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# The need for clergy in seventeenth century Virginia and the methods adopted to supply this need

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THE NEED FOR CLERGY IN SEVENTEENTH  
CENTURY VIRGINIA AND THE METHODS  
ADOPTED TO SUPPLY THIS NEED

A Thesis  
Presented to  
the Faculty of the Department of History  
University of Richmond

In Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Master of Arts

by  
Wayland Horace Jones  
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## CHAPTER I

### THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY AT JAMESTOWN

During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I, there was no question concerning the legal status of the Anglican Church; it was the Established Church of England and as such it was protected by law and supported by the State.<sup>1</sup> There was, however, some question as to what direction the Church of England would take. Since Henry VIII, the Church in England had been made up of conflicting parties and factions, each one with its own ideas and none willing to be tolerant or compromising toward the other.<sup>2</sup>

Of the three groups into which the Church was divided, the group which followed the Pope and the Roman Church was the first to leave the National Church.<sup>3</sup> This body of people had stayed in the Church hoping to help it return to the

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<sup>1</sup>George M. Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup>James S. M. Anderson, The History of the Church of England in the Colonies. pp. 98-153.

<sup>3</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 7.

Roman fold, but after the Bull of Pius V. in 1569, in which he tried to excommunicate Queen Elizabeth and absolve her subjects from their allegiance to her, they had no choice but to leave.<sup>4</sup> This departure cleared the Church of one of its radical elements and gave it a chance to develop its institutional life independent of Rome and outside authority.

Still within the Church, however, was another radical group which could see nothing good in the old forms of worship, men with a calunistic outlook on religious thought, who had studied in Geneva and brought back with them the very rigid concepts of the Geneva School of Theology.<sup>5</sup> The influence of these men grew stronger as the Roman element opposed certain rituals of the Church. As they grew stronger they wanted to change the form of government of the Church, many of its fundamental beliefs, in fact, to do away with the Church of England.<sup>6</sup> These

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<sup>4</sup>Anderson, op. cit., pp. 112-113.

<sup>5</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>6</sup>Anderson, op. cit., pp. 116-117.

extremists, called Puritans, at a later date did separate from the Church and start their own church government.

In the large middle group, which contained the majority of the people, we find those Englishmen, who desired to maintain their church as a National Church without dependence on Roman authority.<sup>7</sup> As early as 1558-9, the civil government, which was in the hands of this middle group, took steps to protect the Church and to give it a legal status by passing the Act of Conformity and the Act of Supremacy.<sup>8</sup> The first forbade any changes in the worship of the Church, and the second made the crown the temporal head or governor of the Church.<sup>9</sup> These acts were implemented by two judicial agencies. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission: both of these agencies dealt with offences not covered by the common law, both had jurisdiction over persons and property and from both the crown had

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<sup>7</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>8</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 99.

<sup>9</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 99.

the next and final jurisdiction.<sup>10</sup> These courts were used, to the great disadvantage of the Church because of their narrowing effect to try to prevent schisms, heresies, and other offences; to try, in general, to keep the Church from further decentralization. That this system could produce abuses is easily seen, but it did prevent the complete breakdown of the National Church during the trying period after the break with Rome.

During this period, Spain and Portugal were having a flourishing trade with their colonies in the New World, and with other countries throughout the world. Pope Alexander VI in 1493 had divided the New World between Spain and Portugal; Portugal had trading posts in India; England had almost no foreign trade. With the stability and growth of wealth under Elizabeth there was a new interest in exploration and colonization as the geopoliticians and merchants dreamed of great new land and fabulous wealth. The Church considered its duty of spreading

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<sup>10</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 99.

the Gospel. The Anglican Church saw how the Roman Church spread its teachings throughout the known world and how the European civil power was thereby enhanced; it also wanted to work for God and country. With the accession of James I and the termination of the war with Spain, in which that country was much weakened, England was in a position to rush explorations and colonization; individuals in the Church, as well as merchants were among the first to join in a company for colonization.<sup>11</sup>

These farsighted men formed themselves into a company for colonization and started through the legal steps to obtain a charter, which was granted April 10, 1606.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary references to the granting of the charter usually expressed a religious motive. William Strachey, in "The First Decade of the Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia" written in 1612, says that

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<sup>11</sup>Edgar Legare Pennington, The Church of England in Colonial Virginia, Part I, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup>Alexander Brown, The Genesis of the United States, p. 52.

"(The plan for colonization)... called forth many firme and hartly lovers, and some likewise long affected there unto, who by coming therefore, humble petitioners to his Majestie for the advancement of the same (as for the only enterprize reserved unto his daies that was left unaccomplisht, whereas God might be abundantly made known; His name enlarged and honoured; a notable nation made fortunate; and ourselves famous), it well pleased his Majestie (whoe in practizes and consultations, hath ever sought God more than himself, and the advancement of His glory, professing deadly enmity--noe prince soe much--with ignoraunce and errour), adding to her Christian dominion, Virginia, the surname of Britannia, to cause his letters to be made patents, the tenth of Aprill, 1606".<sup>13</sup>

In "A Breife Declaration of the Plantation of Virginia During the First Twelve Years", we find that it was published in England:

"...that a plantation should be settled in Virginia for the glorie of God in the propagation of the Gospell of Christ, the conversion of the savages, to the honour of his Majestie, by the enlargeinge of his territories and future enrichings of his Kingdome,..."<sup>14</sup>

Article III of the letters patent states:

"We greatly commending, and graciously accepting of, their desires for the

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<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 47-48.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 49.

furtherance of so noble a work, which may, by the providence of Almighty God, hereafter tend to the glory of his divine Majesty, in propagating of Christian religion to such people, as yet live 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 to a settled and quiet government; do by these our letters patents, graciously accept of, and agree to their humble and well intended desires".<sup>15</sup>

Since this was a public document, such praiseworthy sentiments are not in themselves too reliable as indicative of the true motives for colonization. However, the same sentiments are expressed in the "Articles, Instructions, and Orders made, set down, and established by us--for the good Order and Government of the several colonies and plantations to be made your loving subjects, in the country commonly called Virginia and America" in which it is stated:

"...and wee doe specially ordaine, charge, and require, the said president and councells, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and precincts, that may, with all diligence, care, and respect, doe provide, that the true word,

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 53-54.

and services of God and Christian faith be preached, planted, and used not only within every of the said several colonies, and plantations, but alsoe as much as they may amongst the savage people which doe or shall adjoine unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rights, and religion now professed and established within our realme of England; and that they shall not suffer any person or persons to withdrawe any of the subjects or people inhabiting, or which shall inhabit within any of the said several colonies and plantations from the same,...".<sup>16</sup>

That the religious motive was put forth as the most important motive by the government is borne out by a letter from the Spanish Ambassador to England, Don Pedro de Zuniga, to the King of Spain dated December 24, 1606 in which he acquaints the King of Spain with the plans of the English for colonization in America and states:

"...The pretext which they assert is, that the king over here (James I) has given them permission and his patents to establish their religion in that country,...".<sup>17</sup>

Possibly the best reason for believing that the efforts toward colonization had a true religious motive is the character of the group interested in this effort.

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<sup>16</sup> Ibid, pp. 67-68

<sup>17</sup> Ibid, p. 88

One of the main backers, who did much to interest the country in exploration and missionary work was a churchman, Richard Hakluyt, who was animated by a desire to spread the Gospel and to extend English influence.<sup>18</sup> Hakluyt was of the original company to whom the letters patent were granted and continued to serve the company until he died in 1616.<sup>19</sup> Among the subscribers to the undertaking we find many notable churchmen along with the merchants and public leaders. This was one of the expressions of the religious spirit of the age; the Church had been cleansed of the Roman element, the Puritans were working within the Church, the civil government protected the Church and the people respected her. This religious motivation coupled with the new political and material well being in England were responsible for the efforts which resulted in Jamestown.

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<sup>18</sup>Anderson, ibid., pp. 153-159.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., pp. 162-163

## CHAPTER II

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS IN THE COLONY  
UNDER THE COMPANY

Richard Hakluyt, Prebend of Westminster, and member of the company was according to John Smith

"...confirmed by the Archbishop of Canterbury his Grace, Primate and Metropolitan of all England, an. 1605. To Master Richard Hacluit, Prebend of Westminster, who by his authority sent Master Robert Hunt, an honest, religious, and courageous Divine; during whose life our factions were oft qualified, our wants and greatest extremities so comforted, that they seemed easie in comparison of what we endured after his memorable death".<sup>1</sup>

This practice of appointing one minister to a position and he in turn sending someone else was not at all unusual in England; that this appointment by the Archbishop of Canterbury and not by a bishop is explained by the fact that no bishops had jurisdiction over lands outside of England. Mr. Hakluyt's selection of Robert Hunt seems to have been an excellent choice. In writing of him the President of the First Council of

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, op. cit., pp. 162-169 quoting John Smith, Advertisements for the Unexperienced Planters p. 33

Virginia, Edward Maria Wingfield says of this appointment:

"For my first worke (which was to make right choise of a spirituall pastor) I appeele to the remembrance of my Lo. of Caunt. his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whom I took with me, truly a man, in my opinion, not any waie to be touched with the rebellious honor of a papist spirit, not blemished with the least suspicion of a fractious schismatic".<sup>2</sup>

The opinion of Wingfield seems to be the general concensus; by all reports Mr. Hunt was a godly man, zealous in his spiritual work and practical enough to mend differences between opposing factions in the young colony.<sup>3</sup> He did not last long in the colony, but died early,<sup>4</sup> just when is not known, leaving the colony without a spiritual leader until the arrival of Sir Thomas Gates who brought with him as chaplain, Master Richard Buck who had been recommended to Sir Thomas by the Bishop of London.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Edward D. Neill, Notes on the Virginia Colonial Clergy, p. 3

<sup>3</sup>Francis L. Hawks, Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia, pp. 17-22.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 21.

<sup>5</sup>Neill, op. cit., p. 5.

Sir Thomas Gates and Lord Delaware brought new instructions with them for the government of the colony. Up to this time the colony had been governed by a president and council in Virginia; under this arrangement no attention seems to have been paid to the religious affairs of the colony other than the instructions already quoted whereby the colonists had been enjoined to conform to the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of the Church of England.<sup>6</sup> By the new instructions the colony was placed under the direct control of a governor responsible to the company. Lord Delaware left the colony soon and Sir Thomas Dale came out as governor bringing with him Alexander Whitaker who according to Crashaw, "Without any persuasion (but God's and his own heart) did voluntarily leave his warme nest; and, to the wonder of his kindred, and amazement of them that knew him, undertooke this hard, but in my judgement, heroicall resolution to go to Virginia, and helpe to beare the name of God unto the Gentiles".<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p 23.

<sup>7</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p 23.

Mr. Whitaker was one of the four clergymen who had answered the companies call for ministers. To "A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of the Plantation Begun in Virginia", which lists the reasons why the colony was started was added a list giving numbers and occupations of men needed for the plantation; heading this list is "Foure honest and learned Ministers".<sup>8</sup> These four places were filled by the Reverend Messrs. Mease (Mayes), Whitaker, Glover, and Wickham, who were respected men at home and were carefully selected by the company.<sup>9</sup>

The company realized that the colony needed tighter control; that self-government would have a difficult time in this new environment until some permanance and stability was secured. They began selecting the personnel to send to Virginia more carefully, their occupation, their way of life, and their religious views. For Virginia, the company set up a code of laws known as the "Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martial" which were laws that had been used to

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<sup>8</sup>Brown, op. cit., pp. 337-353.

<sup>9</sup>Goodwin, op. cit., p. 34.

govern soldiers in the low countries and were very strict. <sup>10</sup>

"All captains and officers are charged to see that God is duly and daily served throughout the whole colony and that they set the example by going to morning and evening prayer themselves. Anyone not attending to be punished by law." <sup>11</sup>  
 Upon pain of death did anyone speak impiously or maliciously against the Trinity or any of the three, God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost or against any known article of the Christian Faith. <sup>12</sup>

The third law deals harshly with blasphemers or the users of unlawful oaths; it provides a severe punishment for the first offense, for the second offense "To have a bodkin thrust through his tongue", and for the third offense, death. <sup>13</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 34.

<sup>11</sup> Peter Force, Force's Historical Tracts, v. 3  
 "For the Colony in Virginia Britannia Laures Divine,  
 Morall and Martiall, etc."

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 10.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.

Number five provides death for any derision of the Bible and three whippings coupled with asking public forgiveness "in the assembly of the congregation three several Soboth daies" for any disrespect to a minister. <sup>14</sup>

It then provides for attendance at divine services. Twice on a working day prayers were to be held; for the first time missed, a day's allowance was lost, for the second, a whipping received, and for the third there was six months in the galleys. Missing divine worship on the Sabbath was punished much more severely; the first time loss of a week's provisions, the second time, the same plus a whipping, and the third time, death. <sup>15</sup>

The ministers are then instructed in their duties; how often to preach, when to catechise, the proper way to keep the church building and their duty in repairing the "abuses and neglects" of their people. They are further ordered to keep a record or

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., pp. 10-11

Church Book of all births, christenings, marriages, and deaths of their people. All this to be done in pain of losing their position. <sup>16</sup>

Finally these laws provided that every man or woman in the colony, or who shall come into the colony, should go to a minister and make a statement of his faith and religion. Should his answers and accounts be not acceptable to the minister he would have him come in often for instructions in religion; if the offending person didn't show up he was to be whipped for the first offense, twice for the second offense along with a public confession of guilt before the congregation and for the third offense he was to be whipped until he made a public confession and did repair to the minister and answer all his questions. <sup>17</sup>

These laws were unusually strict even for England of that day and we find no record of their having been enforced to any great extent; however, some contemporaries approved heartily of these laws. One writes: "Good are these beginnings, where in God

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 11

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., pp. 17-18

is thus before, good are these lawes, and long may they stand in their due execution".<sup>18</sup> Even Mr. Whitaker writes: "I marvaile much that any men of honest life should lean the sword of the magistrate, which is unsheathed only in their defense".<sup>19</sup> He could be writing here of the laws themselves or of the manner in which Governor Dale did not strictly enforce these moral laws, which were supported by the martial laws.

Under the new charter the colony grew and prospered; with a larger population and greater distances the colonists felt the need for more clergymen. In 1611 Whitaker writes to his friend Crashaw in England:

"If there be any young Godly and learned ministers whom the Church of England hath not, or refuseth, to sett a worke send them thither. Our harvest is froward and great for want of such. Young men are fittest for this country, and we have noe neede either of ceremonies or bad livers. Discretion and learninge, zeal with knowledge would do much good".<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup>Goodwin, op. cit., p. 35.

<sup>19</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 241, quoting Purchas, vol. IV., p. 1770.

<sup>20</sup>Force, op. cit., pp. 499-500.

In 1613, however, there were still but three clergymen in Virginia, at Henrico, Mr. Wickham, at Bermuda Hundred, Mr. Whitaker, and at Jamestown, Mr. Buck.<sup>21</sup>

On November 28, 1618, the newly appointed governor of Virginia, George Yeardley, received new instructions from the company for the governance of the colony in Virginia. Among these instructions were many provisions for securing and providing for clergymen.<sup>22</sup> In order that "Godly learned and painfull ministers may be placed there for the service of Almighty God and for the spiritual benefit and comfort of the people." It provided that every city or borough set aside one hundred acres of land for Glebeland and that besides the revenue from this land that the minister should receive an amount of money from the parish necessary to give him a total salary of two hundred (200) pounds per year.

Another of the important provisions of this charter was that a representative assembly should

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<sup>21</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 32.

<sup>22</sup>Susan M. Kingsbury, Records of the Virginia Company, vol. III, pp. 98-109.

be called in the colony to assist in the government of the colony. One of the first acts of the legislature which met in 1619<sup>23</sup> was to comply with the instructions of the charter and establish the Church in Virginia according to the conditions set down in the charter. Heretofore, the only instructions regarding religion the company had received was that worship should conform to that of the Church of England; now the company and colony had a definite obligation to see that ministers were provided and provided for.<sup>24</sup>

At this time (1619) there were but five clergymen in the colony; Mr. Whitaker, Mr. Stockham, Mr. Mease, Mr. Barquaue, and Mr. Wickham.<sup>25</sup> Had the population been concentrated as in England and not spread out for one hundred and forty miles on each side of the James five clergymen would have been sufficient but the large territory of Virginia was divided into eleven boroughs or parishes each one

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<sup>23</sup>W. W. Hening, Statutes at Large, p. 119.

<sup>24</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 36.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

of which should have had its own minister.<sup>26</sup> With this new responsibility the company turned to the Bishop of London, Dr. King, and asked him to help them to provide pious, learned, and painful ministers for the colony.<sup>27</sup> This seems to be the first instance in which the Bishop of London had any religious connection with the colony. The Bishop did help in procuring ministers and exercised Episcopal control over them after they arrived in Virginia and was also chosen a member of the King's Council for Virginia.<sup>28</sup> Whether this was the basis for the jurisdiction of the See of London over the colony of Virginia is not definitely known<sup>29</sup> but it seems to be a reasonable and partial explanation.

In a "Broadside" dated May 17, 1620, sent by the "Treasurer, Councell, and Company for Virginia" to "the Governour of Virginia and Councell of Estate there residing" it is clearly brought out that the

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<sup>26</sup> Anderson, op. cit., pp. 260-261.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid., p. 261.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Hawks, op. cit., p. 36.

company retained the right to select ministers for its lands and the owners of Particular Plantations the right to select theirs. A part of the "Broadside" is as follows:

"...And to the end that the People, both present and to come may be faithfully brought up in the true knowledge and service of Almighty God, and so learne to frame their lives and conversations, as not onely, not to provoke the Devine indignation, which pursueth the faithless and disobedient soules by sundry kinds of punishment to everlasting destruction; but also by their good example, to allure the Heathen people to submit themselves to the Scenter of God's most righteous and blessed Kingdome, and so finally to joyne with them in the true Christian profession: We doe hereby ordaine and require, that in every Burrough there be provided and placed at the least one godly and learned Minister, to be chosen in each Particular Plantation by the several Adventurers and Planters; And for the foure ancient Burroughs, to be provided and nominated by us, and our Successors; As also for the Tenants and Inhabitants of the Companies Land wheresoever: Leaving alwaies to the Governour to provide a Minister for his Tenants, and to the Colledge for theirs. All which Ministers and their Successors, we earnestly pray and require to try themselves with all diligence, to the training up of their charge in the way of righteousness, as the same is now professed, and by Law established in this Church of England, and other his Majesties Dominions, avoiding all factions, and needlesse Novelties, tending onely to the disturbance of peace and unity. And

whereas we have ordained heretofore, the one hundred acres of Glebe land; which sixe, for the Ministers belonging to the Publike lands; that is to say, the Governours, Colledges, and Companies Land, shall bee sent and furnished wholly at the common charges of the Company. And for the Burroughs, as well the ancient, as those of Particular Plantation, the Company is content to furnish out at their charges, three Tenants for each, upon condition that the severall Burroughs furnish out three more: which sixe, for each Minister being once so furnished, the Ministers themselves shall be afterwards charged each to maintain that number at the least, and so to leave them to his Successor".<sup>30</sup>

In the records of the Virginia Company there are many instances in which a minister is recommended to the company for a parish in Virginia and of his acceptance for work in the colony. It seems that in some instances the company had the candidate preach a trial sermon before he was approved for the colony.<sup>31</sup> This careful screening was most important because of the great distances involved between the colonizing priests and any controlling authority and also because a strict adherence to the forms of worship of the Church of England was

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<sup>30</sup> Kingsbury, op. cit., pp. 276-277.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., p. 575, Neill, op. cit., p. 9.

made a condition of each charter to the company. It is also reasonable to suppose that indifferent ministers who had not done well in the Mother country would try to take advantage of the opportunities offered in the new settlement.

In 1621 Yeardley's commission expired and Sir Francis Wyatt, a man of high character was appointed to take his place as Governor. Wyatt brought with him from England some new instructions for the Governor and Council in Virginia.<sup>32</sup> They were admonished "To take into especial regard the service of Almighty God, and the observation of His Divine Laws; and that the people should be trained up in true religion and virtue. And since their endeavours for re-establishment of the honor and rights of the Church and ministry had not yet taken due effect, they were required to employ their utmost care to advance all things appertaining to the order and administration of Divine Service, according to the form and discipline of the Church

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<sup>32</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 265.

of England:... and to cause that the Ministers should be duly respected and maintained, and the Churches, or places appointed for Divine Service, decently accommodated, according to former orders in that behalf". 33

Sir Francis Wyat in a letter to the company in January, 1621, confirms the impression that the company had stated in his instruction; that their endeavours to establish the ministry had not taken much effect. He writes:

"The information given you of the want of worthy ministers here is very true, and therefore we must give you great thanks for sending out Mr. Thomas White. It is our earnest request that you would be pleased to send us out many more learned and sincere ministers, of which there is so great want in so many parts of the country." 34

However, the company seemed very well pleased with the way things were working out in the colony; more immigrants were arriving, more products were being sent home and the people seemed happier.

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<sup>33</sup> Ibid., p. 267, quoting Stith, History of Virginia, appendix No. IV.

<sup>34</sup> Neill, op. cit., p. 9

They were so gratified with the new outlook for the colony that they arranged to meet together in Bow Church, April 17, 1622, for a commemorative sermon by the Reverend Mr. Copeland, who afterwards came over to the colony as an evangelist.<sup>35</sup>

The Indian massacre of 1622 left the colony in an unsettled state, hopes for expansion and for the education of the natives were dashed. The troubles between the company and the King also added to the general unrest felt between 1622 and 1624 when King James I disbanded the Virginia Company and Virginia became a Royal Colony.<sup>36</sup>

The last laws respecting the Church which were passed while the colony was under the company were those of the assembly of 1624. These laws strengthened the Church in the colony without being as hard and despotic as those of Dale.<sup>37</sup> They not only provide for the duties of the people to the Church and ministers but for the minister to his parish; they are:

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<sup>35</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 287.

<sup>36</sup>Hawks, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>37</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 287.

I. That in every plantation, where the people were wont to meet for the worship of God, there should be a house or room set apart for that purpose, and not converted to any temporal use whatsoever; and that a place should be empaled and sequestered, only for the burial of the dead.

II. That whosoever should absent himself from divine service any Sunday, without an allowable excuse, should forfeit a pound of tobacco; and that he who absented himself a month, should forfeit fifty pounds of tobacco.

III. That there should be uniformity in the church, as near as might be, both in substance and circumstances, to the canons of the Church of England; and that all persons should yield a ready obedience to them, upon pain of censure.

IV. That the twenty-second of March (the day of the massacre) should be solemnized and kept holy; and that all other holydays should be observed, except when two fell together in the summer season, (the time of their field labours,) when the first only was to be observed, by reason of their necessities and employments.

V. That no minister should be absent from his cure above two months in the whole year, upon penalty of forfeiting half his salary; and whosoever was absent above four months, should forfeit his whole salary and cure.

VI. That whosoever should disparage a minister, without sufficient proff to justify his reports, whereby the minds of his parishioners might be alienated from his, and his ministry prove the less effectual

should not only pay five hundred pounds of tobacco, but should also ask the minister's forgiveness publicly in the congregation.

VII. That no man should dispose of any of his tobacco before the minister was satisfied, upon forfeiture of double his part towards the salary; and that one man of every plantation should be appointed to collect the minister's salary, out of the first and best tobacco and corn.

The adoption of these laws was the last act of legislation which affected the church, under the government of the Company. It was in 1624 that, under the forms of a judicial proceeding, the charter of the Company was arbitrarily resumed by the king, and the proprietary government ceased in Virginia. <sup>38</sup>

At the end of the company period we find a strong, established church in Virginia supported and regulated by the state but dependent on the Mother country for its ministers, even though the assembly and the parishioners are beginning to feel that they have some rights in their selection and retention. During the entire time of the company

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<sup>38</sup>Hening, op. cit., vol. I. p. 122.

we find that a total of twenty-two ministers  
came to Virginia. <sup>39</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 46

## CHAPTER III

THE PERIOD FROM 1625 UNTIL  
THE RESTORATION

After the dissolution of the company Governor Wyatt was continued as the provisional governor and when he left for Ireland King Charles I, who had ascended the throne in 1625, appointed Ex-Governor Yeardley to be governor; upon his death in 1627, the king appointed Sir John Harvey.<sup>1</sup> These rapid changes in governors coming at the same time as the change from a proprietary colony to a royal colony made for unsettled conditions in the colony in governmental as well as church affairs. With the dissolution of the company the tie between the colonial church and the Bishop of London was broken. Since Virginia was in no diocese, the church had no one to look to for help. The king alone had the right to put Virginia in a diocese or make her a diocese and that he neglected to do.<sup>2</sup> This lack of interest at home in the colonial church and the lack

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<sup>1</sup>Anderson, op. cit., pp. 457-458.

<sup>2</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 87.

of a Bishop threw the church on its own and was the cause of much of the neglect and general bad reputation of the church and churchmen in the colony. Since there was no one in England to secure competent ministers, the parishes fended for themselves and tried to interest good men through their friends in England, or else tried to get along on what came. Many good and bad ones did come; they presented their papers of ordination to the Governor, proof that they had been ordained by some Bishop in England, and then he assigned them to vacant cures.<sup>3</sup> It is of this period that John Hammend writes:

"...They then began to provide and send home for Gospel Ministers, and largely contributed for their maintenance; but Virginia savouring not handsomely in England, very few of good conversation would adventure thither, (as thinking it a place wherein surely the fear of God was not) yet many came, such as wore black coats, and could babble in a Pulpit, roare in a tavern, exact from their Parishioners, and rather by their dissolutenesse destroy than feed their flocks.

Loath was the country to be wholly without teachers, and therefore rather retain these men to be destitute; yet

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<sup>3</sup>Goodwin, op. cit., p. 80.

still endeavours for better in their places, which were obtained, and these wolves in sheeps cloathing, by their assemblies questioned, silenced, and some forced to depart the country".<sup>4</sup>

This passage from "Loah and Rachel" shows the task that Virginia had in getting good ministers and also in dealing with bad ones.

Under Governor Harvey the harsh laws pertaining to the Church and religious affairs were enforced and in the General Assembly of 1629-30 a law was passed which stated that there should be uniformity in worship and that all the old laws pertaining to religion were to be strictly enforced.<sup>5</sup> Most of these laws were those of Dale which had never been strictly enforced. To add to this the General Assembly of 1631-32 passed new laws which further regulated religion, life in the colonies, organization of the Church and the duties of Ministers.

By these laws uniformity was again stressed, people were penalized for absences and church wardens

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<sup>4</sup>Peter Force, Tracts and Other Papers, vol. III, No. 14, p. 9.

<sup>5</sup>Hening, op. cit., p. 144.

were given police powers. The duties of a minister are dealt with in great length; how often to preach and where, records to be kept and standards of behavior to be met. One of these acts takes into consideration the low pay of the clergy and provides that in every parish the priest should be given "the 20th calf, the 20th kid of goats, and the 20th pigge" to supplement his salary and that the minister could collect the following small fees:

"Imprimis	For Marriage	2	0
	For Christeninge	0	0
	For Churchinge	1	0
	For Buryinge	1	0" <sup>6</sup>

It should be considered that Governor Harvey had reasons for his strict observance of the laws and for passing the new regulatory laws as well as for the laws for the benefit of the ministers. There was much tension in the government and church in the Mother country, and he wanted to prevent its

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid., pp. 155-162

occurrence in the colony if possible.<sup>7</sup> There had been an influx of Puritans and he wished to stamp out this group before they could cause trouble. Also many undesirables were at this time coming to the colony. No longer was there the company to screen the immigrants or nick the ministers so this put an added burden on the civil authority in the colony. However, it was an unwise policy to try to use the civil power to enforce religious laws although it did firmly establish the Church and made it dependent on the secular power.<sup>8</sup>

In the absence of all spiritual control, that is a Bishop, the Church was left to its own devices and became responsible only to the secular power. The vestries began to take on more power and in most cases the minister of any parish was responsible only to the vestry. The General Assembly continued to make laws for church governance and served as a

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<sup>7</sup>Brydon. *op. cit.*:p. 88.

<sup>8</sup>Anderson. *op. cit.*:p. 468.

court of appeal in church affairs since there were no ecclesiastical courts.<sup>9</sup>

In the session of the General Assembly of 1642-43 we find the following act:

"That the vesrie of evrie parish with the allowance of the commander and com'rs of the county living and resideing within the daid parish, or the vestrie alone in the case of their non residence, shall henceforward have power to elect and make choyce of their ministers, and he or they so elected by the commander or com'rs, or by the vestrie, in case of non residence as a foresaid, to be recommended and presented to the said commander and com'rs, or vestrie alone, to the Governour and so by him admitted, provided that it shall be lawfull for the Governour for the time being to admit and elect such a minister as he shall allow of in James-Citty parish. And in any parish where the Governour and his successors shall have a plantation, provided he or they enjoy not the privilege but in one parish where he or they have a plantation, and upon the neglect or misbecomeing behaviour of the ministers or any of them. Complid there of being made by the vestrie, the Governour and council are requested so to proceed against any such minister or ministers by suspension or other punishment as they shall think fitt and the offence require. Removeall of such ministers to be left to the General Assembly".<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., pp. 468-471.

<sup>10</sup>Hening, op. cit., p. 240.

Such provisions were looked on in England as being very radical and unfair to the clergy and was possibly one reason why ministers were wary about coming to Virginia where such provisions prevailed; on the other hand the colonist had to be protected against unworthy priests, and, since there was no Bishop to remove this seemed the best way out. It may have been unethical, according to church standards, but very few were ever dismissed except for outrageous behavior; and since there were so many vacant parishes in Virginia a qualified minister could always find another place. <sup>11</sup>

In 1641 Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor of Virginia and brought over the same instructions regarding the church that had been given to Wyat. <sup>12</sup> He came at the time that revolution was breaking out in England and being a loyal Royalist he wished to prevent the same occurrence in the colony, so in the General Assembly of 1644-45 we find laws passed to

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<sup>11</sup>Philip A. Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century, Vol. I. p. 141.

<sup>12</sup>Anderson, op. cit. Vol. II. p. 1

try to help the Church more nearly to meet the needs of the people.<sup>13</sup> It was provided that had the minister two or more cures he should visit each at certain times, that he should reside in his cure and carry on his rightful work such as visiting and baptizing, and that he could use a substitute minister to preach if his cures were very far apart.<sup>14</sup>

In the early part of Berkley's term of office, some of the people of Virginia, made resentful and unruly by the severity of the church regulations, applied to the General Court of Massachusetts, asking them to send ministers of the gospel from that region to Virginia "For the better enabling the inhabitants of this colony to the religious worship and service of Almighty God, which is often neglected and slackened by the inconvenient and remote vastness of Parishes".<sup>15</sup>

This request was for three men to fill three newly made parishes and by the law of 1643, already cited, was entirely within the right of the vestry.

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<sup>13</sup>Hening, op. cit., p. 277

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 289

<sup>15</sup>Neill, op. cit., p. 13

which had been given the right to elect their own ministers. The General Court sent three good men, John Knowles, William Tompson, and Thomas James to minister to the needs of Virginia. <sup>16</sup>

These men did not stay long because the General Assembly passed a law stating:

"That for the preservation of purity and unity of doctrine and discipline in the church, and the right administration of the sacraments, no minister be permitted to officiate in this country, but such as shall produce to the governor a testimonial that he hath received his ordination from some Bishop in England, and shall then subscribe, to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the Church of England, and the laws there established: upon which the governor is hereby requested to induct the said minister into any parish that shall make presentation of him: and if any other person, pretending himself a minister, shall contrary to this act, presume to teach or preach publicly or privately, the governor and council are hereby desired and empowered to suspend and silence the person so offending; and upon his obstinate persistence, to compel him to depart the country with the first convenience". <sup>17</sup>

This act made it impossible for the ministers to stay in Virginia because they were not ordained and would not conform to the prayer book.

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<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Hening, op. cit., p. 277.

Although the church had been treated severely in England and had her possessions seized and her prayer book proscribed, Virginia held firm to the establishment and insisted that all laws respecting religion heretofore made should be obeyed and that parishioners did not have to pay "Tythes" or "dutyes" to any nonconforming minister who did not abide by these laws. <sup>18</sup> Even after the execution of Archbishop Laud and of King Charles I, Virginia continued to be loyal to the church.

In 1651, under duress, Virginia submitted to the Parliamentary forces and signed the Articles of Surrender which were very lenient; the use of the Book of Common Prayer could be continued for a year, and the clergy could remain in their same places and receive their same pay. Richard Bennett was elected Governor in place of Berkeley. <sup>19</sup>

Church affairs seemed to be but little changed; many parishes had no minister but the General Assembly

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid., p. 341.

<sup>19</sup> Anderson, op. cit., vol. II, pp. 18-19.

provided "That since so many parishes were without ministers and should have them for proper devotion that the colony would pay twenty (20) pounds to anyone who would bring over a 'sufficient' minister; they also provided that Mr. Phillip Mallory and Mr. John Green should examine prospective ministers and 'certifye their abilities to the Governour and Councill; who are to proceed according to their judgement!'.<sup>20</sup> This was the first examining board set up on the colony and the only other since company days; it is interesting to note that this examining authority was set up by the secular power and not by the Church.

Since Mr. Mallory is listed as one of the examiners, we are led to believe that the Church in Virginia conformed to the modes of worship of the Church of England throughout the commonwealth period. Mr. Mallory was one of the leading Anglican churchmen in Virginia and would certainly discourage non-conformists.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Hening, op. cit., pp. 418-424

<sup>21</sup>Anderson, op. cit., Vol. II pp. 19-20

This examining board was the first near at hand ecclesiastical authority that Virginia had ever experienced, and it showed that the colonists themselves realized the need for some person or body responsible for the clergy and for them to be responsible to.

To supply the real need of the colony for ministers, the General Assembly tried other devices besides providing twenty (20) pounds to the person bringing over a good minister; it increased the pay of ministers, and it made them and their families free of public levies.<sup>22</sup> These acts are good evidences of the real need for good ministers.

There are many reasons why the colony was so hard pressed for ministers during this period. Virginia still had none too good a reputation among churchmen in the Mother country. Besides thinking of them as ungodly as has been quoted from "Leah and Rachel", the churchman was apt to be suspicious of any place where the vestries had as

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<sup>22</sup>Hening, op. cit., pp. 418-424

much power as they did in Virginia and where a secular court could try a clergyman on a spiritual question. They were accustomed to being presented by the owner of the living and being inducted by the Bishop; in Virginia the vestries claimed the power of presentation, and the Governor, that of induction, but neither was often used so that tenure in Virginia was a very uncertain thing and absolutely dependent on the will, in the last resort, of the parishioners.

Another reason for the lack of clergymen in Virginia was that very few new ordinations were taking place in England.<sup>23</sup> The Church had been disestablished in England, its ministers driven from their cures, its Bishops displaced and its Archbishop executed; there was not much incentive for anyone to become a priest in the Church of England. Nor was there much more incentive for a priest to leave England for the colony where the same conditions might prevail as at home.

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<sup>23</sup>Brydon, op. cit. pp. 136-137

The basic reason, however, for the short supply of priests was the absence of schools and training centers for priests in Virginia and of a Bishop in Virginia to ordain suitable candidates. This was the problem, to develop a native priesthood, that was never solved during the entire colonial period.

During the early part of the revolution some cavalier clergy did flee to Virginia where they were received with open arms but they never came in sufficient quantity to supply the vacant parishes.<sup>24</sup> However, this supply soon ran out and the growing colony was as needful of ministers as before.

Under the Commonwealth the Church tried to adapt itself to the new conditions without losing any of its attachment to the old establishment.<sup>25</sup> Nothing definite is said about the Book of Common Prayer and the vestries are given more and more control until we find an act of 1657 stating:

"Bee it enacted by this present General Assembly concerning church

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid. p. 121.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. p. 129.

governments as followeth: That all matters concerning the vestrey, their agreements with their ministers, touching the churchwardens, the noore and other things concerning the parishes or parishioners respectively be referred to their owne ordering and disposing from time to time as they shall think fitt".<sup>26</sup>

Thus the General Assembly washes its hands of responsibility and lets each vestry decide just what it wants to do about its form of worship.<sup>27</sup>

At the death of Mathews in 1659/60, Sir William Berkeley was re-appointed governor of Virginia by the assembly which took the affairs of the colony into its own hands until such time as a lawful commission should arrive from England.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup>Hening, op. cit., p. 433.

<sup>27</sup>Brydon, op. cit., 131.

<sup>28</sup>Anderson, op. cit., vol. II, p. 25.

## CHAPTER IV

## FROM THE RESTORATION UNTIL 1700

When Charles II took the throne in 1660, the Church was re-established and the Book of Common Prayer returned to use. Since very few Anglican priests had been ordained during the period of the Commonwealth and since over two thousand ministers of Presbyterian or Independent ordination were forced to give up their places because they would not conform to the rites of the Established Church, there was a great shortage of qualified clergymen in England.<sup>1</sup> Under these conditions, it is hardly to be expected that many ministers would come to Virginia. One writer states that out of fifty parishes not more than two had ordained ministers.<sup>2</sup>

One of the first acts of the General Assembly, which met in March 1660-61, was to request Governor Berkeley to go to England to plead with the king for several concessions among which was one

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<sup>1</sup>Brydon, op. cit., pp. 173-174.

<sup>2</sup>Force, op. cit., vol. III, No. 15, p. 4.

asking for "Letters patents to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England for the erecting of colledges and schools in this countrye, and also for his majesties letters to both universities of Oxford and Cambridge to furnish the church here with ministers for the present".<sup>3</sup>

This assembly also sent Mr. Phillip Mallory to be their special agent in England to take care of church affairs. This act reads:

"WHEREAS Mr. Phillip Mallory hath been eminently faithfull in the ministry and very diligent in endeavouring the advancement of all those means that might conduce to the advancement of religion in this country, It is ordered that he be desired to undertake the solicitation of our church affaires in England, & that there be paid him as a gratuity for the many paines he hath allreadie and hereafter is like to take about the countreys business the sume of eleaven thousand pounds of tobacco, to be paid in the next levy."<sup>4</sup>

With these beginnings, the new government was undertaking to do all it could to support the

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<sup>3</sup>Hening, Vol. II, pp. 30-31.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid, p. 34.

Church at home in England. The next session of the assembly, in its revision of the laws, took more definite steps to sustain the Church and help make it strong in the colony; the preamble states:

"And because it is impossible to honour the king as we should unlesse wee serve and feare God, as wee ought, and that they might shew their equall care of church and state they have sette downe certaine rules to be observed in the government of the church, until God shall please to turn his majesties pious thoughts towards us, and provide a better supply of ministers among us".<sup>5</sup>

Some of these rules affecting the Church follow:

"Act II. Vestryes appointed. That for the makeing and proportioning the levyes and assessments for building and repaying the churches, and chappels, provision for the poore, maintenance of the minister, and such other necessary duties for the more orderly manageing all parochiall affairs, Be it enacted that twelve of the most able men of each parish be by the major part of the said parish, chosen to be vestry-men out of which number the minister and vestry to make choice of two churchwardens yearly, as alsoe in the case of the death of any

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 43.

vestry man, or his departure out of the parish, that the said minister and vestry make choice of another to supply his roome, And be it further enacted that none shall be admitted to be of the vestry that doe not take the oath of allegiance and supremacy to his majesty and subscribe to be conformable to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." 6

"Act III. Glebes to be laid out.  
That for the better encouragement and accomodation of the ministry there be glebes laid out in every parish & a convenient house built upon them for the reception and abode of the minister according to his majesties instructions and that such provision be made for his maintenance in the valuable and current commodities of the country as may be really worth at least ffourescore pounds per ann. besides his perquisites and glebe viz. If in tobacco at the rate of twelve shillings the hundred, in corne att tenn shillings per barrell, if in money by bills of exchange, and security to be given for the certaine payment, And in case of protest to be recovered here with fifty percent for damages." 7

"Act IV. Ministers to bee inducted.  
That for the preservation of the purity and unity of doctrine & discipline in the church, & the right administration of the sacraments now minister be admitted to officiate in this country but such as shall produce to the governour a testimoniall that he hath received his ordination from some Bishopp in England & shall then

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<sup>6</sup>Ibid. pp. 44-45.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 45.

subscribe to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England, and the laws there established, upon which the governour is hereby requested, to induct the said minister, into any parish that shall make presentation of him, and if any other person pretending himself a minister shall contrary to this act presume to teach or preach publicly or privately, the governour and councill are hereby desired and impowered, to suspend and silence the person soe offending and upon his obstinate persistence to compeell him to depart the country with the first conveniency as it hath beene formerly provided by the 77th act made at James Citty the second of March 1642." <sup>8</sup>

"Act V. To provide Readers. That every parish not haveing a minister to officiate every Sunday doe make choice of a grave and sober person of good life and conversation to read divine service every intervening sunday at the parish church, when the minister preacheth at any other place." <sup>9</sup>

"Act XVIII. Provision for a Colledge.  
WHEREAS the want of able and faithful ministers in this countrey deprives us of those great blessings and mercies that always attend upon the service of God; which want, by reason of our great distance from our native country, cannot in probability be always supplied from thence: Bee it enacted, that for the advance of learning, education of youth, supply of the ministry, and promotion of piety, there

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 46.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. pp. 46-47.

be land taken up or purchased for a colledge and free school: And that there be with as much speed as may be convenient houseing erected thereon, for entertainment of students and scholars." <sup>10</sup>

What with the helpful attitude of the assembly as shown in these acts and the demonstrated loyalty of the people to the church as shown during the period of the Commonwealth, with a little cooperation from the Mother country the Church in Virginia could have taken on a full and vital growth. This cooperation was not forth coming and we find an account of the true state of the Church in Virginia and remedies for it being presented to the Bishop of London in 1661. The object of this narrative was:

"To shew the unhappy State of the Church in Virginia, and the true Remedy of it, I shall first give a brief Description of the Manner of our Peoples scatter's Habitations there; next shew the sad unhappy consequents of such their scatter'd Living bothin reference to themselves and the poor Heathen that are about them, and by the way briefly set down the cause of scattering their Habitations, then proceed to prouound the Remedy, and means of procuring it; next assert the Benefits of it

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<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 56.

in reference both to themselves and the Heathen; set down the cause why this Remedy hath not been hitherto compassed: and lastly, till it can be procured, give directions for the present supply of their Churches.

That part of Virginia which hath at present craved your Lordships Assistance to preserve the Christian Religion, and to promote the Building Gods Church among them, by supplying them with sufficient Ministers of the Gospel, is bounded on the North by the great River Patomek, on the South by the River Chawan, including also the Land inhabited on the East side of Chesiniack Bay called Accomack, and contains above half as much Land as England; it is divided into several Counties, and those Counties contain in all about Fifty Parishes, the Families whereof are dispersedly and scatteringly seated upon the sides of Rivers; some of which running very far into the County, bear the English Plantations above a hundred Miles, and being very broad, cause the Inhabitants of either side to be listed in several Parishes. Every such Parish is extended many Miles in length upon the Rivers side and usually not above a mile in Breadth backward from the River, which is the common stated breadth of every Plantation belonging to each Particular Proprietor, of which Plantations, some extend themselves half a mile, some a mile, some two miles, some three miles, and upward upon the sides of those Rivers, many of them are parted from each other by small Rivers and Creeks, which small Rivers and Creeks are seated after the manner of the great Rivers. The Families of such Parishes being seated after this manner, at such

distances from each other, many of them are remote from the House of God, though placed in the midst of them. Many Parishes as yet want both Churches and Gleaves, and I think not above a fifth part of them are supplied with Ministers, where there are Ministers the People meet together weekly, but once upon the Lords day, and sometimes not at all, being hindred by Extremities of Wind and Weather; and divers of the more remote Families being discouraged, by the length or tediousness of the way, through extremities of heat in Summer, frost and Snow in Winter, and tempestuous weather in both, do seldome repair thither.

By which brief Description of their manner of seating themselves in that Wildernesse, Your Lordship may easily apprehend that their very manner of Planting themselves, hath caused them hitherto to rob God in a great measure of that publick Worship and Service, which as a Homage due to his great name, he requires to be constantly paid to him, at the times appointed for it, in the publick Congregations of his people in his House of Prayer. *Hinc. Illae Lachrymae.*"

"Lastly, their almost general want of Schooles, for the education of their Children, is another consequent of their scattered planting, of most sad consideration, most of all bewailed of Parents there, and therefore the arguments drawn from thence, most likely to prevail with them chearfully to embrace the Remedy. This want of Schooles, as it renders a very numerous generation of Christians Children born in Virginia (who naturally are of beautiful and comely Persons, and generally of more

ingenious Spirits then these in England) unserviceable for any great Employments either in Church or State, so likewise it obstructs the hopefulllest way they have, for the Conversion of the Heathen, which is, by winning the Heathen to bring in their Children to be taught and instructed in our Schooles, together with the Children of Christians. For as it is the beauty and Glory of Christian Graces, shining in the lives of Christians, which must make the Heathen that are men, in love with the Christian Religion; so it is that love, which can only perswade them to bring in their Children to be taught and instructed in it; but as it is unlikely that such love should be wrought in them by the Glory of Christian Graces, appearing in Christian lives; who (as now planted) are for the most part destitute of the ordinary means of Grace: so granting that this might be, yet it is very unlikely that any rationally Heathen should be perswaded to commit their Children to the teaching and education of such Christians, whom they shall perceive to want Schooles of learning (the means of both) for their own."

"What way soever they determine to be the best, I shall humbly in obedience to your Lordships command endeavour to contribute towards the compassing this Remedy by propounding."

"Fifthly, That for a continual supply of able Ministers for their Churches after a set term of years. Your Lordship would please to endeavour the procuring an Act of Parliament, whereby a certain number of Fellowships, as they happen to be next

proportionably vacant in both the Universities, may bear the name of Virginia Fellowships, so long as the Needs of that Church shall require it; and none be admitted to them, but such as shall engage by promise to hold them seven years and no longer; and at the expiration of those seven years, transport themselves to Virginia, and serve that Church in the Office of the Ministry seven years more (the Church there providing for them) which being expired, they shall be left to their own Liberty to return or not: and if they perform not the conditions of their Admittance, then to be incapable of any Preferment."

"For encouragement therefore of Ministers to adventure thither to help them, I humbly propound,

First, That your Lordship be pleased to procure, that the next Grand Assembly in Virginia may enact. That what Tobacco any Parish agrees to pay their Minister, shall be payed of the best Tobacco of every Mans own Crop, and with Cask, otherwise experience hath shewed, that a Ministers livelyhood there will be very uncertain.

Secondly, That at the same Assembly it be Enacted, that every Parish chuse a Vestry (in case they have not one already chosen) and the Vestry of each Parish be enjoyned to subscribe what quantity of Corn and Tobacco of the best of their own Crops with Cask, they will allow a sufficient Minister yearly.

Thirdly, That in the next and every Assembly, the Act for paying 15 pounds of Tobacco per annum, for every Tythable person, in every Parish destitute of a Minister

(which Act was made at an Assembly March 27, 1656.) be carefully executed, and strict Enquiry made, whether the Tobacco due by that Act, be duely collected, and employed to the ends express'd in that Act, viz. Building Churches, purchasing Gleabes, and stocks of Cattel to belong to them. And if any Parish hath imployed any part of such Arrears to any other use, that they be enjoyned to make them good again.

Fourthly, That the Act made in the same Assembly concerning disposing intestate estates to public uses, (in case no Administratour of Kin to the deceased Proprietour appears) may serve in the first place the needs of the Church, for furnishing each Parish with Gleabes, and the Gleabes with Stocks of Cattel, before any part of such estates be employed to any other use.

Fifthly, That there being divers persons already in the Colony fir to serve the Church in the office of Deacon, a Bishop be sent over, so soon as there shall be a City for his See, as for other Needs of that Church, so also, that after due Probation and Examination, such persons may be ordained Deacons, and their duty and Service be appointed by the Bishop.

Sixthly, That the Ministers that go thither, be not hired by the year, as is now usual, but firmly instituted and inducted into Livings of stated value by the Subscriptions of their Vestries, according to the second Proposition.

Seventhly, That all desirous to go to Virginia, and not able to transport themselves, be acquainted with an Act of Assembly of that Country, whereby it is provided, that whatsoever sufficient Minister, shall not be able to pay his transportation, any Merchant that shall defray the charge of it (if such Minister agree not with him upon other conditions) shall receive 20 pounds Sterling for his passage, from the Parish that entertains him, or two Thousand pounds of Tobacco, who shall also repay any Sums of money disburs'd for his accommodation, and the Minister to be free to choose his Parish, which shall make such disbursements for him.

This is all I can think meet to propound at present, only for a Conclusion I shall add for the Encouragement both of Bishop and Ministers, that shall adventure thither out of pity and compassion to the souls of so many of their poor Brethen, that as their reward will be great in Heaven, so also, they shall (in a very pleasant and fruitful Land) meet with a People, which generally bear a great love and respect to their Ministers; And (if they behave themselves as becommeth their high calling) they shall find their ready help, and assistance in their Needs; and (which should be much more encouraging) they will find a People, which generally bear a great love to the stated Constitutions of the Church of England, in her Government and publik Worship; which gave us (who went thither under the late Persecutions of it) the advantage of Liberty to use it constantly among them, after the Naval force had reduced that Colony under the power (but never to the obedience) of the Usurpers.

Which Liberty we could not have enjoyed had not the People generally express'd a great Love to it. And I hope even this will be a consideration (not of least regard) to move your Lordship to use all possible care and endeavour to supply Virginia's needs with sufficient Orthodox Ministers, in the first place, and before any other of our forraigne Plantations which crave your help, because in the late times of our Churches Persecution, her people alone, cheerfully and joyfully embraced, encouraged, and maintained the Orthodox Ministers that went over to them, in their public Conformity to the Church of England, in her Doctrine and stated manner of Public Worship." <sup>11</sup>

None of these recommendations were carried out; however, laws were passed for the induction of ministers but they were ignored. "Virginia's Cure" does give a clear sighted picture of the Church in showing colonies weaknesses and needs.

That the ministers, although not always worthy men, were well paid during this time is brought out in a list of questions and answers completed by Governor Berkeley in 1671. To the question,

"What course is taken about the instructing the people, within your government in the christian religion; and what provision is there made for the paying of your Ministry?"

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<sup>11</sup>Force, op. cit., pp. 1-19.

"Answer, The same course that is taken in England out of towns; every man according to his ability instructing his children. We have forty eight parishes, and our ministers are well paid, and by my consent should be better if they would pray oftener and preach less. But of all other commodities, so of this, the worst are sent us, and we had few that we could boast of, since the persecution in Cromwell's tyranny drove divers worthy men hither. But, I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them and libels against the best government. God keep us from both!"<sup>12</sup>

In 1675 Henry Compton became Bishop of London. He was the first Bishop of London since the days of the company to show any great interest in the Church in the colony.<sup>13</sup> His interest in the colony led him to make a report in 1677 to the Lords of Trade and the Plantations in which he told of the plight of the Church in Virginia and as a result of this report he was given the problem of securing ministers for the colony.<sup>14</sup> Later he received the right of

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<sup>12</sup>Hening, op. cit., pp. 511-517

<sup>13</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 217.

<sup>14</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 288 quoting A. L. Cross, The American Episcopate and the American Colonies, p. 26.

certifying ministers for the colony through instructions given to each governor stating: "And our will and pleasure is that no minister be preferred by you to any ecclesiastical Benefice in our colony without a certificate from the Lord Bishop of London, of his being conformable to the Doctrines of the Church of England".<sup>15</sup>

Before long Compton had persuaded King Charles to start the custom of giving twenty (20) pounds, called the King's Bounty, to every minister or schoolmaster going to the colonies.<sup>16</sup>

The instructions given to Lord Howard of Effingham, in 1685, also broadened his power by providing that the Bishop of London should have ecclesiastical jurisdiction "as far as conveniently may be".<sup>17</sup> However, this did not make him the Bishop of Virginia because Virginia was never made a diocese.<sup>18</sup> Although these acts strengthened his

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., pp. 28-30.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 30.

<sup>18</sup>Brydon, op. cit., p. 230.

position, Compton still did not have a free hand in the ecclesiastical affairs of the colony. He was a screening agent but still the highest power over the Church was vested in the Governor. A report to the Committee of Colonies by Lord Culpepper states: "The ecclesiastical government is under his Majesty's governor." <sup>19</sup>

Since Compton had not been given full power over the affairs of the Church in the colony, he took the next best action by appointing as his commissary, in 1689, James Blair. <sup>20</sup> As commissary of the Bishop of London Blair had the power to make visitations and to correct the discipline of the churches and pastors; however, he lacked the authority to confirm, ordain, or consecrate. <sup>21</sup> This lack of authority limited him a great deal but Mr. Blair thoroughly explored all the possibilities of his position.

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<sup>19</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 376, quoting Chalmers, 355-357

<sup>20</sup>Anderson, op. cit., p. 383.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

From the very first Mr. Blair made frequent visitations or inspection tours to see how the churches and clergymen were getting along and to help them with any problems. He also called the first convention of the clergy to be held in the colony.<sup>22</sup> These things had a strengthening effect on the Church and gave it more unity and some control.

The two projects in which he was most interested, however, were the establishment of a college in Virginia and the stabilization of minister's salaries. In 1693 the Royal Charter was granted for the founding of the college.<sup>23</sup> The second project was not accomplished for some time.

In 1694, Blair was appointed a member of the Council of State of the colony, the first clergyman ever to hold an official position in the colony, which gave him much prestige because it was co,

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 309.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 310.

comparable to the official position that a Bishop would have in the House of Lords. <sup>24</sup>

The law of 1661/62 having to do with the salaries of ministers was still in effect and Mr. Blair thought the sum too small. Blair worked to get the salaries raised and because of some indiscretion in his fight was suspended from the council for over a year. There is some evidence that Mr. Blair might have been wrong about the relative smallness of the salaries, since when the price of tobacco fluctuated everyone was affected; however, in 1696 the salary of a minister was raised to 16,000 pounds of tobacco. <sup>25</sup>

At the close of the seventeenth century, the Church in Virginia was stronger, better organized, and more strictly regulated than it had been since the days of the company. Through the efforts and interest of Bishop Compton and Commissary Blair, the colony was getting better clergymen, who were more diligent and effective in their duties, more mindful of the Church's needs.

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid., pp. 309-319.

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