almost perfect preservation. After the old style, we find the clerk's desk at the foot of the reading-desk, and, rising above both, the pulpit,—the latter of octagonal form, with a sounding-board. These were at the side of the church. At the end of the aisle, and opposite the main entrance, were the chancel and communion-table. A side-door faces the pulpit. The window-shutters were, with one or two exceptions, all missing. The sashes had been taken from the windows and scattered about the church and yard, and none of them appeared to have ever had a single pane of glass, so carefully had the work of *appropriation* been carried on. The pews are square, with seats on all four sides, and capable of accommodating about fifteen or twenty persons each. About two hundred persons could have been comfortably seated on the floor of the church, while many additional sittings might have been found in a gallery which ran across the end of the house opposite the chancel.

"A gray-haired old negro—not very talkative, but a *coloured* gentleman of the old school, for his manners were almost courtly—informed me that he could 'just remember when the church was built, being then a mere boy.' He said that it was always crowded 'when the clergyman with the black gown preached.' He remembered, too, 'when the British soldiers camped in the churchyard,'—at whose appearance his master and mistress, and all their family, hurriedly fled. The name of his master I have forgotten. He pointed out one of the largest trees in the churchyard, and told me he had seen that tree planted as a scion at the head of an infant's grave. He had forgotten whose child it was. The Baptists had used the church for some time, until of late years, when they abandoned it, owing to its retired position. It was taken possession of by those who did not feel it was holy ground, for its walls were desecrated with scribbling unsuited to the sacredness of the place; and about a month before my visit the dead body of a poor creature, noted in the neighbourhood for his drunken habits, was discovered lying at the foot of the clerk's desk, much defaced by the rats. Better that the owls and the bats should have undisturbed possession, than that God's image should thus be defiled in the house of prayer."

There was a warm friend of the Church living near this place, of whom it becomes us to make some mention. Mr. Archibald

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Cary, of Amphill, in Chesterfield, appears in the Episcopal Conventions in the years 1785 and 1786, as delegate from Dale parish. In the last of these years he died. I refer my readers to Mr. Grigsby's work on the Convention of 1776, for a sketch of the political character and patriotic services of Mr. Cary. He was among the very foremost of the patriots of Virginia. "It was from his lips, as Chairman of the Committee of the Whole, that the words of the resolution of Independence, of the Declaration of Rights, and a plan of government, first fell upon the public ear." The following is a brief sketch of one branch of the Carys, from Mr. Grigsby's book:—

"Miles Cary, the son of John Cary, of Bristol, England, came to Virginia in 1640, and settled in the county of Warwick, which, in 1659, he represented in the House of Burgesses. In 1667 he died, leaving four sons. His son Henry, father of Archibald, was appointed to superintend the building of the capitol at Williamsburg, (when the seat of government was removed from Jamestown;) also at a later period to superintend the rebuilding of the college, which had been burnt. He married a daughter of Richard Randolph, of Curles, and left five daughters, who married Thos. Mann Randolph, of Tuckahoe, Thos. Isham Randolph, of Dungeness, Archibald Bolling, Carter Page, of Cumberland, and Joseph Kincade."

This branch has been denominated the Iron Carys, from the fact that Archibald Cary was called "Old Iron," either, says Mr. Grigsby, because of his "capacity of physical endurance" or "his indomitable courage," or because he had an iron furnace and mills at Falling Creek, on the site of one established by Colonel Berkeley, who, with a number of his men, was murdered by the Indians in 1622. Mr. Cary's mills were burned by Colonel Tarleton in the American war.

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ARTICLE XLII.

St. James Northam, Goochland County.

GOOCHLAND COUNTY was cut off from Henrico in 1727. In the year 1744 the parish of St. James Northam, was restricted to the north side of the river, and that on the south side was called St. James Southam, both of them being in Goochland, which still lay on both sides of the river, and extended from the Louisa line to Appomattox River. Albemarle county and parish were also in this year taken from Goochland, by a line from Louisa to the Appomattox. We shall now speak of the parish of St. James Northam, in Goochland, on the north of James River. The vestry-book which we have commences at its division in 1744. How long it had been supplied with services before this we are unable to ascertain. The vestry-book begins with stating that, the parish being divided into three parts, each parish was at liberty to choose its own minister, and since the Rev. Mr. Gavin, who had been the minister of the undivided parish, was disliked by many, the vestry would procure another. To this Mr. Gavin did not agree, but insisted on choosing this part, and did continue the minister until his death in 1749. There is no charge brought against the character of Mr. Gavin, but only that he was not acceptable to many of the people. The following letter of Mr. Gavin to the Bishop of London may perhaps throw some light upon the subject:—

Mr. Gavin to the Bishop of London.

"ST. JAMES PARISH, GOOCHLAND, August 5, 1738.

"RIGHT REV. FATHER IN GOD:—I received your Lordship's blessing in May, 1735, and by bad weather we were obliged to go up to Maryland, and from thence five weeks after I came to Williamsburg, and was kindly received by our Governor and Mr. Commissary Blair. I got immediately a parish, which I served nine months; but hearing that a frontier-parish was vacant, and that the people of the mountains had never seen a clergyman since they were settled there, I desired the Governor's consent to leave an easy parish for this I do now serve. I have three churches, twenty-three and twenty-four miles from the glebe, in which I officiate every third Sunday; and, besides these three, I have seven places of service up in the mountains, where the clerks read prayers,—four clerks in the seven places. I go twice a year to preach in twelve places, which I reckon better than four hundred miles backward and forward, and ford nineteen

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times the North and South Rivers. I have taken four trips already, and the 20th instant I go up again. In my first journey I baptized white people, 209; blacks, 172; Quakers, 15; Anabaptists, 2; and of the white people there were baptized from twenty to twenty-five years of age, 4; from twelve to twenty, 35; and from eight to twelve, 189. I found, on my first coming into the parish, but six persons that received the Sacrament, which my predecessors never administered but in the lower church; and, blessed be God, I have now one hundred and thirty-six that receive twice a year, and in the lower part three times a year, which fills my heart with joy, and makes all my pains and fatigues very agreeable to me. I struggle with many difficulties with Quakers, who are countenanced by high-minded men, but I wrestle with wickedness in high places, and the Lord gives me utterance to speak boldly as I ought to speak. I find that my strength faileth me; but I hope the Lord will be my strength and helper, that I may fight the good fight and finish my course in the ministry which is given me to fulfil the word of God.

"There is one thing which grieves my heart,—viz.: to see Episcopacy so little regarded in this Colony, and the cognizance of spiritual affairs left to Governors and Council by the laws of this Colony. And next to this, it gives me a great deal of uneasiness to see the greatest part of our brethren taken up in farming and buying slaves, which in my humble opinion is unlawful for any Christian and particularly for clergymen. By this the souls committed to their care must suffer; and this evil cannot be redressed, for want of a yearly convocation, which has not been called these ten years.

"The Rev. Mr. Blair I really believe is a good man, and has been a good minister, but he cannot act in his commission as it is required, and I have always wished that your Lordship would send as a Deputy-Commissary a clergyman of known zeal, courage, and resolution, and such as could redress some great neglects of duty in our brethren, and bring Episcopacy to be regarded; for even some of the clergymen born and educated in this Colony are guilty in this point.

"Pardon, my Lord, these my open expressions. I think myself obliged in conscience to acquaint your Lordship with these evils, in hopes that God will direct you to prevent them in some measure; for, though I know how things go with us in this world, we do not know what shall become of us in the next.

"And that God may bless and preserve your Lordship, and grant plenteousness to your family, is, has been, and shall be, the daily prayer of,

"My Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and submissive son and servant in Jesus, ANTHONY GAVIN."

From the foregoing it may be inferred that he was a zealous and laborious man, and very plain in his speech. His views of slavery were sufficient, if expressed, to make him very unacceptable to many of his parishioners. It would seem, also, that there had been ministers in the parish before him, but they confined their labours to the lower church,—probably that at Dover, nearest to Richmond, —whereas he extended his to the mountains, at least fifty or sixty miles farther up.

Immediately after his death the Rev. Mr. Douglass was chosen.

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He entered on his duties in 1750. His history and character deserve some notice, and must be acceptable to his numerous and respectable descendants. They are gathered chiefly from a large register of baptisms, funerals, marriages, sermons, &c., interspersed with other notices, throwing some light upon the peculiarities which distinguished him. The Rev. William Douglass was from Scotland. In the year 1735 he married Miss Nicholas Hunter, by whom he had only one child,—a daughter named Margaret. In the year 1748 or 1749, leaving them behind, he came over as teacher in the family of Colonel Monroe, of Westmoreland, father of President Monroe, who was one of his pupils, as was also Mr. Jefferson afterward, in Goochland. After some time, returning to England, he was ordained, and brought back his wife and daughter in the year 1750, and in the same year settled himself in Goochland. His daughter Margaret, whom he always called Peggy, married Mr. Nicholas Meriwether, of Albemarle, and they were the ancestors of many of that name in Virginia. He brought with him, or had sent to him, two nephews from Scotland, whom he adopted, educated, and called his children. He had a brother named James, who settled in New York and left a numerous posterity there. Perhaps some of that name who have ministered in our Church may be his descendants. A few years since a Mr. George Douglass and two daughters from this family in New York paid a visit to Albemarle to see their relatives in that county, when a happy family meeting occurred. One of the adopted sons of Mr. Douglass (William) returned to Scotland and inherited a title. The other (James) went to New York and became a successful merchant. One of his daughters married James Monroe, (the nephew and adopted son of President Monroe,) who some years since represented the city of New York in Congress. After this biographical notice of himself and family, I return to his register, from which we learn some things concerning the early history of this parish nowhere else to be found. He states, as coming to him from good authority, that the church at Dover was undertaken by Mr. Thomas Mann Randolph in 1720; that it was finished in 1724 at a cost of fifty-four thousand nine hundred and ninety pounds of tobacco; that it was fifty by twenty-four feet in size; that the Rev. Mr. Finnie was employed during those four years to preach once a month; that the Rev. Mr. Murdaugh was then received as a minister; that he was to preach the last Sunday in every month alternately at the plantation of Mr. Robert Carter, on the south side of James River, and of Major Bolling, on the north side of James River. We learn,

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also, that in the year 1727 the Rev. Mr. Brooke preached once per month for them; and that in the same year the Rev. Mr. Beckett was received into the parish as a minister. We learn also, from his diary kept in this register, that ministers were very scarce in the surrounding counties, so that Mr. Douglass had much duty to perform in the way of funerals, marriages, &c. He records one thousand three hundred and eighty-eight marriages and four thousand and sixty-nine baptisms. His views of doctrine and ministerial character may be seen from the favourable notice taken of Turretine, Doddridge, Walker, Hill, and Whitefield,—also, of Shower's Sacramental Discourses. In one of Doddridge's works—his Sermons to Young Men—he has written on a blank leaf these lines to his children:—

"This, with all Doddridge's other writings, I leave as my best legacy to my dear children, to supply my deficiencies in your education, which I now sadly remember has been shamefully neglected. Part with none of his works for gold or silver, but let your children enjoy them, if you will not.

"I am your loving father,

"WILLIAM DOUGLASS."

To this I add an extract from a letter to one of his nephews, just married, not long before his death:—

"Industry, frugality, good contrivance, with the divine blessing, are the only schemes to make us happy for this world and another. That was your father's and grandfather's scheme; and oh, Billy and Martha, make it yours! Set up, by all means, the worship of God in your family; and let others about you do what they will, and heap up riches by every method, but as for you and your family, do you serve God. As for me, I am quite unfit for this world, and am daily waiting till my change come."

As to the time in which the churches were completed, with the exception of that at Dover, it is not easy to determine. The three churches at which Mr. Douglass officiated were Dover, Beaver Dam, and Licking Hole. In the year 1777, after a ministry of twenty-seven years, he resigned his charge, and settled on a farm in Louisa, where he spent the remainder of his years, which were not many. In that year the Rev. Mr. Hall was appointed for twelve months, to be continued or rejected at pleasure when the time expired. In the year 1781 the Rev. Mr. Hill was minister. In that year the glebe rented for only five hundredweight of tobacco. In the year 1787, a tax of three pounds and ten shillings was levied, or called for, in order to defray the ex-

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penses of the Rev. Mr Griffith's consecration as Bishop, of which Mr. Thomas Mann Randolph paid three pounds. So many of the parishes failed of their contributions that the consecration did not take place. In the year 1789, the Rev. Mr. Hopkins was chosen minister, and continued such until his death, in 1807, when the old vestry-book ceased. All the accounts received of the Rev. Mr. Hopkins are of the most favourable kind. His first ministerial years were spent among the Methodists; but in consequence of some dissensions among them, or their separation from the Episcopal Church, he entered into the ministry of the latter. Tradition says that he was ordained by Bishop White, at a time when the Congress of the United States and the General Convention of the Episcopal Church were both sitting in Philadelphia: that, being called on to preach before civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries, and especially with General Washington full in view, he was for a time overwhelmed, but roused himself up to boldness by remembering "that a mightier than Washington was there." Soon after his ordination he became the minister of Hollowing Creek and Allen's Creek Churches, in Hanover county, supplying also the Manakin and Peterville Churches, in Powhatan. In 1787, he became minister of Beaver Dam and Licking Hole Churches, Dover Church being left out. He died in the seventieth year of his age, universally esteemed and beloved. He was married twice, and had eleven children by each wife. His first wife was a Miss Pollard, the second a Miss Anderson.*

After a long and dreary interval of utter destitution, the hopes and efforts of the few remaining friends and members of the Church in Goochland and the neighbouring counties were aroused, in the year 1726, by the missionary labours of the Rev. William Lee. As to body, Mr. Lee being little more than thin air, or a

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* I have obtained the following information concerning the ancestors of Mr. Hopkins. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, three brothers emigrated to this country from Wales,—one of whom settled in Massachusetts, one in Pennsylvania, and one in Virginia,—from whom it is probable that great numbers of the name of Hopkins in this country have sprung. Of the twenty-two children of the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, I believe only three are now alive. The oldest of these, a most worthy man, lives on James River, in Goochland. The two youngest—Mr. George W. Hopkins, of Washington county, and Henry L. Hopkins, of Powhatan—have been honoured with various offices,—both of these having been, repeatedly, members of the Virginia Assembly, and each of them of the State Convention; both of them having been Speakers of the House of Delegates; one of them sent on a mission to Portugal, and now Judge of the Circuit Court, and the other a member of the Council and Commonwealth's Attorney.

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light feather, as he galloped over these counties, his horse felt not the rider on his back; but the people felt the weight and power of a strong mind and will, and the pressure of a heart and soul devoted to the love of God and man. He laid the foundation anew of the churches in Goochland, Powhatan, Amelia, and Chesterfield, and, like another Allen, lived to see them all supplied by ministers. His physical power being incompetent to these itinerant labours, he took charge of the Church of St. John's, in Richmond, and afterward of that in the Valley, now a missionary church. His health failing even for this, he devoted himself to the press, and was the first editor of the *Southern Churchman*, establishing it in Richmond. He continued to edit the same until his part of the work was performed, when lying on a sick-bed, his proof-sheets corrected, his selections made and editorials written, while propped up with bolsters and pillows, thus, to the last, spending and being spent in his Master's service. During his stay in Richmond, he was as a right hand to Bishop Moore, who not only loved him for his amiable qualities and zealous piety, but respected him for his good judgment, which he often consulted.

In April, 1839, the Rev. Mr. Doughen took charge of the parish, but only continued a short time. He was succeeded, in the same year, by the Rev. Richard Wilmer, who continued, with a short interval, until the summer or fall of 1843. In the year 1844, the Rev. Joseph Wilmer took charge of it, and continued until the year 1849; and he was succeeded by the Rev. Francis Whittle, who resigned in 1852. The Rev. Mr. Rodman has recently become its pastor.

The following list of vestrymen is copied from the vestry-book, beginning in the year 1744. The Christian names are omitted, for the sake of brevity, except where necessary to distinguish from those of the same surname:—

Cocke, Hopkins, Smith, Martin, Burton, Miller, William Randolph, Woods, Tarlton Fleming, Holman, Bates, Lewis, Peter Jefferson, (father of the President,) Jordan, Pollard, Cole, Pryor, Stamps, Thomas Mann Randolph, Woodson, Thomas and John Bolling, Underwood, Sampson, Vaughan, Morris, Curd, Bryce, Perkins, Massie, Pemberton, Leake, Harris, William Bolling, Carter, Eldridge. After 1826: Ferguson, Pleasants, T. K. Harrison, Garland, Vashon, Edward Cunningham, Carter Harrison, J. A. Cunningham, Randolph Harrison, James and William Galt, Weisiger, Stillman, Jackson, Thomas Bolling, Nelson, Watkins, Stanard, Julian Harrison, Logan, Turner, Skipwith, Morson, Taylor, Selden, Anderson.

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To this it is proper to add, that Mr. William Bolling, in the year 1840, presented a house and fifty acres of land to the church for a parsonage. St. Paul's, a brick church, was built in the same year, and, being burned down some years since, was rebuilt in 1855.

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ARTICLE LXIII.

King William Parish, or Manakintown, the Huguenot Settlement on James River.

This parish was originally in Henrico county, which extended thus far and far beyond it on either side of James River. It is now in Powhatan county, whose name is taken from the ancient name of the river and the old King Powhatan. By Act of Assembly in 1790, it was assigned to the French refugees who were driven from their country by the persecutions of Louis XIV., and sought an asylum in Virginia, as hundreds of thousands did in all the various countries of Protestant Christendom. Before giving that brief detail of the parish which its tattered records afford, it will be proper to allude to the history of that most cruel persecution. Though the Reformation had so far succeeded in France as to number one million of its most resolute converts, yet there were twenty millions of bigoted adherents to the Papacy. By uniting their influence and arms with other Protestants around, the Huguenots, however, had for a century been a terror to the monarchs of France and the Papal throne. The bloody massacre of St. Bartholomew's eve, in 1572, only served to increase their resolution. By their aid was Henry IV. placed upon the throne of France. Out of policy he declared himself a Romanist, though it was believed he was more of a Protestant at heart. He soon determined to put a stop to the persecution and wars which had been carried on, and while declaring the Papal the true and established Church, and the Protestant the "Pretended Reformed Religion," secured them both in their religious privileges, by the Edict of Nantes, in the year 1685.* This continued in force during the reign of Louis XIII. and the minority of his son, Louis XIV. On his accession to the throne, he determined on a different course. The dupe of Jesuits, confessors,

* The clergy and Parliament opposed the edict violently, but Henry said, "I have enacted the edict. I wish it to be observed. My will must be observed as the reason why. In an obedient State, reasons are never demanded of the prince. I am King. I speak to you as a King. I will be obeyed." The Protestants, also, who were dissatisfied at his declaring himself for the Romish Church, complained and threatened; but he spoke as decisively to them.

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Madame Maintenon, and Cardinal Mazarin, he set about converting the Huguenots to the Catholic Church. He did not for some time repeal the Edict of Nantes by a formal decree, but set it aside by various acts which rendered it of no avail. He declared his determination to convert all his subjects to the true faith of Rome. This he attempted by bribery, using large sums for the purpose; by persecution of various kinds; by destroying their churches and requiring them to attend the Romish worship. Immense numbers stole away from the country, though death and confiscation were the penalties. At length the formal decree was passed. The Edict of Nantes was revoked. The Protestant clergy must be converted, or leave the kingdom in fifteen days, or be sent to work in the galleys. Great numbers of false-hearted ones, chiefly of the laity, were converted, either by gold or the sword,—for dragoons were the chief ministers of the King, therefore *converting* was called *dragooning*. It is computed that by emigration alone not less than three hundred thousand were lost to the country. All the nations of Protestant Christendom, and even Russia, were shocked at the scene, and, deeply sympathizing with the sufferers, threw open their doors to receive them, and vied with each other who should afford most succour and most immunities and privileges. They thus found their way into every Protestant country of Europe, and into many parts of the United States, especially into New York, Virginia, and South Carolina, where their names are to this day the names of some of the most respectable families of the land. Dearly has France and the Romish Church paid for the inhuman treatment of these brave soldiers of the cross. Ardent lovers of religious liberty, they have been in every land the most strenuous asserters of it; and, sound in the faith, they have boldly contended against the false docrines of Rome. Trained from generation to generation to contend for their rights on the battle-field, in gratitude to those who have afforded them an asylum, they have on many a field of Europe revenged their own and their fathers' wrongs. Nor did Louis succeed in his design to banish them from the land. The blood of the martyrs was again the seed of the Church. Some faithful ones were kept there by the arm of the Lord, as in the hollow of his hand, who have increased and multiplied to this day; and it is believed that at this time the proportion of Protestants in France to the Catholics is as great as in the days of Louis the persecutor. Then there was one million to twenty, now one million eight hundred thousand to thirty-four millions; and the same policy by the Bonapartes has been found necessary as that adopted by Henry

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IV. In the providence of God, who can bring good out of evil, it has also come to pass that the banished Huguenots have been benefactors to all countries where they have gone, by contributing to the improvement of the same, not only in religion, but in all the arts and sciences,—being remarkable for their industry, skill, and integrity. The very best of the old ministers of Virginia were from this stock. Moncure, Latane, the two Fontaines, the two Maurys, and others who might be mentioned, were among them. To these, I am told, may be added one of recent date,—the pious William Duvall, of Richmond. If we extend our view, and look to the patriots and statesmen of the Revolution, where shall we find better men than Chief-Justice Jay, of New York, Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, the Bayards, Legare, the Laurenses, the Grimkys, Marion, Neuvilles, Gervais, Rutledge?

THE FONTAINE AND MAURY FAMILIES.

In connection with these notices of the Manakin settlement, some account of the Fontaines and Maurys may very properly come in, not merely because they were descendants of the Huguenots, but because one of them—the Rev. Francis Fontaine—was at one time its minister. Whoever would see a full and most interesting account of the ancestors of these families must examine that deeply-touching history of them, entitled "The Huguenot Family," prepared by the Rev. Dr. Hawks and Miss Ann Maury, of New York. I can only briefly refer to some of the children and grandchildren of those remarkable persons, James Fontaine and his wife, who were so signally rescued from destruction on the coast of Ireland. Their five sons and two daughters were well educated. John entered the army, and came over to this country to explore it for his brother. He returned, and with Morris remained in England. Peter, Francis, and James settled in Virginia. Peter became minister first, for one year, at Weynoake, Martins Brandon, and Jamestown, then settled in Westover parish. Francis lived for one year at Manakintown, then settled in York-Hampton. Their sister, Anne Fontaine, married Strother Maury, from Gascony, in England. They came to Virginia, and settled in King William. Their son, James Maury, was ordained in 1742, and was for one year minister in King William county, then went to Louisa to Fredericksville parish, which was afterward added in part to Albemarle. He married a daughter of Mr. Walker, of Albemarle. He had numerous sons and daughters, of whom more hereafter. His son Matthew succeeded his father as minister.

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I will now speak more particularly of those Huguenots who settled in Virginia. As early as the year 1660 some few came over, fleeing from the earlier persecutions. They were sufficient in number to induce an Act of the Assembly granting them the privilege of citizens. Toward the close of the century we read of some settling themselves on the Rappahannock. In the year 1790, so many had settled on the south side of James River, in Henrico county, (which was then on both sides of the river,) that the Assembly passed an act giving them a large tract of land along the river as their possession, exempting them from all county and State taxes for seven years, and then extending the privilege indefinitely. They were required to support their own minister in their own way. Accordingly, in dividing the grant into farms, all running down to the river in narrow slips, a portion of the most valuable was set apart for the minister, and continued for a long time to be in possession and use of the minister, while one was resident in the parish, and after that to be rented out, and the proceeds paid for such occasional services as were rendered by neighbouring ministers. At length, as it could not be seized and alienated by the act for selling the glebes, it got into private hands, and has been thus held for many years. As service is now regularly held in the old church in Manakintown settlement, it is believed that the glebe originally consecrated to the support of a minister will be restored to its first design and long use. The service of the Episcopal Church was used, and sermons preached for some time in both French and English, as some of both nations attended the church at Manakin.* In the year 1714 a list of the little Colony was sent to England of men, women, and children, amounting to nearly three hundred. The list is before me. The minister was the Rev. Jean Caison. In the year 1728 the Rev. Mr. Niern, who had been their minister for a year or two, left them and took with him to London a letter showing that there had never been more than thirty tithables in the parish, and that they could not support a minister by themselves. Dr. Hawks speaks of a body of six hundred coming over with their minister, Philippe de Richebourg, and settling there. It may be that these are the same of whom we read as first settling at Manakin and then moving to South Carolina. I have the old register of baptisms, &c. of this

* The name Manakin is derived from the Indian word Monacan,—the name of a warlike tribe of Indians whom the great King Powhatan in vain attempted to subdue. They resided on James River from the Falls (Richmond) to Manakin.

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parish, written in French, and beginning in the year 1721 and continuing to 1753, from which it would appear that a Rev. Mr. Fontaine was minister in 1720 and 1721, baptizing a child by the name of Morris, establishing that to be a Huguenot name. In the year 1726 a Mr. Murdock, minister of St. James Northam, Goochland, officiated by baptizing at Manakin. In the year 1727 the Rev. Mr. Brooke, of Hanover, did the same. In that same year and the next Mr. Niern was the minister. In the year during which Mr. Niern went to England Mr. Massamm was minister. In the years 1728 and 1729 the Revs. Mr. Swift and Deter baptized. In the years 1731 and 1732 the Rev. Mr. Marye was minister. In the year 1739 the Rev. Mr. Gavin baptized in the parish. From the year 1750 to 1780 the Rev. Mr. Douglass, of Goochland, and other ministers around, occasionally served it. After this the Rev. Mr. Hopkins, of Goochland, was their minister. Since the revival of the Church in Virginia, it has been partially supplied by various other ministers to the present time, when the Rev. Mr. Tizzard, of Chesterfield, is the pastor, in connection with the Church in Chesterfield. One thing is worthy of remark in relation to the baptisms in this parish,—that those of the negro children are far more in number than those of the whites. Their names are regularly registered. This shows their sense of duty as to the religious dedication of the children of Africa. To the foregoing brief statistics I cannot forbear adding the following extract from a letter received from one of the descendants of the family of Dupuys. She writes:—

"From notes written at the base of our ancestral tree I copy the following:—'Bartholomew Dupuy (my paternal Huguenot ancestor) in 1650 or 1653. At eighteen years of age he entered the army, where his intelligence and fidelity soon won him the confidence of the King, Louis XIV., who promoted him at an early age to be an officer in his household guard. He so far trusted and honoured him as often to select him to perform duties so important as to require his own signature to some of the orders. One of these papers was the means under God of saving this officer and his wife from arrest and most probably from death. But a short time before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he married a Countess (Susannah Lavillon) and retired to his villa for a short respite from his military duties. Very soon after his retirement, they were called on by one of the King's messengers, who communicated the startling intelligence that the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was to take immediate effect, and that he had been sent by the King from motives of esteem to save him and his wife from the impending fate of all heretics. He urged their submission (that is, their renunciation of the Protestant faith) with all his eloquence, and with all his promises of great benefits from the King if they would show them fidelity by obeying their orders. Dupuy replied that the demand was so sudden and important that he would beg a few

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hours for consideration. The priest said that this request was reasonable, and he would grant it cheerfully. As soon as he had retired, Dupuy sent for the village tailor, and asked whether he could have a suit of livery made for his page in six hours. He replied in the affirmative, and at midnight they were completed and delivered. In this suit he immediately disguised his wife as his page, and putting on his best uniform, and girding on his sword, took what money and jewels they had, together with a few clothes and their Bibles and Psalm-Books, and, mounting two good horses, set out for the frontier of the kingdom. They travelled either fourteen or eighteen days, and, though stopped almost daily, always escaped by saying that he was the King's officer, until near the line, when he was arrested. He showed the officer the paper with the King's signature; and, immediately snatching it back, he drew his sword and fiercely asked by what authority he was thus insulted, and demanding an escort for his protection to the line, which was immediately granted. On their safe arrival the guard was dismissed, and, crossing over into Germany, they there sang the praises of God in the fortieth Psalm, and offered up prayers and thanksgivings to their great Deliverer for their escape from a cruel death. They remained in Germany fourteen years, then stayed two years in England, from whence they came to America in the year 1700, and settled at Manakintown, on James River, in King William parish. The sword used by Bartholomew Dupuy while in France is now in possession of Dr. John James Dupuy, of Prince George, and was used by his grandfather, James Dupuy, Sr., of Nottoway, at the battle of Guilford, where he signalized himself.'"

From the family of Dupuys I have gotten the old church register, which, though rotten and torn and in fragments, has been kept so as to enable me to obtain the statistics given in this article. The foregoing account of the escape of Bartholomew Dupuy and his wife is a true picture of the methods resorted to by the persecuted Huguenots to fly from the kingdom. Nothing now remains but that I mention the names of those families still remaining in Virginia who derive their descent from the Huguenots. From information coming through books and individuals they are as follows:—Marye, Fontaine, Dupuy, Harris, Sublett, Watkins, Markam, Sully, Chasteen, Duvall, Bondurant, Flournoy, Potter, Michaux, Pemberton, Munford, Hatcher, Jaqueline, Bernard, Barraud, Latane, Moncure, Agie, Amouet, Chadouin, Dibrell, Farrar, Fuqua, Jeter, Jordan, Jouette, Le Grand, Ligon, Maupin, Maxey, Pasteur, Perron, Thweatt, Maury, Boisseau, Fouche, Lanier, Le Neve. Concerning a few of these it may be questioned whether they be not of Welsh descent, while there are doubtless others who might be added.

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ARTICLE XLIV.

Parishes in Dinwiddie and Brunswick Counties.—Bath Parish.

This parish was established in 1742, being cut off from Bristol parish. Its dividing-line, however, was changed in 1744, so as to enlarge Bristol parish. Dinwiddie county was taken from Prince George in 1752. A part of Bristol parish—that in which Petersburg lies—is still in Dinwiddie. The first minister of whom we have any account was a Mr. Pow, once a chaplain of his Majesty's ship Triton, who was succeeded in 1755 by the Rev. James Pasteur, who was also the minister in 1756; whether after this, and how long, is unknown. In 1763 the Rev. Devereux Jarratt, who had been ordained in London on Christmas-day the preceding year, became minister of the parish. In his autobiography he says,—

"Several ministers have been my predecessors in the parish. From them," he says, "I suppose they had heard little else but morality and smooth harangues, in no wise calculated to disturb their carnal repose, or to awaken any one to a sense of guilt and danger. . . . My doctrine was strange and wonderful to them, and their language one to another was to this effect:—'We have had many ministers, and have heard many before this man, but we never heard any thing till now of conversion, the new birth, &c. We never heard any of our ministers say any thing against civil mirth, such as dancing, &c.; nay, they rather encouraged the people in them,—for we have seen Parson such an one, and Parson such another, at these mirthful places, as merry as any of the company. This new man of ours brings strange things to our ears.' . . . At this time," he says, "I stood alone, not knowing of one clergyman in Virginia like-minded with myself."

It is to be feared that about this time, and some years before, a number of the clergy of Virginia were not only wanting in seriousness, but were immoral and ignorant. A pious member of the Church, from somewhere in this region, I believe, writes to the Bishop of London of the gross ignorance of four clergymen, mentioning them by name, and the immorality of one of them, comparing them with the learning and piety of two Presbyterian ministers who had just come into the State, and prophesying the result of these things unless arrested. He, however, adds that there were some of a different character. With one of these Mr. Jarratt himself soon became acquainted.

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As Mr. Jarratt was the minister of this parish from this time (1763) to the time of his death in the year 1801,—thirty-eight years,—and was a man of no ordinary character, it is proper that we give some sketch of him. The only difficulty in doing this will be the selecting, from the materials furnished by himself and the Rev. Mr. Coleman, to whom he addressed his autobiographical letters, the most important, so as not to exceed the bounds prescribed by the character of this work. Devereux Jarratt—so called, as to his Christian name, from Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, in whose army his grandfather served—was born in New Kent county, Virginia, January 6, 1732–3. His father, like the reputed father of our Emmanuel, was a carpenter. "We were accustomed," he says, "to look upon what were called gentlefolks as being of a superior order. My parents neither sought nor expected any titles or great things either for themselves or their children. Their highest ambition was to teach their children to read and write and to understand the fundamental rules of arithmetic. They also taught us short prayers, and made us very perfect in repeating the Church catechism." When he was seven years of age his father died, and he was left to the care of his elder brother Robert, who inherited all the landed estate, as there was no will. The share of the other children was twenty-five pounds current Virginia money. At an early age Devereux discovered a turn for books, and was sent to a plain school. But, when not at school, his time was spent in keeping race-horses, taking care of game-cocks, and working on the farm. He seldom went to church, where he says old Mr. Mossom preached "wholly from a written sermon, keeping his eyes continually fixed on the paper, and so near that what he said seemed rather addressed to the cushion than to the congregation." At the age of nineteen, after spending some time in learning the trade of a carpenter, and disliking it, he determined to become a teacher of what he did know. Hearing of a place in Albemarle—now Fluvanna—at a Mr. Moon's, he set out,—his all, excepting only one shirt, being on his back, and that which was in his hand was lost soon after. In Albemarle there was no minister of any persuasion,—the Sabbath being spent in sporting. His salary was nine pound and seven shillings. Being sickly on that part of James River where he lived,—near Bremo Creek,—he changed his place of labour, and got still less the second year. The third year he lived with a Mr. Kennon, whose wife was a pious woman and greatly promoted his spiritual welfare. His reading and intercourse with Mrs. Kennon strongly inclined him to the Presbyterian Church,

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which was then gaining ground in those parts. After some backslidings, and many doubts and misgivings, and some severe contests with the evil one, he determined on the ministry. Having meanwhile examined some excellent Episcopal writers, and considered well the question of Churches, he resolved to take Orders in the Established Church. Having improved himself much in literature, especially in the languages, during his engagements as a teacher, and having obtained commendatory papers, and a title to some parish, in October, 1762, he sailed for England to obtain Orders. There he was detained until the spring,—not being able to obtain Orders at once,—and being attacked by the smallpox. During this time he placed all his money in the hands of the friend with whom he stayed, who spent it. Other and better friends being raised up by Providence, he was supplied with the means of returning to Virginia. In that year he entered upon the duties of the ministry in Bath parish. There were three churches in it,—Saponey, Hatcher's Run, and Butterwood,—to whose congregations he devoted himself. Of his preaching he speaks thus:—

"Instead of moral harangues, and advising my hearers, in a cool, dispassionate manner, to walk in the *primrose paths of a decided, sublime, and elevated virtue, and not to tread the foul track of disgraceful vice*, [the language of the pulpit in that day,] I endeavoured to enforce, in the most alarming colours, the guilt of sin, the entire depravity of human nature, the awful danger mankind are in by nature and practice, the tremendous curse to which they are obnoxious, and their utter inability to evade the sentence of the law and the strokes of divine justice by their own power, merit, or good works. A religious concern took place, and that great question, 'What must I do to be saved?' was more and more common, especially among the middle ranks. Not that I supposed none of the poorer sort were convinced of sin and truly concerned for their souls, but they did not make me acquainted with it, because, at that time, people in the lower walks of life had not been accustomed to converse with clergymen, whom they supposed to stand in the rank of gentlemen and above the company and conversation of plebeians. . . . As soon as I discovered a religious concern in my parish, I no longer confined my labours to the pulpit on Sundays, but went out by night and by day, and at any time in the week, to private houses, and convened as many as I could for the purpose of prayer, singing, preaching, and conversation. The religious concern among the people of Bath soon enlarged the bounds of my preaching. The sound of it quickly reached to the neighbouring parishes, and thence to the counties and parishes at a greater distance. This moved many scores from other parishes to come and see for themselves. Butterwood Church soon became too small to hold one-half the congregation. One large wing, and then another, were added to it, but yet room was wanting. I was now earnestly solicited by one and another from a distance to come over and help them. Thus commenced the en-

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largement of my bounds of preaching, which, in process of time, extended to a circle of five or six hundred miles, east, west, north, south."

During his years of travelling, when he visited twenty-nine counties in North Carolina and Virginia, he regularly attended the three churches in his own parish on Sundays, devoting the days of the week to itinerant labours, except on occasions when his visits were very distant. The journal of his labours shows that for some years he averaged five sermons a week. He was, of course, very obnoxious to many of the clergy. One of them charged him with violating an old English canon by preaching in private houses. To this he replied that no clergyman refused to preach a funeral sermon in a private house for forty shillings, and he preached for nothing. Moreover, that many of the brethren transgressed the 75th canon, which forbids cards, dice, tables, &c. to the clergy, and yet were not punished. Some complained of his encouraging pious laymen to pray in his presence, which he answered by reminding them how often they permitted ungodly laymen to swear in their presence, without even a rebuke. Mr. Jarratt adduces in proof of the low state of religion the small number of communicants,—none but a few of the more aged—perhaps seven or eight at a church—attending. The rest thought nothing about it, or else considered it a dangerous thing to meddle with. The first time he administered it there was only that number. About ten years after he entered the ministry, there were, at his three churches, including a number who came from other parishes, about nine hundred or one thousand, although he endeavoured faithfully to guard the table against unworthy receivers. For many years this happy state of things continued; but, after a time, a melancholy change appeared. During the war, the clergy, deprived of their salaries, had in great numbers deserted their parishes. Dissenters were multiplying through the State. An irresistible tide was sweeping away the Episcopal Church. What could the single arm of Mr. Jarratt do to avert its ruin? The Baptists made the first inroads on his flock. The Methodists came on soon after, and Mr. Jarratt availed himself of their aid to oppose the former. They professed to be, and doubtless at the first in sincerity, the true friends of the Episcopal Church, who only desired its reformation; but, when increased in numbers, they established a separate and rival communion. Mr. Jarratt encouraged their private meetings, and, not deeming it right or canonical to throw open his churches to their lay preachers, tendered his own barn to their use, and was present at some of

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their meetings. The issue of this is well known. His own services were after a time deserted for the more popular modes of the Methodists. But the same result occurred throughout the State, only that those who adopted a different mode, and made violent opposition to them, were the sooner deserted. The fact is, that a thousand circumstances contributed to render the downfall of the Church at that time inevitable. Had there been such men as Jarratt from the first, it would not have been. Had there been a hundred such men as Jarratt in the Church of Virginia at that time, numbers would have remained in it, who would have made the Episcopal Church at this day the largest, instead of the smallest, of the Churches of Virginia. Mr. Jarratt, though thus deserted and discouraged, continued steadfast, predicting, even to the last, the resuscitation of the Episcopal Church, believing that it had the Divine favour, and the redeeming principle in it. In his letter to his old friend Mr. McRoberts, who was like-minded with himself for many years, and with whom he had taken sweet counsel, but who at length abandoned our ministry and sought to establish a Church in Virginia on the Independent plan, he writes like a true descendant of the English Reformers as to the doctrines and policy of the Church, assuming, as to the latter, the ground taken in our Articles and Ordination Services, affirming its apostolic origin, though not denouncing others as destitute of authority. Mr. Jarratt, though looked upon with an evil eye, as he says, by the old clergy, and having little intercourse with them, still attended some of their Conventions. At one, in 1774, held in Williamsburg, he says that he was treated so unkindly, and heard the true doctrines of Christianity so ridiculed, that he determined to attend no more of them. In the year 1785, however, he attended one in Richmond, which was called for the purpose of organizing a Diocesan Church and adopting canons; but he was again so coldly treated, that, after remaining a few hours, he returned home. In the year 1790, the Convention which elected Bishop Madison was called, and he, being present, was better received. On the following year he was appointed to preach the opening sermon at the Convention of 1792. That noble sermon stands first in his volume of sermons. On his return home he stopped in Petersburg, where Bishop Madison had appointed an ordination. Mr. Jarratt, being requested to take part in the examination, refused two of them as unfit for the office. "But what did that avail?" he says: "another clergyman was called in, and I had the mortification to *hear* both of them ordained the same day. I say *hear*, for it was a sight I did not wish to see."

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The explanation of this was as follows:—Mr. Jarratt took his place in a pew on one side of the pulpit, in a corner, where he sat with a handkerchief over his head. The excuse which Bishop Madison offers for ordaining one or more of them, whom he admitted to be unworthy, was the same which Governors and Commissaries formerly did for not disgracing such,—viz.: that "ministers were so scarce, we must not be too strict." The Convention of 1792 was the last Mr. Jarratt attended. In the year 1795, he says, "I have now lived in the world just sixty-two years." Infirmities of body were now coming over him. The use of one eye had long been lost to him. A tumour on his face, which ultimately proved to be a cancer, began to make its appearance. Notwithstanding this, he says, "old and afflicted as I am, I travelled more than one hundred miles last week, was at three funerals, and married two couples. Within less than three months, I think, I wrote about nine hundred pages in quarto. Part of them I copied for the press; part I extracted and abridged; part I composed in prose and poetry. But now it is probable I have wellnigh finished my work." Still, he went on with his public duties. "I wish," he says, "to go to church every Sunday at least, and join in her most excellent system of public worship,—a system to which I am particularly attached, because it is noble, beautiful, and complete in all its parts, and, in my judgment, well calculated to answer the end designed. And will such a system ever be permitted to fall to the ground? I fondly hope it will not; though, alas! the prospect here in Virginia is gloomy enough. Churches are little attended,—in most places (I judge from report) not more than a dozen, one Sunday with another; and sometimes half that number. By a letter from a Presbyterian minister, I learn that religion is at a low ebb among them. The Baptists, I suppose, are equally declining. I seldom hear any thing about them. The Methodists are splitting and falling to pieces." As to himself, he says, "I have yet tolerable congregations, but the people have sat under the sound of it so long, that they appear gospel-hardened." He speaks of the condition of a minister in Virginia as most discouraging. He was labouring without any compensation; and yet, he says, "it is pretended that I have an itching palm." This he disproves by declaring that from 1776 to 1785 he received not one farthing, and that after the Church was organized in Virginia, and a subscription was set on foot in his parish, he only received about thirty or forty shillings the first year, and nothing since.

To this brief sketch, taken from his own letters to Mr. Coleman, I only add the following remarks by the editor:—

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"Mr. Jarratt meddled very little with politics. He had enough to do to attend to the duties of his profession. He considered himself an ambassador of Christ. His business was to call sinners to repentance, and to teach mankind the way of salvation without regard to parties or opinions. Had he been asked what countryman he was, in the spirit of universal philanthropy he might have answered, like Socrates, 'I am a citizen of the world;' but when the rights of his country were invaded, or her interests endangered, the *amor patriæ* which dwelt in his bosom would not permit him to be an unconcerned looker-on. Many circumstances took place during the Revolution, and all well known in Virginia, which unite to evince his attachment to the interests of America. When the Governor of Virginia (Lord Dunmore) left the seat of Government, and issued a proclamation for all the loyalists to join him, it was necessary to guard the seaport-towns from depredations. Many of his parishioners and even his pupils turned out as volunteers in defence of their country, and with his approbation. I remember the circumstances well, being out myself in 1776; and a fellow-student of mine (Mr. Daniel Eppes) read the Declaration of Independence to the army. During the contest between England and America, his dress was generally homespun. By precept and example he encouraged economy, frugality, and industry. I have often heard him recommend these virtues to his fellow-citizens, and even to go *patch upon patch* rather than suffer their just rights to be infringed."

Mr. Jarratt died on the 29th of January, 1801, in the sixty-ninth year of his age and the thirty-eighth of his ministry. His excellent widow survived him a number of years. She was the daughter of a Mr. Clayborne, of Dinwiddie or Brunswick. They had no children. Mrs. Jarratt was one of the first and most liberal contributors to our Theological Seminary.

Though fifty-five years have elapsed since the death of Mr. Jarratt, the history of his successors is brief. With one exception all are now living, and therefore my pen is hindered. The Rev. Wright Tucker, like-minded with Mr. Jarratt, succeeded him. In the year 1805, he is in the Convention at Richmond. There had been no Conventions, or else no journals of them, since 1795. Another interval of seven years elapsed without Conventions. Mr. Tucker was not at the Convention of 1812, but appeared in 1813. How long he lived and ministered after this is not known to the writer. His name is not on the journals afterward. Nor is it known that there were any regular ministrations there, until the year 1827, when the Rev. John Grammar—a son of the two props to the church in Petersburg, already mentioned, one of whom was an old parishioner of Mr. Jarratt—took charge of the parish, in connection with that of St. Andrew's in Brunswick. From the time of his settlement to the present, there have been six ministers besides himself,—the Rev. Thos. Castleman, the Rev. Mr. Massie, the Rev. Mr. Banister, the Rev. Mr. Webb, and the Rev. Thomas

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Ambler. A new brick church has been built at the court-house Old Saponey still stands, and is the only one of the three in which Mr. Jarratt officiated that has any existence so far as we know and believe. No bishop or other minister can enter that plain but venerable building without associations of the most sacred character. Although only a very few now live who remember to have seen old Father Jarratt, even in their early years, yet his name and memory have been handed down from generation to generation with the highest respect, and not only the Old Saponey, but the Episcopal Church itself in that region, used to be known and called by some of the inhabitants "Old Father Jarratt's Church."

As to the families which once dwelt around that spot and worshipped in that house, where are they? One at least remains to remind us of former days. Hard by the old church still lives the aged widow of Mr. Thomas Withers, the friend of Mr. Jarratt, the prop of Old Saponey in many ways. To the old mansion, as by instinct, the clergy always repair, when the service is over, and love to ask and hear of former days and of Father Jarratt. The descendants and relatives of old Mr. Withers and his still surviving widow are numerous, and many of them active members of the Church, and one of them in the ministry: but where are they? Old Saponey knows them no more.

BRUNSWICK COUNTY AND ST. ANDREW'S PARISH.

The county of Brunswick and parish of St. Andrew's were established in 1720, being cut off from the counties of Isle of Wight and Surrey and the parishes of the same, by Act of Assembly. Being a frontier-county, arms and ammunition were assigned to the settlers, taxes remitted for ten years, and five hundred pounds given to Nathaniel Harrison, Jonathan Allen, Henry Harrison, and William Edwards, to be by them laid out in building a church, court-house, prison, pillory and stocks, where they shall think fit. Twelve years after this, in the year 1732, other portions of the Isle of Wight and Surrey were added to Brunswick. Having had access to the vestry-book of this parish, which commences in the year 1732, when the county and parish were then completed, we are able to give a more accurate account of the church and its ministers than of some others. It is evident that there had been previous vestries, and that the church ordered by the Assembly had been built, (where is not known,) and there may have been a minister or ministers before the commencement of this vestry-book. But in 1733 the vestry met and chose the Rev. Mr. Beatty, at the recommendation

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of the Governor. He was to preach at the church already built, and some place on Meherrin, where a chapel was to be built. At a meeting in 1734, two chapels, instead of one, were ordered, and the places selected, but objection, it is supposed, being made, and complaints sent to the Governor and Council, that body gave directions where they were to be placed. The one was to be on Meherrin, and called Meherrin Church, and the other on or near Roanoke, to be called Roanoke Church, the old church to be called the Mother-Church. In the year 1739, another church is determined on, and in 1742, mention is made of the new church. In 1744, it is resolved to build a church on the south side of Roanoke. In 1746, it is resolved to build a church on the south side of Meherrin. In the year 1750, mention is made of Duke's Chapel, and Rattlesnake Chapel. These, we presume, were additional to the two on either side of Meherrin, and the two on either side of Roanoke, and the Mother-Church,—being seven in all. As to their location I can form no conjecture. The problem must be solved by the citizens of Brunswick and Greensville, the latter county, with one or more of the churches, having been cut off from the former at a later period. In the year 1750, the Rev. Mr. Beatty disappears from the record, having served the parish seventeen years. In the same year the Rev. George Purdie is elected minister for six months. At the end of the year the Rev. William Pow,—the same no doubt who was soon after the minister in Bath parish,—being recommended by the Hon. Lewis Burwell, President, and the Commissary, is chosen. In six months after, the Rev. Mr. Purdie is again the minister, though with the remonstrance of four of the vestry. In November, 1752, the name of another chapel—Reedy Creek—appears, and in the year 1754 another by the name of Kittle Stick. At the same date the Rev. Mr. Purdie is allowed to preach once in three months at Red Oak School-House,—probably the place where Red Oak Church afterward stood.

At a vestry-meeting in 1755 the following entry is found:—

"The vestry, being of opinion that the Rev. George Purdie has for some time past neglected his duty, and behaved himself in a manner which is a scandal to a person of his function, do order and direct Drury Stith, Edward Goodrich, and Littleton Tazwell, or any two of them, to wait on the Commissary and acquaint him as soon as possible with the behaviour and conduct of said Purdie for some time past, and request him to make use of his authority in silencing him, (if any such he hath,) and if not, that he will join with us in a remonstrance to the Bishop of London, or such other person or persons as he shall advise, to have the said Purdie removed from the parish."

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Under the same date we find mention of the Old Court-House Church, and an order that the Surveyor of the county make a plan of it, as it will be necessary to build three other chapels.

In the year 1757, we find the case of Mr. Purdie before the vestry, the Commissary having ordered a trial. The witnesses appear, when Mr. Purdie acknowledges guilt and resigns his charge, but the vestry agree to try him for one year more. At the end of that time, one month's trial was allowed him. They are not relieved from him until April, 1760. His case is mentioned in other documents which I have. The Rev. Patrick Lunan and the Rev. Gronon Owen next present themselves as candidates, and are both admitted on trial for one year, the salary to be equally divided between them. The Rev. Mr. Lunan was doubtless the one who gave such trouble to the parish in Suffolk soon after this. The Rev. Mr. Owen had been recommended by the Governor, but the recommendation did not come until the application of Mr. Lunan had been made. Therefore they were both put on trial, but at the end of the year neither was chosen. Governor Fauquier then presented Mr. Owen, who was accepted. There was probably some understanding between the vestry and Governor to this effect, or else the Governor, being an authoritative man, insisted upon his right of presentation and induction,—a thing seldom done by any of his predecessors. Mr. Owen continued to be the minister until 1769, and died there. We should have had no knowledge whatever of Mr. Owen but for a recent communication from a literary society in London, from which it appears that he was a man of talents and worth. The communication referred to makes inquiry concerning him and his posterity, and their history in this country. It seems that he was a Welshman, a man of great genius and a fine scholar, who wrote one of the best poems in the Welsh language, concerning Wales; and a Welsh society in England is desirous to erect some monument to his memory in that country. All the information which could be returned was, that some worthy grandchildren—two females—were living in Brunswick in reduced circumstances. No tombstone, no inscription, exists. Perhaps the place of his interment is unknown. In the year 1769, the Rev. Mr. Lundie produces a certificate from the Bishop of London of his ordination, and is received as the minister.

The entries in the vestry-book now become irregular and brief. The war of the Revolution was at hand. The best men were on the field or in the councils of the country. Henry Tazwell, an active member of the vestry, was taking an active part in the

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affairs of the country. The ministers lost their salaries; the glebes were for the most part scarcely worth having, and the glebe-houses tumbling over their heads. The Rev. Mr. Lundie was among the few who continued at his post during the war. His name is seen on the Journal of the Convention in 1785, which met in Richmond to organize the diocese and unite in the general confederation of the Church in America. He was then the minister of the churches in Greensville as well as Brunswick. After this he became a minister of the Methodist communion. The names of Drury Stith, John Jones, Thomas Claiborne, appear among the lay delegates. They were probably among the last who despaired of the Church in this region. It is believed that the Rev. Mr. Grammar in 1827 was, *longo intervallo*, the regular successor to Mr. Lundie. The Rev. Messrs. Jarratt, Tucker, and Cameron, from the adjoining counties of Dinwiddie and Lunenburg, doubtless performed many ministerial offices there during their ministries.

In giving a list of the clergy in Bath parish, from Mr. Grammar's time to the present, we have given the list of the ministers of St. Andrew's parish, as they were under the same ministry, with the exception of the three last,—the Revs. Messrs. Berger, Johnson, and Mower, whose services have been confined to Brunswick, while Bath parish had its own. Under the auspices of these ministers of our resuscitated Church in Brunswick, three new churches have been built, one at Lawrenceville, another about twelve miles off, called Wilkin's Chapel, from the name of him who built it at his own expense, and the third about eighteen miles from Lawrenceville.

The following is the list of vestrymen from the year 1732 to 1786:—Henry Embra, John Wall, Richard Burch, Wm. Machen, Wm. Wynne, Charles King, Wm. Smith, Thomas Wilson, Robert Dyer, Nicholas Lanier, Wm. Hagwood, Batt Peterson, Nathaniel Edwards, James Mitchell, Clement Read, George Walter, John Ligleport, Littleton Tazwell, Nicholas Edmonds, John Clack, Thomas Switty, Henry Edmonds, Robert Briggs, Edward Goodrich, Heagle Williams, John Petway, Samson Lanier, William Thornton, W. Edwards, Henry Cocke, Alexander Watson, Thomas Stith, Frederick Machen, Francis Willis, Henry Tazwell, Joseph Poeples, Richard Elliott, William Batte, Thomas Edmonds, Wm. Machen, Buckner Stith, Benjamin Blick, Birrus Jones, Andrew Meade, John Stith, John B. Goldsberry. Among the above-mentioned vestrymen we read the names of Clement Read, Littleton and Henry Tazwell. Of the first we shall speak when we find his name on the vestry-book of Cumberland parish, Lunenburg, when

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separated from Brunswick. For notices of the two Tazwells, we refer to Mr. Grigsby's book on the Convention of 1776. The first was descended from William Tazwell, who came from Somersetshire in 1715, and married a daughter of Colonel Southey Littleton. His son Littleton resided in Brunswick and was an active vestryman and churchwarden. His grandson Henry was born there, and became a lawyer of eminence. He married a Miss Waller. He was the father of the present Littleton Waller Tazwell. After distinguishing himself as a statesman and patriot in the House of Burgesses, and in other causes during and after the war, he was raised to the bench of the Court of Appeals, and then appointed Senator of the United States in the place of Mr. John Taylor, of Caroline, and in opposition to Mr. Madison.

MEHERRIN PARISH IN THE COUNTY OF GREENSVILLE.

This parish was separated from St. Andrew's parish, Brunswick, in 1753. No vestry-book being extant or in our possession if extant, we can only ascertain, from such lists of the ministers as we have, who belonged to this parish. In the year 1754 we find the name of John Navison, and also in 1758, as the pastor of this parish. In the years 1773–74–76, the Rev. Arthur Emmerson was the minister. In the year 1791 the Rev. Stephen Johnson was the minister for that year, and that only. From that time it is supposed a deathlike silence pervaded the churches, so far as Episcopal services were concerned, until of late years. The Rev. Edward E. McGuire was sent as missionary to Greensville, Sussex, and Southampton, in 1842. The Rev. Mr. Withers succeeded him in Sussex and Southampton, and was succeeded in Greensville by the Rev. Mr. Sprigg in 1846. The Rev. W. D. Hanson also spent one year in Greensville. In the time of Mr. Sprigg, in the year 1848, a neat and comfortable house of worship was formed out of a large barn or stable, and, under the ministry of the Rev. Mr. Robert and of his predecessors, a tolerable congregation has been raised up in this waste place of our Zion. I am further informed, by a letter which had escaped my notice when writing the foregoing, that before the division of Meherrin from St. Andrew's there were two churches in it, to which two more were added, one near the Carolina line, and one on the Meherrin River, three or four miles west of Hicksford. A third was Grassy Pond Church, the traces of whose foundation may yet be seen; the fourth was near Poplar Mount. All of them being cheap churches, of wood, as nine-tenths of the Colonial churches were, soon perished. There is a

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tradition, that, besides the above, a Mr. Fanning was the minister of this parish, and was too favourable to the British; but I cannot find his name on any of my lists, before, during, and after the war, and do not believe that there was one of his name in Virginia. That the British under Arnold did not receive favour in the whole of the parish is proved by the fact that there is a place near one of the churches to this day called *Dry Bread*, because they would let them have nothing else to eat there. There are two churches now in the county, of recent erection,—Christ Church, Hicksford, and Grace Church, twelve miles off.

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ARTICLE XLV.

Parishes in Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Charlotte Counties. Cumberland Parish.

In the year 1745, Lunenburg county and Cumberland parish were cut off from Brunswick. In the year 1764, Lunenburg county embraced all that is now Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, and Charlotte. There had been, previous to this. three parishes in it,—viz.: Cumberland, St. James's, and Cornwall. In that year it was divided into three counties also, commensurate with the above-mentioned parishes,—Cumberland parish being in Lunenburg, St. James's in Mecklenburg, and Cornwall in Charlotte. We shall now present what information we have about the parish of Cumberland, in Lunenburg. The vestry-book which we have commences in 1746, just after the parish and county were cut off from Brunswick, and when they embraced all of Mecklenburg and Charlotte, and that which was afterward, in 1752, cut off and made Halifax county and Antrim parish, which, as we shall see, was again divided into Pittsylvania and Halifax. At the time we commence with Cumberland parish, it therefore comprehended all the territory which is now Lunenburg, Mecklenburg, Charlotte, Halifax, and Pittsylvania, to which we may add Henry, Franklin, and Patrick.

In the first year after the establishment of the parish,—viz.: 1746,—the vestry ordered a chapel forty-eight feet by twenty-four to be built near Reedy Creek. This was near Lunenburg Court-House. It was consumed by fire between thirty and forty years since, during the ministry of Rev. Mr. Philips. Committees also were appointed to select places for a chapel and reading-house, near Otter River and the Fork of Roanoke; and another committee the following year for purchasing a site for a chapel on Little Roanoke. In the year 1748, the following communication between the vestry and the Governor confirms what I have previously said as to the relation between vestries and Governors:—

"Letters commendatory from Sir William Gooch, Baronett and Lieutenant-Governor, and Mr. Commissary Dawson, in favour of the

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Rev. John Brunskill being presented to the vestry: they are willing to pay all due respect and deference to the Governor's and Mr. Commissary's recommendation, and are willing to receive the said Mr. Brunskill into this parish as a minister of the Gospel for one year, and at the expiration thereof to cause to be paid him the salary by law appointed. But, forasmuch as they are not willing to be compelled to entertain and receive any minister other than such as may answer the end of his ministerial function, they only intend to entertain and receive him as a probationer for one year, being fully minded and desirous that, if they should in that time disapprove his conduct or behaviour, they may have it in their power to choose another."

This was signed by Lewis Deloney, Clement Read,* William Howard, Lyddall Bacon, David Stokes, Thomas Bouldin, Abraham Martin, John Twitty, Matthew Talbot, vestrymen.

It would appear that the vestrymen had not been inactive in the erection of churches during the two years since entering on their office, for the contract with Mr. Brunskill, to preach at the four churches already built, and at another place on South River, and two others, are determined on this year. Mr. Brunskill remained but one year; and, if he was the man who so disgraced himself and the Church in Fauquier soon after this, the vestry did wisely in their mode of engaging with him. There were three John Brunskills in the Church of Virginia at this time,—one of whom died in Amelia. The Rev. George Purdie is the next minister. They are yet more careful in their contract with him; for, although recommended by the President of the Council, Mr. Burwell, and Commissary Dawson, they will only receive him on trial for six months, and agree with him that either party may dissolve the connection by giving six months' notice. He remained about eighteen months, and, having occasion to visit England, resigned his charge. The vestry, however, speak well of his conduct while he was their minister. On his return from England, (if he went,) he became in the following year minister of St. Andrew's in Brunswick, as we have seen. In the year 1751, the Rev. William Kay, of whom we shall have more to say in another place, became the minister on a pro-

* Clement Read, mentioned above, was one of the most influential men in Lunenburg, as that county originally was laid out. He was the first clerk of the court, having been appointed in 1745, and became the head of a numerous family. His son Isaac was the lieutenant-colonel of the 4th Virginia Regiment, and died in the service at Philadelphia. His son Thomas was also a leading man in the Revolution, was county-lieutenant of Charlotte, and was clerk of the court of Charlotte for almost half a century. One of the daughters of Clement Read married Judge Paul Carrington the elder, and nearly all the Carringtons of Charlotte and Halifax are the results of that marriage."

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bation of two years, with the understanding that either party might be released at the end of one year. Mr. Kay, being a worthy minister, remained with them until his death in 1755. In 1756, the Rev. Mr. Barclay became the minister, on the condition that he or the vestry might dissolve the relation at a moment's warning. After continuing one year and some months, Mr. Barclay resigns, and recommends to the vestry to give a title to the parish to Mr. James Craig, student of divinity, in order that he might obtain Orders,—that being necessary according to the English canons. They agree to this, as they did a few years after to Mr. Jarratt, but only on condition of his entering into bond, with proper security, that he shall not by virtue of this title insist upon being the minister of this parish if he shall not be found agreeable to the gentlemen of the vestry and the parishioners, after trial. This was the common custom of the vestries in Virginia in regard to those who were only candidates for the ministry and wished to be able to comply with the canon and obtain Orders. In the year 1759, the Rev. James Craig becomes their minister. About this time several other chapels are ordered.

After a few years Mr. Craig thinks of leaving the parish; and the Rev. Mr. Jarratt, who was about to go to England for Orders, receives a title on the same condition which had been agreed on with Mr. Craig. Mr. Craig, however, still continues in the parish until his death in 1795. He appears to have had the esteem of the people. A good glebe and glebe-house are prepared for him, and he was allowed to practise medicine in connection with his ministry. At one time—about 1790—he appears to have left the parish, or to have been officiating in some parish or parishes around, as the vestry pass an order that if he will return to the parish and preach every Sabbath they will raise sixty pounds for him. Whether the sixty pounds was raised or not, he appears to have laboured in his old parish until his death. His ministry was of thirty-five or thirty-six years' duration in this one parish.

Mr. Craig united the practice of medicine with the duties of the ministry. Whether it was from the necessity of obtaining a support for his family, or from charity to the poor, I cannot say. He prospered in his worldly matters. His glebe was larger and better than most of those in the State, and he was a better manager. He had a mill of his own, and during the war it was a kind of storehouse for public provisions. Tarleton, knowing this, and that Mr. Craig was a true American and zealous in the cause of the Revolution, took the mill in his route, and, after he and

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his men had feasted on Mr. Craig's good mutton and fed their horses on his corn, caused all the barrels of flour to be rolled into the mill-pond and the whole establishment to be burned down.

To Mr. Craig the Rev. John Cameron succeeded. He was one of four brothers who came from Scotland,—one of them, besides himself, being in the ministry. The family was ancient and highly respectable. He was educated in King's College, Aberdeen, was ordained by the Bishop of Chester in 1770, and came over that year to Virginia. His first charge was St. James's Church, Mecklenburg. From thence, in 1784, he went to Petersburg, and, after spending some years there, removed to Nottoway parish. Mr. Jarratt, in speaking of the migratory course of the clergy for want of support after the Revolution, says,—

"Among others, we have a recent instance of this in the case of Dr. Cameron, whom you saw at my house as a visitor. He then lived at Petersburg. But, induced by necessity, having a large and increasing family, he removed into a parish above me, called Nottoway, where the vestry obligated themselves to pay him a hundred pounds annually for three years successively. But, meeting with no assistance from any one of the people, the whole fell upon themselves alone. This burden they found too weighty, and it caused them to wish to get rid of the incumbent, which I am told they have effected, and Dr. Cameron is now the minister of a parish in Lunenberg county. Few or none of the people would go to hear him, (at least very seldom,) and very few of the vestry made a constant practice of going to church, as I have been informed, so that frequently his congregation would not exceed five or six hearers. Surely this was enough to weary him out and make him think of new quarters."

His new quarters not being in this respect sufficient for his support, he was obliged to resort to school-keeping, and had a select classical school, for which, by his scholarship, he was eminently fitted. He was made Doctor of Divinity by William and Mary College. If for his strictness he was even then complained of, how would such a school as his be now endured, by either parents or children? By nature stern and authoritative, he was born and educated where the discipline of schools and families was more than Anglican. It was Caledonian. But he made fine scholars. There is one at least now alive, who is an instance of this, and bears testimony to it. His sincere piety and great uprightness commanded the respect of all, if his stern appearance and uncompromising strictness prevented a kindlier feeling. I never saw him but once, and then only for a few hours around a committee-table at our second Convention in Richmond, and then received a rebuke from him; and, though it was not for an unpar-

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donable sin, yet I sincerely thanked him, and have esteemed him the more for it ever since. The father's piety and integrity have descended to more than one of his posterity. Judge Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina, was his son, and educated by him. Of him it might be said in some good degree, as of Sir Matthew Hale, "A light saith the Pulpit, a light saith the Bar." Judge Walker Anderson, of Florida, is his grandson, and was his scholar, and but for ill health would have been in the ministry. I might speak of others, but it enters not into my place to enlarge more.

Dr. Cameron continued the minister of Cumberland parish until his death in 1815. He was buried beside his daughter, Anna M. Cameron. A tombstone has been erected to their memory by his son, of whom we have just spoken,—the late Hon. Duncan Cameron, of North Carolina.

About three or four years after the death of Mr. Cameron, the Rev. Mr. Philips, of whom I wrote in the article on Hanover, took charge of this parish and continued in it until his death. During the interval between the death of Mr. Cameron and the coming of Mr. Philips, Mr. Ravenscroft, of Mecklenburg, then a candidate for Orders in Virginia, was recommended by Bishop Moore and accepted by the vestry as lay reader in the parish.

The Rev. Charles Taliafero, after an interval of some years, succeeded Mr. Philips in 1831, and for six years laboured most diligently and successfully, being the means under God of rousing up the slumbering energies of the old parish. St. John's Church was the only one standing in the parish at that time. Reedy Creek Church had been consumed by fire. Being deserted of worshippers, it was filled with fodder, and said to have taken fire while some negroes were playing cards in it by night. Old Flatrock Church had been disposed of and the proceeds applied to the building of St. John's. St. Paul's was built during the ministry of the honest and zealous Mr. Taliafero. At his entrance upon duty there were only seven regular attending communicants in the parish. During his brief ministry forty-six were added to the communion. Mr. Taliafero was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Locke, who has continued to be the minister until within the last two years. The Rev. Mr. Henderson is its present rector.

I take from the old vestry-book the following list of vestrymen:—

Lewis Deloney, Clement Read, Matthew Talbot, Abraham Martin, Lyddall Bacon, David Stokes, Daniel Ferth, Thomas Bouldin, John Twitty, Field Jefferson, John Edloe, John Cox, Francis Ellidge, Luke Smith,

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William Embry or Embra, Peter Fontaine, Robert Wade, George Walton, Joseph Morton, Thomas Hawkins, William Watkins, Thomas Nash, John Speed, Henry Blagrove, John Jennings, Matthew Marraball, John Parrish, John Ragsdale, Daniel Claiborne, Edmund Taylor, Thomas Pettis, Thomas Lanier, Thomas Tabb, William Gee, David Garland, John Hobson, George Philips, Thomas Wynne, William Taylor, Thomas Chambers, Christopher Philips, Benjamin Tomlinson, Charles Warden, Elisha Betts, Thomas Buford, William Harding, David Stokes, John Ballard, Robert Dixon, Anthony Street, Edward Jordan, Nicholas Hobson, Sterling Niblett, John Cureton, Christopher Robertson, James Buford, Covington Hardy, Ellison Ellis, J. E. Broadman, William Buford, James Smith, Thomas Stephenson, Bryan Lester, William Glenn, Obadiah Clay, William Tucker, Edmund P. Bacon, Thomas Garland, John Street, Henry Stokes, Peter Lamkin, Philip Jackson, Thomas Garland, John Billups, David Street, Peter Eppes, W. Farmer, James McFarland, Thomas M. Cameron, William Buford, Jr.

It will be seen that the name of Buford often occurs on this list. At one time four of the name were in the same vestry. To Mr. Thomas Buford, a pious member of the Church, the parish is now, and has been for a long time, indebted for its ability to support a minister. About sixty years ago he left an estate to the parish, which, though badly managed, has rendered effectual aid to the vestry in the support of a minister.

To the above list I add the first election after the effort at reviving the Church began:—David Street, Colonel John Street, William Overton, Roger Atkinson, Thomas Atkinson, James McFarland, Charles Smith.

ST. JAMES'S PARISH, MECKLENBURG COUNTY.

This parish was separated from Cumberland parish, Lunenburg, in the year 1761. The county of Mecklenburg was cut off from Lunenburg in 1764. The City Church, as it is called, is still standing, being an old frame building with a number of old Episcopal families around it, who, I trust, will ever be as willing as they are able to sustain a minister. Where the chapels stood I am unable to say. There was an old house of worship, in the time of Bishop Ravenscroft's ministry, called Speed's Church, which I believe was one of former days. In later days one was built in a more central place and called St. James's, and then removed to another position, and then abandoned and sold for the purpose of building one at Boydton. Another has been built about twelve miles from Boydton by the name of St. Andrew's, another near the Carolina line called St. Luke's, and, lastly, one at Clarksville, on the Roanoke.

The first minister of this parish was Mr. John Cameron, of whom

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we have recently spoken. He is on our list of clergy from this parish in 1774–76, the only one we have between 1754 and 1758 and 1785. It is probable that he was minister in Mecklenburg from his first coming into this country, in the year 1770, until 1784, when he moved to Petersburg; though one of his descendants informs me that he was living in Charlotte in 1771, where he married a Miss Nash. He may have settled there first and after a year or two removed to Mecklenburg. It has generally been supposed that the Rev. George Micklejohn succeeded to Mr. Cameron, but I can find no evidence that he ever was the regular minister of the parish. Although there were Conventions from the year 1785 to the year 1805, and then from 1812 to the present time, his name never appears as the minister. He was ordained for North Carolina by the Bishop of London in 1766, and removed, no doubt, from thence to Virginia and settled in Mecklenburg. He had either taught school in Carolina or Virginia before the Revolution, if that anecdote be true which is related of him,—viz.: that on being solicited by some of the gentlemen, after the war, to resume his occupation and take some of their sons, he replied that "he would have nothing to do with their little American democrats, for that it was hard enough to manage them before the Revolution, and now it would be impossible." He lived to a great age, was a man of peculiar character, and never calculated to be useful in the ministry. He preached very often in Mecklenburg, but to very small congregations, not always to two or three, himself and an old brother Scotchman being on one occasion the whole assembly: nevertheless, the sermon was preached. He lived some years after Mr. Ravenscroft's ministry commenced. The latter tells the following anecdote of him:—On a certain occasion, when he (Mr. R.) was preaching on the various testimonies to the truth and excellency of religion, he alluded to the comfort of it to the aged and to their dying witness to it, and, pointing to old Mr. Micklejohn, who was present and before him, told the congregation that there was the testimony of a century to our holy religion, supposing him to have lived his century; but Mr. M. immediately corrected him, crying aloud, in broad Scotch, "Naw, naw, mon,—ninety-aught, ninety-aught." But he outlived a century. Mr. Ravenscroft was the first minister of the parish after the relinquishment of it by Mr. Cameron in 1784. He was of an ancient Virginia family, to be found about Williamsburg and Petersburg, according to the records of the House of Burgesses and the vestry-books. He himself was related to old Lady Skipwith, of Mecklenburg. He was educated at Williams-

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burg. John Randolph, who was there at the same time, used to say that his nickname was Mad Jack while there, and that he deserved it long after by reason of the vehemence of his temper, speech, and manners. The religion of Christ took strong hold of him, and made a great change in his views and character, so that he felt necessity laid upon him to preach the Gospel. He at first united himself to the Methodists, but, on examination, gave the preference to the Church of his fathers, and became a lay reader in Mecklenburg and Lunenburg, producing no little effect by his most impressive and emphatic manner. In the year 1817 he was minister of St. James's parish, in which he continued until his election to the Bishopric of North Carolina. He was succeeded by the Rev. William Steele, who was followed by the Rev. Francis McGuire. He continued its minister until obliged to retire from full duty by reason of ill health, though he still lives in it and performs some services. The Rev. Mr. Chesley took the place of Mr. McGuire, and was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Rodman. It is now vacant.

Although there is no vestry-book of the church in Mecklenburg from which to give a list of the early vestrymen from the year 1761, we cannot forbear the mention of a few names of persons well known to us, who contributed much to its revival after the year 1812. Major John Nelson, son or grandson of old Secretary Thomas Nelson, of York, settled toward the close of the last century in Mecklenburg, on the Roanoke. The Rev. Alexander Hay, of whom we shall read when we come to Halifax county, resided as teacher in his family. The old man and his numerous sons entered zealously into measures for the revival of the Church. Mr. John Nelson, Mr. Robert Nelson, and Major Thomas Nelson, especially, were the active coadjutors of Mr. Ravenscroft and his successors in raising up the prostrate Church in Mecklenburg. The names of all of them are to be seen on the journals of our State Conventions, and those of two of them on the list of delegates to the General Convention. Major Thomas Nelson signalized himself in the last war with England, and was for some time a member of Congress from his district. He recently died at Columbus, in Georgia, to which State he removed some years since, beloved and esteemed by all who knew him. To these I might add the venerable name of Goode and his descendants, and the Lewises, Cunninghams, Baskervilles, Alexanders, Colemans, Sturdivants, Tarrys, Daily, and others.

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CORNWALL PARISH, IN THE COUNTY OF CHARLOTTE.

The county of Charlotte was taken from Lunenburg in the year 1764. The parish was separated from Cumberland parish, Lunenburg, in the year 1755, nine years before. On the list of clergy for the years 1773, 1774, and 1776, we find the Rev. Thomas Johnson assigned to this parish. We cannot ascertain that any other ever was the regular pastor of this parish; but from the family Bible of old Colonel Carrington, of Charlotte, we ascertain that the following ministers officiated in baptizing between the years 1755 and 1762:—The Revs. William Key, John Berkeley, James Garden, William Craig, and Alexander Hay. Some of them were certainly ministers of surrounding parishes; some of them may have been ministers of this.

END OF VOL. I.

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