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## The Randolphins of Turkey Island : a prosopography of the first three generations, 1650-1806

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THE RANDOLPHS OF TURKEY ISLAND: A PROSOPOGRAPHY  
OF THE FIRST THREE GENERATIONS, 1650-1806

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A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of History  
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment  
Of the Requirements for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

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by

Gerald Steffens Cowden

1977

APPROVAL SHEET

This dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of  
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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## PREFACE

In the midsummer of 1770, a certain Francis Coleman announced in the Virginia Gazette that he had a runaway slave belonging to one of the Randolphs, "but cannot tell which."\* Anyone who has studied the Randolph family must appreciate Coleman's confusion, for in colonial Virginia there were three distinct branches of Randolphs: the family of Turkey Island, the family of Chesterfield County, and the family of Norfolk. Furthermore, even though these families were not all blood relatives (the Norfolk Randolphs were not related), they bore names in common: William, John, Isham, Thomas, Edward, Richard, and Henry.

This study deals with the most famous and powerful branch of the family, the Randolphs of Turkey Island, beginning with William Randolph I, who came to Virginia about 1670, and continuing through his ten children and forty-three grandchildren, the last of whom died in 1806. It examines in detail the lives of all individual family members to determine the family's collective influence in colonial Virginia. The Randolphs played notable roles in the law, in letters, in politics, in economic affairs, in society, in education, and in the church. In a general way the outlines of the lives of the most prominent members, such as Peyton Randolph, William Stith, and Richard Bland, are known, while the lives of the less prominent are obscure. It has not always

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\*Rind's Va. Gaz., July 26, 1770, 2:3.

been easy to cull the facts about all the Randolphs, especially without a core of personal papers to trace their inward and private thoughts. Even without these precious papers, it has been possible to bring together from the public records and other contemporary sources many details about the Randolphs hitherto undisclosed.

In the course of this study I have incurred many obligations--so many, in fact, that they cannot all be listed individually. Nevertheless, those persons who have given me their learning and their assistance know my gratitude. The staffs of the Virginia Historical Society; the Virginia State Library; the Alderman Library, University of Virginia; the Library of Congress; the Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary; and the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, were all courteous and helpful. In particular I acknowledge my debt to the Research Department of Colonial Williamsburg where for more than two years I poured over their great collection of Virginiana. The Research Department Staff, whom I consider my friends, are professional, informed, and generous.

My professor, Richard Maxwell Brown, put me to study the Randolphs of Turkey Island and guided the scope and shape of the dissertation. Throughout his many readings of the manuscript, he has remained consistently interested in the progress of my research and writing. I appreciate his guidance and criticism.

Edward M. Riley, Director of Research, Emeritus, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, has been a source of encouragement. His vast knowledge of Virginia history has kept me often from error. I cherish his assistance.



I am also indebted to John E. Selby and M. Boyd Coyner of the history faculty of the College of William and Mary, to William Swindler of the Marshall-Wythe School of Law, and to Harold B. Gill, Jr., of The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, for their careful reading and criticism of the manuscript.

Last, but not least, I am grateful to my wife who never doubted that "was lange währt wird gut."

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE END NOTES

<u>CVSP</u>	<u>Calendar of Virginia State Papers.</u> William P. Palmer, ed.
CW	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
<u>DNB</u>	<u>Dictionary of National Biography</u>
<u>EJCCV</u>	<u>Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia.</u> H. R. McIlwaine, et al., eds.
<u>JCC</u>	<u>Journals of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789.</u> Worthington C. Ford, et al., eds.
<u>JHB</u>	<u>Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1619-1776.</u> J. P. Kennedy and H. R. McIlwaine, eds.
LC	Library of Congress
m	microfilm
<u>Pa. Gaz.</u>	<u>Pennsylvania Gazette</u>
PMHB	<u>Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography</u>
PRO	Public Record Office, London
Adm	Admiralty
AO	Audit Office
CO	Colonial Office
HCA	High Court Admiralty
PC	Privy Council
SP	State Papers
T	Treasury
WO	War Office
<u>Statutes at Large</u>	<u>The Statutes at Large; being a collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the year 1619.</u> William Waller Hening, ed.
UVa.	University of Virginia
<u>Va. Gaz.</u>	<u>Virginia Gazette</u>

VHS	Virginia Historical Society
<u>VMHB</u>	<u>Virginia Magazine of History and Biography</u>
VSL	Virginia State Library
WM	College of William and Mary
<u>WMQ</u>	<u>William and Mary Quarterly</u>

## ABSTRACT

The Randolphs of Turkey Island were one of the great families of colonial Virginia. For more than a century they were prominent in law, politics, economic affairs, education, religion, letters, and society. This study begins with William Randolph I, who came to Virginia about 1670, and continues through his ten children and forty-three grandchildren, the last of whom died in 1806. The method is prosopographical examining in detail the lives of the fifty-four family members individually to determine collective patterns of family behavior. In addition to the male lines, the study traces the female lines, hence the surnames Stith and Bland appear equally among their Randolph relatives.

The Randolphs were planters with tens of thousands of acres of land and hundreds of slaves. To market their tobacco, they were merchants not only in Virginia but also in England. Among the best trained lawyers in the colony they practiced in all levels of the Virginia courts. Three members of the family served as the attorney general. More Randolphs than any other colonial family were students at the College of William and Mary in Virginia. From the school's founding in 1693 to the end of the colonial era a Randolph was always a member of the Board of Visitors. Furthermore, three of the first five College presidents were Randolph relatives.

The family was dominant in the Virginia government. Sixteen were members of local parish vestries. Twenty-one were in county government. They were particularly influential in the House of Burgesses where fifteen served as members, three as speakers, six as clerks, and one as chaplain. Moreover, two Randolphs were agents of the House in England. The Council of Virginia had two family members. Various Randolphs also served as adjutant-general, escheator-general, and surveyor-general of the customs.

The Randolphs had a sense of their own importance which they transferred by example and inheritance from one generation to the next. Despite their clannishness, the various branches of the family differed. The family of Edward Randolph never recovered from the bankruptcy of Edward's tobacco firm. The family of Isham Randolph had not as much land, education, wealth, or prestige as their relatives, yet Thomas Jefferson was among their offspring. The family of Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe was successful in planting and public service, but the men were short-lived and a daughter disgraced them with her inferior marriages. The family of Richard Randolph of Curles was the wealthiest, but his sons were spoiled, erratic, and eccentric. The family of Elizabeth Bland was average except for Richard Bland, a brilliant political leader, theorist, and pamphleteer. The family of Mary Randolph Stith gained

prominence through the career of the Reverend William Stith, president of the College of William and Mary, historian of early Virginia, preacher and political agitator. The family of William Randolph II gained prestige in planting and politics rising to positions on the Virginia Council. The family of Sir John Randolph, which included Peyton Randolph and John Randolph, the Loyalist, was probably the foremost branch; they were elite lawyers and shared among themselves the offices of speaker, attorney general, and college burgess. Peyton Randolph was, moreover, the first president of the Continental Congress.

For all of the Randolphs' contrasts in character and purpose, the family consistently pursued wealth and power with distinction and success.

THE RANDOLPHS OF TURKEY ISLAND: A PROSOPOGRAPHY  
OF THE FIRST THREE GENERATIONS, 1650-1806

CHAPTER I  
THE RANDOLPHS OF TURKEY ISLAND:  
AN OVERVIEW

The Randolphs were one of the great families of colonial Virginia. A Frenchman traveling in the Old Dominion noted, "you must be prepared to hear the name Randolph frequently mentioned. This is one of the first families in the country, ...it is also one of the most numerous and wealthiest."<sup>1</sup> An English traveler added that the Randolphs "are so numerous that they are obliged, like the clans of Scotland to be distinguished by their places of residence."<sup>2</sup>

These travelers observed in the last quarter of the eighteenth century what had long been obvious about the Randolphs, that they were a large family. Had the Frenchman and the Englishman been so inclined, they could have counted through four generations no less than two hundred and forty-eight descendants of the family's Virginia founder, William Randolph of Turkey Island. Such a count would have revealed intermarriage with the families of Beverley, Bland, Bolling, Carter, Cary, Fleming, Grymes, Harrison, Isham, Jefferson, Jenings, Lightfoot, Lee, Lewis, Meade, Nelson, Page, Pleasants, Robinson, Stith, Woodson, Wormeley, Yates, and more, relating the Randolphs virtually to all the great Virginia dynasties.

Almost anyone traveling in eighteenth-century Virginia must, of necessity, have encountered the Randolphs or their kin. Their plantations extended for tens of thousands of acres from Tidewater to Piedmont,

from Southside to Northern Neck. In a land famous for hospitality, the Randolphs opened their houses at Turkey Island, Curles, Wilton, Chatsworth, Matoax, Tuckahoe, Dungeness, naming only a few, to travelers--stranger and friend alike. Fine furniture, china, and silver; good linen and bedding; ample food and drink; staffs of servants and cooks prepared them to receive guests in style and comfort. Genial and tactful, the Randolphs knew how to put a visitor at his ease.

Wealth made possible their hospitality. Not only were they planters and large landholders, they were merchants and commercial agents, shipowners and seacaptains, all actively engaged in the Virginia trade. For most of the eighteenth century a Randolph was stationed in England pursuing his own interests to be sure, but at the same time available to handle family business in the mother country. They were land speculators and town developers. The fact that some of the Randolphs were lawyers also aided and protected their economic activities.

Furthermore, the family was especially prominent in politics. In a hundred years from the middle 1670's, they all but dominated the various levels of Virginia government: the parish, county, province. They were vestrymen, justices of the peace, sheriffs, coroners, surveyors, and burgesses. Two of the Randolphs were members of the Virginia Council and six others were recommended as eligible for membership. Three of them were Speakers of the House where four of them served as clerk. Three were Attorneys General, one Surveyor of the Customs. One became President of the College of William and Mary, as did two Randolph sons-in-law. Three represented Virginia's interests in England before the Parliament, Board of Trade, and Privy Council. Two were delegates to the Continental Congress, and one of them was chosen its President. To



the traveler in colonial Virginia it must have seemed that wherever there was power, influence, and money, there also was a Randolph.

The eighteenth-century world of the Randolphs is gone. Yet they have not entirely vanished from their neighborhood. The mistress of William Byrd's Westover still tells of a Randolph--although his name escapes her--who so detested cold food that he stationed a horse and rider at the kitchen to make certain his meals got to the big house while they were piping hot.<sup>3</sup> The tenant farmer, whose bungalow bestrides the wreck of the Turkey Island mansion, has it on good authority, he says, that the Randolphs with a lantern held aloft roam at night over the plantation.<sup>4</sup>

If indeed their shades haunt Turkey Island, the Randolphs must be forever restless. The place is sad. Scarcely a trace of the Randolph mark is left upon it. The house disappeared long ago, a victim of fire and then bombardment during the Civil War. Only a cellar hole remains, a tangle of vines and briars. Battered steps peer out from the weeds along with a cannonball and an exploded shell. The lawn which sloped gently to the river bank is now a field where yearly plowing throws up bricks and hardware, glass, china, and pottery. Close by, in the midst of a horse pasture, is the Randolph burying ground, an island of tombs held inviolate by a gateless wall of concrete. The gravestones with their time-worn epitaphs lie flat among jonquils and honeysuckle not to mention poison ivy and chiggers.

In spite of the ruin that overtook their world, the Randolphs have survived in the interest of antiquarians and genealogists, scholars and historians. As a matter of fact, the Randolphs themselves were concerned with their own past. "They trace their pedigree," said Thomas

Jefferson (who was himself related to the family), "far back in England and Scotland, to which let every one ascribe the faith and merit he chooses."<sup>5</sup> The 1737 obituary of Sir John Randolph asserted that the Randolphs were not only "one of the best Families" in Virginia, but they were also of "no mean Figure in England." As proof of the contention the death notice cited distinguished ancestors who had been in the service of Queen Elizabeth, friends of Ben Jonson, and cavaliers during the English Civil Wars.<sup>6</sup> Sir John's son, John Randolph the Loyalist (c.1727-1784), kept "an antique black letter Pedigree of the Randolph Family," which went to his cousins, Thomas Mann Randolph II and John Randolph of Roanoke, but has since disappeared.<sup>7</sup>

Although Thomas Jefferson, in an autobiographical sketch written in 1821, made brief mention of the Randolphs and their antecedents, it was his distant cousin, John Randolph of Roanoke, in his manuscript Commonplace Book (1806-1830), who kept the oldest family list so far uncovered.<sup>8</sup> Randolph's genealogy, which lists the first three generations of the family in Virginia, is valuable because it is based on material no longer extant. In abbreviated form his work was published as a pamphlet, The Randolph Family of Virginia. His work from a modern standpoint is flawed, however, because he did not list family members according to their chronological ages, nor was he able to give complete dates for births, marriages, and deaths. His gravest error, which has resulted in genealogical confusion, was his insistence that his great-grandfather, William Randolph of Turkey Island, came from Yorkshire in England rather than Warwickshire.

There have been two studies of the Randolphs as a family. The first to appear was H. J. Eckenrode, The Randolphs, The Story of a

Virginia Family (Indianapolis, 1946). According to Eckenrode, the Randolphs were "the foremost family of Virginia."<sup>9</sup> Looking fondly on the age of chivalry, he viewed the Randolphs in the Old Dominion as the last of the breed of knights and their ladies. Tracing the family in Virginia through five generations from the founder, William of Turkey Island, to George Wythe Randolph, secretary of war of the Confederate States of America, he found the Randolphs "businesslike, devoted to the high duty of getting on in the world," but "average human beings, with average mentality and somewhat more than average satisfaction with themselves." The recipe for success, Eckenrode thought, was to be of average mental and physical condition with more than average self-assurance. This, he said, was "the reward of the Randolphs for being the most representative family of Virginia."<sup>10</sup> There was a weakness in the family strain. "One fault of the Randolphs was their clannishness," Eckenrode believed; "they associated too much with each other, married too many cousins." Even though a Randolph was a high Confederate official, Eckenrode considered that the family declined after the American Revolution. "They fitted into their own period so perfectly," he concluded. "They liked the simple opulence and order of the pre-Revolutionary time."<sup>11</sup>

In general, Eckenrode's work is simplistic. His sources were limited to printed primary and secondary materials which he failed to cite completely. Consequently, many of his conclusions are unsubstantiated. For example, his belief that the Randolphs married among themselves to their own detriment needs careful consideration. During the first three generations only four times did the Randolphs marry close relatives. The unions of William Stith and Judith Randolph of Tuckahoe,

who were first cousins, and Thomas Randolph of Dungeness and Jane Cary of Ampthill, second cousins, produced no aberrations. Nor did the union of cousins Theodorick Bland and Elizabeth Randolph Yates who married in their late fifties. The children of John Randolph of Bizarre and Frances Bland, who were second cousins, are sometimes cited as examples of the ill-effects of inbreeding. The eldest son, Richard, supposedly begot a child by his wife's sister, Anne Randolph (who was doubly related to him through both of her parents), and helped her dispose of the infant by foul means. This resulted in the infamous Bizarre scandal in which Anne was tried and acquitted of murder. Richard's younger brother, John Randolph of Roanoke, was admittedly a brilliant eccentric. But to assign family genes as a single cause of Richard's and John's behavior is to ignore the circumstances of their upbringing. Their father died when they were small; Richard was five, John two. They were indulged by their widowed mother and when she married in 1778, she could no longer give them her exclusive attention. They competed with babies who were born at regular intervals until their mother died in 1788. Their stepfather, St. George Tucker, was a good man whom the boys respected and for the most part loved, but they never forgot he was not their father. Furthermore, there must be a thorough investigation into the marriage patterns of other gentry families in Virginia before a definitive pronouncement of the effects of intermarriage among the Randolphs can be made.

Eckenrode professed in the Randolphs to be writing a social history, but his criterion was apparently politics in choosing to discuss some Randolphs while relegating others to a minor place. At great length he discussed one branch of the family, Sir John, Peyton, John

the Loyalist, and Edmund Randolph, who all had been high officials in the Virginia government. Thomas Jefferson and John Randolph of Roanoke each rated a chapter, but William Stith and Richard Bland, who were certainly outstanding members of the family, were mentioned only in passing.

The second study of the family is Jonathan Daniels, The Randolphs of Virginia (Garden City, N. Y., 1972).<sup>12</sup> According to the dust-jacket, the Randolphs are "America's Foremost Family." Inside the book itself, Daniels' statement is qualified. He calls the Randolphs "almost certainly the first family in America." A journalist writing for a popular audience, Daniels and an assistant researched widely, but by and large overlooked the large body of unpublished manuscripts currently available. The Randolphs, in his view, were dominant beyond the colonial period well into the era of Thomas Jefferson and John Marshall. After that they went into a long decline from which they have never recovered. The rise of the family came through ambition, shrewdness, and connections. The decline was a result of inbreeding, quarreling, and neglect. The book traces some nine generations from William Randolph of Turkey Island to Nancy, Lady Astor! While Daniels pays heed to many of the minor members of the family, he tends to confine himself to the politically prominent and those, like Nancy Astor, who interest him no matter how remote their Randolph connection.

There is need for further study of the Randolph family. No investigation has taken full advantage of the many non-Randolph manuscript collections which have become accessible in the last quarter of a century. The present study is limited to the first three generations of the Randolph family founded in Virginia by William Randolph of Turkey Island. These generations from 1650, when William Randolph was born,

to 1806, when his last surviving granddaughter died, comprised fifty-four family members. Not only does this study deal with the male lines, but contrary to the usual custom of antiquarians and genealogists, also deals with the female lines, hence the surnames Stith and Bland appear prominently among their Randolph cousins.

This is a prosopographical study. The method is to survey the Randolphs individually to determine collective patterns of birth and death, marriage and family, social origins, economic position, place of residence, education, amount and source of personal wealth, occupation, religion, and experience in political office. The prosopographer must accumulate as much information as possible from all available sources and employ each fact, no matter how small. Anticipating that the prosopographer might be accused of obscuring the forest by paying too close attention to individual trees, Sir Lewis Namier defended the time spent over details: "we distinguish trees by considering their general shape and characteristic details, for instance, the leaf and the bark; while seemingly more prominent features, such as the circumference, the number of branches, etc., can be safely disregarded."<sup>13</sup>

There are two fairly distinct schools of prosopography. The elitist school is concerned with small-group-dynamics, or interaction, in terms of family, marriage, and economic and political ties, of a restricted number of individuals. The purpose of this school, Lawrence Stone observed, "is to demonstrate the cohesive strength of the group in question, bound together by common blood, background, education, and economic interests to say nothing of prejudices, ideals, and ideology."<sup>14</sup>

The second is the statistically-minded mass school. The members of this school have concerned themselves with vast numbers about whom

there is a paucity of detailed or intimate information. These prosopographers tend to view history as determined by movements of popular opinion, not by the decisions of "great men" or by elites. "They have," noted Stone, "...been far more concerned with testing the statistical correlations of the many variables than with conveying a sense of historical reality by a series of detailed case studies."<sup>15</sup>

The elitist approach has shaped the study of the Randolph family. Consequently it follows in paths laid out by well-respected historians of the elitist method. Charles Beard, in his famous An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States (New York, 1913), compared and analyzed the economic and class interests of the Founding Fathers to conclude: "The first firm steps towards the formation of the Constitution were taken by a small and active group of men immediately interested through their personal possessions in the outcome of their labors."<sup>16</sup> While Beard emphasized economic self-interest, his successors stressed social and kinship ties. A. P. Newton published The Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans (New Haven, Conn., 1914), in which by tracing family relationships and economic connections he showed the nature of Puritan opposition to Charles I in the 1630's.

Fifteen years after Newton's work, Namier's Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III (London, 1929) was published. In 1939, Sir Ronald Syme brought out Roman Revolution (Oxford, 1939). These two studies marked the "real breakthrough" of the prosopographical method into general acceptance by the historical profession. Both Namier and Syme, through case studies and personal vignettes, traced a "picture of elitist personal interests, mainly kinship groupings, business affiliations and a complicated web of favors given and received."<sup>17</sup> Namier,

who went on to study British politics in the era of the American Revolution, became so influential that virtually every scholar of the same period has been dependent on him and his interpretation. The House of Commons 1754-1790, 2 vols. (London, 1964), a prosopographical study of the members of the lower house of Parliament, which Namier made with John Brooke, has served as a model for this study of the Randolph family.

Since Namier, American historians have turned their attention to the study of the colonial family. John Water's The Otis Family (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1968); John B. Hedges, The Browns of Providence Plantations: The Colonial Years (Cambridge, Mass., 1952); Richard S. Dunn, Puritan and Yankees: The Winthrop Dynasty of New England 1630-1717 (Princeton, N.J., 1962); Aubrey C. Land, The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797) (Baltimore, Md., 1955); all, to some degree employ the elitist method of prosopography. These are useful collective biographies tracing family development over several generations. Yet not all of them, particularly in the cases where there are many individuals, deal with the entire family. They select the more important members from one generation to the next. Furthermore, the major emphasis tends to be given to public careers of the principal men without much attention given to personal and family relationships.

Randolph Shipley Klein's Portrait of an Early American Family: The Shippens Across Five Generations (Philadelphia, 1975) is a prosopographical study of fifty-nine members of a family, both male and female, notable and insignificant, in their public and private relationships,



over the better part of two centuries. As such, it is an important addition to the study of the early American family.

Undertaking a prosopography of the Randolph family of Virginia has not been without difficulty. The family was prolific, and most of its members survived to maturity. Many were at the forefront of Virginia society, government, and economics. The greatest obstacle was not the size and importance of the family but the dispersal and loss of the family's papers. Nevertheless, from a wide variety of public and private depositories in Great Britain, Canada, and the United States, it has been possible to construct the collective biography which follows. Each of the fifty-four individual sketches is intended to stand more or less independently and is as complete as present research allows.

A prosopography of the Randolphs is necessary, because other than their most prominent men, individual family members have never before been studied. Indeed, so obscure are some of the Randolphs that their names do not appear in the genealogies. If the collective influence of the Randolph family in colonial Virginia is to be understood, the lives of all their men and women must first be delineated.

The foundation of the family's influence was laid by William Randolph of Turkey Island. The second son in a family of the minor English gentry, he came to Virginia about 1670 at the age of twenty. He found a land of opportunity in the colony. He arrived over sixty years after the first settlement at Jamestown when it was certain that the colony would survive. Even though it was later said that young William was a penniless immigrant, a carpenter by trade, the status of his family in England makes it relatively certain that he did not come empty-handed. Neither did he come alone. His uncle, Henry Randolph, who had been in

Virginia for more than a quarter of a century and was a leading man, apparently brought him from England. Consequently, with a little money, and with his uncle's connections, he began his climb to wealth and power.

He first acquired land in the region between the James and Appomattox rivers. During the 1680's he moved his home to Turkey Island, a plantation on the north bank of the James. In four decades he accumulated more than 16,000 acres. Significantly, most of his property was in a settled area where much of the timber and underbrush had already been cleared. Thus relieved of grubbing a plantation in a wilderness, he was able to diversify his activities. Not only was he a tobacco planter, he was also a merchant, shipowner, and commercial agent.

While he was accumulating property and amassing a fortune, Randolph also pursued public office. He began in the mid-1670's as clerk of the Henrico County court. He rose steadily in the county as justice of the peace, coroner, sheriff, militia-officer, and burgess. It is probable that he was also a vestryman of Henricc Parish whose records are not extant. On the provincial level, he was Attorney General, Speaker and Clerk of the House of Burgesses. Furthermore, the Governor recommended him for appointment to the Council.

William Randolph was an able and conscientious official, but personal talent did not entirely account for his rise in the Virginia government. His success was in large measure the result of cultivating the right people. His uncle, a member of Governor Berkeley's clique, had good political connections. When the uncle died in 1673, William succeeded him as county clerk. He owed his appointment to Philip Ludwell, Secretary of Virginia, the elder Randolph's longtime associate. Randolph's behavior during Bacon's Rebellion seems to indicate an

awareness of political realities. He may have supported Bacon so long as his efforts were directed against the Indians, but when Bacon led a rebellion against Berkeley, Randolph apparently lost his enthusiasm. He doubtless realized that he owed his clerkship if not directly to the Governor himself, then indirectly through close associates of the Governor. Even after Berkeley left the colony, Randolph made it his business always to be on the good side of subsequent governors. His closeness to Governor Francis Nicholson seems to have resulted in his being made a visitor of the College of William and Mary, Attorney General of Virginia, and nominee to the Virginia Council.

Connections within his home county were likewise important to Randolph. In 1683 he was named justice of the peace for Henrico County. His appointment was made by the Governor, who had the power to appoint whomever he chose, but usually chose a slate submitted for consideration by the incumbent justices. Randolph's other county offices--sheriff, coroner, militia-officer--were appointments of the Governor made upon the recommendation of local officials.

For more than a quarter of a century, he represented Henrico County in the House of Burgesses. Even though the post was elective and he had to stand before the voters each time the Governor called a new election, it was obvious that he was in good standing with the county oligarchy. The gentlemen freeholders, who had to cast their ballots in public before the sheriff, knew without being told in so many words for whom to vote. The fact that Randolph, once he was elected, rose through the ranks of the burgesses to become for a brief time their Speaker and Clerk was a mark not only of his ability to make friends in the right places, but also to handle well the responsibilities of office.

The single most important alliance William Randolph made was his marriage to Mary Isham, whom he doubtless met through his uncle who was a friend of her father. A woman of sense and strength, she bore him ten children, seven sons and three daughters, and brought all but one daughter, who died in childhood, to maturity. One of their sons did not marry, but their remaining eight children wed and produced forty-three children who in their turn had at least one hundred and ninety-four offspring. The Randolph family, however, was not remarkable for its size. There were other families in Virginia like the Harrisons and Carters which were as large if not larger. It was remarkable that most of the Randolphs, in a time of high infant mortality, arrived safely at adulthood. In three generations there is record only of five deaths in childhood.

William Randolph had a well developed sense of family. Having removed himself from conventional family relationships with the parents, brothers, and sisters when he came to Virginia, he forged new ones. To a certain extent the family of his Uncle Henry became his own. When the elder Randolph died and his widow remarried, William Randolph looked after his young cousin, Henry Randolph. Undoubtedly he was instrumental in Henry's eventual elevation to Henrico County clerk and then justice of the peace.

The Ishams, his wife's family, also became a kind of surrogate family to Randolph. He held money in trust for his widowed mother-in-law. He was, moreover, close to his brother-in-law, Henry Isham. At Henry's death in 1678, he inherited property in England and Virginia and was the sole executor of the estate. During the 1680's his wife's brother-in-law, Francis Eppes, became his partner in land and mercantile

transactions. When Joseph Royall, half-brother of his wife, became an Henrico justice in 1692, Randolph, as a member of the county court, doubtless approved the inclusion of Royall's name on the slate sent to the Governor for appointment.<sup>18</sup>

As his own children were born and matured, his primary attention and concern shifted naturally to them. He saw to it that they were educated, girls as well as boys, and apparently employed a series of tutors to that purpose. One of the first backers of the College of William and Mary, he took a personal interest in the school as a place close to his home where he could send his sons. His daughters both married in their teens. He provided their dowries and remained on affectionate terms, but from then on they were under their husband's responsibility.

He gave particular attention to the advancement of his sons. His eldest, William Randolph II, is a good example. He groomed him for a political career by having him study law. In 1702, using his influence in the House of Burgesses, where he was clerk at the time, he had his son, who was not yet twenty-one, appointed clerk to the important standing committees of Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances. Later that same year when he fell ill, he took temporary leave of the clerkship and young William assumed his duties as acting clerk. Retiring as clerk in 1704, he certainly saw to it that his son succeeded him. Undoubtedly he had some hand in arranging William's appointment as clerk of Charles City County in 1704 and clerk of Henrico County in 1710.

The father did not overlook his son's economic advancement. After William had attained his majority, he deeded him, beginning in 1703, a total of 1,206 acres which comprised most of the Turkey Island tract. By his will, he left William his house and outbuildings when his wife

died. But William did not have to wait for his parents' demise before he took up residence at the homeplace. When he married in 1709, William brought his bride to Turkey Island where they established a separate household.

For all the consideration given to his eldest son, old William Randolph did not neglect the younger ones. When his second son, Henry, came of age, he deeded him plantations of at least 687 acres. To his other sons he left in his will about 1,000 acres each. He helped them in other ways. As Henrico sheriff, it was doubtless he who made Thomas his undersheriff in 1708, even though the son was not yet of legal age. When his son, Isham, went to sea, he arranged in 1709 to procure a ship for him to command. He died in 1711, just as Richard, John, and Edward had completed or were nearing the end of their schooling at the college in Williamsburg. He bequeathed them an ample patrimony and had undoubtedly expressed many times his hopes and concerns for their future. At any rate, he expected them to measure up to his standards. When, for example, the teenaged Edward embarrassed him by sassing their friend, William Byrd II, he assured Byrd that it would never happen again.

Although it cannot be proved absolutely to have been the case, the careers of the Randolph sons of the second generation appear to have been planned according to design. All of them, inasmuch as they owned plantations in Virginia, were planters; but it was Henry, Thomas, and Richard who devoted themselves primarily to planting. Isham and Edward left Virginia as mariners and eventually established themselves in London as merchants. They provided an important link for their family between the colony and the mother country. The Randolph brothers, with the exception of Edward who remained abroad for most of his life, were

officials in the parish, county, or provincial government in Virginia.

However, it was William II and John who made careers in the public sector. Both of them were lawyers. William II read law at home and practiced mainly in the county courts. John, too, began legal studies in Virginia, but he sold his patrimony there in order to pursue them further at Gray's Inn in London. While William II turned increasingly to planting in order to support himself and his family, John established himself in Williamsburg to become a leading lawyer of his time. Both brothers gained political prominence: William as vestryman, county clerk, justice of the peace, clerk of the House, burgess for Henrico County, and member of the Virginia Council; John as vestryman, alderman, clerk of the House, burgess for the College of William and Mary, agent to England, Speaker of the House, and Treasurer of Virginia. Consequently, whatever their interests and ambitions, whether they were planting, mercantile, legal, or political, the second generation of Randolphs were well placed to assist each other.

As their father had eased their entrance into the world of agriculture, commerce, and government, so the Randolph brothers made similar provision for their children. What they were able to provide was proportionate not only to their wealth and connections, but also to the size of their families. Some of the brothers were more successful than others. The children of William II, Thomas, Richard, and John advanced farther in Virginia society and politics than the children of Isham and Edward who focused on maritime and mercantile activities in England and were less successful than their Virginia-based relatives.

In the second generation, the Randolphs continued to acquire vast amounts of land. Their father's property was more or less concentrated

in the area settled and cleared along the middle and lower James River, but the property of the second generation extended far beyond into the frontier region. Each of them began with an inheritance of about 1,000 acres. Isham, John and Edward disposed of their patrimony in order to pursue their respective careers. Henry never married, so his holding passed to Richard. William II, with about 34,000 acres, Isham with about 48,000 acres, Thomas with about 57,000 acres, and Richard with about 114,000 acres were the largest landholders in the family. Isham, after spending nearly twenty years outside the colony as a sea captain and merchant, returned to Virginia in the middle 1720's to become a planter. Even though he devoted himself mainly to law and politics, John also owned plantations; but the amount cannot be fixed because of the loss of the local records. Edward never acquired a sizeable estate in Virginia, pursuing instead mercantile and maritime interests abroad.

The Randolphs acquired land because it was necessary to have new fields available as their main crop of tobacco exhausted the fertility of the old fields. They also saw the speculative value of obtaining land cheap and selling it dear. Land, moreover, was something to hand on to one's children.

The commercial activities of the second generation are important. William II and, possibly, Richard operated stores on their plantations. That Isham and Edward were involved in the Virginia trade provided their brothers with direct access to English and Continental markets. During the 1720's Edward formed Edward Randolph and Company in London. Isham was associated with the company in England, while William, Richard and John acted as commercial agents and legal representatives in Virginia. The company had a fleet of five ships which called at Madeira and the



West Indies before anchoring in Virginia on the upper James to take on tobacco for the return voyage to England. However, the company expanded during a time when the tobacco price was low. Perhaps sensing trouble, Isham left the company which went bankrupt in 1732. A series of efforts by the family were unsuccessful in recouping the loss, and Edward eventually was dependent on public charity.

Second generation Randolphs were variously involved in public affairs. William II, Thomas, Richard, John, and Isham (after his return to Virginia) were on the vestry of their respective parishes. Three of the brothers, William, Thomas, and Richard, were at one time vestrymen of Henrico Parish. Thomas transferred to the newly created St. James Northam Parish, but William and Richard remained to influence the calling of their nephew, William Stith, as minister of their parish. John, member of the vestry of Bruton Parish, had decidedly anti-clerical views and gained so wide a following that the Governor and the President of the College expressed concern.

The brothers were, moreover, active in county government. They all but controlled Henrico County. When William II, who had been county clerk, was named justice of the peace in 1720, his appointment stipulated that he must not sit in judgment with his brothers Thomas and Richard who were also justices. It is probable that Henry was also a member of the Henrico commission, but due to the confusion in the records between him and his cousins of the same name, it remains uncertain. At the creation of Goochland County, which included his plantation, Thomas was named to the first county commission. John was appointed to the Henrico commission in 1718, while he was still in school in England, so he was never seated. He settled in Williamsburg and may have been a justice

of the peace for James City County, but the county's records are gone, so his only certain service was as justice of Gloucester County in 1734.

The Virginia capital in Williamsburg was the scene of significant Randolph service. All the brothers except Henry entered the House of Burgesses in one capacity or another. William II was clerk of the House from 1704 to 1712, a post John also held from 1718 to 1734. William II was elected burgess from Henrico County in 1715 and was regularly re-elected until 1726. Thomas was elected with William to represent Henrico in the House in 1720. There was some dissatisfaction over the election and the Randolph monopoly of the Henrico delegation lasted only one session: Thomas did not return to the House after 1722. Richard became an Henrico burgess in 1727, replacing William who was out of the colony, and he held the post until his death in 1748. Isham was elected a burgess for Goochland County in 1738, but his death in 1742 precluded any significant service.

Politics obviously had much to do with John's becoming a burgess. After sixteen years as clerk he resigned suddenly in August, 1734, having learned that the incumbent speaker was vacating his post. It was not simply a matter of changing one office for another; in order to qualify for the speakership one had first to be a burgess which John had never been. As fortune had it, the burgess for the College of William and Mary had recently died, and it was not difficult to persuade the few members of the college corporation to vote for Randolph, who had always been a devoted alumnus. Elected burgess on August 22, he took his seat next day and was voted Speaker. So popular a speaker was he that his colleagues included the full texts of his addresses in the House journals.

In addition to the House of Burgesses, the Randolph brothers assumed other responsibilities in the Virginia government. William was elevated to the Council in 1727. John became Treasurer of Virginia, a post Richard held briefly after John's death in 1737. John undertook two missions to England in 1728 and 1732, as agent for the House and the College. Isham represented the General Assembly in 1732 protesting to the British Parliament restrictions on Virginia's trade and credit.

Like their father before them, the Randolph brothers understood the importance of connections in Virginia politics. Their places on the vestry and in the county court were secure because of their close ties with the men in their community who were already members of these cliques. The brothers also were part of the faction which coalesced around the person of the Governor. William II, in particular, learned to his regret that it was costly to alienate a Governor. Carelessly repeating to Governor Spotswood some remarks critical of his military policy, Randolph lost his post as clerk of the House. His career was not permanently spoiled; his connections, especially his father-in-law, Peter Beverley, who was Speaker of the House, saved him. Spotswood could ill afford such powerful enemies. Eventually he made William tobacco agent. In 1718, after six years out of the office, during which time William supported the Governor's programs in the General Assembly, Spotswood offered him the clerkship. William refused, but he suggested tactfully that his brother, John, who had just returned from England would be a suitable appointee.

John Randolph's career flourished under Spotswood's patronage. Not only was he appointed clerk of the House of Burgesses, he was also named a deputy judge of the Vice Admiralty. Spotswood took him along

to New York to negotiate an Indian treaty. Privately John thought himself maltreated because Spotswood was selfish in sharing the financial rewards that came because of Randolph's efforts in the Governor's behalf. In public, however, John supported Spotswood to the extent that some branded him a fawning sycophant. Years later, when Spotswood was no longer Governor and John was secure in other offices, he criticized his former patron in an open letter to the Virginia Gazette.

Governor William Gooch did much to advance the Randolphs. He recommended William's appointment to the Council and was especially fond of John whom he introduced to friends and politicians in England. He also did business with Edward and appointed Isham Adjutant General of Virginia. The brothers, in turn, supported Gooch. John went to England as agent of the House to lobby for a scheme for regulating the tobacco trade which had the Governor's support. Edward also was Gooch's ally in the mother country where he carried the favor of the great merchant Micajah Perry in behalf of a tobacco inspection law.

All seven sons of William Randolph of Turkey Island visited England. Isham and Edward were the first direct contacts the family had in the mother country, but it was John who was first introduced to high officials of the government and the church. He came to London initially to study law, and it is doubtful that he made any important friendships then. When he returned in 1728, as an agent of the Virginia government and the college, he carried letters from Gooch and Commissary James Blair introducing him to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State; Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London; and the members of the Board of Trade. Four years later he was back again on official business; not only did he call on the same officials he met earlier, but also made the

acquaintance of such notables as the Archbishop of Canterbury; Dudley Rider, afterwards Attorney General; and Micaajah Perry, the most influential merchant in London. His most important contact on this trip was Sir Robert Walpole, the King's First Minister.

Chief among John's duties in London in 1732 and 1733 was to represent Virginia interests before Parliament by urging the levying of an excise on tobacco to be paid by the importer so as to protect the planter from smuggling and other exploitation. John believed that his best hope of success lay by embodying the proposed tax in a general excise scheme which Walpole was preparing to lay before the House of Commons early in 1733. John was diligent in his efforts, and it was his argument which Walpole presented to the Commons. But there was great opposition from the London merchants led by Micaajah Perry, and Walpole's excise scheme went down to defeat. Even though John had failed in his mission, he did not go home to Virginia unrewarded. Walpole, grateful for his services, secured knighthood for him, the only colonial Virginian to be so honored.

Of the seven children of William II, three sons and two daughters survived to maturity. Their mother, who was Elizabeth Beverley, died shortly after the birth of the youngest son. The boys, Beverley, Peter, and William III, went off to the college in Williamsburg.

As the eldest son, Beverley of Turkey Island was given first consideration. Shortly after his twenty-first birthday, his father deeded him in 1735 three tracts totaling over 3,100 acres, which included the Turkey Island plantation. He probably received more land from his father, but there is no record of it. About the same time, Governor Gooch named him justice of the peace for Henrico County, which was a

tribute to his father's connections in the county and in Williamsburg. Beverley was also a vestryman of Henrico Parish. When he married in 1737, his father and the younger children moved to another family plantation in Goochland County. Beverley was a competent planter, but he never showed great ambition. He bought some land, but he did not strive for more offices than he already held in the county and parish during his father's lifetime.

Peter, the second son of William II, was truly ambitious. From his father he inherited over 6,000 acres and acquired by himself over 13,000 more. He married Lucy Bolling, sired a family of four children, and built a large house at Chatsworth. His wealth and resources were sufficient that they were not exhausted by his extravagant and indifferent management. A justice of the peace and vestryman, he was primarily concerned with higher offices. He served in succession as clerk of the House, burgess, councilor, and Surveyor-General of the Customs.

William III was the youngest son of William II. Through inheritance and purchase he amassed more than 28,000 acres of land. He married Anne Harrison of Berkeley, and they had eight children. For them he built Wilton, one of the most famous mansions in Virginia. Although he never gained the distinction in public office that came to Peter, he was justice of the peace, vestryman, clerk of the House, and burgess. Death, at age thirty-seven, cut short his career.

William II treated his two daughters as Virginia custom dictated by bestowing a dowry and turning them over to the care of their husbands. Elizabeth, the eldest daughter, married John Chiswell about 1736. There is no record of her dowry, but her father was doubtless pleased with her husband, a man with whom he had business dealings and

who was a rising man in Virginia politics. Elizabeth was the mother of four daughters. Her life, however, was not easy. Her husband murdered a man in a tavern brawl in 1766 and died in disgrace leaving her practically penniless. Nevertheless she remained a Randolph whose natural dignity and virtue overcame her husband's shortcomings.

The younger daughter, Mary, remained with her father keeping house for him until his death in 1742. Left with a dowry of more than £800 sterling, she apparently feared spinsterhood and shocked her family by marrying a common carpenter who was some years her junior. Perhaps she and her husband used her money to purchase a plantation in Hanover County where, from all appearances, they lived happily ever after.

Isham Randolph had a larger family than any of his brothers or sisters. His English-born wife, Jane Rogers, bore eleven children in twenty years. Two sons, however, died in infancy. Isham acquired extensive acres and became a man of some prominence in Virginia, but for some reason not fully understood, he was not able to make as good a provision for his children as his brothers did for theirs. He settled his family on a plantation at Dungeness along the far fringe of settlement in Goochland County after having been a merchant in London. Why he changed careers is unknown; perhaps he did so for financial reasons. By the time he arrived back in Virginia about 1725, the cleared and settled land along the lower James had already been taken up, so he was compelled to acquire wilderness property in the south and west. Even though Isham himself was frequently in Williamsburg in the years after his return, he sent none of his sons to the college where he had once been a student. The impression is that he was short of money. When his daughter, Jane, married Peter Jefferson in 1739, he did not give

her a dowry, but promised the groom £200. At his death in 1742, he left his estate to his wife who was his sole executor. Each of his daughters was to have £200 at their marriage. His brothers and nephews were the guardians of his sons.

Isham Randolph's children are a contrast to most of their Randolph cousins. The two elder sons, Isham II and William, went to sea. Neither of them was much interested in Virginia. Isham died in England after an undistinguished maritime career. William became a leading merchant in Bristol and was apparently prosperous, but he committed suicide in 1791. The younger son, Thomas, remained in Virginia living with his mother until her death in 1760. Mrs. Randolph had deeded the family land to her elder sons, and Thomas, since his brothers were interested in other things, managed the plantations. Thomas, however, appears to have had little ambition for himself. He never acquired a large estate nor was he more than a minor public official. The six daughters all married. Most of their husbands came of families of little rank and influence. Elizabeth married John Railey who had recently arrived from England. Anna married three times, being widowed twice; after her second marriage, she became a Quaker to match the faith of her husband, John Pleasants, Jr. Mary, Dorothea, and Susannah married ranking gentlemen, but their husbands were younger sons without prime claim on family property. Jane, the eldest daughter, married Peter Jefferson and was the mother of Thomas Jefferson. Some have claimed that Peter advanced his status by marrying a Randolph. However, the family of Isham Randolph did not have the prestige of their relatives in Tidewater.

Isham's brother, Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe, died in 1729 at the age of forty, before his three children were grown. He left a comfortable



house and the largest amount of land any Randolph at that time had acquired. When he died, his only son, William of Tuckahoe, was about sixteen. Shortly afterward the lad came into his full inheritance when his mother, Judith Fleming Randolph, remarried. Ignoring the unsolicited advice of his elders, William managed his affairs to his own pleasure. He married a member of the prestigious Page family of Gloucester County and doubled the size of the Tuckahoe mansion. He speculated in western land, patenting about 40,000 acres. He kept his patrimony for plantation purposes. He was justice of the peace and burgess for Goochland County, but he gave rather indifferent service. While he enjoyed his fortune, he did not squander it.

Thomas of Tuckahoe had two daughters. The eldest, Mary, showed the want of parental control. First, she eloped with an uncle's overseer, and after her family tore her from that alliance, she ran away to marry a minister who had been dismissed from his parish on charges of fornication. Her father's will has not survived, and there is no way of knowing whether she received a settlement from his estate; but when her brother, William, died, he left her nothing. The younger daughter, Judith, was more conventional than her sister. Judith married her first cousin, the Reverend William Stith, and settled to life as a minister's wife and then as wife of the President of the College of William and Mary.

Richard Randolph was well able to provide for his seven children, four sons and three daughters. Richard married Jane Bolling, a descendant of Pocahontas, a relationship of which the Randolphs were proud. With almost 115,000 acres in his possession, Richard surpassed his brother Thomas as the greatest landholder in the Randolph family. He

treated his children well. His eldest son, Richard II, was sent to the college in Williamsburg; but by the time his sons Brett and Ryland were ready for school, he could afford to send them to England. Ryland matriculated at the Middle Temple in London. Undoubtedly the youngest son, John, would have been educated in the mother country also, but his father died and his protective mother kept him at the college in Virginia. The family property was divided among the sons giving each an interest in about 28,000 acres. Richard II inherited the home plantation at Curles.

Richard Randolph, the elder, was also generous with his daughters, bestowing not only a dowry of £1000 sterling on each of them but a few slaves as well. For all of the advantages of wealth and education, the careers of Richard Randolph's children, in particular his sons, were disappointing.

There seemed a kind of desperation about Richard Randolph II. He made a valiant attempt to succeed, acquiring about 67,000 acres in addition to his share of his father's estate and entering business schemes such as trading in slaves. He followed his father on the vestry, the county court, and in the House of Burgesses. But he was not notably successful. His plantations drew him into heavy debt, as did his business enterprises. By the 1760's he was not consistent in his attention to public duty; and when his election as burgess was challenged in 1772, he withdrew from the House. Perhaps his troubles affected his personality. He quarreled with his brothers. Even relative strangers knew that he had a vile temper. When he died in 1786, his friends thought his unhappiness had hastened his end.

Brett, the second son, during his schooldays in England, met and

married Mary Scott. He brought her to Virginia where he took up planting. Through family influence on the county court he gained a minor post as surveyor. Perhaps his wife did not like the colony, for, to the neglect of his public duties, he returned to England where he died in 1759, aged about twenty-seven.

Ryland, the third son, was a dilettante who never realized his potential. Trained in the law, he never practiced. Vestryman and county official, he gave indifferent service. He acquired his grandfather's plantation at Turkey Island and spent much time and money making it over into a quasi-English country place, remodeling the house and laying out a deer park. He had expensive taste in furniture and books, was interested in family history. He hung his walls with portraits of his ancestors, including Pocahontas and John Rolfe, and he indulged in travel. He never married, but had an especially close relationship with his Negro housekeeper, Aggy, and her children to whom he left the greatest part of his estate. He quarreled with his brothers. Richard II took advantage of Ryland's deep indebtedness to see that Aggy and her children got not one farthing of the Randolph money.

John, the youngest son, was pampered and spoiled. His mother and sisters lavished attention on him. His brothers and his father-in-law helped manage his affairs. Accustomed to having his own way in most things, he was at times tactless and spiteful. He acquired little property in addition to that inherited from his father. For a brief time he was a vestryman, but never served; he was also a non-descript justice of the peace. He was heavily in debt. Plagued for years by ill-health, both real and imagined, he died in 1775 at the age of thirty-three.

So far as worldly success was concerned, the daughters of Richard Randolph appeared more secure and content. Mary wed Archibald Cary of Amptill, an important planter and politician. She bore seven children, three of whom died before her own death at age fifty-four in 1781. Jane married Anthony Walke, a Norfolk merchant, and bore him a son, but she died while only in her mid-twenties. Elizabeth, the youngest daughter, remained at home with her mother until the old lady died in 1766, and then, to the consternation and merriment of the neighborhood, she married the twenty-year-old Richard Kidder Meade, a man eleven years her junior. After a series of miscarriages, she died in 1773, aged thirty-seven.

The children of Sir John Randolph were the most successful in the Randolph family. Sir John, however, did not live to see the establishment of his three sons and a daughter; he died when he was forty-four before they were adults. Nevertheless, his fortune and friends were considerable. His wife, Susanna Beverley, was, moreover, a woman capable of attending to the interests of her children.

Sir John's eldest son was Beverley Randolph of Gloucester. Educated at the College of William and Mary, Beverley did not share the intellectual curiosity of his father and brothers, so instead of inheriting the family library, he was given family plantations in Gloucester County. Through his father's connections, he was elected to Sir John's old seat in the House of Burgesses representing the college. Governor Gooch, a family friend, recommended him for the Virginia Council even though he was still in his twenties and had done nothing really to distinguish himself. He was not appointed, but in 1747 he went to England on a mission for Gooch who needed help in preventing the removal of the

capital from Williamsburg. His mission was successful. For some unexplained reason, Beverley retired as burgess; the only other posts he is known to have held were justice of the peace and sheriff of Gloucester County. He married Agatha Wormeley. They had two daughters, both of whom died as children. Within his limited sphere Beverley Randolph was respected if not prominent, but he was largely overshadowed by his brothers.

Peyton Randolph, Sir John's second son, was in his time among the most popular and influential men in Virginia. He was educated at the college in Williamsburg and showed an early interest in the law. Inheriting his lawyer father's library, he went to study law at the Middle Temple in London. Upon his return to Virginia, he married Elizabeth Harrison of Berkeley, a woman of good family and fortune. In 1744, at the age of about twenty-three, he was appointed Attorney General of Virginia. He was extremely young for such an appointment and without much legal experience. Perhaps on that account he did not have Governor Gooch's support, but it was not necessary. Randolph connections in London, chiefly the merchant-prince, John Hanbury, secured him the office. With the attorneyship came an appointment as judge of the Court of Vice-Admiralty. Consequently, he had no difficulty establishing a flourishing law practice.

Peyton entered Virginia politics. While he served on the county court and the vestry, his most important post was as burgess variously for the college and for Williamsburg. He was a burgess continuously from 1749 until his death in 1775. Always one of the most active burgesses, he became a protege of Speaker John Robinson, who dominated all that went on in the House. In 1754, Peyton, as agent of the House, went to England in defiance of Governor Dinwiddie to protest the Governor's

charging a pistole fee for affixing the seal to land patents. Even though he failed in his mission and lost the attorneyship, besides, by leaving the colony without the Governor's permission, his connections were strong enough that Dinwiddie was compelled to accept his reinstatement. In 1766, he stood for election as Speaker to replace the recently dead Robinson. He hoped also to gain Robinson's other post, the treasury. He marshalled impressive support which included Governor Fauquier, who had succeeded the unpopular Dinwiddie. However, a scandal broke when it was discovered Robinson's treasury accounts were short £100,000. Peyton remained aloof from the fray letting his cohorts do the heavy political fighting. He was easily elected speaker, but his opponents succeeded in separating the speakership from the treasury, so he did not get the latter post.

During the last decade of his life Peyton distinguished himself as a champion of self-government in Virginia. He was inclined to be politically conservative. He was a staunch supporter of the British constitution, but he viewed the policies of the mother country as an incursion into the just rights and liberties claimed by Virginians through their representatives in the General Assembly. Neither philosopher, theoretician, nor writer, his strength lay in moderation. Certain radicals like Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson thought he moved too slowly, but because of their affection for him they acted more cautiously than they might have otherwise. From the Stamp Act to the Intolerable Acts, Peyton supported the patriot cause. He was the moderator of the Virginia Convention and was the first President of the Continental Congress. When he died in 1775 there was great public grief.

The youngest son of Sir John Randolph, John Randolph the Loyalist, was also an important gentleman in colonial Virginia. Like Peyton, John was educated at William and Mary and the Middle Temple. He began the practice of law in Williamsburg in 1749 and gained a notable clientele. Appointed clerk of the House of Burgesses in 1752, he served until 1766 when he succeeded his brother as Attorney General. He gained the post not with the support of the Virginia Governor, Francis Fauquier, but through connections in England, including Lord Dartmouth and the Earl of Shelburne. While John held municipal and county offices and was a sometime burgess, his public career was mainly in appointive posts which may well have isolated him from local constituencies and heightened his contempt for men not of his social class.

As the imperial crisis of the 1760's and 1770's was the making of Peyton's reputation, so it was the undoing of John's. Eventually he was forced to take refuge in England. From the Stamp Act to the Intolerable Acts, John supported British policies. He was vocal in his criticism of Virginia patriots and their proposals. Even so, his loyalism was not blind; in fact, he was critical of the ways that Parliament and the British ministry treated the colonies. He believed that American independence was inevitable, but that now was not the time. Colonial protests stood to do more harm than good, for Americans could not withstand British might and power.

There was not much difference between him and Peyton. Both were conservatives who had come to power within the structure of colonial politics. Peyton used his influence, however, to moderate the radicals. John's scolding only fired them more. Unlike Peyton, John was no judge of public opinion. As tension increased to open war between the

colonies and England in 1775, John continued on his way. He remained close to Governor Dunmore, even though the Governor was extremely unpopular for seizing the gunpowder from the Williamsburg magazine, for impeding the General Assembly, and for fleeing the capital to the refuge of a ship in the York River. Furthermore, John remained openly critical of Henry and Lee. There were threats against him and his family. Frightened, he took the advice of Dunmore, who had sent away his own wife and children, that he should go to England where he would be welcome until the colonies were subdued.

However, the mother country was hardly the haven he anticipated. Instead of being hailed for his support of the government and given a post commensurate with his skill and experience, he was provided a moderate pension and forgotten. He spent much time lobbying for Virginia loyalists. He was homesick, but realizing that so long as he lived he could never go back, he directed that in death he be interred with his family in the crypt of the college in Williamsburg.

Mary Randolph Grymes was the only daughter of Sir John Randolph. Provided with a dowry of £1000, she was an eligible bride, and by Virginia standards she made an excellent marriage in 1742 to Philip Grymes of Brandon in Middlesex County. Not only did her husband inherit the major family plantations, but he also succeeded his father on the Council and as Receiver General. The mother of ten children, she lived in style and comfort in a fine house. She maintained close ties with her family, and after her husband's death in 1762, she moved back to Williamsburg near her brothers and her young sons who were attending college. She died there in 1768.

The family of Edward Randolph did not fare as well as its relatives.



The reason that they were not as prosperous was the failure of Edward Randolph & Company. Edward had started well enough by marrying an heiress by the name of Groves whom he met at a launching at Gravesend. She brought him £10,000. In due course he fathered four children, two sons and two daughters. He owned a house and acreage outside London. Forced into bankruptcy, he apparently moved his family to Virginia in the late 1730's in an attempt to establish himself once more as a merchant. He was not successful and in 1741 returned to England where he signed on as a purser either in the service of the Royal Navy or the East India Company. His wages were insufficient, and he had to accept public charity to support his family.

There is little record of the sons of Edward Randolph, Joseph and Edward II. They joined with seven relatives in 1745 to patent 60,000 acres in Virginia, but neither of them apparently had any interest in it afterwards. Joseph never married and disappeared from the records without a distinguishing mark. Edward II, like his father, became a sea captain in the Virginia trade. He married Lucy Harrison of Berkeley and was the father of a son and a daughter. He died in 1757.

The daughters of Edward Randolph, Mary and Elizabeth, settled in Virginia. They married brothers, Robert and William Yates who were in England to take holy orders. The Yates brothers were sons of an impecunious minister in Middlesex County, Virginia, so they settled their own families on adjacent parishes in Gloucester County. William Yates became President of the College of William and Mary. After his death Elizabeth moved to Prince George County where she later married her first cousin, Theodorick Bland. Mary Yates survived her husband and continued to live in Gloucester, but her fate is unknown.

As the Randolph brothers of the second generation provided for their children with varying degrees of success, so they also attended to the interests of their married sisters and their families. Their eldest sister, Mary, was the wife of John Stith, a planter of some prominence in Charles City County who had served as sheriff and burgess. She was the mother of three children, John, William, and Mary. Widowed by the early 1720's, Mrs. Stith came to Williamsburg where, with the help of her brother, John, she secured the position as housekeeper at the college.

By that time her son, John, was married and living on the family plantation. Eventually he served in the parish, county, and House of Burgesses, but was not otherwise noteworthy. Her daughter Mary lived with her at the college until she married William Dawson, one of the professors, who succeeded to the college presidency and also became Commissary of the Bishop of London.

Her most famous son was William Stith. He was attending the college when she became the housekeeper, but in 1724 he matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford. Perhaps the Randolphs assisted financially with his education, but when William stayed in England to take a master's degree, he sold his Virginia property. Ordained a minister, he returned to the colony where he became master of the grammar school at the college. In 1736, tiring of his college duties, he moved to Henrico Parish to become the minister. His relatives, two of his uncles and three of his cousins, were members of the vestry during the term of his ministry. William was a creditable preacher whose sermons before the General Assembly were later published. Not all of his time was consumed in preaching and pastoral duties. He had sufficient leisure to

write The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (Williamsburg, 1747). In 1753 he became President of the college on the death of his brother-in-law, William Dawson.

Stith did not gain the presidency without difficulty. He had angered Governor Dinwiddie while still in Henrico by asserting that in charging the pistole fee for land patents the Governor was imposing taxation without representation. Dinwiddie attempted to block him from the college post. However, cousin Peyton Randolph was one of the visitors of the college, as were several of Stith's former grammar school students. These visitors successfully maneuvered Stith into the office. Joined to the presidency was the commissariat of the Bishop of London. Stith wanted the post badly, but Dinwiddie used his connections in England to keep it from him. Despite the circumstances of his election, Stith was a conscientious president until death overtook him after only two years in office.

The Randolph brothers also looked after the family of their younger sister, Elizabeth Randolph Bland. There were five Bland children, three girls and two boys. Mrs. Bland died soon after the birth of the youngest son. A few months later her husband, Richard Bland, Sr., of Jordan's Point in Prince George County, also died leaving a family of orphans, the eldest of whom was fifteen. They had a moderate property. Their uncles, William and Richard Randolph, were guardians. There is not much information about the years the Bland children spent with their Randolph relatives, but they developed affectionate ties with each other and made early marriages.

The elder girls married into the Beverley and Lee families. The younger daughter did not marry as well; her husband was Robert Munford,

a drunkard who abused her. The younger son, Theodorick, apparently did not attend the college, but married before he was twenty and settled to life as a planter and public servant of no particular distinction.

The most prominent member of the family was the elder son, Richard Bland. For almost three and a half decades preceding the American Revolution, Richard was a leading champion of Virginia autonomy. Educated at the College of William and Mary, he was well versed in history, religion, literature, and politics. He was a planter with about 10,000 acres, which was an average holding for a member of the gentry, even if it was less than some of his Randolph cousins. In addition to planting, he was also a lawyer. Trained in Virginia, he had a fairly extensive practice in the circuit of county courts surrounding his home. A justice of the peace and vestryman, he achieved his greatest success in the House of Burgesses where he served from 1742 until the House ceased to exist in 1776.

During Bland's tenure in the House he served on every major committee and was involved in almost all of the business confronting the burgesses no matter how large or small. He was prominent upholding the rights and liberties of Virginians in the Pistole Fee Controversy, the Parson's Cause, the attempt to create an American Episcopate, the Stamp Act, the Townshend Duties, the Tea Act, and the Intolerable Acts. Several of these crises led him to produce pamphlets and letters which showed him to be a master of history and politics as well as a good stylist. He was, in fact, one of the outstanding political theorists of his time.

Richard Bland was conservative like his cousin, Peyton Randolph. While he was proud of his British citizenship and his rights under the

British constitution, he was opposed to the plans of Parliament and the ministry to interfere with the institutions of local government in Virginia and the other colonies. Thomas Jefferson found him too cautious, but realized that if independence were to become a reality in Virginia, a man of Bland's learning and influence could not be ignored. Like Randolph, Bland served to temper the enthusiasm of the younger radicals. His popularity was such that he was among the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress. A member of the Virginia Convention, he begged to retire in 1775, but returned the next year to vote for independence and to help frame the Virginia Declaration of Rights. He was serving in the Virginia House of Delegates when he died in the autumn of 1776.

While Bland never forgot his relationship with the Randolphs, he managed to maintain his own identity. The Randolphs did not get on well with Governor Dinwiddie. Presumably Bland supported the efforts of Peyton Randolph to return to the attorney-general's post, but he also curried the Governor's favor by supporting in the House the war efforts against the French and Indians. In 1766, even though Peyton Randolph was standing for Speaker of the House, Bland declared himself a candidate. During the summer he took a position in the newspapers contrary to that of the Randolph faction by urging the separation of the speakership from the treasury. But his stand apparently did not alienate him from his relatives. He and Peyton had similar philosophies, and Bland later supported him for Speaker.

The Randolphs of Turkey Island had a profound sense of family. They kept their genealogy and passed on the tales of family greatness from one generation to another. They remembered their past by keeping certain family names in current use. The Virginia founder, William

Randolph of Turkey Island, named his children to honor his relatives and those of his wife, Mary Isham. A son was called William and a daughter, Mary; Henry bore the name of his maternal grandfather and two uncles; Richard and Elizabeth honored their grandparents Randolph; and Isham, Thomas, John, and Edward all had family names. The second generation continued in the same manner to name their children. William and Mary were the names most frequently used, but other names--Richard, Elizabeth, Isham, Thomas, John, and Edward--also appear in the second generation. Of special importance were the names Brett and Ryland which Richard Randolph of Curles called two of his sons; Brett was the surname of a great uncle in the Isham line; and Ryland was the maiden name of William of Turkey Island's mother. The second generation of Randolphs also named their children for their spouses' families: Beverley, Peyton, Peter, Theodorick, and Judith.

In addition to family names, the Randolph family maintained its sense of history and kinship through the generations with their portraits. William Randolph III had paintings of three generations hanging on the walls at Wilton. These included his grandparents, his parents, his brothers and sisters, his wife, and himself. Later portraits of his children and their spouses were added to the collection.<sup>19</sup> The Randolphs of Curles also had their portraits taken. In addition to these portraits, which included his parents, his brother, and himself, Ryland Randolph secured in England two pictures which he mistook for his ancestors, Pocahontas and John Rolfe. The Randolphs of Tuckahoe, Chatsworth, Dungeness, and Williamsburg, and probably the other branches of the family as well, all had their portraits painted, but they do not all survive. Often when the Randolphs sat for an artist, they had a duplicate

or a copy of the picture made for their children and other relatives.

Inheritance also preserved family continuity. The Randolphs were great landholders in part because that land provided a good inheritance. Through three generations the family tended to preserve their property, especially the tracts associated with their home plantations. The main plantation passed to the eldest surviving son. ~~The property then went~~ from William, the founder, to his son, William II, to his grandson, Beverley. When Beverley died without direct heirs in 1750, the property was purchased from Beverley's brothers by his cousin, Ryland. In the same way Tuckahoe, Dungeness, Curles, Wilton, Chatsworth, Matoax, Bizarre, Cawsons, Jordans, Swinyards, the Randolph house in Williamsburg, all passed from father to son to grandson. When the property was sold, it was because the family line had ended without direct heirs or the family fortune had dwindled so that they could no longer afford to keep it. It was not until the fourth and fifth generations that the family saw their land slip away.

In terms of monetary wealth it is difficult to assess the Randolph family. Virginia was notorious for its lack of real money. Wealth was measured in land, tobacco, slaves and credit. These the Randolphs had in abundance. Their public service also brought them salaries and fees. Each of the three generations studied was in debt to English merchants for hundreds and, in some cases, thousands of pounds. These debts continued from one generation to the next. While these debts were troublesome and usually resulted in court action, the impression is that they did not exhaust Randolph resources. The basic problem seems to have been that the assets of the family, and of Virginians in general, could not be easily liquidated. Three generations managed, for the most part,

to forestall foreclosure, but the fourth generation, following the American Revolution, had to settle the accounts with the British merchants.

While the Randolphs had a definite sense of their own importance and sought to transfer it to their children, they were not a family pre-occupied solely with their past. Undoubtedly they would have agreed with Plutarch that it is desirable to be well descended but that the glory belongs to the ancestors. As has already been noted above, they not only secured public office for themselves, they used their influence and connections to elevate their children. Such a process in itself was hardly unique; fathers have always worked to better their sons. William Randolph of Turkey Island eased the entrance of his children into the world seeing that they had greater property and position than he himself had in the beginning. The Randolph brothers and sisters of the second generation were congenial and got on well together. They not only built up their individual places in Virginia society and politics, they assisted each other. A truly remarkable aspect of the family was that the third generation had a kind of solidarity which is usually difficult for cousins to maintain. The unity of the Randolphs was noted by their contemporaries. Governor Dinwiddie observed with some contempt that they were a clique in the Virginia government. Had Dinwiddie looked beyond Williamsburg he would have observed the Randolphs and their kinsmen exercising power in the parishes and counties much as they did in the college and the General Assembly.

While family solidarity and ambition growing from one generation to the next kept the Randolphs in positions of influence in the Old Dominion, it is clear that individual talent and merit were factors as well. Peyton Randolph, for instance, owed his official positions to



family connections and influence, but it was a measure of his own effort and congeniality that he was loved as the "good old Speaker."

The Randolphs were a prolific family, generation after generation. They intermarried with the planter aristocracy and thus entrenched themselves more firmly within Virginia society. Despite their great numbers and their clannishness, the various branches of the Randolph family differed from each other. The family of Edward Randolph was unfortunate because of the bankruptcy of the family's tobacco business from which they never recovered. The family of Isham Randolph was settled beyond Tidewater and generally was not much involved in the pursuits of the Virginia gentry; they had not as much land, education, wealth, or prestige as their relatives, yet Thomas Jefferson was among their offspring. The family of Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe was successful in planting and public service, but the men were short-lived and a daughter disgraced them with her inferior marriages. The family of Richard Randolph of Curles was the wealthiest, but his sons were spoiled, erratic, and eccentric. The family of Elizabeth Randolph Bland was average except for the marriage of young Elizabeth Bland to William Beverley and for the long and brilliant career of Richard Bland. The family of Mary Randolph Stith gained prominence through the careers of the Reverend William Stith and the Reverend William Dawson, husband of Molly Stith. The family of William Randolph II were high prestige planters and public servants. The family of Sir John Randolph was probably the foremost branch; able and honest, they were leading lawyers and shared among themselves the offices of Speaker, Attorney General, and College Burgess. For all of their contrasts of character and purpose, the Randolphs consistently pursued wealth and power with distinction and success.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER I

<sup>1</sup>Marquis de Chastellux, Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782, translated by Howard C. Rice, Jr., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), II, 426-427.

<sup>2</sup>[Thomas Anburey], Travels Through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters, 2 vols. (New York: Arno Press, 1969 [orig. ed., 1789]), II, 351-352.

<sup>3</sup>Mrs. Bruce Crane Fisher to the author, May 1, 1971.

<sup>4</sup>Jerry O'Brian to the author, August 12, 1970. There are other Randolph ghosts. Gertrude Ball DaVersa, who spent her childhood in the Peyton Randolph house in Williamsburg, told the author of a ghost who occupies an upstairs bedchamber. According to one of the present owners of Tuckahoe, a ghost, thought to be Mary Randolph Keith, is sometimes seen at night on the east walk or the "ghost walk" at Tuckahoe, fleeing from her husband; see Jessie Ball Thompson Krusen, Tuckahoe Plantation (Richmond, Va.: Whittet and Shepperson, 1975), 19. At Dungeness a ghost wept when the boxwood hedge was removed from the burying ground; see Elie Weeks, "Dungeness," Goochland County Historical Society Magazine, IV (1972), 15.

<sup>5</sup>The Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson, edited by Duman Malone (New York: Capricorn Books, 1959), 19.

<sup>6</sup>Parks' Virginia Gazette, March 11, 1736/37, 3:2. Cited hereinafter as Parks' Va. Gaz.

<sup>7</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book (1806-1830), 68, Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 58-65.

<sup>9</sup>16. Cited hereinafter as Eckenrode, Randolphs.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 169.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 289.

<sup>12</sup>Cited hereinafter as Daniels, Randolphs.

<sup>13</sup>Sir Lewis Namier, The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III, 2nd ed. (London: Macmillan, 1968), xi.

<sup>14</sup>Lawrence Stone, "Prosopography," in Historical Studies Today, edited by Felix Gilbert and Stephen R. Graubard (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 108.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., 109.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted in *Ibid.*, 111.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 111-112, esp. 112. Also see Lucille Griffith, The Virginia House of Burgesses 1750-1774, rev. ed. (N.p.: University of Alabama Press, 1970).

<sup>18</sup>See Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 71, 392 (VSLm); and Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), I, 492.

<sup>19</sup>See Alexander Wilbourne Weddell, Portraiture in the Virginia Historical Society (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1945), 86-91.

## CHAPTER II

### WILLIAM RANDOLPH OF TURKEY ISLAND:

#### FAMILY FOUNDER

WILLIAM RANDOLPH I of Turkey Island (1650--21 April 1711)

William Randolph arrived in Virginia about 1670. He was not the first of his family in the colony, for his uncle, Henry Randolph, had come in 1643 and was well known as a planter, county clerk, and clerk of the Virginia General Assembly.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, it was William Randolph who established a family that dominated politics and society in the Old Dominion throughout the colonial period.

According to genealogists, the Randolphs landed in England during the Norman Invasion of the eleventh century. The first certain ancestor of the Virginia Randolphs, however, was John Randall the Elder, of Sussex, who died about 1552. Randall's great-grandson, William Randolph, established a branch of the family in Northamptonshire.

William Randolph of Northamptonshire, youngest of five children, came under the patronage of Lord George Goring, afterwards Earl of Norwich, and was recommended to Edward, Lord Zouch, who, about 1595, made him steward of a household in Northamptonshire at Little Houghton, a post he held for more than thirty years. Randolph was twice married. His son, Thomas, child of the first union, was a poet and dramatist, friend of Ben Jonson, and celebrated by his contemporaries as one of "the most pregnant wits of his age." His son, Richard, born in 1621, was the second son of his second marriage. It was Richard's son,

William, who was the colonist.<sup>2</sup>

There is little information concerning William Randolph before he came to Virginia. He was born at Morton Morrell in Warwickshire and baptised on November 7, 1650.<sup>3</sup> How the family came to Warwickshire is uncertain. Although research into the English antecedents of the Randolphs is incomplete, it is clear that they were members of the gentry class. They owned property and were employed in service to the crown and the nobility.<sup>4</sup> Ambitious, they were, undoubtedly, as their Virginia descendants early claimed, a family "of no mean Figure in England."<sup>5</sup> Perhaps Richard Randolph, who was a younger son without substantive right to his father's estate, left home after his marriage to Elizabeth Ryland to seek his fortune in nearby Warwickshire. On the other hand, the Randolphs may have been caught in the upheaval of the 1640's. According to an eighteenth-century account, "The Family were high loialists in the Civil Wars, and [were] entirely broken and dispersed...."<sup>6</sup>

William Randolph was the fourth child in a family of four boys and four girls. He was, significantly, the second son. His place determined his opportunities. By right of primogeniture the patrimony belonged to his elder brother. At best, like the younger brothers in his father's family, he could anticipate university training which might fit him for a career in law, letters, or the church; at least he could look forward to an apprenticeship in the trade or craft of a yeoman. What course Randolph followed is unclear; the evidence is ambiguous. Some claim that he knew Greek and Latin and had read law besides, but there is nothing to indicate that he ever matriculated at Oxford or Cambridge or the Inns of Court.<sup>7</sup> Others assert that he "landed in the Colony with an axe on his shoulder" and began his career "by building

barns," but the evidence is old men's hearsay.<sup>8</sup>

Randolph's prospects in England did not appear promising. According to an early account, he resolved, "as many other Cavaliers did", because their families had suffered in the civil war, "to take his Fortune" to Virginia.<sup>9</sup> Just when he came is uncertain. Henry Randolph was in England in 1669, and, when he returned to the colony early the next year, his nephew possibly accompanied him. The first certain reference to William Randolph in the Old Dominion is his witness to a deed dated February 12, 1672.<sup>10</sup>

During his first years in the colony, William Randolph was no doubt dependent upon his uncle. Such dependence was natural since both his parents were dead and since he was a stranger in a new land where Henry Randolph was a prominent man. Uncle Henry had good connections. His second wife, Judith Soane, was a daughter of the Speaker of the House of Burgesses; and his friends included the Governor, Sir William Berkeley, who sustained him as Henrico County Clerk and Clerk of the House. The uncle, however, lived only long enough to ease the nephew's entry into society and politics. After 1673, William Randolph was on his own.<sup>11</sup>

There is no record of the people to whom Henry Randolph introduced his nephew, but he undoubtedly arranged a meeting with the family of his friend, Henry Isham, who lived nearby on the southside of the James River at Bermuda Hundred. About 1676, William Randolph married Isham's elder daughter, Mary.<sup>12</sup>

Mary Isham was born about 1659.<sup>13</sup> Her family came from Northamptonshire and had been in England long before the Norman Invasion. Among her ancestors were Lady Godiva and Sir Edward Brett, a great-uncle, who

had been knighted by King Charles I for his military excellence. Although the Ishams owned a considerable property in Northamptonshire, her father, Henry Isham, descended from a minor branch and did not possess extensive holdings. Apparently, because he had married Katherine Banks Royall, a widow with three children, and had fathered three children of his own, Henry Isham moved his family to Virginia where, in 1661, he patented a plantation at Bermuda Hundred. He died there in 1670.<sup>14</sup>

Mary Isham was a good wife. A woman of uncommon stamina, she bore ten children--seven sons and three daughters--during the first twenty years of marriage and brought all but one daughter to maturity. She was hospitable and generous. William Byrd II of Westover noted in his diary for September 8, 1711, "Mrs. Randolph received us very kindly and entertained us with the best she had."<sup>15</sup>

She was, moreover, a woman of means. By the will of Sir Edward Brett she and her sister seem to have inherited a valuable estate in England.<sup>16</sup> Upon the death of her only brother in 1678, she received a third interest in property in England and Virginia as well as half interest in a plantation in Charles City County in Virginia "commonly known by ye name of Doggams."<sup>17</sup> When her mother died in 1686, she and her sister inherited the "Residue" of the money, shared equally in the contents of a "blew trunk", and each received two "Silver Salt-cellars." In addition, Mary Randolph was bequeathed her mother's "Wedding Ring, & best Feather bed wth Furniture to it, and my least Silver tankard but one, and Fifteen Shillings to buy a Mourning Ring." Furthermore, she was exempt from any part of her mother's debts or funeral expenses.<sup>18</sup>

She was interested in plantation affairs to the extent that she was capable of protecting her own property. She asked William Byrd II

to use his "good offices" in straightening out the litigation involving her husband and his English creditor, Micajah Perry.<sup>19</sup> Repeatedly during her widowhood she went before the county court to be "Exempted from paying publick and County levys" on her slaves.<sup>20</sup> She was about seventy-six years old when she died on December 29, 1735, having outlived her husband by almost a quarter century.<sup>21</sup>

Having made a good marriage, William Randolph set about to make a fortune. The Virginia colony was dominated by a single crop, tobacco. There were no towns, only plantations along the major rivers. Since no one prospered without growing tobacco, land in great amount was essential because the weed quickly drained the soil of fertility. As a consequence, Randolph was, during his four decades in Virginia, much concerned with acquiring land. Due to the incompleteness of the records, the total of his acres cannot be known. A rent roll, compiled in 1705, listed him as the owner of 12,395 acres in Henrico, Prince George, and Surry counties.<sup>22</sup> In his will, dated March 6, 1709, he accounted for 7,032 acres, but did not enumerate every tract he owned.<sup>23</sup> Various other sources reveal that in his lifetime he acquired at least 16,095 acres in Henrico, Charles City, Prince George, and Surry counties.<sup>24</sup> While these totals indicate the extent of his plantations, they also reveal that he was among the largest landholders in Virginia. For example, in 1705 he held 10,514 acres in Henrico County, an acreage exceeded only by his friend, William Byrd I, who owned in the same county 19,500 acres.<sup>25</sup>

Most of Randolph's land lay along the north bank of the James River above the Appomattox confluence extending westward beyond the falls of the James to Tuckahoe Creek into what is now Goochland County.



In the beginning, however, he seems to have settled in the vicinity of Swift Creek (sometimes called Randolph River) which divided the peninsula made by the union of the Appomattox and the James. Here were the plantations of Henry Randolph and the Ishams. On October 1, 1674, Randolph patented 591 acres on the north side of Swift Creek.<sup>26</sup> Not quite four years later he sold the tract for 4000 pounds of tobacco.<sup>27</sup> He turned his attention to the Turkey Island tract lying north of the James.

The tract was one of the oldest on the river. Its history extended to the first days of the English settlement in Virginia when, on May 22, 1607, as Christopher Newport and his men explored upstream beyond the newly founded Jamestown, they came upon an island in the James "on which were many Turkeys, and [a] greate store of yonge byrds like Black birdes," and they called the place "Turkey Isle."<sup>28</sup> The island which the Newport party said they saw has long ago disappeared, but the stream which nearby flows into the river has ever since been called Turkey Island Creek.

The land was first owned by a merchant named Arthur Bayley, who afterwards sold it to Robert Hallam. It was Hallam's widow, Anne, who confirmed the purchase in 1638 by claiming a thousand acres "in the Countie of Henrico lying North and by East into the woods South & by West on the river West & by North towards Breemo...Joyning unto the land of John Poite running two hundred and fifty poles by the riverside & 2 miles into the woods bounded round by marked trees...." Anne Hallam's children inherited the tract. They sold about 550 acres of it to James Crews, friend of the Ishams and Nathaniel Bacon, the rebel. The rest of the property the Hallam heirs transferred to Randolph.<sup>29</sup>

Randolph acquired the entire Turkey Island tract in a series of

five purchases made of the Hallam and Crews heirs between 1680 and 1705. From Samuel Woodward, a Hallam grandson, he bought for an unrecorded price 150 acres on February 18, 1679/80.<sup>30</sup> Sarah Whittingham and Matthew Crews, on August 25, 1684, sold for £75 the 500 acres they had inherited from their uncle after he had been hanged for his part in Bacon's Rebellion.<sup>31</sup> Randolph got the last of the Crews property when, on February 25, 1684/85, he paid Giles and Hannah Carter £50 sterling for about 50 acres.<sup>32</sup> On April 25, 1691, he acquired for £30 sterling a third interest, or about 333 1/3 acres, from a Hallam grandson, John Grundy of Gloucester County.<sup>33</sup> He completed the tract by purchasing about 167 acres from Woodward for £50 sterling on January 16, 1704/05.<sup>34</sup>

Randolph probably moved his family to Turkey Island soon after his initial purchase in 1680. His home was located in the extreme southeastern corner of the tract where Turkey Island Creek empties into the James. The house and outbuildings were situated on a bluff that rose sharply from the river. To allow an easy access to the water's edge, a cut was made in the steep bank directly to the dock where the boats were kept. Whether buildings were already on the site when Randolph moved there is unknown, but tradition has it that he built himself a new house. For three generations, until 1784, Randolphs made their home at Turkey Island.<sup>35</sup>

With Turkey Island as the nucleus, William Randolph added to his property. He continued to acquire tracts south of the James and Appomattox rivers. On April 1, 1680, he and his brothers-in-law, Francis Eppes and Joseph Royall, patented 580 acres south of the James near Bermuda Hundred, a tract which was known as Captain Martin's Swamp.<sup>36</sup> Exactly what share Randolph had in the tract is not clear. During the

first two years the partners disposed of half of it. Randolph willed his remaining share to his wife, and after his death she and Francis Eppes sold 74 acres of the bottom land.<sup>37</sup>

On November 20, 1682, Randolph and Robert Bolling received a patent for 623 acres south of the Appomattox River in Charles City County adjacent to Warwick Swamp. Randolph's share of the tract eventually went to his son, Henry.<sup>38</sup>

By himself, on October 25, 1695, Randolph patented 2,926 acres south of the James on Pigeon Swamp in Weyanoke Parish in Charles City County. He surrendered the patent on October 15, 1696, however, and took it up again three years later.<sup>39</sup> At the time of his death the tract had been reduced to 1,000 or 1,100 acres.<sup>40</sup>

The majority of Randolph's land, however, was north along the James in Henrico County, more or less contiguous to the Turkey Island tract. Not all of his holdings there can be located. According to local records, between 1689 and 1697 he was entitled to 2,350 acres identified only as lying within Henrico County.<sup>41</sup>

More specific are the references to his purchases of tracts along the Chickahominy River and Swamp to the north of Turkey Island. On June 1, 1689, he acquired 625 acres in the area from Thomas Cocke.<sup>42</sup> Between 1691 and 1700 he purchased three tracts totaling 900 acres from Samuel Knibb and John Woodson.<sup>43</sup>

During the 1690's he accumulated property to the west of Turkey Island above the falls of the James River along Westham and Tuckahoe Creeks. From Edmund Jenings, on April 28, 1690, he purchased 3,256 acres along Westham Creek paying 1500 pounds of tobacco "being the moyety or one half the charge of the survey."<sup>44</sup> Two years later, on

December 1, 1692, he paid John Pleasants 1500 pounds of tobacco for 165 acres adjacent to the Jenings tract.<sup>45</sup> Finally, on April 20, 1695, he patented 1,220 acres formerly held by John Pleasants.<sup>46</sup>

Among the last purchases Randolph made was 1,230 acres contained in a tract "Called Curles formerly Longfield" and another "Called the Slashes." These tracts, once the property of rebel Nathaniel Bacon, lay along the north bank of the James adjoining Turkey Island immediately on the west. Since the land was "in Escheat to his most Sacred Majtie from the sd Bacon by the attainer...of high Treason," Randolph had laid claim to it on July 21, 1698. On December 20, 1699, the Governor with the advice of the Council directed Randolph to take the tracts "into his possession and as much as in him lyes preserve the same from any further waste" until the auditor and attorney general determined their disposal. At last, on May 7, 1700, he was granted the land for "the Valuable Consideration of one hundred and fifty pounds."<sup>47</sup>

Randolph made a modest investment in town lots. In 1692 Henrico County purchased 50 acres for the establishment of a town at Bermuda Hundred at the fork of the James and Appomattox rivers. Randolph and Francis Eppes were named trustees for selling the lots. Each lot consisted of a half acre and sold for 265 pounds of tobacco. Within four months of his purchase the owner was required to build "one Good House to contain twenty foot square at ye Least."<sup>48</sup> On August 1, 1692, Randolph bought lots #17 and #18, for which, on October 12, he paid a total of 530 pounds of tobacco.<sup>49</sup> Despite the fact that Randolph and Eppes sold many lots to their neighbors and friends, the town did not prosper. At his death Randolph willed his town lots to his wife, expressing a hope that if one of their scns should make his residence in

Bermuda Hundred the property would come to him.<sup>50</sup>

Not all of Randolph's land purchases were made only for personal gain. On April 21, 1691, for instance, he took up a 400-acre patent in Henrico County that one Abell Gower had let lapse.<sup>51</sup> He held the patent until April 17, 1693, when he returned it to Gower's widow for 100 pounds of tobacco "& divers other valuable considerations."<sup>52</sup>

There are noteworthy aspects in the land transactions of William Randolph. In the first place he always had the necessary money. He qualified for his earliest patent in 1674 by importing twelve persons into the colony.<sup>53</sup> How he came by his funds during his early years in Virginia is unknown; perhaps he arrived with money in his pocket, but the fact that he was able to invest made him typical of the gentry who came to the Old Dominion after 1660.<sup>54</sup> In the second place, it was notable that instead of taking up virgin tracts he first established himself on plantations that were at least partially cleared and cultivated. Consequently free of wresting his living from a total wilderness, he pursued other economic and political interests.<sup>55</sup> In the third place, his land provided an inheritance for all of his sons amounting to about 1,000 acres apiece. The Turkey Island plantation he divided with his eldest son, William Randolph II, with the understanding that eventually it would all be his. The Curles Neck tract went to Henry Randolph, his second son. These gifts were made in the decade before his death; his other property was, in his will, distributed more or less equally among his five other sons.<sup>56</sup>

While land in Virginia was plentiful and William Randolph had the resources to get the best of it in vast quantities, land meant nothing without the labor to work it. Such had always been a problem. To solve

it, the system of headrights was instituted: fifty acres to anyone bringing a person into the colony at his own expense. The imported person then served a term of indenture from three to seven years until his passage and maintenance were paid. Most of the indentured servants were impecunious Englishmen of the lower classes, but some of them were Indians. By the end of the seventeenth century indentured servants had been largely replaced by black slaves brought in from Africa or the West Indies. Randolph took advantage of the headright system. The surviving records indicate that by himself between 1674 and 1697 he imported 151 persons, 72 whites and 69 blacks, for which he collected a total of 7,460 acres. In association with three other gentlemen, Francis Eppes, Joseph Royall, and Robert Bolling, he brought in an additional 25 white persons for 1,230 acres.<sup>57</sup>

There is little information regarding Randolph's indentured servants and chattel slaves. Presumably the whites whose passage he paid to Virginia were his indentured servants. From the county records of 1679 comes a brief glimpse of a servant. Randolph had sent wheat to the mill of his neighbor, Thomas Cocks, where he charged not all of it had been turned into flour. Several witnesses supported his claim in the local court, among them the seventeen-year-old John Atkins who gave a deposition saying that he had carried the wheat to Cocks's mill at Malvern Hill "and that he did not meddle with any of the said wheate, & as ye miller fed it up he brought it home to his masters house & further ye deponent said not." In lieu of signing his name Atkins made his "Marke" at the bottom of the deposition. The court found for Randolph.<sup>58</sup>

Randolph had a mixed relationship with the indentured servants.

With Allenson Clerke, for example, he got on well. Clerke had arrived in Virginia at Randolph's expense in 1689 when he was about 22 years old. After his period of service, he had prospered; by 1705 he owned 604 acres in Henrico County. Perhaps Randolph had aided Clerke, for when Clerke died in 1710, he willed the Randolphs all of his land, houses, servants, slaves, and personal estate.<sup>59</sup> Not every relationship was as satisfactory for Randolph. In 1683 his servant, William Seawell, petitioned the Henrico County court for his freedom, but Randolph convinced the justices that Seawell should be retained because "of his age" and "for his Running away."<sup>60</sup>

Among his workers Randolph kept Indians. Very little is known about these people, neither their numbers nor how they came into Randolph's service. They were not slaves in the beginning. Their bondage was decreed in 1683, and during that year Randolph went to court to register the ages of two Indian boys and a girl belonging to him.<sup>61</sup> He was to repeat the process as late as 1698, when his boy Dick was adjudged eight years old.<sup>62</sup> His Indians gave him trouble. Natt, who was an indentured servant rather than a slave, ran away on July 13, 1684, and was gone until July 30. He took with him and lost along the way "severall Comoditys (as one Chamlet Campion Coat lined with Shalloon, two pr. new Shooes, a Shirt Sleeve full of Powder &c) & much damnified all, & lost some of his own Cloaths." Randolph went "to much trouble & some Charge" in following Natt, and the court ordered in view of "ye sd damages" that Natt "do serve his sd Master Nine Moneths after all his other time of Service is expired."<sup>63</sup> In 1696, Randolph's Indian servant, Jack, ran off. He was gone from April 12 until September 22, and had with him a "long gun" and his clothing, which included two waist

coats of leather and cotton, a pair of leather breeches, a pair of shoes and stocking, and two beaver skins. It cost Randolph 20 shillings to recover Jack and by the time the master found him the Indian had lost his clothes and the pelts; he had the gun, but it was ruined. The court in consequence bound Jack for two and a half years in addition to his term of indenture.<sup>64</sup>

By the time of Randolph's death in 1711, the majority of his labor force undoubtedly consisted of black slaves. Information about them is scant. All that is known is that Randolph collected the headrights on 69 blacks, had their ages adjudged in court, and, in his will, mentioned his slaves but enumerated only 17 of them.<sup>65</sup>

For all of his land, servants, and slaves, William Randolph was more than a tobacco planter: he was listed in the local records as a merchant.<sup>66</sup> It was not unusual in Virginia during the seventeenth and eighteenth century for planters situated along the major rivers to maintain stores. Here they kept English goods and manufactures which they traded for local tobacco which they then shipped to England. In addition to stores, the wealthier planters took tobacco on consignment for sale in the mother country. Randolph certainly did not limit his operation to a store at Turkey Island, for, by a contemporary account, he was "a Considerable dealer in ye tobacco trade."<sup>67</sup> How and when he entered the trade is unknown, but by 1685 he was in partnership with his brother-in-law, Francis Eppes, and by 1689 he was also a partner of John Broadnax, an Henrico planter, and Henry Hartwell, an important politician, who had once been clerk of the Council, and was Randolph's friend and colleague in the House of Burgesses.<sup>68</sup> There is very little information regarding the operation of their business. The partners



were kept busy. Randolph and Eppes owned a sloop, the Assurance, on which they employed one John Cook as master.<sup>69</sup> Randolph had dealings with New England merchants and sailors, and it is probable that in England he and his partners dealt with the powerful firm of Perry and Lane.<sup>70</sup> Randolph was gone from Virginia in 1680; the purpose of his trip is nowhere explained, but it is likely that he was tending to his business affairs.<sup>71</sup> The Henrico court records are replete with suits brought by Randolph and his partners to recover outstanding debts. Between 1685 and 1693, Randolph and Eppes successfully sued seven defendants for a total of 13,001 pounds of tobacco in sums ranging from 565 to 4373 pounds.<sup>72</sup> In 1689 Randolph, Hartwell, and Broadnax were granted 20,676 pounds of tobacco in eight suits ranging from 350 to 4,488 pounds.<sup>73</sup> Randolph went to court seven times in his own behalf between 1683 and 1695 to recover 6,559 pounds of tobacco in sums from 60 to 3000 pounds, which may or may not have been due to his mercantile operations.<sup>74</sup> As far as one can tell, there were no complaints in Virginia against Randolph or his partners. In court in 1691 Randolph was listed as owing 300 pounds of tobacco to a neighboring planter; and in 1695 he admitted that he owed his friend, John Pleasants, in excess of 3,000 pounds of tobacco, but there is no evidence that these debts were anything more than his personal concern.<sup>75</sup>

There was a debt that was especially troublesome, a debt to the merchants Micajah and Richard Perry and Thomas Lane of London. How exactly Randolph became obligated is unknown, but he was worried about paying it. He mentioned the debt to William Byrd II who noted in his diary for September 24, 1709, that "Colonel Randolph came and brought me an answer to Mr. Perry's claim against him, by which it appeared

that the interest was twice as much as the principal."<sup>76</sup> In his will Randolph set aside 1,100 acres in Surry County with ten negroes, a stock of cattle and hogs, the tobacco crops, and other profits to be sent to the Perrys from time to time "to Satisfie what I may Justly owe them, untill the Same be fully paid, and I desire my Sons Henry and Thomas Randolph to take care and provide the Same be Shipt and consigned to them the Said Mr. Perry and Company or their Assignes provided they Allow as much for the tobaccoe as others doe for Such tobaccoe."<sup>77</sup>

For some reason the Perrys were not satisfied with Randolph's arrangements and brought suit against his estate. The Randolph executors received a favorable ruling in the Virginia General Court on October 24, 1723, but the Perrys appealed to the Privy Council. The case dragged on until July 20, 1725, when the Privy Councillors decided that the Randolph estate must pay the sum of £2465. 1s. 8d. and £10 court costs.<sup>78</sup>

Involved as he was in the affairs of Henrico County, Randolph took an active role in local government serving the county as clerk, coroner, justice of the peace, sheriff, and burgess. Such offices gave him an intimate acquaintance with county men and affairs and undoubtedly buttressed his interests as a planter and merchant. But to a Virginia gentleman, public office was not a place merely of personal gain, it was an obligation that the well-born assumed in behalf of his social inferiors.

Randolph served first as county clerk from 1674 to 1683. He replaced his recently deceased uncle, Henry Randolph. The appointment was made by the secretary of state at the instigation of the uncle's friends in the county. Randolph took his duties conscientiously by

attending court regularly, writing and keeping the record, and making certain that someone was present to act as clerk when he could not. "Mr. Davis," he wrote to the deputy clerk from his plantation in 1679, "I am not certain whether I shall be at our Court because I have not dispatched my business here yet, but if possible, I will be up, how Ever, if I come not, pray faile not to wait on the Court, and if they please to sitt, performe my Office very carefully..."<sup>79</sup> As clerk of the county he received an annual allowance of 800 pounds of tobacco. In 1678, when the court sent him to Jamestown to consult the Governor, he was granted an additional 250 pounds "for his Expences at Town and fferryage." His appointment was reconfirmed until 1683 when he was elevated as one of the justices of the county court. On August 1, 1683, he turned over the county books and records to his cousin, the young Henry Randolph.<sup>80</sup>

Bacon's Rebellion occurred while Randolph was clerk. Few escaped the upheaval, but the part Randolph played is not entirely clear. Nathaniel Bacon lived near him in Henrico County at Curles Neck, as did Bacon's lieutenant, James Crews, owner of part of the Turkey Island tract. Among Bacon's early supporters were Randolph's brother-in-law, Henry Isham, and his friend, William Byrd I. The rebellion grew out of trouble with the Indians. A band of Susequahannocks, in retaliation for incursions by whites into their territory, had, in January 1676, raided the Virginia backcountry. They killed settlers in the region above the falls of the James River. The frontiersmen fled to the more populated areas of the colony. To their dismay, Governor Berkeley did not order a general offensive, so a group of them called for volunteers to go against the Indians. At about this time Bacon happened one day

to be drinking with Crews, Isham, and Byrd. They fell to discussing the Indian menace, and Bacon's three companions persuaded him to meet with the volunteer soldiers gathered at Jordan's Point below the confluence of the Appomattox and James rivers and to provide the troops with a quantity of rum. After consuming the liquor, the men began to shout, as Crews and his friends had arranged in advance, "a Bacon! a Bacon! w'ch taking Fire with his ambition and the Spirit of Faction and Popularity, easily prevail'd on him to resolve to head them...."<sup>81</sup>

Randolph may have shared his friends' fear of an Indian raid; he may even have thought it a good idea to raise a volunteer army under Bacon's command, but it is doubtful, in view of his dependence on the Governor's patronage, that he was actively involved in any aspect of the rebellion--certainly not when it attempted the overthrow of Berkeley. Byrd and Isham, despite their initial support, apparently changed their minds; Crews remained loyal to Bacon and was hanged for his conduct.

Sometime during the summer of 1676, the rebels plundered Randolph's plantation seizing quantities of linen, bedding, and clothing. They also destroyed his wheat crop which "was at least 30 bushells;" ran off with two steers, a large cow and her calf, and five hogs; stole three deer skins, "one Gunn, two ruggs and Blankett, wth: diverse other Wearing Apparrell (3 servts: beding), About an Anchor of Syder and the provisions of Corne, meate, poultry, &c: in and about my house and diverse things not remembered." Eventually, some of the goods were returned, namely "ye Indian Gowne, the hair Camlett Cloke, ye dowlas peticoats...Holland vest, fine broad cloth Coate and briches (all much Worne and Spoiled) and 3 yds of tickling bungs and three [torn] a halfe sheeting holland." Randolph may not have been a loyalist in the

beginning, but he certainly was when the rebellion was put down and it was time to be compensated for his losses. On November 19, 1677, he submitted his claim before the Henrico court asserting that "noe manner of satisfaction for any of the perticulars not returned hath been yet received...by the subscriber as he is ready to depose if required."<sup>82</sup> Much later, when he was an established and familiar figure in the Virginia government, he claimed Bacon's plantation at Curles Neck.

That Randolph had come through Bacon's rebellion with his reputation intact was evident in his appointment to the Henrico county commission. He was named on April 23, 1683, fourth on a slate of nine "Justices to keep the peace."<sup>83</sup> His place on the commission was important, for the first four justices named constituted a quorum which meant at least one of them had to attend every meeting of the court. Taking the oath on June 1, 1683, he apparently remained a justice of the peace until 1708 when he became county sheriff.<sup>84</sup> He attended court regularly. For instance, between April 11, 1695, and April 1, 1701, the court recorded attendance for fifty-one meetings of which Randolph now and then missed only ten.<sup>85</sup> Throughout his tenure Randolph joined his colleagues in routine duties. He collected the tithables, met with the commissioners of Charles City and New Kent counties to build a bridge over the Chickahominy Swamp, posted security for the sheriff, ordered new glass for the courthouse windows, kept an account of marriage licenses granted in the county, served on a committee to repair the courthouse, helped to determine the boundary between Henrico and Charles City counties, and judged criminal and civil cases.<sup>86</sup>

Randolph valued his position as a justice of the peace. On October 15, 1684, he examined one Thomas Holmes in court. Holmes was

insolent: he cocked his hat to one side of his head and sang a song. Holmes was held in contempt for his rudeness and ordered to pay Randolph 1,200 pounds of tobacco. Randolph turned over the award to the poor of the parish saying he was only concerned for the dignity of his office.<sup>87</sup>

As one of Henrico's most powerful leaders, Randolph took part in settling the Huguenots in the county. The Huguenots were Protestant refugees from France who had arrived in Virginia in midsummer 1700. About five hundred of them settled on the site of a deserted village of the Manakin Indians at the falls of the James River. On a 10,000-acre tract they laid out Manakin Town and divided the rest of the land into small farms. The General Assembly formed the Huguenots into King William Parish and exempted it from all taxes for seven years.<sup>88</sup> To ease their settlement further, the Governor and Council called for contributions. Randolph responded with £5 "for ye use of ye ffrench refugees."<sup>89</sup> Later, on March 10, 1700/01, the Governor and Council recommended "to It Coll: Wm Randolph and Capt Giles Webb from time to time to make inquiry into the State and Condition of ye french Refugees Inhabiting at ye Manakin Town & Parts adjacent, and Communicate ye same unto his Excy and Always to Exhort ye aforesd french Refugees to Live in Unity Peace and Concord."<sup>90</sup> Randolph was a good choice because he got on well with the Huguenots. He handled their court disputes, employed one of them as a tutor for his son, and received them on occasion at his home.<sup>91</sup>

Most of Randolph's time as mediator for the Huguenots was spent dealing with land matters. In June, 1705, he sent a letter to the Council supporting the contention of the refugees that they had not sufficient land to range their cattle. The Council ordered that a further division of the land already allotted them.<sup>92</sup> The following

November they petitioned to be granted headrights for persons imported into the colony. The Council referred the petition to Randolph and William Byrd II, the Auditor General, "to make the best enquiry they can how much land may be due to the said Refugees...and if any greater quantity is still due."<sup>93</sup> Early in 1707, one John Woodson purchased some of the Huguenot lands and the Council "thought fitt" to have Randolph inform Woodson that his purchase was destructive of the settlement established at great expense by the government and that the Huguenots did not have the right to sell; therefore, any purchase he made was void.<sup>94</sup> In 1710 the Huguenots complained that settlement of their land was unequal. The Council ordered a lottery to be held so that every family had 133 acres. In case of dispute Randolph and Richard Cocke were to hear the claims "and in case they find any difficulty [to] report that same especially to the Lieutenant Governor for his final determination...."<sup>95</sup>

In addition to handling land cases, Randolph, who was a colonel in the Henrico militia, was in 1705 appointed by the Governor to consult with the residents of Manakin Town on the "proper Persons" to be appointed "Military Officers" to lead a "foot Company" the Governor intended to form.<sup>96</sup> Randolph was also called upon in 1709 to help settle a dispute between the French parson, Claude Philippe de Richebourg, and the vestry. The nature of the difficulty is unknown, but it was not resolved until the next year when the contending parties met Governor Spotswood at Turkey Island. "The parson [seemed] more difficult to be reconciled than anybody," William Byrd II wrote, "which the Governor resented and told them if they put him to the trouble of hearing their disagreement he would never forgive them that were in fault.

This frightened them into an agreement and the promise that they would forgive what was past and for the future live with kindness to one another."<sup>97</sup>

At the same time as he was Henrico justice, Randolph was also coroner of the county. Appointed by his colleagues and commissioned by the Governor to the office in 1686, he took the oath on August 20.<sup>98</sup> His commission was renewed from time to time, and he was listed "one of the Corronrs" as late as November 1, 1707.<sup>99</sup>

The duties of the office were not always pleasant, for accidental death and disposal of estates came under the coroner's purview. Consequently, since he headed the juries investigating suicides, drownings, and other fatalities, Randolph was intimately acquainted with the county's tragedies. For instance, in midsummer of 1692, the coroner and his men met near the falls of the James River for an inquest into the deaths of Thomas Lawson, William Drury, and Robin, a slave belonging to William Byrd I. Randolph reported that on August 22, between 7 and 8 o'clock in the evening, the three men had attempted to cross the river in a "ticklish Canoe" which capsized a hundred yards from the north bank. There was, he added, no evidence of foul play.<sup>100</sup> Randolph's responsibilities in the case involved more than the jury findings, however. On December 1, and June 1, following, he presented the county court with an accounting of the auction of Lawson's estate for which he recieved a fee of 13s. 4d.<sup>101</sup>

On April 1, 1707, Randolph and his fellow justices, Francis Eppes and William Farrar, were presented by their colleagues to the Governor and Council as nominees for sheriff of Henrico County.<sup>102</sup> Whether Randolph was immediately appointed or not is unrecorded, but he was



definitely the sheriff by 1708, was reappointed in 1709, and held the office until 1710.<sup>103</sup> The sheriff was one of the most important officers of the county court. He enforced the law and maintained order by carrying out the directives of the justices. Not the least of his powers was the calling and managing of elections. He was expected to be impartial and was not allowed to vote except to break a tie. Nevertheless, he could influence the outcome by setting the election on a day most convenient to his favored candidates. He opened and closed the polls, and determined the eligibility of the voters. As a man of importance and power, the sheriff, while presiding with the utmost impartiality, undoubtedly influenced an election if the voters were aware that he supported one candidate over another.<sup>104</sup>

Randolph also served the county in the militia. His first rank was captain; in 1691 he was deputy commander for the north side of the James River; in 1699 he was lieutenant colonel; and by 1707 he was a colonel.<sup>105</sup> His rank was further indication of his alliance with the county leadership, for the justices recommended all military appointments to the Governor. Randolph took an active part in the militia. The Henrico records noted on December 12, 1687: "Capt. Wm. Randolph haveing at his own expence provided A trumpett, Horse Coulers &c: for ye Troop raised in this County, It is Order'd (if ye fines of delinquent troops doe not amount to ye Same Att ye laying of ye next levy [ ] that he be reimbursed his sd Expence  $\phi$  ye County."<sup>106</sup> He remained active in the militia until the end of his life. On September 22, 1710, Colonel William Byrd II, who was commander in chief of Henrico and Charles City counties, conducted Alexander Spotswood, the new Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, on an inspection of the troops. "About 10 o'clock

we got on our horses and rode towards Henrico to see the militia," Byrd reported. "Colonel Randolph with a troop met us at Pleasant's mill and conducted us to his plantation, where all the men were drawn up in good order. The Governor was pleased with them and exercised them for two or three hours together."<sup>107</sup>

Since the early church records no longer exist and there is no other pertinent reference, it is not known if Randolph served on the vestry of Henrico Parish. Nevertheless, he was a man of religious conviction,<sup>108</sup> and a friend of the Reverend James Blair, rector of the parish and commissary of the Bishop of London.<sup>109</sup> Furthermore, the vestries in Virginia were dominated by the local gentry, which, with Randolph's inclination for public office, make it virtually certain that he was a vestryman.

As a member of the county oligarchy, Randolph was an obvious candidate for the House of Burgesses. He was elected first in 1683 and held his seat more or less regularly until his death. He became one of the most powerful members of the House. His connections were such that in 1683, even before he was a burgess, he was appointed clerk to the Committee of Grievances and "sworne to faithfullness and Secrecy by Mr Speaker."<sup>110</sup> After his election, he was appointed to a committee for the "Examination of the Returnes of writts and Eleccons", a committee for inspecting the records of the House and reporting "whatever may be useful and important," a committee of public claims, and a committee for proportioning the county levies. He also conferred with the Governor and the Council, and when the Governor, in concern about an Indian attack, requested the House to choose a delegation to meet with him, Randolph was among those chosen.<sup>111</sup>

Always among the busiest of burgesses, Randolph rose to positions of leadership. On September 30, 1698, he was elected Speaker of the House. He responded with a gracious address:

Gentlemen, I acknowledge it a great honour conferred on me by being chosen Speaker of the House, but on the other side, I must confess my own disability. My capacity is not large enough to comprehend the weighty matters incident to this chair, the difficulties of which I am yet more encouraged to undertake when I consider how many worthy members are here present, and have hopes of the assistance of every one of them; and, therefore, do entreat you, gentlemen, that if any lapse of the tongue or mistake in any other matters shall any time hereafter happen through my weakness, that you will be pleased not to impute it to an error of the mind and will, for I can assure you, gentlemen, that I have a settled resolution and purpose to serve the House with all faithfulness, integrity, and diligence, that thereby as much as in me lies, the affairs we are here met about may be carried and proceeded in with that dispatch and consideration as may best serve the good and welfare of this Government.<sup>112</sup>

His term, however, was brief; the session ended a week later. In 1699 he became the clerk, a position he held until 1704, when he was succeeded by his son, William. As clerk he was not eligible to be a burgess, but after resigning he assumed his old seat and served until his death.<sup>113</sup>

Randolph was paid by the county for his service in the House of Burgesses. Although he was a man of considerable means, he undoubtedly took money from the county treasury without hesitation. For every day he spent in Jamestown, and later in Williamsburg, while the General Assembly was in session, he was allowed 120 pounds of tobacco. He collected additional fees, about 4 pounds of tobacco per diem, for horse pasturage and ferryage. Many times he took his own boat down river and was reimbursed for its use as well as for the crew it took to man it. The fees for boat and crew were not constant, but averaged about 375 pounds of tobacco per session. The Henrico levies are incomplete, but between 1684 and 1705 there is a record that Randolph collected altogether from various fees 56,748 pounds of tobacco in 3,464

casks.<sup>114</sup> During the interval between 1701 and 1702 when he was clerk of the House and no longer a burgess, he continued to collect money from the county. He sent "his boate to fetch up ye Burgess" and was paid 50<sup>4</sup> pounds of tobacco, and for furnishing three copies of the acts of the General Assembly he received 950 pounds.<sup>115</sup>

Randolph became a leading man in the provincial government of Virginia. He not only served as Speaker and Clerk of the House of Burgesses, but was also named Attorney General of the colony in 1694 and held the post until he became Speaker in 1698.<sup>116</sup> There is little evidence by which to assess Randolph's performance as chief officer of the law in Virginia since the records of the General Court do not survive. In one of his few remaining cases he upheld the interest of the crown at the expense of James Cocke, his Henrico neighbor. Cocke attempted to acquire a 720-acre tract in the county, but "Capt. William Randolph the Kings Attorney" alleged that "the said land doth belong to ye King."<sup>117</sup>

On October 2, 1699, Randolph came before the Henrico court with the commission of Escheator General for the southside of James River. The commission was read and Randolph took the appointed oath and did "Aver that he had taken same before his Excellency in Council."<sup>118</sup> In his new post Randolph was responsible for escheats, the regrants of land patents claimed by the King after an owner had died intestate without heirs. The crown claimed a tax of two pounds of tobacco for each acre of an escheat, and it was Randolph who collected the revenue. There is little information about Randolph as the Escheator General, but the fact that he himself took up the escheat on Nathaniel Bacon's plantation at Curles Neck indicated that there were advantages in the office. He served without objection, and on November 28, 1705, his

his appointment was continued.<sup>119</sup>

About 1705 Randolph was recommended to the King as a man eligible for the Council of Virginia. The recommendation was submitted by Francis Nicholson, the Lieutenant Governor, and Edmund Jennings I, President of the Council. The appointment never came; eventually his name was stricken from the list and the word "dead" written beside it.<sup>120</sup>

As one of the colony's leading men, Randolph was a founder of the College of William and Mary in Virginia. The college charter, issued by the King and Queen on February 8, 1692/93, named him among the eighteen trustees.<sup>121</sup> Randolph's name was not among those recommended by the General Assembly for trustees of the college. How he got the post is unknown, but possibly he gained it through the influence of Francis Nicholson and James Blair, two of the principal supporters of the college, who were his friends.<sup>122</sup> There can be little doubt that Randolph was interested in the establishment of the school, if for no other reason than it was a convenient place to educate his sons. Due to the loss of the early records of the college, not much is known of Randolph's activities in its behalf. Nevertheless, the surviving evidence indicates that he took his trusteeship seriously.

The college was located at Middle Plantation, later renamed Williamsburg when the capital was moved there in 1699. The foundations of the college building were laid in 1695, but construction was slow. On April 16, 1697, Randolph and nine of his colleagues sent an appeal to the Bishop of London for funds to finish the building which they hoped "will prove the Seminary of the Church of England in this part of the world."<sup>123</sup> Lack of funds continued to plague the trustees, for in March, 1700, they brought several suits for small debt before the

Henrico County court, one of which was against the estate of Randolph's cousin, Henry Randolph, for £5 sterling.<sup>124</sup> The college building, completed at much cost in 1698, burned in 1705, leaving only a ruined shell. On August 4, 1709, Randolph, who earlier in the year was chosen rector of the trustees, came to Williamsburg where he joined his colleagues to transact college business. "...we went to the school house," wrote William Byrd II, who was himself a trustee, "where we at last determined to build the college on the old walls and appointed workmen to view them and [compute] the charge."<sup>125</sup>

William Randolph lived as a country gentleman in conscious imitation of the English patterns of his youth. His Turkey Island home, while no baronial hall, was, by Virginia standards, a great house. Whether nor not Randolph built the house is impossible to determine because, unfortunately, the only description of it was made in the nineteenth century when it was a ruin. "...there is," wrote Robert Pickett, a later owner of the Turkey Island plantation, in 1853, "the relic or remnant of an old dwelling house, once, no doubt the mansion of the Randolphs, apparently of one story only, but originally of two stories, and, it would seem, from the ends of charred timbers still protruding from the walls, one surrounded by porticos on three sides. The walls are very thick, built of brick that are said to have been imported from England, and the cement is still so hard in some places that it is difficult to break or perforate it."<sup>126</sup>

The house was undoubtedly typical of the domestic architecture of tidewater Virginia of the later seventeenth century with brick walls laid up in English bond and fenestrated with diamond-shaped panes. Its main floor was divided into a great hall and a parlor, each dominated by

a large fireplace; and the upper floor containing a pair of bedchambers.<sup>127</sup>

There is no record of the interior contents of the house, but the portraits of Randolph and his wife, painted about the turn of the eighteenth century, survive. The picture of Randolph shows a self-satisfied man. His head is oval with ample space for all his features. His forehead rises tall under a dark wig that falls to the shoulders in ringlets. Dark brows arch over wide dark eyes. His nose continues the line of the forehead before it juts out to become aquiline and is terminated with ample nostrils. The chin line is firm and bears the trace of a cleft. Randolph's upper lip is longer than the lower; the mouth is determined, but not hard.

The portrait of Mrs. Randolph is the picture of a matron whose expression is patience. She had a good face, if not a beautiful one: her forehead was wide; her brows stretched straight above large eyes; her nose was long without a curve; her mouth was relaxed and full; her chin was strong and round.<sup>128</sup>

Randolph's dealings with his children confirm without doubt that he was the paterfamilias. He saw that they were educated, girls and boys, either by a tutor at Turkey Island or on another plantation.<sup>129</sup> All the boys, except Henry, attended the College of William and Mary.<sup>130</sup> He made good provision for his seven sons, giving each of them about a thousand acres of land. While most of the land was divided after his death, he gave his eldest sons, William and Henry, their shares when they came of age in 1703 and 1705. He made these gifts, he explained, in consideration of the natural love he had for them and for their better settlement in the world. He helped his sons in other ways. He

probably was instrumental in William's appointment as acting clerk of the House of Burgesses when he himself could not fill the office; and he may have arranged the son's appointment as clerk in 1704. He helped secure a ship in 1709 for his son, Isham, who sought a maritime career. His son, Thomas, was his deputy when he was Henrico sheriff. He could, when necessary, be a disciplinarian. In 1709, when William Byrd II complained that the teenaged Edward Randolph had been impudent, the father promised punishment if the boy should behave so again. Randolph's relations with his two daughters is less well documented. They each married, and he doubtless furnished them with an ample dowry, as is suggested by the fact that they were bequeathed only a ring from his estate, but there is no record of the amounts settled on them. His daughter, Mary Stith, lived in Charles City County, and he saw her regularly. His younger daughter, Elizabeth Bland, lived in Williamsburg, and he stayed with her whenever he was in town.<sup>131</sup>

Randolph, like most of the gentry, supported the Established Church. Virginians were not noted for their piety; they went to church out of social habit and served the parish out of a sense of public obligation. Very little is known of Randolph's religious convictions. As the holder of public office, he routinely affirmed the test act disclaiming transubstantiation. The sentiments expressed in his will are more or less typical of such a document, but reveal at the same time a theological awareness. "first," he wrote, "I Comit my Soule into the protecion of my Almighty Omnipotent and great Creator, wth a Stedfast faith and an Assured hope through his mercies and the Merritts of his Son, my blessed (and all sufficient) Lord Saviour and redeemer Jesus Christ to have pardon and remission of my (Manifold) Sins and



transgressions, and to receive a Joyfull resurrecion, and inherit Eternall Salvaion and felicity in his heavenly glorious and Everlasting Kingdom...."<sup>132</sup>

As one of the leading men of the county, Randolph could not escape acquaintance with the ministers of Henrico Parish. He had, for example, a long association with the Reverend James Blair. It is probable that he was a member of the vestry. Certainly he and his family rode out regularly on Sunday mornings to worship at the nearby parish churches at Curles or Henricopolis.

Randolph enjoyed the pleasures of his social class. In the company of his friends he was fun-loving and hospitable. He was interested in horse-racing, a most popular sport among Virginians in general and in particular among the residents of Henrico where there were no less than five race tracks. The records do not indicate that Randolph was ever a mounted rider, but he was certainly involved in the contest of the horses. Wagers were taken seriously and treated as contracts in the county courts where disputes were often settled. On August 1, 1689, Randolph came before the Henrico court in a suit rising out of a race run at the Malvern Hill track between the horses of William Eppes and William Sutton. At stake was "ten Shillings on each side". During the race each horse was to be kept to its own course unless at the start Stephen Cocke, who was Sutton's jockey, could in two or three leaps gain the other side without touching Eppes' horse or rider. Randolph started the race and was in a good position to see what happened. He later testified that the horses "had a fair start & Mr. Cocke endeavoured to gett the other riders path...but...he did not gett it at two or three Jumps nor many upon wch they Josselled upon Mr. Epes horses path all

most part of the race. The decision was in Eppes' favor, and Cocke was made to pay 20 shillings.<sup>133</sup>

Exactly a year later, on August 1, 1690, Randolph came again to the Henrico court to make deposition in a suit rising out of another horse race. With him as deponents were Benjamin Harrison II of Brandon and the Reverend James Blair. According to Randolph's testimony, Mr. Robert Napier agreed to race his white horse against a sorrel belonging to Mr. Littlebury Eppes. Captain William Soane bet £10 on the sorrel. To bind the wager each party "put down earnest". The race was to be run on October 10, 1689. In the meantime Napier kept his horse with Mr. Blair, but shortly before the appointed time took the animal away and did not appear for the contest. It was, said Randolph, "proposed & discours'd at ye time of making ye race that ye horse that did not appear upon ye ground at ye time appointed should lose ye wager or words to that effect." When Harrison and Blair confirmed Randolph's testimony, the jury awarded the case to Soane.<sup>134</sup>

Randolph amused himself in other ways. One winter afternoon he played cricket at Westover with William Byrd II.<sup>135</sup> A Henrico neighbor, Hugh Davis, told of a gathering at Turkey Island during which his hat was destroyed. According to Davis, he was being "very privately merry" with some other gentlemen "at ye house of Capt. Wm. Randolph" when they reflected on "the badness of my hatt (which I putt on in very bad weather." Said Davis, "Gent/lemen/. , being you dislike my hatt I will burne this & wear a better."<sup>136</sup>

While Randolph enjoyed the company of friends, his relationship with them had a serious aspect. His longstanding friendship with Colonel William Byrd I is a case in point. Both men were close in age,

Randolph the elder by two years, and both had come to the colony near the same time. They settled in Henrico County and since they were eager to rise in the world as quickly as possible, it was natural that their paths crossed. Exactly when they met is unrecorded; possibly they were introduced by a mutual friend, Henry Isham. Their careers prospered. They were the largest landholders in the county. Each had mercantile interests, Byrd as an Indian trader and Randolph as a tobacco dealer. They served together in the county as militia officers, were trustees of the college, and holders of high office: Byrd was Councillor and Auditor General; Randolph, Attorney General, House Speaker and Clerk, and Escheater General. Of the two, Byrd was the wealthier and more influential; but if there was rivalry, it did not alter their relationship.<sup>137</sup>

When Byrd wrote his will on July 8, 1700, Randolph was among the "Loving Friends" named "to be Trustees & to Act on my Sons behalf till he shall come into the Country, or send & depute such persons as he shall think fit." And Randolph and his wife were among the four witnesses who signed the will.

Four years later, Byrd's son was still in England, so, on Sunday morning, December 3, 1704, Colonel Byrd thinking himself to be dying sent a boy to Turkey Island to fetch his friend. Upon receiving the news that Byrd might not live until he could get to him, Randolph made haste even though he was suffering an attack of the gout and could not travel on horseback. With Mrs. Randolph and four crewmen he boarded his boat and sped down river to Westover where he found Byrd somewhat improved. He remained all day with the sick man until about eleven o'clock in the evening when Byrd bid him goodnight saying that he hoped

in the morning to be well enough to settle his affairs. However, at 2 a.m. Randolph was aroused and told that his friend was dying. When Randolph came to Byrd and asked how he felt, he replied that he was resting easy and that with a little sleep he should be better. Randolph inquired about a will and Byrd said the document written several years before could easily be amended. Randolph was silent for awhile, but Byrd did not sleep, so Randolph said, "Sir you are very weak & Yet very sensible, I believe it would be well if you did now settle Your business according to Your desire." But Byrd waited out the night. At daylight he left his bed for a chair and sent the housekeeper to unlock his important papers and bring his will to him. When it came, Byrd handed it to Randolph who asked if it were the right will. Saying yes, Byrd went back to bed. Mrs. Randolph and the housekeeper had, in the meantime, left the room. Byrd dictated a bequest to the housekeeper which Randolph wrote on the back of the will. When he was finished, Randolph went to Byrd's bedside. Byrd sent his manservant from the room while Randolph read the codicil. Randolph said Byrd should sign the document and stepped to the door to call back the manservant to help the sick man. But Byrd had raised himself and was sitting on the edge of the bed. Randolph called again for help. The manservant and the housekeeper came running. Randolph, as he said, "being then lame of the Gout" was "not able to Assist him." But before the servants could settle him in his chair, Byrd was dead.<sup>138</sup>

Randolph handled Byrd's affairs until the younger Byrd returned to Virginia.<sup>139</sup> That he did the job honestly and well is attested by his friendship with William Byrd II.

To the end of his life William Randolph remained active, surrounded

by his family and friends, performing his business and public duties. His last years, however, were marred by ill-health. Apparently the gout of which he complained at the time of Colonel Byrd's death grew progressively worse. By 1710 he was frequently incapacitated by the disease. On May 22 the younger William Byrd, who fancied himself something of a medical man, sent castorium to Turkey Island to treat Randolph's "stomach gout." Five days later Byrd went himself to see Colonel Randolph. "I found him better than he had been," Byrd noted. "We had bacon and peas for dinner. I let the Colonel know anything I had was in his service...." Randolph suffered a relapse in June, "was very ill and very melancholy." In late July he visited Westover and reported to Byrd that he was "just recovered of a dangerous sickness." He felt well enough toward the end of the summer to stand for election to the House of Burgesses, and was a winner. His condition remained stable until March, 1711, when he was again much troubled with gout. He was unable to resist the disease. Several times in early April Byrd heard that he was very sick. On April 10, young John Randolph came to Byrd with news that his father was no better and desired a bottle of sack, which was sent. The crisis passed, for members of Randolph's family who had gathered at Turkey Island returned to their occupations. Byrd was in Williamsburg on April 20 dining with Governor Spotswood when news arrived "that Colonel Randolph was extremely sick and in great danger." The next day Byrd recorded in his diary: "Colonel Randolph died this evening about 5 o'clock."<sup>140</sup>

In his will Randolph had expressed a wish that his body "be decently buried."<sup>141</sup> His coffin, accordingly, was interred in the burying ground not far from the Turkey Island house.<sup>142</sup>

William Randolph of Turkey Island founded a great family. In fact, he and his wife are often called the Adam and Eve of Virginia. While that is an exaggeration (the Carter family, for instance, was larger and at least as powerful), the Randolphs were numerous, and they dominated Virginia society and politics throughout the colonial period and beyond. That they remained potent through succeeding generations was in large measure a credit to the family founder who not only accumulated a vast fortune but had at the same time established a tradition of public service. William Randolph lived long enough to educate his children, parcel out his wealth among them equally, and see that they were placed in positions of opportunity and leadership.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER II

<sup>1</sup>Roberta Lee Randolph, The First Randolphs of Virginia (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1961), 20.

<sup>2</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 7-11; H. J. Eckenrode, The Randolphs: The Story of a Virginia Family (Indianapolis, Ind.: Bobbs Merrill, 1945), 17-26; and Parks' Virginia Gazette, March 11, 1737, 3:2, cited hereinafter as Parks' Va. Gaz.

<sup>3</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 18.

<sup>4</sup>Thomas Randolph (1523-1590), a collateral relative, held offices under Elizabeth I in Germany, Scotland, and France; see Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2.

<sup>5</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2.

<sup>6</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2; Philip Alexander Bruce, Social Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century (Williamstown, Mass.: Corner House Publishers, 1968 [orig. ed., 1907]), 77-78, 106-107; and Eckenrode, Randolphs, 27-31.

<sup>7</sup>Wassell Randolph, William Randolph I of Turkey Island, Henrico County, Virginia, and his Immediate Descendants (Memphis, Tenn.: Seebode Mimeo Service, 1949), 4-5; Jonathan Daniels, The Randolphs of Virginia (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972), 16; and Clifford Dowdey, The Virginia Dynasties (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 135-136.

<sup>8</sup>See the articles by Hugh Blair Grigsby in The Southern Argus (Norfolk), September 21, 1858, 2:2-3; and November 17, 1858, 2:1-2. A Randolph family member who signed himself "Isham" challenged Grigsby to prove that William Randolph was a carpenter. Grigsby replied: "We believe that he was on the testimony of two competent witnesses. We shall withhold names from motives of delicacy.... The first witness is a venerable judge of the Court of Appeals of Virginia, who died in 1818, at the age of 85. He knew the contemporaries of William Randolph...and his descendants in the second, third, fourth and fifth generations. He stated in his family once and again 'that William Randolph landed in the Colony with an axe on his shoulder;' in other words, that he was a carpenter. The second witness was another venerable citizen, who died in 1772 at the age of over 70. He had been employed by one of the sons or grandsons of William Randolph to take up lands.... He was in childhood the contemporary of William Randolph, [and] knew his son.... He stated to his family that William Randolph began his career 'by building barns.'"

<sup>9</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2.

<sup>10</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 23.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 20.

<sup>12</sup>The approximate date of marriage is based on "An accott: of the losses of divers particulars sustained by William Randolph they being taken away by the rebellious party in Ao: Dom 1676," Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 30 (VSI<sub>m</sub>). In the account Randolph listed items of women's clothing: "one tufted holland petticoat cont: 7 yrds., one dowlas petticoate conta: 3 Ells fine Dowlas..., two pr of parragon bodices." Furthermore, many of the other household items listed are described as new. It seems, therefore, that Randolph by the time his house was plundered had a wife. He was certainly married by April 2, 1678, when "Mary Randolph wife of William Randolph" released her right of dower to one William Robin, *Ibid.*, 37. Also see R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 32.

<sup>13</sup>The date of birth is based on a signed deposition, dated February 3, 1704/05, in which Mary Randolph swore before the Charles City County court that she was "aged 46 or thereabouts," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXV (1927), 239; cited hereinafter as VMHB.

<sup>14</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 29-32; and Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 62-63.

<sup>15</sup>The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1709-1711, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941), 402. Cited hereinafter as Byrd, Secret Diary.

<sup>16</sup>Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 63.

<sup>17</sup>Will of Henry Isham, November 13, 1678, Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 71 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>18</sup>Will of Katherine Isham, October 10, 1686, Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 392 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>19</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 351.

<sup>20</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 29, 123, 217, 264 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>21</sup>R. A. Brock, ed., Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 156, in J. Stuanton Moore, ed., History of Henrico Parish and St. John's Church, Richmond, Va. 1611-1904 (Richmond, Va.: Williams Printing Co., 1904).

<sup>22</sup>Thomas J. Wertenbaker, The Planters of Colonial Virginia (New York: Russell & Russell, 1959 [orig. ed., 1922/]), 185, 186, 189, 193.

<sup>23</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>24</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #6 (1666-1679), 591; Pat. Bk. #7 (1679-1689), 24, 199; Pat. Bk #8 (1689-1695), 171, 408; Pat. Bk. #9 (1695-1706), 2, 72, 220-221, 270 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1677-1692), 124, 302; Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1688-1697), transcript, 51-52, 205-206, 240-243, 327-328, 354, 371-372, 423-424; Orders and Wills (1682-1694), 315; Order Book (1694-1701), 163,



293; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1697-1704), 192-193, 368, 370, 451-452, 453; Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 179, 223-226 (VSLm); Patent, April 1, 1680, Tucker-Coleman Papers, William and Mary; Va. Ms. April 28, 1690, Ambler Papers, University of Virginia (CWm); and Wertenbaker, Planters, 183.

<sup>25</sup>Wertenbaker, Planters, 183, 185.

<sup>26</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #6 (1666-1679), 591 (VSLm).

<sup>27</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1677-1692), 37 (VSLm).

<sup>28</sup>Captain Gabriel Archer, A relayton of the Discovery of our River &c., in Travels and Works of Captain John Smith, 2 vols., ed. Edward Arber (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1910), II, xli-xlii.

<sup>29</sup>R. E. Stivers, "Turkey Island Plantation," Virginia Cavalcade, XIV (1964), 42-43.

<sup>30</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 124; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 316 (VSLm).

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 302; and Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 316 (VSLm).

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 302 (VSLm).

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 205-206 (VSLm).

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1697-1704), 451-453 (VSLm).

<sup>35</sup>R. P., "Turkey Island," The Virginia Historical Register and Literary Companion, VI (April 1853), 103-105. The description of the plantation site is in part based on my own visits. The Randolph dwellings were destroyed in the Civil War. The place where William Randolph's house stood is now a farmer's field.

<sup>36</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #7 (1679-1689), 24; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 124 (VSLm); and copy of patent, April 1, 1680, Tucker Coleman Papers, William and Mary.

<sup>37</sup>See Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 207; Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223-226; and Deeds and Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 170 (VSLm).

<sup>38</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #7 (1679-1689), 199; and Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 317 (VSLm).

<sup>39</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #9 (1695-1706), 2, 72, 220-221 (VSLm).

<sup>40</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm).

<sup>41</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1682-1694), 315; and Order Book (1694-1701), 163 (VSLm).

<sup>42</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 51-52 (VSLm).

<sup>43</sup>He purchased 300 acres from Knibb on September 28, 1691, for 3,600 pounds of tobacco, and 200 acres from Woodson on October 7, 1700, for 2,000 pounds of tobacco. In his will of 1709 he mentioned that he had a total of 900 acres along the Chickahominy. See Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 240-243; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 192-193; Order Book (1694-1701), 293; and Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Va. Ms., Ambler Papers, University of Virginia (CWM-104).

<sup>45</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 371-372 (VSLm).

<sup>46</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #8 (1689-1695), 408 (VSLm).

<sup>47</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #9 (1695-1706), 270 (VSLm); and H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1966), II, 33; cited hereinafter as EJCCV.

<sup>48</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 306-307 and passim. (VSLm).

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 327-328.

<sup>50</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 223 (VSLm).

<sup>51</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #8 (1689-1695), 171 (VSLm).

<sup>52</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 423-424 (VSLm).

<sup>53</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #6 (1666-1679), 591 (VSLm).

<sup>54</sup>Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965 [orig. ed., 1940]), 44-46.

<sup>55</sup>Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery-American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975).

<sup>56</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1697-1704), 306, 439; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1706-1709), 3; Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 223-226; and Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 317 (VSLm).

<sup>57</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent Book #6 (1666-1679), 591; Patent Book #7 (1679-1689), 24, 199; Patent Book #8 (1689-1695), 171, 408; Patent Book #9 (1695-1706), 2 (VSLm); and Henrico County, Order Book (1682-1701), 315; Order Book (1694-1701), 163 (VSLm).

<sup>58</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 71 (VSLm).

<sup>59</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 315; Deeds, Wills (1688-1697), 593-594, 712; Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 179-180 (VSLm); and Wertenbaker, Planters, 183.

<sup>60</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 48 (VSLm). Also see Morgan, American Slavery--American Freedom, 330.

<sup>61</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 46, 50, 61 (VSLm).

<sup>62</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 200 (VSLm).

<sup>63</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 83 (VSLm).

<sup>64</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 124 (VSLm).

<sup>65</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 228; Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 226 (VSLm).

<sup>66</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 51-52 (VSLm).

<sup>67</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 189 (VSLm).

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 240, 241, 244; H. R. McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1776, 13 vols. (Richmond: E. Wadley Co., 1905-1915), 1659/60-1693, 193, cited herein-after as JHB; Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, and the College, edited with an introduction by Hunter Dickinson Farish (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1964 [orig. ed., 1940]), xxviii-xxxii; and Wertenbaker, Planters, 183.

<sup>69</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 221 (VSLm).

<sup>70</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1706-1709), 59, 60; Court Orders (1707-1709), 3; Miscellaneous Court Orders, I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm); and Byrd, Secret Diary, 351.

<sup>71</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 212 (VSLm).

<sup>72</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 98, 105, 130, 155, 187, 192, 250, 328, 344, 437 (VSLm).

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 240, 241, 244.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid., 59, 62, 96, 129, 180, 189, 215, 250; and Order Book (1694-1701), 46 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>75</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), 183; and Order Book (1694-1701), 46 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>76</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 83, 86. Also see Elizabeth Donnan, "Eighteenth Century Merchants Micajah Perry," Journal of Economic and Business History, IV (1931), 70-75, 93.

<sup>77</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 224-225 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>78</sup>Privy Council Office 1722-1724, PRO, PC 2/88, 525, 541; Privy Council Office 1724-1727, PRO, PC 2/89, 15, 16, 90-91, 101-102 (CWM).

<sup>79</sup>William Randolph to Hugh Davis, c. October 1, 1679, Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 105 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., 115, 155, 180, 186, 227, 249; Orders & Wills (1678-1693), 2, 31, 39, passim (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs.

<sup>81</sup>Wilcomb E. Washburn, The Governor and the Rebel: A History of Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1957), 35.

<sup>82</sup>"An accott: of the losses of diverse perticulars sustained by William Randolph they being taken away by the rebellious party Ao: Dom. 1676," Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 30 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 244.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid., Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 49; Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 332, 373; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), 196-198, 403, 404-405, 554-555; Order Book (1694-1701), 227; Court Orders (1707-1709), 1, 9, 20, 34 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>85</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 50, 51, 61, 69, 78, 79, 84, 93, 104, 106, 110, 114, 116, 122, 129, 136, 146, 149, 158, 164, 169, 171, 178, 193, 199, 204, 211, 219, 222, 225, 227, 229, 235, 236, 242, 244, 249, 250, 260, 261, 262, 272, 279, 285, 286, 291, 292, 299, 306, 309 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 316; Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 102, 135, 152, 165, 345; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 18, 97, 295, 555-556 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 90-91 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>88</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 367.

<sup>89</sup>R. A. Brock, ed., Documents, Chiefly Unpublished, Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia, vol. V of Collections of the Virginia Historical Society--New Series (Richmond, Va.: Published by the

Society, 1886), 35.

<sup>90</sup>EJCCV, II, 131.

<sup>91</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 302-303 (VSLm); Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2; and Byrd, Secret Diary, 234.

<sup>92</sup>EJCCV, III, 15.

<sup>93</sup>Ibid., 61.

<sup>94</sup>Ibid., 139.

<sup>95</sup>Ibid., III, 261-263, 311.

<sup>96</sup>Ibid., 60.

<sup>97</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 234-235; EJCCV, III, 225; and W. P. Palmer, et al., eds. Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 11 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1875-1893), I, 114-116; cited hereinafter as CVSP.

<sup>98</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 383 (VSLm).

<sup>99</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 8 (VSLm). See also Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 230, 250-251; Orders & Wills (1678-1697), transcript, 309; Order Book (1694-1701), 190, 222, 270 (VSLm); and Minute Book (1682-1701), 381, cited in Edward Pleasants Valentine, Abstracts of Records in the Local and General Archives of Virginia, 4 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Vlanetine Museum, n.d.), III, 1384. Cited hereinafter as Valentine Papers.

<sup>100</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 343, 353 (VSLm).

<sup>101</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 373, 419. For other cases in which Randolph was involved see Ibid., 212, 251-252, 454, 489-490, 510; and Deeds, Wills (1694-1704), 151 (VSLm).

<sup>102</sup>Colonial Papers, Folder 18, No. 6, VSL.

<sup>103</sup>EJCCV, III, 180, 215; Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 43, 154; and Orders (1710-1714), 38 (VSLm).

<sup>104</sup>Charles S. Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1952), 67-68.

<sup>105</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 102 (VSLm); Minute Book (1682-1701), 404, as cited in Valentine Papers, III, 1384.

<sup>106</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 183 (VSLm); and Minute Book (1682-1701), 255, cited in Valentine Papers, III, 1383.

- <sup>107</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 234.
- <sup>108</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>109</sup>Jane Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 106-107.
- <sup>110</sup>JHB 1659/60-1693, 164-165.
- <sup>111</sup>Ibid., 188, 189-190, 193, 194, 195, 199, 201, 208, 224, 225, 234, 235, 249, 250.
- <sup>112</sup>Philip Alexander Bruce, Institutional History of Virginia, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910), II, 471.
- <sup>113</sup>EJCCV, II, 203, 267-268, 358; JHB 1695-1702, 120, 123, 124, 127, 131; and JHB 1702-1712, vii-ix.
- <sup>114</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 288, 340; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 249, 353, 446, 522, 605, 665; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 129, 151, 352, 441 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>115</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 247, 299 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>116</sup>Henrico County, Court Order Book (1694-1701), 35, 167-168 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); VCSP, I, 51; and Bruce, Institutional History, I, 689.
- <sup>117</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 167-168 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and Bruce, Institutional History, I, 689n.
- <sup>118</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 239 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>119</sup>EJCCV, III, 60.
- <sup>120</sup>Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, PRO, CO 324/48, [17] (C<sub>Wm</sub>).
- <sup>121</sup>Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, The Present State of Virginia, and the College, 73; VCSP, I, 61; and Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (1859), 20.
- <sup>122</sup>See Bruce, Institutional History, I, 380-401; and JHB 1659/60-1693, 361, 363, 368.
- <sup>123</sup>Correspondence of the Bishop of London with some miscellaneous papers, c. 1695-1776, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #41 (C<sub>Wm</sub>).
- <sup>124</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1694-1701), 256, 257-258 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>125</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 24, 67.
- <sup>126</sup>R. P., "Turkey Island," 104

<sup>127</sup>Perhaps the Turkey Island house resembled Bacon's Castle in Surry County, which is the only two-story mansion surviving intact from the seventeenth century. See Henry Chandlee Forman, Virginia Architecture in the Seventeenth Century, Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets #11 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1957), 35-50; Thomas Tileston Waterman and John A. Barrows, Domestic Architecture of Tidewater Virginia (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1969 [orig. ed., 1932/]), 1-35; and Thomas Tileston Waterman, The Mansions of Virginia 1706-1776 (New York: Bonanza Press, n.d. [orig. ed., 1945/]), 19-27.

<sup>128</sup>The Randolph portraits are displayed in the Virginia Historical Society. They have often been reproduced; among the better reproductions are those printed in the Virginia Historical Society's Occasional Bulletin, No. 31 (October 1975), 6-7.

<sup>129</sup>Positive evidence of literacy exists for all the Randolph children except Elizabeth, and there is little doubt that she also could read and write. Information of their education is scant. On December 1, 1686, one Nathaniel West, a schoolmaster, moved into Henrico from Gloucester County and was exempted from the Henrico levy in order to encourage other tutors, Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 149 (VSLm). Edward Randolph went to school at Berkeley, the Harrison plantation, Byrd, Secret Diary, 20.

<sup>130</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary (1859), 29.

<sup>131</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 306, 439; Deeds, Wills (1706-1709), 3; Orders (1710-1714), 3, 38; and Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm); Byrd, Secret Diary, 4, 5, 36, 44-45, 67, 116, 170.

<sup>132</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records I (1650-1717), 223 (VSLm). See also the will of William Byrd I, July 8, 1700, which Randolph witnessed, VMHB, XXXV (1927), 235-237.

<sup>133</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 74-75 (VSLm); Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 205-209, esp. 207n; and Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play, 105-106.

<sup>134</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1688-1697), 147 (VSLm); Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 207-208; and Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play, 106-107.

<sup>135</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 145.

<sup>136</sup>Davis related the incident because he was cited for contempt for a proclamation by Governor Francis Nicholson. See "A Charge of Contempt Toward Governor Nicholson," VMHB, VIII (1900-1901), 334-335.

<sup>137</sup>For Byrd the elder, see Wright, First Gentlemen of Virginia, 312-348; and Pierre Marambaud, "William Byrd I: A Young Planter in the 1670's," VMHB, LXXXI (1973), 131-150; and "Colonel William Byrd I: A Fortune Founded on Smoke," VMHB, LXXXII (1974), 430-457.

<sup>138</sup> Byrd's will, the depositions of Randolph, his wife, and the Byrd servants are in the Byrd Title Book, VHS. They were printed in VMHB, XXXV (1927), 235-242, which is the source of the above.

<sup>139</sup> EJCCV, II, 405-406.

<sup>140</sup> Byrd, Secret Diary, 181, 183, 193, 196, 209, 225, 315, 324, 325, 327, 332, 333.

<sup>141</sup> Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>142</sup> The stone now marking the grave he shares with his wife is a modern replacement. The epitaph, which copies the original, was transcribed at the site by the author on August 12, 1970. Note that the date of Randolph's death is erroneous. Also see the epitaph in John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book 1806-1830, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

Coll. Wm Randolph of Warwick  
Shire but late of Virginia Gen:  
died April 11, 1711

Randolph Coat of Arms  
Mrs. Mary Randolph his only wife  
died December 29, 1735  
She was Daughter of M. Hen: ISham  
by Katherine his wife he was of  
NorthamptonShire: but late of Virgi  
nia Gent.



CHAPTER III  
ELIZABETH RANDOLPH AND THE FAMILY OF  
MARY RANDOLPH STITH

A. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH the Elder (?--17 April 1685)

Elizabeth Randolph the Elder, so-called to distinguish her from a sister of the same name born after her death, was one of the two eldest children of William and Mary Isham Randolph. All that is certainly known of her is inscribed on a tombstone in the Randolph family burying ground at Turkey Island:<sup>1</sup>

Here Lyes the  
Body of Elizabeth  
Randolph  
Daughter  
of Wm & Mary Randolph  
who was Born March [blank]  
and Dyed on  
Good Friday Being  
April ye 17 in ye Year  
of our Lord 1685

B. MARY RANDOLPH STITH (?--?)

Mary Randolph Stith, described by a contemporary as "a gentlewoman of great worth and discretion, in good favour with the gentry, and great esteem and respect with the common people,"<sup>2</sup> was the daughter, sister, and mother of important Virginians. Her father was William Randolph of Turkey Island, her brothers included William Randolph II and Sir John Randolph, and her son was William Stith, historian of Virginia and President of the College of William and Mary. She was born before 1681,<sup>3</sup> one of the two eldest Randolph children, and was

named for her mother, Mary Isham Randolph. About 1696 she married John Stith, Jr., of Charles City County.

Somewhat older than his wife, Stith came from a family that had been in Virginia since the 1650's and was an established planter who owned well over 1,500 acres in Charles City and James City counties and whose home plantation at Swinyards was situated a short distance to the east from Westover, the more famous seat of the Byrd family.<sup>4</sup> He was also a public official serving as sheriff of Charles City County in 1712-1713 and as one of the county's representatives in the House of Burgesses from 1718 until his death about 1720.<sup>5</sup>

As long as her husband was alive, Mrs. Stith was occupied with the responsibilities of a plantation mistress. Beginning about 1697 she bore three children, John, William, and Mary.<sup>6</sup> As a close neighbor of William Byrd II, she was mentioned frequently in his diaries, but it is not always clear whether Byrd was referring to her or her sister-in-law, Mrs. Drury Stith. On several occasions between 1709 and 1712 Byrd found her at the sick-bed of their neighbor, Mrs. Harrison of Berkeley. When there was illness at Westover, she sent gifts of food. Sometimes she was among the church people whom Byrd took home to Sunday dinner. After a neighborhood party in February, 1710, Byrd noted, "Mr. Harrison seemed to be very gallant to Mrs. Stith." Later when Byrd and other company arrived unexpectedly at Swinyards, they were "courteously entertained" even though John Stith had been gravely ill for several weeks. Perhaps it was she who came to Byrd in December, 1709, to ask him to explain to Mrs. Harrison that she had not given him the gossip that Mrs. Harrison "was delivered of two children before her time." Byrd obligingly wrote their neighbor that Mrs. Stith had never told him "any such

thing." But he recorded in his diary Mrs. Stith had told that tale to Mrs. Byrd who repeated it to him.<sup>7</sup> Byrd liked Mrs. Stith, and they maintained their friendship after she left the county.

Sometime after the death of her husband, Mary Stith moved to Williamsburg where she became the housekeeper of the College of William and Mary. According to tradition, she came to town at the insistence of her brother, John Randolph,<sup>8</sup> who also may have secured the housekeeper's office for her. That she took a paid position was unusual for a woman of her birth and station. Perhaps she thought it best to leave the family plantation to her eldest son and his new wife. The housekeeper's post, with a salary and lodgings included, provided the opportunity she sought to be independent of her children. Whatever her reasons, about 1720 she and her young daughter took up their residence at the college, where William, her second son, was enrolled in the grammar school.

"There is one Mrs Stith that lives in the Colledge," a contemporary noted. "She has the management of the Childrens Necessarys As linnen Bedding &ca & orders their Victualls."<sup>9</sup> Appointed by the Board of Visitors to board and lodge the faculty and students, her duties, besides planning the meals and ordering the food and housekeeping supplies, included supervising (with the gardner) the college kitchen garden, corn fields, and milk cows, and directing the college servants in cooking and serving, in the laundry, mending, and nursing. Her accounts were kept by the college bursar who received fees and made disbursements for the housekeeper's services. Her salary is unrecorded, but one of her predecessors was allowed an expense account of "£11 per annum for each scholar," a personal servant, and lodgings at the

college.<sup>10</sup> Mrs. Stith, said the Reverend Hugh Jones, Professor of Mathematics, in 1724, performed the duties of her office "in the neatest and most regular and plentiful manner."<sup>11</sup>

There are a few accounts of her during the years she was college housekeeper. In the fall of 1720 her old friend, William Byrd, who was in town on business, saw her several times when he called on Commissary James Blair at the college. One evening they chatted for three hours, and, two nights later, Byrd and Blair sent for Mrs. Stith to play a game of cards during which, Byrd noted afterwards, he "lost two bits."<sup>12</sup>

Not all accounts were as pleasant as Byrd's. Mrs. Stith had her enemies, in particular, one Mrs. Keith, housekeeper for the widowed Blair. Apparently the college was not large enough for two housekeepers. How long the feelings of the two women had festered is unknown, but on Friday morning, September 6, 1728, Mrs. Stith announced that Mrs. Keith had spent the previous night in the room of Master James Irwin, the unmarried professor of mathematics. As Mrs. Stith told the tale, she was preparing for bed on Thursday night when, about eleven o'clock, she heard a strange noise. Taking it for the snores of her daughter who had gone early to sleep, she called to her, but the girl was silent; so she listened more carefully until she determined that someone, puffing heavily and quite out of breath from the long climb, was coming up the back stairs. She sent her maid with a candle to investigate. When the slave exclaimed that it was a ghost, Mrs. Stith looked for herself to find Mrs. Keith entering Irwin's chambers.

The tale "Soon blow'd all over the Town & Country, till it rose to be a terrable Storm." Finally Commissary Blair caught wind of it, and he called Mrs. Stith and her servants separately to examine them.

Finding their stories at variance, "he took Madam [Stith] by the Elbow, & put her out of his House in great Wrath" calling her a liar and promising to "turn her out of ye College." Undaunted, Mrs. Stith went straightaway to Governor Gooch where she was soon joined by Blair who had Mrs. Keith in tow. Wisely, the Governor did not become involved. Both the housekeeper and the professor claimed innocence. Mrs. Keith talked of suing, but by the end of the month the storm had all but subsided.<sup>13</sup>

The case was never judged officially, nor did the Williamsburg gossips decide it. Mrs. Stith's friends, admitting that she was "often signalising herself to the World upon Some extraordinary occasion or other" and that there were discrepancies in her story, thought "in ye main" she was factual. On the other hand, Ann Staunton, Gooch's sister-in-law, considered the affair "very hard upon Mr Irwin," but that as far as Mrs. Keith was concerned "no body will think ot [he]r ways [than] favourablely."<sup>14</sup>

In spite of Blair's threat to turn her out of the college, Mrs. Stith kept the housekeeper's office. In February 1729/30 her work was discussed in a faculty meeting. She had recently planted wheat in the old cornfields. The faculty approved of her arrangements for "this year only," but, "to prevent waste on the college land," they decided that "no more ground be broken for the future" without their permission.<sup>15</sup> There are no references to her in the college records after 1730. She may have been the housekeeper in 1731 when her son, William, returned to the college as master of the grammar school, but she was no longer there in 1752 when he became president.<sup>16</sup>

In a rare letter to a Williamsburg friend, she provided a glimpse

of herself:<sup>17</sup>

Virga., May the 7th: 1728

Madm:

When yo: Come to London pray favour me in yor: Choice of a Suit of pinners fashbly dress'd with a Cross Knot Role or what ever the fashn. requires, with fashble: ruffles, & hankercheif. I like a Lace of Some breadth, and of a beautifull pattern th[at] may be plainly seen, fine enough to look well, but not a Super fine Costly lace. And likewise beg yor: Choice of a very genteel fan. Madm: I presume to ask this favour intirely beleiving yor: good-ness will excuse me, and hoping when yo: buy for yor:Selfe it may be done without much more trouble. Wishing you may obtain all you desire in going to England, and return again with health & happiness to the Comfort of all yor: friends, and greatly to the joy of

Madm:

Yor: most obedient  
humble  
Servant  
M:Stith

Her last recorded activity came on June 15, 1730, when she made a claim to the House of Burgesses for taking up runaway slaves.<sup>18</sup> After that she disappeared without a trace. An active woman, she combined the traditional roles of wife and mother with a career as college house-keeper, a post she managed well. It is interesting that while she possessed a degree of feminine appeal, unlike most widows in Virginia, she did not attract a second husband. But as an independent-minded woman who was something of a gossip and a busy-body, she would have been a challenge for most men.

#### 1. JOHN STITH (c. 1697--c. 1758)

The eldest child of John Jr. and Mary Randolph Stith, John Stith, was born about 1697. William Byrd II, friend and neighbor of his parents, was his godfather.<sup>19</sup> At the age of twelve or thereabouts he entered the grammar school of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, where on April 7, 1710, Godfather Byrd examined "Johnny" in his lessons and reported he had made "a good progress."<sup>20</sup> By 1720, a

a few years after he left the college, he married Elizabeth Anderson, a daughter of the Reverend Charles Anderson, the longtime rector of the local Westover Church in Charles City County,<sup>21</sup> and in due course fathered a son and two daughters, Anderson, Elizabeth, and Mary.<sup>22</sup>

Stith was a planter. He inherited from his father the family plantation at Swinyards in Charles City County. The records of the counties where he owned property are incomplete. Consequently, the extent of his land holdings and the quality of the land that he owned are unknown. His purchases were few and far apart: in 1719 and 1723 he acquired 1,489 acres in Prince George County;<sup>23</sup> in 1728 he took out a patent on 398 acres in Brunswick County, but allowed it to lapse;<sup>24</sup> in 1745 he patented a 1,000-acre tract in Brunswick, and in 1756 he added 1,078 acres next to it.<sup>25</sup>

His financial status is uncertain, but there are suggestions that he could ill afford to let any money slip from his grasp. For example, in 1739 he collected a bounty of 160 pounds of tobacco for killing a wolf,<sup>26</sup> and during the four years that followed he brought four suits in the Charles City County court and recovered a total of £3.5.7½.<sup>27</sup>

Furthermore, he was in debt. Unable to pay the £540 he contracted for nine slaves, he was forced to return them to Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, their original owner.<sup>28</sup> During the last seventeen years of his life eleven suits were brought against him in the Charles City County court amounting to more than £157.8.4.<sup>29</sup> His largest debts were to his uncle, William Randolph II, for £71.4.8, his cousin, Richard Bland, for £41.6.11, and the Bristol merchant Joseph Farell for £30.11.8.<sup>30</sup>

Besides his occupation as a planter, Stith was also a public

servant. From about 1720 until 1734 he represented Charles City County in the House of Burgesses, succeeding his father.<sup>31</sup> During his tenure he was appointed to the important Committee of Privileges and Elections, but he was not an outstanding burgess. Most of his time he spent attending to such minor matters as uniting parishes, breaking an entail, examining enrolled bills, and consulting with the council.<sup>32</sup>

For some unexplained reason he retired as burgess in 1734 and devoted himself thereafter to affairs within his local parish and county. He was a member of the vestry of Westover Parish and served as churchwarden, but the loss of the church records makes impossible any account of his activities.<sup>33</sup> In 1737 he took the oaths which qualified him to act as Lieutenant Colonel of the militia, but here again nothing is known of his activities.<sup>34</sup> A justice of the peace for Charles City, he served the county in appraising estates and collecting the tithables.<sup>35</sup>

He died about 1758.<sup>36</sup>

2. WILLIAM STITH (c. 1707--19 September 1755). See Chapter IV, infra.

3. MARY STITH DAWSON (?--?)

The youngest child of Mary Randolph Stith and her husband, John Stith, Jr., Mary Stith was born sometime after the birth of her second brother in 1707. Her early life was probably spent on her father's plantation in Charles City County. After his death about 1720, she moved to Williamsburg where her mother became the housekeeper of the College of William and Mary. Since the housekeeper's living-quarters were in the main college building, Mary Stith grew to maturity among the unmarried faculty and students. "I think I told yu.," wrote a Williamsburg gossip, "yt Molly Stith had a sweetheart his name is Price



he lives in Middlesex...he's a young fellow of a good character & has a prity estate but Mrs. S<sup>[ti]</sup>th says Mols in an agony at ye thoughts of matrimony & she is so yong yt she <sup>[Mrs. Stith]</sup> her self can't bare ye thoughts on't...."<sup>37</sup>

Mary Stith married the Reverend William Dawson, not the fellow of the "prity estate."<sup>38</sup> Dawson, born in England in 1705, had taken his B.A. and M.A. at Queen's College, Oxford, and was put in Anglican orders by the Bishop of Oxford. He arrived in Virginia in 1729 with the recommendation of the Archbishop of Canterbury to become Professor of Natural Philosophy at the college.<sup>39</sup> "He is," said Governor Gooch of Dawson, "a very good Man, sober, modest, and truly Religious."<sup>40</sup>

Almost nothing is known of the married life of Mary Dawson. She was the mother of a son and daughter, John and Mary.<sup>41</sup> Her husband's positions as President of the College of William and Mary and Commissary of the Bishop of London, to which he succeeded on the death of James Blair in 1743, gave her a secure place in Virginia society. Her life was short. She died sometime before Dawson's death in 1752.<sup>42</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER III

<sup>1</sup>Copied by the author from the tombstone, August 12, 1970.

<sup>2</sup>Hugh Jones, Present State of Virginia From Whence is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina, edited by Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 68.

<sup>3</sup>The date of birth is unknown, but she was older than her brother, William, who was born in 1681. She is first mentioned in the will of Katherine Isham, her maternal grandmother, dated October 10, 1686, in which she was given four pounds sterling; see Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 392-393 (VSLm).

<sup>4</sup>Christopher Johnston, "The Stith Family," William and Mary Quarterly (cited hereinafter as WMQ), 1st series, XXI (1913), 132. Johnston mistakenly lists John Stith, Jr., as Charles City sheriff and burgess in the late seventeenth century.

<sup>5</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1966), III, 305, 338; cited hereinafter as EJCCV.

<sup>6</sup>The birthdates of her children have not been fully established. John was born about 1697, William about 1707, and Mary at an unknown date.

<sup>7</sup>The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1709-1711, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941), 1, 113, 145-146, 161, 213, 326, 566, 590 (cited hereinafter as Byrd, Secret Diary). This section has been improved by Jane Carson, "College Housekeepers," unpublished research report, Colonial Williamsburg.

<sup>8</sup>Bishop [William] Meade, Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1857), I, 137.

<sup>9</sup>Memorandum for His Excellency [c. 1729?], Nicholson Papers, CW, quoted in Carson, "College Housekeepers."

<sup>10</sup>Carson, "College Housekeepers."

<sup>11</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 68.

<sup>12</sup>Byrd, The London Diary (1717-1721) and Other Writings, edited by Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (New York: Oxford University Press, 1958), 459, 462-463, 464, 523. Cited hereinafter as Byrd, London Diary.

<sup>13</sup>Thomas Jones to Elizabeth Cocke Jones, September 30, 1728, Jones Family Papers (CWm).

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., and Elizabeth Holloway to Elizabeth Cocke Jones, September 7, 1728, Jones Family Papers (CWm).

<sup>15</sup>William and Mary Faculty Minutes 1729-1784, 5 (CWM).

<sup>16</sup>Carson, "College Housekeepers."

<sup>17</sup>Mary Stith to Elizabeth Cocke Jones, Jones Family Papers (CWM).

<sup>18</sup>H. R. McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1776, 13 vols. (Richmond: E. Waddey Co., 1905-1915), 1727-1740, 77. Cited hereinafter as JHB.

<sup>19</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 162. Byrd, after an absence of fourteen years, arrived in Virginia from England in 1696, and, a few months later in 1697, he returned to the mother country where he remained until 1705. John Stith, therefore, was probably born while Byrd was in the colony or shortly after his departure.

<sup>20</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 162.

<sup>21</sup>Byrd, London Diary, May 17, 1720, 407; Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 152 (VSLm).

<sup>22</sup>The birthdates of the Stith children are unrecorded; see William Byrd, Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1739-1741, edited by Maude H. Woodfin and Marion Tinling (Richmond, Va., 1942), 22 n2. Cited hereinafter as Byrd, Another Secret Diary.

<sup>23</sup>Prince George County, Deeds and Wills (1713-1728), 352, 648 (VSLm).

<sup>24</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #13 (1725-1730), 198; Patents #15 (1732-1735), 169-170 (VSLm).

<sup>25</sup>EJCCV, V, 185; Virginia State Land Office, Patents #33 (1756-1761), 3-5 (VSLm).

<sup>26</sup>Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 365 (VSLm).

<sup>27</sup>Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 150, 161, 163, 170, 242, 243, 248 (VSLm).

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 406, 415, 419, 431, 432.

<sup>29</sup>Of the eleven cases, three were dismissed, one specified no amount, and the remaining totaled £157.8.4. See Ibid., 170, 249, 259, 262, 266, 268, 272, 282, 291, 295, 312, 317, 328, 336, 340, 346, 446, 456, 483; and Charles City County, Court Orders (1758-1762), 3 (VSLm).

<sup>30</sup>Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 295, 329, 336, 340, 346, 456 (VSLm).

<sup>31</sup>The date of his entrance to the House has never been determined because there was no distinction made between his service and that of his father, JHB 1712-1726, ix, x, passim.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., 364, 377; and JHB 1727-1740, 5, 51, 74, 125, 134, 139, 163.

<sup>33</sup>Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 8 (VSLm).

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 252, 258; and "The Present State of Virginia with respect to counties in particular, 1726," Fulham Palace Papers (transcripts) (Cwm).

<sup>36</sup>Armistead C. Gordon, "The Stith Family," WMQ, 1st series, XXII (1913-1914), 44. The last reference to John Stith is May 3, 1758; see Charles City County, Court Orders (1758-1762), 3 (VSLm). See also Christopher Johnston, "The Stith Family," WMQ, 1st series, XXI (1911-1913), 187-188.

<sup>37</sup>Elizabeth Catesby Holloway to Elizabeth Cocke Jones, September 7, 1728, Jones Family Papers (Cwm).

<sup>38</sup>The date of her marriage is unknown, but on May 21, 1739, Governor Gooch noted that Dawson "is well Allied here by marrying a niece of the late Sr. John Randolph's one of the best Familys in the Country." See William Gooch to the Bishop of London, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #142 (Cwm).

<sup>39</sup>Foster, ed., Alumni Oxoniensis, 1714-1886, I, 356; Thomas Troughear to the Bishop of London, September 3, 1729, Fulham Palace Papers 14, #167; James Blair to the Bishop of London, September 8, 1729, Ibid., #122 (Cwm).

<sup>40</sup>William Gooch to the Bishop of London, July 23, 1730, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #234 (Cwm).

<sup>41</sup>Gordon, "Stith Family," 46; Elizabeth Catesby Holloway to Elizabeth Cocke Jones, June 8, 1753, Jones Family Papers (Cwm).

<sup>42</sup>About ten days before his death Dawson married Elizabeth Churchill Bassett; according to Francis Jerdone, "it was happy for him that he did not live to experience the unhappiness it the marriage would have created for him." See WMQ, 1st series, VII (1899), 146 nl. Dawson's death was reported in Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 24, 1752, 3:2.

## CHAPTER IV

### WILLIAM STITH: MINISTER AND SCHOLAR

WILLIAM STITH (c. 1707--19 September 1755)

William Stith was born in Virginia, probably at Swinyards, his father's plantation in Charles City County, about 1707. Very little is known about his childhood. He was the middle child in a family of three; he had an elder brother and a younger sister. His father, John Stith, Jr., owner of about 1,500 acres, was an important man in county affairs having served as justice of the peace, sheriff, and burgess. His mother was Mary Randolph, member of a preeminent family. It was for her father, William Randolph of Turkey Island, that the second son was named. He was sent to school first at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, and then to England to Queen's College, Oxford, where at the age of seventeen he matriculated on May 21, 1724.<sup>1</sup>

Young Stith probably went to Oxford at the behest of the Reverend James Blair, President of the College of William and Mary and Commissary of the Bishop of London. Blair may have taken an interest in Stith, because the lad was inclined to become a clergyman. As Commissary, Blair was responsible for securing ministers for the parish churches in Virginia, and he well knew that good men were hard to find. Furthermore by sending one of his best scholars to Oxford, Blair could curry the favor of the Bishop who was a graduate of Queen's College.<sup>2</sup>

Stith had a good education. "He was," said Thomas Jefferson, "a man of classical learning, and very exact...."<sup>3</sup> Stith had indeed read

widely in the classics: he was a master of Latin, familiar with Greek and French, and possibly knew Hebrew. He was well versed in Biblical literature and criticism. He was knowledgeable in ancient and modern history. Important to his subsequent career, he became acquainted with the works of John Locke who emphasized reason in religion and in the interpretation of scripture. "...I am a great Admirer of Mr. Locke's Writings, and have been no instudious Reader of them," Stith wrote. Long after leaving Oxford, while in the midst of preparing a sermon, he read Locke's The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures and was surprised to find how similar his thought was to the great man's. To the best of his remembrance, he had never read Locke's discourse, but if he had "it must have been four or five and twenty Years ago, when I was at the University." Possibly he had unconsciously incorporated Locke's ideas into his own thought so that he could no longer distinguish them from his own. "But I am rather apt to think," Stith concluded, "that we have both hit on the same Truths by the same Means; viz. by a free, courageous, and honest use of our Reason, assisted and improved by diligent Study and Search into sacred Scripture."<sup>4</sup>

In addition to Locke, Stith also studied the works of Hugo Grotius who advocated philological criticism for a better interpretation of scripture.<sup>5</sup>

Stith took the degree Bachelor of Arts on February 27, 1727/28. He did not return to Virginia, however. He continued at Queen's College to take the Master of Arts degree, which was granted on November 20, 1730.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, on September 3, 1728, signing himself "William Stith of Queen's College in Oxford Batchelor of Arts," he appointed his uncle,

William Randolph II, his attorney for selling all his property in Virginia--"the Land, Tenements, Heredements, Negroes or other Slaves, Goods & Chattels." Stith said only that he was selling "for Divers good Causes & Considerations me thereunto moving", but he may have needed to sell his property in order to pursue an advanced degree.<sup>7</sup> At any rate he anticipated no need to maintain his holdings in Virginia, for he planned to remain permanently at Oxford as a fellow of Oriel College. But his plans were thwarted when a fellow of Queen's College charged Stith was an anti-Trinitarian.<sup>8</sup> Consequently disappointed in his effort to find a living in the mother country, he was ordained a minister of the Church of England and returned to the colonies. On April 30, 1731, he and Adam Dickie were granted £40 from the King's Bounty "towards defraying the Charges of their Passage to Virginia whither they are going Ministers."<sup>9</sup>

Once back in the colony Stith secured good appointments in Williamsburg. On October 25, 1731, the Visitors and Governors of the College, of which his friend, the Reverend Mr. Blair, and his Randolph uncles, John and William, were members, elected him master of the grammar school.<sup>10</sup> About the same time the House of Burgesses made him its chaplain.

As a college master Stith was in charge of the preparatory school and was responsible for instructing the boys, who came to him when they were about twelve years old, in the rudiments of a classical education. He also participated in college ceremonials such as joining his faculty colleagues in laying the first bricks of the foundation of the President's house which was begun in 1732.<sup>11</sup> He gave good service to the grammar school. "We have been very happy to have him in that station,"

reported the college president, "and the School has thriven very much under his care."<sup>12</sup>

However, Stith, by his own admission, found his college duties "laborious."<sup>13</sup> In the midsummer of 1735, he left for England. Governor Gooch sent a letter of introduction to his brother, the Bishop of Norwich. "Your particular marks of esteem," the Governor wrote, "he will be proud on his return to this Country to acknowledge, and as he is Nephew to the Randolphs will be taken kindly by them on my account."<sup>14</sup> Stith informed President Blair that he had "some important business to dispatch" and that he would "make but a short stay."<sup>15</sup>

When Stith returned to Virginia the next year, he told Blair that he was weary of the school and intended to take a parish.<sup>16</sup> Accordingly, the Governor and the Commissary released him to Henrico Parish.

Located on the north bank of the James River west from Williamsburg about fifty miles, the parish was 450 square miles in area and had two churches and a chapel. There were four hundred families of whom 1,100 individuals were listed as tithables. At Varina was the glebe, a plantation of about 200 acres reserved for the support of the minister. The minister's salary was 16,640 pounds of tobacco per annum, or about £100 sterling.<sup>17</sup> Stith met the vestry on Sunday, July 18, 1736, and presented letters from Gooch and Blair recommending him to the care of the parish. Then, after he had "performed his ministerial function, both in preaching and reading to the General Satisfaction and approbation of the Vestry," he was unanimously received as minister.<sup>18</sup> His appointment was never in doubt; he was qualified by education, and his Randolph relatives dominated the parish. He remained there for sixteen years.



There are not many details of his life as parish minister. On July 13, 1738, he married his first cousin, Judith Randolph, daughter of his uncle Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe.<sup>19</sup> He was the father of three daughters. The family was comfortable at the glebe for the vestry kept it up and made improvements. "Ordered," the Vestry Book read on January 19, 1747/48, "that the house upon the Glebe be repair'd & an addition of 20 feet at each end, with two windows in each room...and the Chimneys to be pull'd down & rebuilt."<sup>20</sup>

As the local minister, Stith was responsible for the moral and spiritual welfare of the church people of the parish. "The principal Parts and Branches of the pastoral Office," wrote Stith's brother-in-law, the Reverend William Dawson, who was himself the holder of two degrees from Queen's College, "are these Five [ : ] Prayers..., Preach-<sup>21</sup>ing..., Catechising..., Sacraments..., [and] Visiting the Sick..."

There is little record of Stith's performance of his pastoral office. No doubt his actions were predicated on his latitudinarianism. He had, he informed the Bishop of London, "always accounted it the safest & most prudent Way to acquiesce in the Church's Definition, without inquiring too nicely & critically in the Matter."<sup>22</sup> He eliminated the Athanasian Creed from the worship of the parish and, when as a result he was branded anti-Trinitarian, he replied that his congregation was averse to the Creed and refused the response, a fact of which he had acquainted Governor Gooch and Commissary Dawson.<sup>23</sup> "Stith," a recent scholar noted, "clearly had a tolerant, easy-going disposition in religious matters, [and] in the spirit of the Virginia Anglicanism of his day, he avoided theological matters rather than actively championing heterodoxy."<sup>24</sup>

Three of his sermons, A Sermon Preached Before the General Assembly (1746), The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming (1752), and The Nature and Extent of Christ's Redemption (1753), were delivered before the General Assembly and published at its direction. The fact that he allowed the sermons to be printed and submitted them to the Bishop of London is a good indication that he considered them adequate in style and content. But, since they were preached to the General Assembly, the printed sermons can hardly be considered typical of the sermons given Sunday in and Sunday out to the congregations of Henrico parish. Nevertheless, in spite of their limitation, the sermons reveal something of Stith the preacher.

He took his preaching responsibilities seriously. Quoting Isaiah, the Old Testament prophet, he described himself "set as a Watchman upon the Wall, I will not be a dumb Dog, that cannot bark; that sleepeth, lyeth down, and loveth to slumber....I will never keep Silence, not hold my Peace, Day nor Night."<sup>25</sup>

Contemporary events stimulated him. His sermon delivered in 1746 in defense of the Glorious Revolution of 1688 and the Established Church was called forth by the Jacobite Rebellion in Scotland led by the Catholic Stuart Pretender, "Bonnie Prince Charlie." In 1752 he preached against gambling, an everpresent vice in Virginia society. He also dealt with persistent and troublesome theological issues, such as the universality of Christian salvation, subject of his sermon in 1753.

His preaching bore the stamp of scholarship. Although the Stith library has not survived, some of the books he employed in sermon-preparation are known from a bookseller's account and from citations in his sermons.<sup>26</sup> He owned several editions of the New Testament: an

Oxford Greek Testament; the Elzevir Greek Testament (1624) which was then considered the authoritative Greek text; Theodore Beza's Greek Testament (1565); and an eighteenth-century edition of an English New Testament printed by the King's printer, John Basket. Biblical commentary and exegesis figured prominently in his collection. He purchased An Epistolary Discourse concerning the Soul's Immortality (n.d.) by the erudite Anglican theologian, Henry Dodwell (1641-1711). He cited the Proem in Evangelia by Theophylact, an eleventh-century Byzantine exegete, best known for his commentaries in Greek on many of the books of the Bible.<sup>27</sup> Among Stith's favorite authorities was the Dutch Biblical and philological critic, Hugo Grotius (1583-1645), whose Annotations in Vetus et Novum Testamentum (1642) was apparently quoted in two of his sermons.<sup>28</sup> He referred to the Anglican divine, Henry Hammond (1605-1660), the so-called father of English Biblical criticism. Stith failed to mention Hammond's work specifically, but he probably used A Paraphrase and Annotations upon all the Books of the New Testament (1653).<sup>29</sup> He mentioned, moreover, Daniel Whitby (1638-1726), a fellow of Trinity College, Oxford. Apparently Stith cited Whitby's Sermon on the Mount (1713).<sup>30</sup> Stith said he had studied the works of John Locke (1632-1704), in particular The Reasonableness of Christianity as delivered in the Scriptures (1695).<sup>31</sup> He was also acquainted with Locke's critics, John Edwards (1637-1716) and Philip Limborch (1633-1712).<sup>32</sup> Stith admired Sir George Lyttelton's Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul (1747) and dedicated the 1753 sermon, Christ's Redemption, to Lyttelton. "...I remember you," said Stith in the dedication, "as a Contemporary at Oxford, and that I have been transiently in your Company there; altho' it is very probably, you

may have forgotten me."<sup>33</sup>

In addition to Biblical works, Stith's sermons showed his interest in the history of Christianity. While his preaching was filled with many illustrations from the Christian past, only two works can be identified: J. Lenfant's Histoire du Concile de Constance (2 vols, 1714, 1727) and Blaise Pascal's attack on the Jesuits, Lettres Provinciales (1656-1657).<sup>34</sup>

Furthermore, Stith was interested in literature that was not strictly religious, but which could be used to homiletical advantage. He owned a Greek edition of Aesop's Fables and quoted from Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, and Livy. Once he even made use of Thomas Wood's Institute of the Laws of England (1720).<sup>35</sup>

Stith's reading for his sermons displayed some of his interests. It also indicated a preference for seventeenth-century scholars who were Protestant and rationalistic.

The organization of his sermons was typical of other preachers of the eighteenth century. The outline was simple: the scripture text, exposition of the text, the points to be discussed, the discussion of each point, the conclusion, and the benediction. Consequently, in purpose and development the sermons are easily followed.

Keeping with the Protestant tradition of the authority of scripture, Stith based his sermons on a Bible text, which he defined and placed in its historical context. In A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly, he chose as his text: "Render to Caesar the things, that are Caesar's; and to God the things, that are God's" (Mark 12:17), which he used as a basis to argue that since governments are not divinely instituted conscientious Christians could support the constitutional

monarchy of Great Britain. The last of the Ten Commandments, "Thou shalt not covet..." (Exodus 20:17), was the text of The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming. The text of The Nature and Extent of Christ's Redemption was "...strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it" (Matthew 7:13-14). In all cases the scripture fit what Stith wanted to say, but his discourses were not an extension and interpretation of the text. Instead he employed the Bible verses as springboards for his ideas.

Stith wrote a good homiletical style, plain and engaging. He was a preacher conscious of his audience. In 1752, when he was invited to preach before the General Assembly, he admitted that his sermon against gambling was written to instruct his parish, and since he "could not think upon any Subject better adapted to the present Circumstances of our Country, and more necessary to be insisted upon," he repeated it in Williamsburg.<sup>36</sup> His two other sermons, prepared apparently to deliver to the General Assembly, are different in tone from the sermon given first to his church people in that they are fortified with extensive references to scripture and to the books he had been studying. The sermon on gaming suggests that when Stith preached in Henrico he made his points without pedantry, relying instead on scripture and logic.

A Sermon Preached Before the General Assembly is significant not for its theological interpretation, but for its political ideology. When Stith mounted the pulpit in Williamsburg on Sunday morning, March 2, 1745/46, the Second Jacobite Rebellion was taking place in Britain. The previous summer, Charles Edward, the young Stuart Pretender, had landed in Scotland from France to proclaim his father as King James III, the only true sovereign. A series of military victories throughout the

autumn and winter brought the Jacobites into England where, for all Stith knew, they had overthrown the government and the Established Church. News of the Jacobite defeat at Culloden on April 16 did not reach Virginia until late spring.

Stith proclaimed that Parliament in the Glorious Revolution of 1688 had removed the last Stuart king for his conspiracy to deprive freemen of their liberties by his open espousal of divine-right monarchy and papal religion. In the current situation, said Stith, the Protestant Establishment, "our excellent Constitution and civil Polity" are in danger of utter ruin and destruction. "For to hope for any Christian Indulgence and religious Liberty from an Invader, who brings His Religion from Rome; or expect any firm Property and civil Liberty from a Disciple and professed Dependent on France, is the Height of Frenzy; and Men, who can swallow such gross Delusion, must wilfully shut their Eyes against the glaring Example of Queen Mary's Reign, and our fresher Experience under King James II."<sup>37</sup> Therefore, the preacher concluded, since the Rebellion was of such dire consequence to law and religion, it was the duty of "every Man, in his private Capacity, to oppose and resist, by Word and Deed, and by all lawful and possible Means."<sup>38</sup> The obligation to resist, Stith continued, fell especially upon his "present Congregation and Assembly, in whom is placed the whole Government, the Legislative as well as the Executive Power, of this Colony....They ought, by their Countenance to restrain, by their Words to rebuke, by the vigorous Exertion of their just and lawful Authority to punish, and by all proper and necessary Laws to repress, the least Tendency to Disloyalty and Rebellion against our King and Constitution."<sup>39</sup> Finally, he said, during this time of national

danger and distress, it was every man's duty to repent, for that is "the usual, and a most undoubted Method of Procedure with Divine Providence," when tribulations come.<sup>40</sup> The Whig ideology of the sermon was Stith's consistent view; he expressed it again in his famous history of Virginia and during the controversy over the pistole fee.

Sometimes Stith employed his pulpit to rail against vice in Virginia society. His 1752 sermon, The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming, was an attack on excessive gambling which had long gripped the colony. "I am sure," Stith said, "nothing relating to our Country did ever give me so much Grief and Concern, as to observe this Frenzy grow, as it hath done of late, and so mightily prevail among us. It has seized without Exception, upon all Ranks and Conditions of our People; and hath equally infected the high and low, rich and poor, one with another."<sup>41</sup>

The sermon on gaming struck a responsive chord in the community. Virginians were aware of the problem. Beginning in 1619, the General Assembly had imposed a series of legal restrictions on gambling. After delivering the sermon at least twice in Henrico and Williamsburg, Stith saw it published by order of the General Assembly. By the end of 1752, the Williamsburg bookseller had sold 211 copies, making it, second to the poems of the Reverend Samuel Davies, his most popular title. Most patrons purchased between two and twelve copies of the sermon, doubtless to give to their family and friends lest they be tempted to gamble.<sup>42</sup>

Gambling, Stith said, is "an evident and undeniable Sin" against God, country, mankind, and self.<sup>43</sup> He admitted that in limited circumstances gambling might not be immoral, but that it was immoral as soon as it "becomes a Contest for Money, so that Avarice mingles itself with,

and corrupts its Nature....I shall willingly grant," he continued, "that even Gaming for Money in some Instances and Degrees, may be lawful and innocent Diversion. But then let me add, that those Instances and Degrees are much fewer...than is generally supposed."<sup>44</sup> Whenever gaming takes too much thought or interest, too much time, whenever it leads to sinful habits, or betrays one into violent and criminal passions, whenever it leads to neglect of useful business and pursuits, whenever it leads to neglect of duties to God and neighbor and self, gaming is no longer harmless but has degenerated "into downright Sin and Folly."<sup>45</sup>

While gaming infected all classes of Virginia society, it was most damaging to the gentlemen of rank and distinction. Here Stith was preaching to his peers. Gentlemen, he said, are the responsible leaders of society. "Instead of defiling themselves with so foul a Practice [as gaming], and setting Fashions to the lower People in Vice, they ought by their Example to lead them on to every Thing that is virtuous and honest, and with the utmost Severity of the Law to restrain and punish this execrable Custom; a Custom so evidently corrupt of the People, and so prejudicial to the Publick, that there is no Country in the World, where it rose to any Height, that did not immediately prohibit it under the severest Penalties."<sup>46</sup>

There are, Stith concluded, good and wholesome laws against gaming in Virginia. Whether more are needed is a decision for the General Assembly. There is "a reigning Evil" in the country which must be stopped. "If therefore Gentlemen would but seriously consider, and follow the Dictates of their Reason, this unrighteous Custom would soon be discountenanced and discarded among us."<sup>47</sup>

The preacher knew he had delivered a strong message, that he may



had trod on the sensibilities of his audience. He did not apologize. It was his duty to condemn "so vile and flagitious a Practice." He ended the sermon by quoting the Prophet Samuel: "As for me, God forbid that I should sin against the Lord, in ceasing to pray for you, or in neglecting to teach you the good and the right Way...But if ye shall still do wickedly, ye shall be consumed, both ye and your Leaders."<sup>48</sup>

Like most preachers, Stith revealed much about himself in his sermons. Immediately obvious was his scholarship and learning. His approach to Christianity was rationalistic, but his theology was remarkably orthodox considering that he was accused of anti-Trinitarianism. He concluded his sermon before the General Assembly in 1746 with these words: "To [Jesus Christ, "our Blessed Lord and Saviour"], with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed, as the most due, all Might, Majesty, Praise and Dominion, both now and for evermore."<sup>49</sup> He viewed man as a creature of God, subject to divine judgment. All men, he believed, were saved by the death and merit of Christ even though human understanding could not fully comprehend the meaning of salvation. God was a righteous judge who would not condemn such virtuous men as Socrates and Confucius who had not the opportunity to hear the Christian message.<sup>50</sup> Furthermore, in his preaching Stith showed a definite Protestant bias regarding the Roman Church. As a native-born Virginian, he professed love of his country and support of the British constitution which divided the powers of government between monarchy, aristocracy, and commonalty.

While the General Assembly judged all three of Stith's printed sermons to be excellent, the only other appraisal of his preaching is a comment in the secret diary of William Byrd II. Byrd, who had slept

through more than one dull homily, noted that on Sunday morning, June 15, 1740, "Mr. Stith entertained us with a good sermon."<sup>51</sup>

As a preacher Stith never gained the recognition of his mentor, Commissary James Blair, or the Virginia Presbyterian, Samuel Davies, whose sermons were collected and published. Nevertheless, Stith's sermons were models of organization; they were well-written and compelling. Nothing of his oral style is known except that he apparently spoke from a fully prepared manuscript. This is unfortunate because a sermon is meant to be heard rather than read. Although any judgment based only on three sermons is limited, it is clear Stith was a conscientious preacher of considerable range and power.

Besides attending to the spiritual needs of his congregation, Stith was concerned with other duties of his parish. He met with the vestry which, as directed by law, convened at least twice a year to consider the state of the parish and to appropriate the minister's salary. The vestry was all but dominated by Stith's kinsmen. Uncles William and Richard Randolph were vestrymen when he came to the parish; Cousin Peter Randolph was appointed in 1739 upon the resignation of Uncle William; in 1742 Cousin Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island was chosen; and in 1748 cousins William Randolph III and Richard Randolph II were elected. The Randolphs were active vestrymen, serving as churchwardens, collecting the tithes, supervising improvements on the glebe and the church buildings, and securing such things from England as "One Parson's Surplis, a Pulpit Cushion and Cloth, Two Cloths for Reading Desks, a Communion Table Cloth, and the Surplis good Holland; also a large Bible and four large Prayer Books."<sup>52</sup>

There were two churches in the parish when Stith became minister,

one at Curles Neck and the other at Henricopolis. A chapel was located at the falls of the James River, but it was abandoned in 1741 when a new church, later St. John's, was erected in Richmond.<sup>53</sup>

From time to time Stith was involved in activities outside his parish. As has been noted, he occasionally preached before the General Assembly in Williamsburg. In 1747, at a time when the Presbyterians were troubling the Established Church in Hanover County, he proposed to the Reverend Patrick Henry, whose parish was in a turmoil because of the dissenters, that they draw up "a Petition to the Governour & Council concerning the Itinerant Preachers." The petition, however, may never have been drawn because Henry informed Commissary Dawson that he had heard nothing from Stith, "so that I am afraid we shall have nothing in that matter at the ensuing Court...."<sup>54</sup>

Not all of Stith's time and energy was consumed in church duties. In fact he enjoyed "a perfect Leisure and Retirement" at Henrico Parish unburdened "with any publick Post or Office." During his "vacant Hours" he began work on his History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia which was published in 1747.<sup>55</sup>

Stith had long been interested in the history of his native country. His uncle, Sir John Randolph, an eminent lawyer and Speaker of the House of Burgesses, had planned a compilation of Virginia laws with an introduction to place them in historical context, but his manifold duties and his early death in 1737 kept him from completing the work. Accordingly, Stith thought "the History of Virginia would be no mean or unacceptable Undertaking."<sup>56</sup> He resolved to base his research on such documents and manuscripts as he could locate. Not only did he have access to the Randolph collection of papers, but he was also

invited to use the library of his friend, William Byrd II of Westover, a library which he correctly described as "the best and most copious Collection of Books in our Part of America."<sup>57</sup> The best source from the Byrd library was a transcript of the proceedings of the Virginia Company between 1619 and 1624. Stith also made his own investigations in the government archives in Williamsburg. His research was thorough; he uncovered well over half of the extant manuscript sources for the early history of Virginia. Most of the manuscripts he did not use were in England and did not become available to scholars until the twentieth century.<sup>58</sup>

Few of the manuscripts Stith found pertained to the years before 1619, and he was compelled to rely on printed accounts for the earliest period of Virginia history. Chief among these was Captain John Smith's Generall Historie of Virginia, New England and the Summer Isles (1624). He also used Thomas Hariot's A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia, with engravings of John White's drawings (1590), and had casual assistance from parts of Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes (1625). Possibly he consulted Richard Hakluyt's Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation (1598-1600), for he reprinted the 1578 patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert which is found in Hakluyt, but nowhere did Stith credit this significant source.<sup>59</sup>

Locating the sources, Stith knew, was only part of the historian's task. It remained for him to con "our old musty Records... studying, connecting, and reconciling the jaring and disjointed Writings and Relations of different Men and different Parties."<sup>60</sup> He was careful to evaluate his material. He relied heavily on Smith's Generall

Historie, which he judged reliable, if "vastly confused." The Captain was at his best when relating his own experiences, Stith thought; at his worst for taking the wrong side in the quarrels of the Virginia Company. Furthermore, Stith traced the provenance of his manuscripts. The records of the Virginia Company had come to the Byrds from the heirs of the company treasurer, the Earl of Southampton. The Randolph collection consisted of "Extracts of our oldest Records" which had been copied for Sir John by the clerk of the House of Burgesses.<sup>61</sup>

Stith divided his work into five books. The first dealt with English voyages of exploration and discovery before Jamestown; the second concentrated on the years 1607 to 1609 when John Smith was in the colony; the third covered the next decade in brief fashion; the final two books were the most detailed comprising almost half of the text and told of the struggles within the Virginia Company with only intermittent reference to events in the colony. The structure of the History was determined by the available evidence. One-third of the text dealt with the first two years of settlement because of Smith's detailed narrative of the period. Little is said of the years from 1610 to 1619 because the records are sketchy. The close narrative resumed with 1619 as Stith employed the Virginia Company manuscripts, and the narrative ended in 1624 because the Company records ceased.<sup>62</sup>

In writing the History, Stith followed the sources closely, often paraphrasing without citation and quoting without quotation marks. Occasionally he bowdlerized a story. In Smith's account Sir Thomas Dale, who had a wife in England, offered to marry Powhatan's daughter to ensure peace. As Stith told the tale, Dale intended to marry the Indian princess to a worthy English gentleman. Nevertheless, he sometimes

did make his own judgments, which were apparent by the shift to the first person.<sup>63</sup>

The History revealed Stith's hostility to the crown and the original leaders of the Virginia Company. He had, he confessed, from his first knowledge of history, "a most contemptible Opinion" of King James I, who appeared "in his Dealings with the Company, to have acted with such mean Arts and Fraud, and such little Tricking, as highly misbecome Majesty."<sup>64</sup> Sir Thomas Smith and his associates in the Virginia Company were blamed for their negligence in sending supplies to the infant colony. Furthermore, Stith charged that Smith had overturned the leadership of the Company and had wished to abandon Virginia.<sup>65</sup>

The main theme of the History, however, was the rise of representative government. Stith, in his analysis of the first charter of the Virginia Company was critical because in it the King not only had the right to interfere in Virginia affairs, but governing power was concentrated in a few hands, all of which, in Stith's view, was a violation of English law and the English constitution. These abuses were corrected in 1619 with the establishment of a House of Burgesses. "...we may be certain of this happy Effect," Stith wrote, "that by the Introduction of the British Form of Government, by Way of Parliament or Assembly, the people were again restored to their Birthright, the Enjoyment of British Liberty."<sup>66</sup>

It was Stith's intention to relate Virginia history beyond 1624, but the records of the Virginia Company ended in that year, and, besides, he had written in such close detail that his manuscript had achieved sufficient length to be put through the press. Accordingly, he signed the preface at Varina on December 10, 1746, and submitted his work to

William Parks, the Williamsburg printer, who printed it in 1747. The publication costs were paid by public subscription,<sup>67</sup> with Stith also investing his own money.

The book, however, was not a financial success. Stith confessed that he personally had lost about £50 sterling. The book was also disappointing in other ways. Stith said that his honest approach to historical truth had made for him "many Enemies and Censurers." The reception of the first volume filled Stith with scorn and resentment, and he abandoned any thought of completing the History.<sup>68</sup>

Nevertheless, in his bitterness, Stith magnified his critics. Most of his countrymen agreed completely with what he wrote, especially his condemnation of King James I and his praise for the representative assembly in the colony. His critics were a small, albeit influential, group who probably took exception to an incidental statement criticizing the Virginia Council of his own time as too powerful.<sup>69</sup>

On the contrary, the History gained a favorable reception. In 1753 a second edition was published in London. The same year Daniel Dulany, member of a famous and powerful Maryland family, wrote to Stith encouraging him to continue with a second volume and offering to promote a public subscription to finance it. Stith even admitted that he had been urged to resume his historical studies by "several Gentlemen of the best Judgment & most public [spirit]."<sup>70</sup>

The History, however, was never completed. For one thing, Stith, having left Henrico Parish to become President of the College of William and Mary, no longer had time to devote to it. Another factor was more decisive. Stith himself was reluctant to repeat the "Labour of searching and extracting old Papers & Reco[rds]."<sup>71</sup> His reluctance is

understandable because in writing the history of Virginia after 1624 he was forced to depend almost entirely on documents. There was, except for the sketchy histories of Robert Beverley and John Oldmixon, no guide for organizing his work. Presumably Stith had Beverley and Oldmixon in mind when he complained of "Vexation and Disappointment" with the previous historians of Virginia.<sup>72</sup>

Even without finishing the History, Stith made for himself a lasting reputation as an historian. His intelligent use of primary and secondary sources in writing history for its own sake earned the praise of a modern scholar who called him "the first true historiographer of Virginia."<sup>73</sup> Stith strove for objectivity, but like any historian, his work told as much about himself and his time as it did about the past. A Virginia gentryman of the mid-eighteenth century, he viewed history as a Whig seeing liberty struggling to triumph over tyranny. The triumph was not yet complete, but Stith saw in a representative assembly answerable to its electorate an effective hedge against the abuses of a divine right monarchy.<sup>74</sup>

In addition to his other activities and interests, Stith operated plantations. For as long as he remained the minister of Henrico Parish, he had the use of the glebe land which amounted to about 200 acres. He had his own slaves and apparently grew tobacco which he consigned to the London merchant, John Hanbury.<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, he began to acquire land in his own right. His first acquisition, made in 1734, while he was still in Williamsburg, was a patent for 398 acres in Brunswick County which his brother had allowed to lapse.<sup>76</sup> In 1740, his brother-in-law, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, sold him for £500 Virginia money, a 2,000-acre tract on the north side of the Rivanna River "whereon the Mountain



Chappel now standeth" in what became Albemarle County.<sup>77</sup> In the next fifteen years he patented a total of 17,352 acres in Albemarle and Lunenburg counties.<sup>78</sup> In May, 1744, with John Bolling, Nicholas Davies, William Mayo, and James Young, he patented 20,000 acres along the upper James River.<sup>79</sup> Later that summer he and the Reverend John Ornsby patented 7,000 acres on Falling River in Brunswick County.<sup>80</sup> Assuming that these tracts were divided equally among all concerned, Stith's share was 6,833 acres. On August 5, 1751, his cousin Peter Randolph, sold him the half-acre lot, #77, in the town of Beverley, which the Randolphs were trying to develop above the falls of the James River.<sup>81</sup> Altogether, at the time of his death in 1755, Stith had accumulated 26,583½ acres.

With his property lying far beyond Henrico Parish, Stith made plans to move. On December 3, 1751, he presented his resignation, effective "the first day of October next, he being chosen Minister of S[t]. Anns [Parish]" in Albemarle.<sup>82</sup> But he never assumed his duties in the new parish; instead he went to Williamsburg as the President of the College.

The vacancy occurred on July 20, 1752, when his brother-in-law, William Dawson, the incumbent president, died. While Stith was qualified by training and experience for the post, he did not gain it without difficulty because he had opposed the policy of the new Governor Dinwiddie to collect a fee of one pistole, a small Spanish coin valued at about sixteen shillings, for affixing the seal on land patents.

In imposing the pistole fee, Dinwiddie was perfectly within his rights as governor; he acted in accordance with his instructions and with the approval of the Virginia Council. But to Stith, and many other

native Virginians, the Governor seemed arbitrarily to impose a tax without the consent of the people through their chosen representatives in the General Assembly. The pistole fee was discussed widely, and Stith gave the opposition a popular slogan. He explained: "Once in a publick Company, where that Subject had been much debated, being called upon for my Toast, I gave Liberty & Property and no Pistole; & I believe, I might afterwards drink it six or eight times at my own Table. However, the thing took; & I have been told that it has been since frequently drunk in various Parts of the Country."<sup>83</sup> Furthermore, Stith supposedly said he would "break the Neck of it" and "publickly offered a large Sum of Money towards a Purse to oppose the Govr."<sup>84</sup>

As Governor, Dinwiddie's primary concern was to uphold the royal prerogative in Virginia. Although he was new to the governorship, he had lived several years in the Old Dominion, long enough to know the relationship between Stith and the Randolph family whose political connections in the colony were a potential challenge to a governor's authority. Virginians, Dinwiddie thought, "were always very easy and well satisfied till an Evil Spirit enter'd into a High Priest, who was supported by the Family of the Randolphs, and few more, who, by unjust Methods, fir'd the Ho. of Burgesses to act very inconsistently."<sup>85</sup>

Dinwiddie's position regarding Stith was never in doubt. No sooner was Dawson dead than he gave his support to the late President's brother, Thomas Dawson, a longtime professor at the College.<sup>86</sup>

Joining the Governor in support of Dawson was John Blair, President of the Council and member of the College Board of Visitors. Blair implied that Stith was more interested in his "very considerable Estate in Lands & Slaves, with Stocks of Cattle &ca" than anything else.<sup>87</sup>

Despite the attitude of Dinwiddie and Blair, Stith worked to succeed his brother-in-law not only as College President, but also as Commissary of the Bishop of London and member of the Council of Virginia. Since the latter two posts were appointments made in England, his immediate efforts were for the presidency. According to his rival, Thomas Dawson, Stith "travelled some hundreds of Miles &...made personal Application to all the Governors of the College." Dawson also noted that Stith "had grand Friends & Relations to support him."<sup>88</sup>

Dawson, like Stith, wanted very much to become President, and, even though family responsibilities following his brother's death limited his campaign, he was confident to the day of election that he had the office. Incredibly, he thought that Stith's cousin, Peyton Randolph, who was a member of the Board of Visitors, would vote for him. Dawson, obviously, did not clearly perceive the turn of events.

The Board of Visitors met to elect the President on August 13, 1752. Those seeking to defeat Stith charged that he was a disciple of the anti-Trinitarian theologian, Samuel Clarke, that his heresy had kept him from a fellowship at Oxford, and that he continued to hold his beliefs by refusing to affirm the Athanasian Creed.<sup>89</sup> Stith denied the charges which, by his own account, "were formally voted out, by a great Majority, as too groundless & scandalous to set me aside for the Presidency."<sup>90</sup>

There was a dispute when it came time to vote, for, in addition to Stith and Dawson, there was a third candidate, the Reverend William Robinson, rector of Stratton-Major Parish in King and Queen County, and nephew of the Speaker of the House, John Robinson. The Dawson supporters anticipated that in an election by simple plurality their man stood to

win with nine votes to eight for Stith and three for Robinson. Instead, there were two ballots with all three candidates standing in the first with the two collecting the largest votes standing in the second. Dawson lost on the first ballot. Stith easily defeated Robinson on the second with only Governor Dinwiddie and one other voting against him.<sup>91</sup>

Outmaneuvered, the Dawson faction sought to explain its loss. Dawson and Blair claimed that too many of their supporters had voted for Stith on the first ballot in order to defeat Robinson. Governor Dinwiddie said that several of Stith's former students in the grammar school who were now members of the Board of Visitors had all voted for him, but that he had carried the first ballot only with the vote of Dudley Digges, the rector of the Board.<sup>92</sup> Such explanations, however, appear simplistic.

It is doubtful that as many of the Visitors supported Dawson as he thought. According to Dawson, Richard Corbin "solemnly promised" to vote for him in preference to Stith. Nevertheless, before Corbin voted he consulted with House Speaker John Robinson, a well-known Randolph ally. Dawson believed naively he could count on Peyton Randolph, but admitted that "being warmly beset by the Randolphs & all the Relations of that Family, he voted against me." Dawson also thought that Carter Burwell would uphold his interest when he promised Burwell that he would not rival him for the vacant place on the Council. Burwell, however, voted for Stith. "My Friends," Dawson noted, "complain indeed that I have not been active enough in this Affair; and that notwithstanding my Br[other]'s Death, I ought to have made personal Application. But alas,...it was a task too difficult."<sup>93</sup>

While Stith maneuvered himself into the college presidency, he

and his friends wrote letters to Thomas Sherlock, Bishop of London, to make him Commissary of Virginia. Dawson, Dinwiddie, and Blair were quick to send their own letters to the Bishop countering Stith's claims and urging the appointment of Dawson instead.<sup>94</sup> They redoubled their efforts with a vengeance when Stith became President. Dinwiddie repeated for the Bishop charges "that Mr. Stith was not an Orthodox Clergyman & of a Turbulent Spirit." He was, the Governor emphasized, ill-fitted for the commissariat, not only for these reasons, but "also for his Conduct against me, as he has been endeavouring to make a Party of the lower Class of People my Enemies, by some low Insinuations, contrary to Truth, & indeed he is the only Person I have heard of, that has strown any dissatisfaction to my Administration, as I shall be very glad, that the Commissary yr Lordship may think proper to appoint may be a Gentleman, that I may confide in, & live in Harmony with."<sup>95</sup> Blair echoed Dinwiddie's sentiments exactly. Stith was, Blair said, a violent tempered heretic, a threat to the college, an enemy of the government. "But however disputable such things may be at first," Blair concluded, "a prudent & moderate man would be cautious of stirring up ill blood in a Country, and sounding the Trumpet of Sedition. A Clergy-man especially, & much more yor. Lops Commissary ought to be of a quiet and peaceable Spirit."<sup>96</sup> In his own behalf, Dawson wrote to England to the widow of former Virginia Governor, Sir William Gooch, begging her personal intercession with the Bishop of London and others of the high clergy.<sup>97</sup>

Stith was well aware of the opposition to him. But the support of his relatives and friends was considerable. The Randolphys, for example, without the cooperation of the Governor, had in 1744 secured the post of Attorney General for Peyton Randolph through their connections

in England. Of their correspondence, only Stith's letter to the Bishop of London has been found. "The Place of your Lordship's Commissary for this Colony," Stith wrote two days after his election, "hath ever, from the first Foundation of the College, been joined in the same Person with the Presidency; & it is indeed thought very usefully bestowed in that Manner, in order to keep up the Port and Dignity of the first Clergyman in this Colony." In offering himself for the commissariat, Stith said he did not intend to influence the Bishop from making his own selection; he offered himself only "in case your Lordship, should join your Suffrage to that of our Country, & judge me a proper Person for it." Knowing that charges of heresy against him would carry to England, Stith "solemnly" declared "that I never read Dr. Clarke's Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity in my whole Life, nor any way concerned myself with that Controversy."<sup>98</sup>

The efforts of Stith and his party, however, came to nothing. Thomas Dawson was appointed not only Commissary, but Councillor. More than anything else the quarrel with Dinwiddie defeated Stith. In December, 1752, the Bishop of London wrote Stith apparently castigating him not only for his theological beliefs, but for his political activities against the Governor in the pistole fee controversy. Stith made a lengthy rebuttal:

It pleased God to give me (what I shall ever esteem one of the greatest Felicities of my Life) the Opportunity of a liberal Education in England; among a People justly famous for their good Sense & Principles of Liberty. I am not quite ignorant in the Laws & Constitution of our Government; have been much conversant in History; have read most of the eminent Treatises on Government, with many other political Discourses, both of the present & past Times. From all wch Lights, I must have been quite blind, not to have seen the Illegality of laying Taxes upon the People without Law; & I must have been something worse than blind, My Lord, to have sat down silently, & to have seen my Country

oppressed, without opening my Mouth against it. So that I assure your Lordship, my opposing that Imposition did not proceed from any Resentment or Animosity against the Governor...but was purely the Effect of a serious & deliberate Sense of my Duty to my Country. Neither do I think, that my Advancement to the Presidentship of the College...does any way cancel my Obligation to that Duty.<sup>99</sup>

The Governor's friends may have kept Stith "from all the Preferments wch have been for ever joined to the Presidency of the College," but they did not silence him. "...I am never to prevaricate with my Conscience."<sup>100</sup> When Dawson was elevated to the Council, he was no longer eligible to serve as the chaplain to the House of Burgesses. With what must have been intentional irony, Stith's friends and relations in the House made him their chaplain.

The burgesses assembled in November, 1753. The pistole fee controversy was among their major concerns. According to his old antagonist Blair, Stith was "with them every day as their Chaplain, and took that opportunity...of practicing earnestly with them to oppose this reasonable Fee, and to inflame their minds against it. He succeeded so well in this black work...that they have addressed his Majesty against it, charging it as Arbitrary & illegal, and what not."<sup>101</sup>

While Stith's role in opposing the pistole fee in the House of Burgesses was largely off the record, his cousins, Richard Bland and Peyton Randolph, helped to draft the address to the King which Randolph, as agent of the House, personally carried to England. The dispute ended in something of a compromise with the crown officials upholding Dinwiddie's right to collect the fee, but restricting the places where he could collect it.

Dinwiddie blamed Stith for his difficulties, but it was not so much Stith's individual activity he resented as the influence Stith

could assert with the backing of the Randolphs.<sup>102</sup> Stith's relatives and friends constituted a powerful clique in Virginia politics. Deriving their power from their domination of the parishes, counties, and the House of Burgesses, they could effectively challenge the Governor. They were looking for a native Virginian with an abiding interest in his native land to head the college as President and the clergy as Commissary.<sup>103</sup> Stith met the qualifications. The English-born Dawson admitted that his chances of becoming President were limited because Stith and Robinson "being Natives were attended & supported by their Relations who bellowed out for their own Countrymen; whilst I was looked upon by them as a foreignor."<sup>104</sup>

Stith's presidency was brief and uneventful. He repeatedly assured the Bishop of London that all was well at the college, but there are indications that it was not an especially easy time for Stith. He complained that living at the college with only the president's salary left him "in a worse Situation as to Profit, than I was in the Country."<sup>105</sup> He continued to acquire western land, but he was never able, as he had planned, to develop his property into plantations. His election as rector of Yorkminster Parish in nearby York County relieved, to a degree, the strain on his finances,<sup>106</sup> but he was in debt at the time of his death.

During the first years of his presidency Stith thought all went on "smoothly & peaceably" at the college.<sup>107</sup> There were, he noted, "now more Scholars in it, than it ever had from its first Foundation, with a fair Prospect of its still farther increasing."<sup>108</sup> By 1755, however, he was no longer optimistic. "I have much, My Lord, to say to you, as our Chancellor," he told the Bishop of London. "But really



Points of Complaint & Altercation are very disagreeable to me." It was his duty, nevertheless, to keep Sherlock informed "of the real State of Affairs relating to the College", and he would send the details "by the next sure Hand."<sup>109</sup> The letter, however, was never written.

The difficulties of Stith's administration are not known specifically, but they can be traced in general outline. From the beginning he had trouble with the faculty who had supported Dawson for the presidency. "Mr Stith," his friend Dudley Digges later observed, "was not only a Man of Learning, but was known to have Spirit and Resolution enough to carry him through his Duty in every Station of life; but all Matters in the College being determined by a Majority of Voices, and the President standing single, he could do nothing."<sup>110</sup>

Possibly Stith was seeking harmony with the faculty by improving his relationship with Dawson. Having been absent many years from the College, he turned to Dawson to acquaint him with its affairs. For a time the two men even lived together. "I gave him all the Assistance in my Power," Dawson wrote. "My Civilities to him he always gratefully acknowledged, and often declared...that...he wd recomd. me as...a Proper Person to succeed him."<sup>111</sup>

To add to his troubles, the summer of 1755 found Stith in ill-health. "...very unhappily," Dawson reported, he took "Bark improperly which threw him into a Stupor for Some Time, of which he died."<sup>112</sup> The day of his death was Friday, September 19, 1755.<sup>113</sup>

There is a certain paradox in the life of William Stith. He was, on the one hand, a crusader, a man of purpose and action; on the other hand, he was a scholar, a man of solitude and study. The paradox, however, was more apparent than real, for the crusader defined the

scholar's interest and the scholar undergirded the crusader's cause. Well-read in history, political theory, and religion, Stith was a rationalist in the style of the eighteenth century. Latitudinarian in theology, he eschewed narrow dogmatism for a universal Christian salvation. Politically whiggish, he cherished liberty and feared tyranny.

As a historian, preacher, and teacher, he had always the scholarly resources to buttress his philosophy and the forum to expound his ideas. Not only did he himself collect books and manuscripts but also many of the best colonial libraries were at his disposal. His History of Virginia, which was frankly whiggish in its interpretation, was so thoroughly documented that it was long a standard. He was a powerful preacher with the courage of his convictions. He called the Catholic Stuart Pretenders tyrants and, as they were waging war in 1746 to regain the British throne and church, he urged Virginians to resist in the name of God and liberty. Morally conscientious, he railed from the pulpit against the sin of gambling even though it meant special criticism of his own social class. Among the first to oppose the pistole fee, he was credited with the initial marshalling of forces which eventually led to its undoing. Publicly he used the slogan, "Liberty and Property and no Pistole," to arouse the neighborhood, while it seems that in private he influenced the opposition in the House of Burgesses where he was the chaplain. There is virtually no record of Stith's role as master of the grammar school of the College of William and Mary, but his influence among his students was sufficiently marked that years later they united to support him for the college presidency.

Although Stith's advancement from Oxford scholar to college master, chaplain of the burgesses, parish minister, and college president

was certainly the result of his own merit and ambition, his relationship to the Randolph family cannot be discounted. With their wealth and influence his uncles and cousins supported his career as others could not. The Randolphs were prominent on the Board of Visitors of the College, in the House of Burgesses, and on the Vestry of Henrico Parish. Still, Stith gave as good as he got. As Governor Dinwiddie noted in dismay, Stith was the "High Priest" of the Randolph faction.

Perhaps William Stith can best be characterized not as "High Priest," but as "Fighting Parson." Clearly he exemplified a preacher's maxim that unless one stands for something, he will fall for anything. Toward the end of his life Stith saw himself as a watchman. "I will never," he said, "keep Silence, nor hold my Peace, Day nor Night."<sup>114</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER IV

<sup>1</sup>Joseph Foster, ed., Alumni Oxoniensis: The Members of the University of Oxford, 1715-1886, 4 vols. (Oxford and London: Parker and Co., 1892), IV, 1356.

<sup>2</sup>There was a connection between Oxford and the College of William and Mary. From 1729 to 1757, eight members of the Virginia faculty were Oxford men, seven of whom were from Queen's College. See Toshiko Tsuruta, "William Stith: Historian of Colonial Virginia," (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1957), 18.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Jefferson, Notes on the State of Virginia, edited by William Peden (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 177.

<sup>4</sup>William Stith, The Nature and Extent of Christ's Redemption, A Sermon Preached before the General Assembly of Virginia 1753 (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed and sold by William Hunter, 1753), vii-viii.

<sup>5</sup>William Stith, A Sermon, Preached before the General Assembly, At Williamsburg, March 2, 1745/6 (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed and Sold by William Parks, 1746), 6.

<sup>6</sup>Foster, ed., Alumni Oxoniensis, IV, 1356.

<sup>7</sup>Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1725-1737), 223 (VSLm).

<sup>8</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #183 (Cwm).

<sup>9</sup>Treasury-General Accounts, Quarterly, Midsummer 1731, PRO, T 31/120, 60 (Cwm); and Treasury-General Accounts, Declarations (Pells), Easter-Michaelmas 1731, PRO, T 34/29, n.p. (Cwm).

<sup>10</sup>Minutes of the Faculty of the College of William and Mary 1729-1784, Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M, 6 (Cwm).

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 7.

<sup>12</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, July 7, 1735, in Correspondence of the Bishop of London, with some miscellaneous papers, c. 1695-1771, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #170 (Cwm).

<sup>13</sup>William Stith, The History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed by William Parks, 1747), iii.

<sup>14</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, July 5, 1735, Gooch Letters, typescript, CW.

<sup>15</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, July 7, 1735, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #170 (Cwm).

<sup>16</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 18, 1736, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #55 (Cwm).

<sup>17</sup>R. A. Brock, ed., The Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, Virginia, 1730-1773, 39, 41, 44, 50, 59, 62, 63, 68, 72, 74, 76, 81, 83, 87, 88, 89, 93, 96, 159; and Lewis W. Burton, Annals of Henrico Parish, 12, 13, 15, in Moore, ed., History of Henrico Parish and St. John's Church, Richmond, Va., 1611-1904 (Richmond, Va., 1904).

<sup>18</sup>Brock, ed., Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 34-35.

<sup>19</sup>The marriage bond, dated May 17, 1738, and witnessed by Nicholas Davies and William Randolph is in Goochland County, Marriage Register (1730-1853), 263 (VSLm); and William and Mary Quarterly (cited herein after as WMQ), 1st series, VII (1898), 99. The wedding was announced in Parks' Va. Gaz., July 28, 1738, 4:1.

<sup>20</sup>Brock, ed., Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 82, 98.

<sup>21</sup>William Dawson, n.d., Dawson Papers, II, #295 (Cwm).

<sup>22</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #179 (Cwm).

<sup>23</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #183 (Cwm).

<sup>24</sup>Thad W. Tate, "William Stith and the Virginia Tradition," in Lawrence H. Leder, ed., The Colonial Legacy, 4 vols. (New York: Harper and Row, 1973), III, 129.

<sup>25</sup>Isaiah 56:10; 57:6. William Stith, The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed and Sold by William Hunter, 1753), 26.

<sup>26</sup>Account of Books purchased, Virginia Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Box I (1606-1772) (Cwm).

<sup>27</sup>Stith, Christ's Redemption, 13-15, 21.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., 13; and Stith, A Sermon, 5.

<sup>29</sup>Stith, Christ's Redemption, 11.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 16.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., vii.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid. Edwards, Some Thoughts concerning...Atheism...with some brief Reflections on Socinianism and on...The Reasonableness of Christianity....(1695); Limborch, Letter to Mr. Locke (1727 ed.).

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., vi.

- <sup>34</sup>Stith, A Sermon, 24-25.
- <sup>35</sup>Ibid., 21, passim.; and Account of Books purchased, Va. Misc. Ms. Box I (1606-1772) (CWM).
- <sup>36</sup>Stith, Gaming, iii.
- <sup>37</sup>Stith, A Sermon, 27.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., 29.
- <sup>39</sup>Ibid., 31.
- <sup>40</sup>Ibid., 31-32.
- <sup>41</sup>Stith, Gaming, 23-24.
- <sup>42</sup>Gregory Stiverson, unpublished manuscript, CW Research Department. Also see Carson, Colonial Virginians at Play, 49-55; and Charles Hansford, "My Country's Worth," in The Poems of Charles Hansford, edited by James A. Servies and Carl R. Dolmetsch (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 62-63.
- <sup>43</sup>Stith, Gaming, 8.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., 6.
- <sup>45</sup>Ibid., 7.
- <sup>46</sup>Ibid., 14.
- <sup>47</sup>Ibid., 25-26.
- <sup>48</sup>I Sam. 12:23-25, italics removed, Ibid., 26-27.
- <sup>49</sup>Stith, A Sermon, 34.
- <sup>50</sup>Stith, Christ's Redemption, 24, 25.
- <sup>51</sup>Byrd, Another Secret Diary, 77. For Byrd's habits in church, see Byrd, London Diary, passim.
- <sup>52</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 20, 43, 48, 59, 61, 65, 69, 73, 82, 87; and Meade, Old Churches, I, 138.
- <sup>53</sup>Burton, Annals of Henrico Parish, 12, 13.
- <sup>54</sup>Patrick Henry to William Dawson, December 3, 1747, Dawson Papers, 58 (CWM).
- <sup>55</sup>Stith, History, iii, iv. The History has been thoroughly analyzed in Tsuruta, "William Stith: Historian of Colonial Virginia," Darrett B. Rutman's "Introduction" to the History (New York: Johnson Reprint Corporation, 1969), v-xiii; and Tate, "Stith," 121-145.

- <sup>56</sup>Stith, History, iii.
- <sup>57</sup>Ibid., v.
- <sup>58</sup>Rutman, "Introduction," ix-x.
- <sup>59</sup>Stith, History, iv; and Rutman, "Introduction," x.
- <sup>60</sup>Stith, History, iii-iv.
- <sup>61</sup>Ibid., iv, v-vi, viii; and Tate, "Stith," 123-124.
- <sup>62</sup>Tate, "Stith," 135; and Rutman, "Introduction," x-xi.
- <sup>63</sup>Rutman, "Introduction," xi-xii; and Tate, "Stith," 136.
- <sup>64</sup>Stith, History, vii.
- <sup>65</sup>Tate, "Stith," 137.
- <sup>66</sup>Ibid., 137-138; and Stith, History, 160-161.
- <sup>67</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 21, 1745, 4:1; and March 28, 1745, 4:2.
- <sup>68</sup>William Stith to Daniel Dulany, June 16, 1753, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society (CWM).
- <sup>69</sup>Rutman, "Introduction," xvi; and Tate, "Stith," 128-129.
- <sup>70</sup>Stith to Dulany, June 16, 1753, Dulany Papers, Maryland Historical Society (CWM).
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>72</sup>Stith, History, iii; Tate, "Stith," 134-135; and Rutman, "Introduction," viii.
- <sup>73</sup>Rutman, "Introduction," viii.
- <sup>74</sup>Tate, "Stith," 143-145.
- <sup>75</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 43, 88, 197 (VSLm).
- <sup>76</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patent #15 (1732-1735), 169-170 (VSLm).
- <sup>77</sup>Goochland County, Order Book (1737-1742), 277-279 (VSLm).
- <sup>78</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #19 (1739-1741), 652-654; Patents #31 (1751-1756), 27-28, 30, 667, 722-723, 745-746 (VSLm); Papers of Robert Carter Nicholas 1751-1758, UVa (CWM); and H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1966) V, 146, 155, 182, 217, 309 (cited hereinafter as EJCCV).

- <sup>79</sup>EJCCV, v, 145.
- <sup>80</sup>Ibid., 158.
- <sup>81</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1750-1767), 622 (VSLm).
- <sup>82</sup>Brock, ed., Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 94.
- <sup>83</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, April 21, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #43 (Cwm).
- <sup>84</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #183 (Cwm).
- <sup>85</sup>Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, 1754, Dinwiddie Papers, I, 153-154.
- <sup>86</sup>Dinwiddie to the Bishop of London, July 21, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #9 (Cwm).
- <sup>87</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, July 25, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #180 (Cwm).
- <sup>88</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers, #128 (Cwm).
- <sup>89</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #130 (Cwm).
- <sup>90</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers, 13, #179 (Cwm).
- <sup>91</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers, #128 (Cwm); John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #183 (Cwm); and Hunter's Va. Gaz., August 14, 1752, 2:2.
- <sup>92</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, op. cit.; Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, op. cit.; and Dinwiddie to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, op. cit.
- <sup>93</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, op. cit.
- <sup>94</sup>Dinwiddie to Bishop of London, July 21, 1752, July 28, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #9; John Blair to the Bishop of London, July 25, 1752, ibid., #180; and Thomas Dawson to the Bishop of London, July 30, 1752, ibid., #46 (Cwm).
- <sup>95</sup>Dinwiddie to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #130 (Cwm).
- <sup>96</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #183 (Cwm).



<sup>97</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers, 128-129 (Cwm).

<sup>98</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #179 (Cwm). Also see William Stith to the Bishop of London, September 1, 1752, *ibid.*, 14, #144 (Cwm).

<sup>99</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, April 21, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #43 (Cwm).

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>101</sup>John Blair to the Bishop of London, January 25, 1754, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #238 (Cwm).

<sup>102</sup>Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, 1754, in R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, 2 vols. (Richmond, Va., 1884) I, 153-154.

<sup>103</sup>Tsuruta, "Stith," 49.

<sup>104</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers, 128-129 (Cwm).

<sup>105</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, April 21, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #126 (Cwm).

<sup>106</sup>Tate, "Stith," 133.

<sup>107</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, April 21, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #126 (Cwm).

<sup>108</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, August 18, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #126 (Cwm).

<sup>109</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, August 18, 1755, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #63 (Cwm).

<sup>110</sup>Dudley Digges to the Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #23 (Cwm).

<sup>111</sup>Thomas Dawson to Gentlemen, November 18, 1755, Dawson Papers #179 (Cwm). See also A Journal of the Convention held at the College of William and Mary, October 30, 1754, Fulham Palace Papers 14, #83 (Cwm).

<sup>112</sup>Thomas Dawson to Gentlemen, November 18, 1755.

<sup>113</sup>Thomas Dawson to the Bishop of London, February 25, 1756, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #125 (Cwm); and Hunter's Va. Gaz., October 3, 1755, 3:1.

<sup>114</sup>Stith, Gaming, 26. Italics removed.

## CHAPTER V

### THE FAMILY OF WILLIAM RANDOLPH II AND HENRY RANDOLPH

#### A. WILLIAM RANDOLPH II (November 1681--19 October 1742)

William Randolph II was born in November, 1681, the eldest son of William Randolph of Turkey Island.<sup>1</sup> He grew up on his father's plantation and was among the early students of the College of William and Mary.<sup>2</sup> No record of his schooling survives, but he was trained in the law, perhaps by his father, and practiced in the county courts.<sup>3</sup>

The young Randolph was twenty when he embarked on a career of public service. During the 1702 session of the House of Burgesses, he served as clerk to the important standing committees of Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances. On August 15, 1702, he was appointed acting clerk of the House during the illness of his father, the incumbent.<sup>4</sup> Appointed clerk in his own right on April 20, 1704, he held the post until 1712.<sup>5</sup>

As clerk of the House, Randolph kept the journals and laws of the assembly and furnished copies to colony and county officials. The burgesses paid an annual salary of £100 and an allowance for extra services; and the counties paid the clerk for their copies of the records.<sup>6</sup> With these monies, the clerk secured copyists and materials. Financial rewards, however, were probably of less significance to Randolph than the clerk's opportunity to know the leaders and operations of the House.

While Randolph was clerk of the burgesses, he also served as

county clerk. By 1705 he was clerk of Charles City County where for several years he maintained his residence.<sup>7</sup> Nothing is known of his tenure there because the records of the county have been destroyed. In the autumn of 1709, when he had left Charles City, he was appointed clerk of Henrico County. Taking office on May 1, 1710,<sup>8</sup> he served until 1720.

As county clerk Randolph maintained the county records. He kept the minutes of the court and compiled the books of orders, deeds, wills, and inventories. The clerk was paid a regular salary and was entitled to additional fees for extra services.<sup>9</sup> In Henrico County Randolph received an annual stipend of 1,000 pounds of tobacco and 80 casks.<sup>10</sup> Although the record of Randolph's extraordinary services in Henrico is incomplete, he received 2,605 pounds of tobacco for entering orders, writing bonds, searching and copying deeds, and attending trials and special courts.<sup>11</sup> The clerk's salary and fees were important, but the office also afforded the opportunity to know county men and affairs.

Randolph's clerical experience made it logical for him to practice law. Much of his practice was centered in Henrico County, and there are indications that he was active in the counties of Prince George and Charles City.<sup>12</sup> He attracted a sizeable clientele. Most of his clients were neighbors in Henrico and nearby counties, his chief client being William Byrd II of Westover, but he also represented an Englishman, one Frederick Jones of London.<sup>13</sup> Generally, his cases involved debts; a few of them, however, concerned slander, theft, assault and battery, and other matters common to Virginia courts. He was good at winning cases. Between 1707 and 1710, he presented thirty-one cases in the Henrico court, of which nineteen were decided in favor of his clients;

four went against him; one was dismissed; and seven were undecided.<sup>14</sup> Although he had a good knowledge of the law and was successful in court, he was never interested in being a professional lawyer, and after 1713 his practice declined.

An indiscretion cost Randolph the clerkship of the House of Burgesses. In 1711 the General Assembly attempted to raise £20,000 for Governor Alexander Spotswood to lead an expedition against the Tuscarora Indians. Opposed to the effort was Randolph's friend and patron, William Byrd II, who was a political rival of Spotswood. Byrd remarked that no governor should be trusted with so much money.<sup>15</sup> Without thinking, Randolph repeated the remark to Spotswood.<sup>16</sup> It was a blunder. Byrd, who had influenced the Governor to continue Randolph as clerk of the House, now branded him a "very false friend."<sup>17</sup> Spotswood, angry at Byrd, wreaked vengeance on Randolph. When the House convened in the fall of 1712, the Governor replaced him with Richard Buckner as clerk.<sup>18</sup>

Losing the clerkship was an unfortunate experience, but Randolph survived and was a better politician for it. Never again did he alienate powerful patrons. His relationship with Byrd, however, was never again the same. The two were reconciled, but with a lasting coolness.<sup>19</sup> Eventually Randolph's friends helped him regain Spotswood's favor.

In October, 1714, the Governor appointed Randolph agent of the tobacco warehouses at Turkey Island and Bermuda Hundred in Henrico County.<sup>20</sup> The appointment was made under the provisions of the "Act for Preventing Frauds in Tobacco Payments and for the Better Improving the Staple of Tobacco," an act which, with Spotswood's machinations, passed the General Assembly in December, 1713. Since tobacco in Virginia was legal tender by its weight rather than its quality, and since

trash tobacco led to fraud and inflation, the purpose of the act was to standardize the quality of tobacco as a medium of exchange. According to the terms of the act, all exportable tobacco would be sent to warehouses erected at convenient places where it would be inspected by special agents, who would destroy the trash, approve the quality leaf, and issue certificates against the approved hogsheads. Each agent would receive about £250 per annum.<sup>21</sup>

"[My] intentions are," Spotswood wrote regarding the tobacco agencies, "to dispose of [them] among the most considerable men of the Colony, and principally to gratify with a place all the members of the Assembly who were for the bill."<sup>22</sup> Given his personal preferences, Spotswood might not have made Randolph an agent, but he could hardly ignore Randolph's friends in the House of Burgesses, not the least of whom was Randolph's father-in-law, Peter Beverley, the Speaker.

Randolph's political fortunes continued to improve. In 1715 he returned to the House of Burgesses as a representative of Henrico County.<sup>23</sup> Even though he had never before stood for an elective post, Randolph was known to the voters by virtue of his family's reputation in the county and by his own public record. Four times he was a candidate for burgess, in 1715, 1718, 1720, and 1723, and each time he was victorious.<sup>24</sup> Nothing is known of the ways he carried his candidacy to his constituents. Perhaps he campaigned among the people and when they delivered their votes rewarded them with liquor.<sup>25</sup> Whatever his tactics, William Byrd noted on election day in 1720 that "Colonel Randolph and his brother Tom had the great number of votes by their great industry."<sup>26</sup>

Randolph was a member of the House of Burgesses for eleven years,

from 1715 to 1726. The records of his service are meagre. Nevertheless, one is left with the impression that Randolph was conscientious and reliable, a burgess who performed his duties with authority and dispatch. He rose through the ranks of the House accepting a variety of committee assignments until finally by 1723 he served on the two most powerful standing committees, Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances.<sup>27</sup> A quantitative analysis of Randolph's committee assignments reveals that in the sessions beginning in 1718, 1720, and 1723, he was in the second rank of leadership in the lower house; in 1726 he was in the first rank.<sup>28</sup> Even though he lost the election, his nomination for Speaker in 1723 was further proof of his growing prominence in the House.<sup>29</sup> Randolph never forgot that he represented Henrico County, working hard, for example, on the division of Henrico Parish.<sup>30</sup> At the same time he also courted the Governor's favor. For years he supported the Governor's bills in the House, and in 1719, Spotswood offered him the clerkship, but by that time he had no need of the post and demurred in favor of his brother, John.<sup>31</sup> At the end of the 1726 session, he did not stand for reelection because he planned a trip to England.<sup>32</sup>

During the years he was a burgess, Randolph remained an active participant in the Henrico County government. He served as county clerk until November, 1720, when the Henrico justices requested the Governor to appoint him first on the commission of the peace. He was accordingly nominated, but the Council stipulated that since Randolph's brothers, Thomas and Richard, were also justices of the county, the Henrico court must take precautions that "the said three Brothers do not Set together on the Tryal of any Cause that shall come before that Court."<sup>33</sup> The

records reveal little of Randolph's role as justice, but it is clear from his regular attendance at the meetings of the county court that he took his responsibilities seriously.<sup>34</sup> He held his commission until his departure for England in 1727.

The purpose of Randolph's trip to the mother country is unknown. Possibly he went on business or for the benefit of his health. Whatever his purpose, it was to his advantage to be in England when the death of Colonel Nathaniel Harrison created a vacancy on the Virginia Council. Governor Gooch recommended Randolph and Henry Harrison as "Men in all respects equall to and worthy either of them to fill up the vacant Seat in Council; Persons well affected to his present most excellent Majesty of very good Estates & abilities."<sup>35</sup> While his family and friends looked after his interest at home, Randolph himself no doubt arranged support for his appointment in England. On February 21, 1727/28, the King, upon the recommendation of the Privy Council and the Board of Trade, appointed Randolph to the Council in Virginia.<sup>36</sup>

Back in the colony on December 10, 1728, Randolph presented his credentials to the Council and was admitted to membership.<sup>37</sup> He was councilor nearly fourteen years, serving until his death in 1742, but little is known of his service. He was regular in attendance,<sup>38</sup> and although the records preserve the business of the Council, they tell nothing of Randolph's contributions to discussion and decision. Already a distinguished public servant when he was elevated to the Council, his service as councilor certainly enhanced his reputation.

Randolph also held other positions of public trust. He was a member of the Henrico County militia and by 1720 had attained the rank of colonel.<sup>39</sup> In 1723 he was listed as a Visitor of the College of William

and Mary, a post also held by his father and his brother, John.<sup>40</sup> There is no specific record of his service to the militia or the College.

He was also a vestryman of Henrico Parish. The parish records are incomplete, but apparently he was already a vestryman by 1731, when the records begin. On October 11, 1731, he was appointed one of two churchwardens and served until 1735.<sup>41</sup> During his term as churchwarden, Randolph had the chapel repaired, provided the parish with a pair of surplices and two copies of The Book of Common Prayer, informed the Governor of the minister's resignation, and kept the vestrybook.<sup>42</sup> In 1735 the vestry voted him 168 pounds of tobacco for bedding for a pauper who was a charge of the parish, and in 1736 Randolph and his colleagues unanimously received his nephew, the Reverend William Stith, as their minister.<sup>43</sup> He resigned his place in 1739 because he was no longer residing in the parish.<sup>44</sup> As a vestryman, Randolph was characteristically reliable: he attended meetings regularly and fulfilled the obligations of his office.

In 1712 he replaced his father as trustee of the town of Bermuda Hundred located at the confluence of the James and Appomattox rivers in Henrico County.<sup>45</sup> He held the position for the rest of his life, and it was his responsibility as a trustee to sell the town lots and supervise their improvement.<sup>46</sup>

William Randolph II held public office continuously for forty years. As his epitaph states, he "passed through many Inferior Offices of Government...[until he] Advanced to the Council."<sup>47</sup> He rose to high office with the assistance of his family and friends. At the beginning of his career, his father was his most powerful ally. By his manifold activities, the elder Randolph made the family name known throughout the



colony. As clerk of the House of Burgesses, old William Randolph undoubtedly had a hand in arranging his son's appointment as acting clerk in 1702; and he probably oversaw his son's succeeding him in the office in 1704. Even after his father's death in 1711, family connections were important to Randolph. In Henrico County his brother, Richard, was justice of the peace and an officer in the militia; his brother, Thomas, was also a justice, under-sheriff, and militia officer. In Williamsburg his brother, John, later Sir John Randolph, was successively clerk of the House of Burgesses, Speaker, and Treasurer. His brothers, Isham and Edward, both captains in the Virginia trade, had convenient contacts in England. By marriage Randolph was related to the Beverley family of Gloucester County, and his father-in-law, Peter Beverley, Speaker of the House of Burgesses, was a powerful man in Virginia politics.

Moreover, Randolph had influential connections outside his family. Over many years the Byrd family of Charles City County assisted his career. It is possible that his father's friend, William Byrd I, helped to make the young Randolph clerk of Charles City County. Through the intercession of William Byrd II, Governor Spotswood sustained Randolph as clerk of the House of Burgesses in 1710. Randolph's blunder in making public the younger Byrd's private criticism of Spotswood strained their friendship, but he and Byrd concluded their careers as colleagues on the Council.

The fiasco which cost Randolph the clerkship of the House of Burgesses taught him to cultivate his relationship with the Governor. After Randolph's friends had influenced Spotswood to appoint him tobacco agent, Randolph took care to support the Governor's interests. Although

nothing is known specifically of his relationship with Governor Gooch, the Governor thought well enough of Randolph to recommend his appointment to the Council.

A man often gains an office through the influence of his family and friends, but he keeps his post because of his character and abilities. The official records of county, parish, and colony show Randolph as a hardworking and dependable public servant, a man esteemed by his peers. Throughout his career, Randolph mostly held appointive posts. The Governor made him clerk of the House of Burgesses and tobacco agent; and on the recommendation of the county court, the Governor appointed Randolph county clerk and justice of the peace. The Governor also recommended his elevation to the Council. However, the years Randolph spent as a burgess from Henrico County indicate that he could attain and keep an elective office. In fact, he proved himself an effective campaigner in 1720 by gaining the greatest number of votes in the county election.<sup>48</sup>

His epitaph, even when allowance is made for exaggerated praise, details characteristics which made Randolph a prominent man through four decades. It reads in part:

His Experience in men and business  
 the native Gravity and Dignity  
 of his Person and Behaviour  
 his Attachment to the Interest of his Country  
 Knowledge of the Laws of his Country  
 and of the Laws & Constitution of this  
 Colony in particular  
 his integrity above all calumny or Suspicion  
 the Acuteness of his parts  
 and the Extensiveness of his Genius  
 together with that Solidity of Sense & Judgment  
 which was ever predominant in all he said or did  
 Rendered him not only equal  
 but an Ornament to the high office he bore.<sup>49</sup>

William Randolph II was a planter, and, to large measure, planting made possible his career of public service. The emoluments of office were not great in Virginia; in fact, some posts carried no salaries at all. Only the planter who was wealthy could afford the time and expense of public service. To some extent planters sought offices from a sense of obligation to the community; they lived in a hierarchical society where it was the duty of the superior to assist the inferior. However, few planter-politicians were completely disinterested. Within the structure of Virginia politics, from parish and county to the House and Council, there were many opportunities to advance a planter's personal interests and those of his friends.

Randolph was a large landholder. Although there can be no complete listing of his holdings, the surviving records show that he had an interest in at least 38,829 acres.<sup>50</sup> Except for 10,000 acres, which he held jointly with his brother, Richard, the land was his alone.<sup>51</sup>

He acquired land in various ways. His father, who had guided the early phases of his public career, also helped establish him as a planter. On February 1, 1702/03, he received two tracts from his father on the north bank of the James River in Henrico County comprising 622 acres; two years later he was given half of the Turkey Island tract, 417 acres; and on October 5, 1706, he received 167 acres along Turkey Island Creek in Henrico County.<sup>52</sup> Randolph was already in possession of most of his patrimony by the time his father died, for beyond the 400-acre Turkey Island plantation which came to him when his mother died, he received no other land from his father's estate.<sup>53</sup> Besides family lands, Randolph, in 1710, inherited half interest in all the lands, houses and slaves of one Allenson Clerke, a sometime friend of his father.<sup>54</sup>

In addition to his inheritance, Randolph purchased land. He added to his plantations between 1713 and 1717 when he acquired from his brothers, Isham and Thomas, 1,410 acres of their inheritance.<sup>55</sup> In 1727 he bought 400 acres on Fighting Creek in the western part of Henrico County, and 20 acres near Turkey Island.<sup>56</sup> He purchased other tracts, but their size is not recorded.<sup>57</sup>

Furthermore, Randolph acquired land by patent. Although he patented land for a relative as early as 1703,<sup>58</sup> there is no record that he patented land for himself before the 1720's. On May 21, 1721, he was granted 4,000 acres south of the James River in Henrico County.<sup>59</sup> Between 1724 and 1734 he took out eight patents for a total of 28,400 acres on the north side of the Appomattox River in the counties of Henrico, Prince George, Goochland, and Hanover.<sup>60</sup> These grants, except for 10,000 acres co-patented with his brother, were registered in his name. The tracts were surveyed, brought to cultivation, and, at Randolph's death,<sup>61</sup> passed to his sons.

From time to time Randolph disposed of some of his land, but the fragmentary state of the records makes it difficult to discern the purpose of his dealings. His family was involved in many of his transactions. On October 23, 1703, Randolph patented 132 acres on the north side of the James River in Henrico County,<sup>62</sup> not for himself, but for Giles Webb, a relative by marriage.<sup>63</sup> Randolph assumed a patent, which Webb himself had patented in 1692 and allowed to lapse, and sold it back immediately to Webb.<sup>64</sup> He repeated the process for his cousin, Joseph Royall, Jr.,<sup>65</sup> when on April 8, 1729, he assumed Royall's lapsed patent for 900 acres in Henrico. On October 2, 1732, he sold the land to his cousin.<sup>66</sup>

Besides his schemes to spare the Webb and Royall tracts for their original owners, Randolph disposed of property to his relatives in more conventional ways. In 1710 he sold his brother Isham and three of his associates 4 acres on the north bank of the James River above the falls.<sup>67</sup> In 1720 he conveyed property to his cousin, William Eppes<sup>68</sup> and his brother, Richard, but the details of the transactions do not survive.<sup>69</sup> In 1735 he sold 150 acres to two of his Royall cousins and two of their associates.<sup>70</sup> Also in 1735 he deeded 2,359 acres to his son, Beverley.<sup>71</sup> In 1740 he gave his son, Peter, an undisclosed amount of land.<sup>72</sup>

Moreover, Randolph sold land to his friends. In 1717 William Byrd II, who had a long interest in the property, bought 540 acres of a tract Randolph had purchased the year before from the estate of Giles Webb.<sup>73</sup> John Bolling, Randolph's Henrico colleague in the House of Burgesses, also acquired 150 acres of the Webb tract.<sup>74</sup> In addition, Randolph sold land to individuals with whom he had no known association. Thomas Howlett, a Henrico planter, bought a tract from Randolph in June, 1717, its whereabouts unrecorded.<sup>75</sup> Between 1717 and 1719 Randolph sold 277 and 1,526 acres of the Webb tract to Thomas Wood and Obadiah Smith, respectively.<sup>76</sup> Randolph made his final recorded sale of land on September 30, 1732, when he deeded 200 acres in Goochland County to one Stephen Woodson, Sr.<sup>77</sup>

There is a unique case in which Randolph paid £20 sterling for 961 acres in Henrico County on August 2, 1711. The land belonged to Martha Archer, having been willed her by one Peter Field. On August 4, Randolph, for £20 sterling, deeded the 961 acres to John Archer and Martha, his wife. Obviously, Randolph had no real interest in the Archer lands.

The transfer of the property from the Archers to Randolph and then from Randolph to the Archers suggests a scheme to break the entail of Field's will. In Virginia entail could be broken by petitioning the General Assembly and then forwarding the petition for the opinion of the Privy Council in London, but the process was tedious, expensive and time-consuming.<sup>78</sup>

Aside from the Archer, Webb, and Royall tracts, Randolph sold 2,675 acres, but the total is tentative because in at least four of his sales no acreage is recorded.<sup>79</sup> Randolph's reasons for selling his land cannot be known with certainty. Perhaps he sold to accommodate his family and friends, as in the transactions with Webb, Royall, Byrd, Bolling, and the Archers. Perhaps he sold for the money, but in this regard the records are hopelessly inadequate putting Randolph's total earnings only at roughly £344 sterling.<sup>80</sup>

Slaves were part of the plantations of William Randolph II. Like his father before him, he not only kept blacks, but Indians as well.<sup>81</sup> No list of his slaves survives, but Randolph's will, probated in 1742, listed forty-four blacks specifically and implied that there were others besides.<sup>82</sup> It is impossible to judge Randolph as a master, but it is clear that he considered slaves as property to be bought and sold. "I have receiv'd the Negroes," he wrote in 1737, "which I am told are forty tho I have not yet counted them. I am Surpris'd at the number of Children which cant be expected to raise much money, however I Shall do the best I can with them."<sup>83</sup>

There are indications that, in addition to chattel slaves, Randolph had indentured servants. In 1703, in order to obtain a 132-acre patent, he brought three persons, a man and two women, into the colony.<sup>84</sup>

Presumably they were in Randolph's employ until they satisfied the expense he had paid for their passage and provisions.

In the absence of account books and other business records, it is difficult to know how Randolph managed his plantations. As a large landholder he could hardly be expected to operate his farms personally. His holdings were divided into tracts. Not all of them are known, but in addition to the Turkey Island homeplace, he had plantations at Green's Quarter, Westham, Letalone, Fighting Creek, and on the north and south banks of the Appomattox River.<sup>85</sup> In 1742 he listed 16 blacks on the Westham plantation, 7 at Letalone, 12 on the Appomattox tracts, and an unspecified number at Fighting Creek.<sup>86</sup> During the early part of his life Randolph rented some of his land,<sup>87</sup> but it is probable, especially as more of his time was consumed in public service, that he employed overseers on his various plantations. In 1735 and 1740 he deeded tracts to his two eldest sons.<sup>88</sup>

Tobacco was the staple crop of the Randolph plantations. As early as 1703 he was, in conjunction with his father, shipping his hogsheads to Arthur North, a London merchant whom they had employed as their "Correspondt. & Factor to Receive & dispose of Such Tobaccoes and bills of Exchange as Should from time to time be Sent or Remitted to him."<sup>89</sup> The Randolphs dealt with North until 1705, when the merchant defaulted on 12 hogsheads and a bill of exchange belonging to William Randolph II and an unspecified amount belonging to his father.<sup>90</sup> After successfully suing North in the Virginia courts for £50.6.2, which was paid by a local planter in debt to North, Randolph changed factors. His father afterwards had dealings with the firm of Richard and Micajah Perry; but if Randolph dealt with the Perrys, it does not appear in the

records. By the 1720's Randolph's hogsheads went to England in the ships of his brother, Edward, and it is probable that he sold his tobacco to his brother's firm.<sup>91</sup> How he disposed of his crop after the bankruptcy of Edward Randolph & Company in 1732 is unknown.

The county records show that William Randolph II was a creditor. Between 1708 and 1742 he went to court to recover debts totaling 7,994 pounds of tobacco, £157.16.9 sterling, and £48.6.2½ current money of Virginia.<sup>92</sup> He also held mortgages amounting to £423.19.6.<sup>93</sup> In contrast to these sums, Randolph himself is listed in the county records as a debtor of 250 pounds of tobacco.<sup>94</sup>

Unfortunately in most cases, the records say nothing of how or why Randolph became a creditor. His father, among other things, had been a merchant and kept a store at Turkey Island. The fact that Randolph went to court in 1717 to recover £10.3.0 sterling in deerhides suggests that he continued the family's mercantile activities.<sup>95</sup> As a lawyer, landlord, administrator of estates, and county clerk, he was entitled to fees.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, he had land and slaves to sell. Of course, he was sufficiently wealthy so as to be able to lend out money at interest.

Although none of Randolph's personal papers survive, he emerges from the diary of William Byrd II not only as an industrious planter and public servant but also as a companion in fun and frolic. Several times Byrd mentioned playing at billiards, cards, and cricket with Randolph.<sup>97</sup> The two friends enjoyed feminine company. On April 26, 1709, Byrd, whose wife was at Westover, met the soon-to-be-married Randolph in Williamsburg, and together they went off to a party. They found, Byrd noted, "an abundance of ladies and gentlemen dancing. We did not dance but got some kisses among them. About 11 o'clock we returned home."<sup>98</sup>



On June 22, 1709, Randolph married Elizabeth Beverley.<sup>99</sup> She was born January 1, 1691, and came of a good family. Her father, Peter Beverley, was a leading Gloucester County planter and politician. Her uncle was Robert Beverley, the Virginia historian, and her sister, Susanna, later became the wife of Sir John Randolph. Handsome and pleasant,<sup>100</sup> she presented her husband with seven children, five boys and two girls.<sup>101</sup> She died December 26, 1723. Her husband never remarried.

Apart from several years in Charles City County,<sup>102</sup> Randolph spent most of his life on the Turkey Island plantation. After his marriage, he maintained a home a short distance from his parents.<sup>103</sup> Randolph's house at Turkey Island no longer stands, having been destroyed in the Civil War; all that now remains is a cellar overgrown with honeysuckle. Built of brick and other quality material, the house stood two stories high and was said to be "one of the most beautiful buildings" in tide-water Virginia.<sup>104</sup> There is no description of the mansion during the occupancy of William Randolph II, but after his death it was extensively remodeled and was known "as the Bird Cage, so called from its ornamental dome, and from the great number of birds which were always seen hovering and singing about it."<sup>105</sup> In addition to his home at Turkey Island, Randolph rented a small frame cottage on Nicholson Street in Williamsburg where he lodged during his frequent trips to the capital.<sup>106</sup>

Randolph was a widower for more than eighteen years. His wife's death left him with heavy family responsibilities, for their five surviving children ranged in age from ten years to one month. He also cared for his mother until she died aged about 76 in 1735. In the early summer of 1737, he made a second trip to England, going, said the

Virginia Gazette, "for the Recovery of his Health."<sup>107</sup> The trip apparently had the desired effect, for he returned to Virginia in June, 1738, and resumed his activities.<sup>108</sup>

Sometime after his return from England he left Turkey Island to his recently married eldest son, Beverley, and, with his two youngest children, moved to a plantation in Goochland County.<sup>109</sup> He died there on October 19, 1742.<sup>110</sup> Two days before his death he had written, "I recommend my Soul to God hoping through the Merits & Mediation of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ to receive pardon & remission of my Sins."<sup>111</sup> He was buried next to his wife in the family burying ground at Turkey Island.

1. BEVERLEY RANDOLPH I (27 December 1710--1 January 1713)<sup>112</sup>

An unsubstantiated account asserts that the three-year-old Beverley Randolph was accidentally scalded to death.<sup>113</sup>

2. WILLIAM RANDOLPH, The Child (14 February 1711/12--15 September 1722)

According to the only account of his life, William Randolph "died at sea on his voyage to England...."<sup>114</sup>

3. BEVERLEY RANDOLPH of Turkey Island (12 November 1713--1750)<sup>115</sup>

Beyond the fact that he was named for his recently deceased brother, nothing is known of the childhood of Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island. Educated at the College of William and Mary after 1720, he may also have had legal training, for in later life he served in capacities which imply some knowledge of the law.<sup>116</sup>

By the time he was twenty-one he was a permanent resident of Henrico County, where it was his advantage to have a father of wealth and influence. On December 11, 1734, Governor Gooch, who was his family's

friend, named Beverley Randolph a justice of the peace for Henrico.<sup>117</sup>

The following July he received from his father an 800-acre tract adjoining the Turkey Island homeplace,<sup>118</sup> and two tracts totaling 2,359 acres on the north bank of the Appomattox River in Goochland County.<sup>119</sup>

Once he was established, Randolph took a wife. On December 22, 1737, he married sixteen-year-old Elizabeth Lightfoot of Sandy Point, Charles City County. It was a good marriage; the bride was, said the Virginia Gazette, "an agreeable young Lady, with a Fortune of upwards of 5000 l."<sup>120</sup>

Although the newspaper exaggerated her fortune, Elizabeth Lightfoot was indeed an heiress. By the time she was ten years old, she had outlived both parents and a younger brother.<sup>121</sup> According to her father's will, she inherited £1000 sterling, but the bulk of the estate went to her brother with the stipulation that if he died without heirs, the estate would go, not to Elizabeth, but to her uncle, Philip Lightfoot, who would then pay her £2500 current money in compensation.<sup>122</sup> In April, 1734, an attempt to overturn the will was made in her behalf, but the General Court in Williamsburg upheld the will.<sup>123</sup> After her marriage to Randolph, he took up the case.

In two suits Randolph buttressed his wife's claims asserting that her father's will was invalidated by the will of her grandfather which entailed the land upon her. Philip Lightfoot countered with a suit of his own, demanding the return of £3500 he had settled on Elizabeth Randolph under the terms of her father's will. Finally, as the litigation grew long and costly, the two parties compromised. In return for "a certain sum of money," the Randolphs dropped their claims to the estate. The compromise was confirmed in May, 1740, when the General Assembly

passed a bill docking the entail on the Lightfoot lands.<sup>124</sup>

The Randolph-Lightfoot marriage was happy except for the fact it produced no children. Randolph remained hopeful that his wife would conceive; his hope was reflected in a petition which informed the Board of Trade on January 28, 1741/42, that "Elizabeth [Randolph] has no Issue at present, but is of the Age of abt. 21 Years, & Consequently capable of bearing Children."<sup>125</sup> In private Randolph's friends made sport of his barren union. Robert Bolling of Chellowe turned a "Bon Mot" of his father, Colonel John Bolling, into a poem:

Said Beverley Randolph (whose masculine Toy  
Was [a] sapless diminutive fit for a Boy)  
I hear Col: Bolling, you late have beguil'd  
The old Widow Stonebank, & got her with Child.  
Indeed, Sir, said Bolling, the Tale is not true  
But when shall we hear such a Wonder of you.<sup>126</sup>

Henrico County was the center of Beverley Randolph's activities.<sup>127</sup> Commissioned a justice of the peace in 1734, 1740, 1744, and 1749,<sup>128</sup> he served as a judge of the court, surveyor of the roads, collector of tithables, tester of the weights at the tobacco warehouses, and member of special inter-county committees.<sup>129</sup> In 1743 he was appointed sheriff, but for some unexplained reason, he resigned after two months in office.<sup>130</sup> He was a colonel in the militia, a trustee of the town of Bermuda Hundred, and a vestryman for Henrico Parish.<sup>131</sup>

An assessment of Randolph as a public official is difficult. The fact that he was an officeholder in the county and parish indicated that he had influence and respect in his community. He was fairly regular in his attendance to public duty. For instance, he was present for forty-nine sessions of the Henrico County court which, between September 1, 1740, and October 6, 1746, met a total of seventy-four times.<sup>132</sup> In March, 1744, he was haled before a county grand jury and, being found

negligent in his duties as surveyor of the highways, was fined fifteen shillings.<sup>133</sup> Appointed vestryman of Henrico Parish in 1742, he served as churchwarden, oversaw the building of a tobacco shed on the glebe, and sent to England for church supplies; but for some reason he attended none of the vestry meetings during the last five years of his life.<sup>134</sup>

Randolph's private affairs are not easily known. None of his personal papers survive, and the local records are incomplete. As a planter he was concerned with land, owning property in Charles City, Henrico, Goochland, Cumberland, Caroline, and King and Queen counties.<sup>135</sup> Some land he inherited from his father--Turkey Island plantation and tracts in Henrico and Goochland; a few acres in Henrico he purchased himself, but of the majority of his land transactions there is no record.<sup>136</sup> His plantations were stocked with cattle and worked by slaves, and Randolph looked after his interests. In August, 1744, the Charles City County court fined one John Irby 500 pounds of tobacco because he had "contrary to the leave [ , ] License or Consent of...Beverley [ Ran- dolph ] hunted & ranged on his lands...."<sup>137</sup> When his horses strayed, he offered rewards for their return;<sup>138</sup> and at least once he paid for the capture of his runaway slave.<sup>139</sup> At the time of his death he planned to divide part of his Westham tract in Henrico County into town lots. This scheme he instructed his executors to carry out for the benefit of his estate.<sup>140</sup>

He was also engaged in trade. In the autumn of 1739, he registered as owner of the Experiment, a sloop of seventy tons and a six-man crew, loaded her with 2,262 bushels of wheat, and sent her to Madeira by way of Boston. Six years later, on November 16, 1745, the Hampstead, a thirty-ton sloop with a crew of six, registered to "Beverlie Randolph

& Co.," entered the Upper District of the James River laden with iron and wooden ware, rum, molasses, oil, sugar, cranberries, axes, card boxes, cheese, bricks, a plow, a bag of hops, "a Quintall Cod Fish," and a two wheel chaise. The Hampstead cleared the upper James the following February bound for Barbadoes with a cargo of staves, shingles, corn, pork, bacon, lard, and candles. The sloop returned in May with sugar and rum, took on 1,848 bushels of corn and a barrel of tobacco, and cleared immediately for Barbadoes.<sup>141</sup> Randolph's trading activities suggest not only the produce of his plantations but also that he continued to operate the store at Turkey Island begun by his grandfather.

Late in the 1740's Randolph went to England. Perhaps, like his father and uncles, he made the trip to recover his health. Whatever the reason, the sojourn was costly, for as the Virginia Gazette reported on April 13, 1749, "The house where he lodged in London took fire, by which misfortune he has lost £400 Sterling."<sup>142</sup> He returned to Virginia in May, 1749.<sup>143</sup> If he had been cured in England, his recovery was not lasting. On September 22, 1750, he made his will, confessing that he was "in a Low state of health."<sup>144</sup>

Randolph revealed himself in his will as in no other document. Expressing an orthodox hope of heaven, he directed his burial "in a plain decent manner without the Hypocritical farce of Mouring." Moreover, he declared that he should be interred "without the Praises of a Minister in a Sermon whose approbation of the Lives of men I have a Long while dispised seeing they give it to all indiscrimately."<sup>145</sup> Having no direct heirs, he provided for his wife during her widowhood and left most of his estate to his two surviving brothers.

He died during the autumn of 1750. On December 2, his brothers

presented his will for probate.<sup>146</sup> Dead at thirty-seven, he had been a man of prominence in his home county. A planter concerned with his own interests primarily, he served for years as justice of the peace, vestryman, and in other capacities with no apparent ambition for higher offices in Williamsburg or London. Family connections prepared his entrance to county leadership, but he remained a leader because he was able and interested.

Almost nothing is known of his personality. What evidence remains suggests that he was sometimes difficult. For some reason he quarreled with his uncle, Richard Randolph of Curles, who eliminated him as one of the executors of his estate. "I believe him [Beverley] to be the very [best friend] I have in This World," the uncle wrote, "for which I heartily forgive him, & hope when he is Capable of reflection he will forgive me Some hastely Expression which are all the Offences he can justly make to my Conduct with respect to him...."<sup>147</sup> Furthermore, Beverley's anti-clerical remarks in his will hint at a sour relationship between him and his cousin, the Reverend William Stith, who was the minister of his parish.

Randolph's wife long survived him. About 1754 she married Robert Carter Burwell of Burwell's Bay, Isle of Wight County. She died March 6, 1770, and was buried at the Lightfoot plantation at Sandy Point in Charles City County.<sup>148</sup>

#### 4. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH CHISWELL (24 October 1715--1776)

The childhood of Elizabeth Randolph is obscure. Born at Turkey Island on October 24, 1715,<sup>149</sup> she was motherless from the age of eight and reared by her father and other relatives. The fact that she later named a daughter Susanna suggests she spent some time in Williamsburg

with her aunt, Lady Susanna Randolph. Late in her teens or her early twenties she married Colonel John Chiswell of Hanover County, who was an acquaintance of her father.

Chiswell was a man on the rise who no doubt appreciated the advantages of an alliance with the Randolphs. An only child, perhaps five years older than his wife, he inherited from his Scottish immigrant father a substantial estate of more than 50,000 acres which he continued to increase. A colonel in the militia by the time of his marriage, he afterwards became justice of the peace and burgess for Hanover County. A planter, he also kept a store on his plantation. For all his mounting importance, however, there were flaws in his character. His arrogance and quick temper made him less than an ideal husband.<sup>150</sup>

The first part of her marriage Elizabeth Chiswell spent at the family plantation in Hanover County, a place called Scotchtown, which had "a large commodious dwelling house, pleasantly situated, with eight rooms and a very large passage [all] on one floor."<sup>151</sup> In the beginning she was probably not mistress of the house, for her mother-in-law lived until about 1750. Between 1737 and 1752 she bore four daughters: Elizabeth, Susanna, Mary, and Lucy.<sup>152</sup> Probably because of her husband's business activities, the family moved to Williamsburg in 1752.<sup>153</sup>

In Williamsburg Mrs. Chiswell's social position was secure. Her husband was part-owner of the Raleigh Tavern,<sup>154</sup> and from 1756 to 1758 he represented the town in the House of Burgesses. Her brothers and cousins were important men. Her elder daughters married well: Elizabeth to Charles Carter of Nanzatico, son of Charles Carter of Cleve;<sup>155</sup> and Susanna became the third wife of John Robinson, the longtime treasurer of the colony and speaker of the House of Burgesses.<sup>156</sup> Mrs.



Chiswell lived in a comfortable house in Williamsburg, a long frame structure covered with a gable roof, situated on Francis Street a short distance from the capitol.<sup>157</sup>

Mrs. Chiswell was a good neighbor. In 1755 she and Mrs. Governor Dinwiddie and Mrs. Peyton Randolph were requested by a dying Williamsburg doctor to take his daughter "under their care for a Year or two."<sup>158</sup> It is said she took her sister's two sons upon the premature death of their parents.<sup>159</sup> She was, as the Virginia Gazette reported at the time of her death, "a most amiable lady: From her door, the needy were never sent empty away."<sup>160</sup> She was undoubtedly a woman of religious conviction, for among the books in her house were Nathaniel Spincke's The True Church of England Man's Companion in the Closet; or a Complete Manual of Devotion; John Pearson's Exposition of the Creed; the Sermons of John Tillotson; a sermon against gambling by her cousin, the Reverend William Stith; and an annotated New Testament.<sup>161</sup>

Her social position notwithstanding, Elizabeth Chiswell endured a host of troubles arising from the uncertain finances of her husband who was in debt for several thousand pounds and involved in lawsuits which eventually compelled him to dispose of some of his property, including Scotchtown and the Williamsburg house.<sup>162</sup> His prospects seemed to improve, however, with the discovery of lead ore in Augusta County in 1759.

Joining with Governor Fauquier, William Byrd III, and John Robinson to form the Lead Mine Company, Chiswell gave his personal attention to the mining operation. In 1762 he went to England to have the ore assayed and to procure miners and supplies. Upon his return to Virginia, he spent much time at the mines as superintendent. But his

operations were curtailed when Robinson, the mine's chief backer, died unexpectedly in May, 1766.<sup>163</sup>

With Robinson's death Chiswell was once more in financial straits. And then on June 3, 1766, as if his situation were not desperate enough, he killed Robert Routledge in a tavern brawl in Cumberland Court House. Chiswell's guilt was never in doubt. He admitted deliberately stabbing his erstwhile friend. He was jailed without bail.<sup>164</sup> However, upon his transfer to Williamsburg for trial, three judges of the General Court, John Blair, William Byrd III, and Presley Thornton, who were Chiswell's personal friends, "took him from the sheriff who conveyed him from Cumberland, and admitted him to bail, without seeing the record of his examination in the county, or examining any of the witnesses against him."<sup>165</sup> His preferential treatment raised a storm of protest in a colony already shaken by the discovery that Robinson's treasury accounts were in arrears.<sup>166</sup>

Throughout the summer the Virginia newspapers kept alive the bailment controversy, while Chiswell fled to the mines. He remained aloof until September 11, when he returned to Williamsburg to await the convening of the court.<sup>167</sup> However, on October 15, a day before the court opened, he died. Rumors said his demise was too convenient to be natural, but the Virginia Gazette reported: "The cause of death, by the judgment of the physicians, upon oath, were [sic] nervous fits, owing to a constant uneasiness of mind."<sup>168</sup>

Despite the scandal and the questionable circumstances of her husband's death, Elizabeth Chiswell continued to reside in Williamsburg.<sup>169</sup> Her social position remained secure. Her younger daughters made good marriages: Mary to Warner Lewis, Jr., a Gloucester County

planter; and Lucy to William Nelson, son of Secretary Thomas Nelson and clerk of the Caroline County court.<sup>170</sup>

Financial problems, however, plagued Mrs. Chiswell. The lead mines were her husband's chief asset. He willed his share, not to her, but to their infant grandson, John Chiswell Robinson.<sup>171</sup> Even though she and her daughters gained the rights to the mine when the Robinson child died in 1774, it is doubtful that her money problems were eased. Most of what her husband left her was apparently exhausted discharging the debts against his estate. In 1770 she was compelled to leave her Williamsburg house which, having been signed over to Speaker Robinson, was sold to satisfy his creditors.<sup>172</sup> She spent her last years dependent upon her daughters. She was living in Caroline County with the Nelsons when she died early in 1776.<sup>173</sup>

5. PETER RANDOLPH (20 October 1717--8 July 1767). See Chapter VI infra.

6. MARY RANDOLPH PRICE (22 July 1719--?)

Born on July 22, 1719, there is no other record of the early life of Mary Randolph.<sup>174</sup> Unmarried at the time of her father's death in 1742, she received from his estate "Eight Hundred Pounds Sterling & One Hundred pounds Currant money, with a new Chaise & Harness for Six Horses...together with Six Horses of her Choosing...and five negroes ...."<sup>175</sup> A spinster of means, she shocked her family about 1744 when she married John Price, a man not only her social inferior but also her junior by more than six years.

Price, born January 6, 1725/26, was a native of Hanover County. Fatherless at sixteen, he apprenticed himself on April 11, 1742, to Isaac Clarke of Louisa County to be instructed in the "Trade , Art

or Mystery of a Carpenter" and, when he had proven his skill, to be provided with a "Set of Carpenters Tools and...five pounds in a Store."<sup>176</sup> Although he apparently did not serve out the five years of his apprenticeship, he was working as a carpenter on one of Beverley Randolph's plantations when he met and married his employer's sister.<sup>177</sup>

After their marriage the couple resided at Cool Water, a plantation in Hanover County between the North Anna and South Anna rivers. The union was fruitful. Four children, Elizabeth, Jane, John, and Thomas, were born between about 1745 and 1754.<sup>178</sup>

According to an unsubstantiated account, both Mary Randolph Price and her husband died before their sons reached their majority.<sup>179</sup>

#### 7. WILLIAM RANDOLPH III of Wilton (22 November 1723--1761)

William Randolph III was born November 22, 1723, and named for an elder brother who had died shortly before.<sup>180</sup> His mother died when he was a month old, and since his father never remarried, he was probably brought up among his various relatives. He attended the College of William and Mary.<sup>181</sup>

Between 1743 and 1745 he married Anne Carter Harrison,<sup>182</sup> daughter of Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley, whose family, like the Randolphs, was one of the prominent clans of the colony. Eight children were born to the marriage: William, Peter, Harrison, Benjamin, Peyton, Anne, Elizabeth, and Lucy.<sup>183</sup>

As a personality Randolph does not emerge clearly from the records. Nothing survives in his own hand except a few scraps of noncommittal manuscript, and his contemporaries left little reference to him in their correspondence. A rare glimpse comes from Commissary Thomas Dawson who wrote thanking Randolph for his suggestions for the education of his

nephew. "The kind Advice You were [p]leased to give me some Time ago," Dawson wrote, "...was very obliging & we have at last put it in Execution and he is now upon his Journey to Albemarle...where I am perswaded he will Improve himself both as a Clerk & Surveyor....Your Friendship will always be gratefully acknow[ledged]...."<sup>184</sup>

Personal traits notwithstanding, other aspects of Randolph's life and career are better documented. He was a planter, and, like other members of the class, much of his time and energy was given to the acquisition and development of land. His father established him on a sure foundation in 1742 when he willed him "all my Land lying on the Branches of ffighting Creek in Goochland County containing Seven Thousand & Odd Acres with all Negroes thereon...[and] all my Plate & Household Goods...."<sup>185</sup>

Randolph added to his patrimony 21,130 acres of which there is record. The majority of these holdings, 12,471 acres, lay in the frontier county of Lunenburg; 6,587 acres were in Henrico; and 2,072 acres were in Bedford, Cumberland, Goochland, and Halifax counties. Randolph sold at least two parcels of land, 966 acres in Cumberland and 5,000 acres in Henrico; subtracting these acres and combining the remainder with the 7,000 inherited acres, Randolph had toward the end of his life a total of 22,164 acres. The sum is not definitive, however, for the record of his acquisitions is incomplete; there are indications that he owned even more land than specified here.<sup>186</sup>

Generally, Randolph purchased tracts that were to some degree developed with buildings, orchards, and fields; and his acquisitions tended to be more or less contiguous to his other holdings. One may conclude, without dismissing the probability that he speculated in frontier

land, that his land was used primarily for agricultural purposes.

Through a series of purchases between 1747 and 1759, Randolph established his home plantation on the north bank of the James River in Henrico County.<sup>187</sup> Soon after his initial purchase of a tract called World's End, he began construction about 1748 of a mansion he named Wilton. The house was a two-story structure, built of brick and paneled throughout; it stood, flanked by four dependencies, on a terraced bluff overlooking the James, not far below Chatsworth, the home of his brother, Peter.<sup>188</sup> The Randolphs left the Fighting Creek plantation before their new house was built; the date of the move cannot be determined precisely, but they were residing in Henrico by 1748, at least five years before Wilton was completed.<sup>189</sup>

Little is known of the routine of the Randolph plantations, because no account books or other records survive. There is an indication that Randolph, like his neighbors, had problems with plantation labor. In the autumn of 1752, he advertised that a pair of "new Negroes" had run away. "They were imported in August last, and can't speak any English," he noted. "Who ever takes 'em up and brings them to me, shall be well rewarded for their Trouble."<sup>190</sup> Undoubtedly Randolph was concerned mainly with tobacco as his cash-crop, but an English observer of potash works in the colonies said that several Virginia gentlemen were involved in the production of the chemical "particularly Mr Carter & Colo William Randolph."<sup>191</sup>

Like other Virginia planters, Randolph dealt with English merchants. In 1753 he became the agent of Joseph Farrell, a Bristol merchant, with the responsibility of collecting Farrell's debts in Virginia.<sup>192</sup> However, Randolph himself was in debt to the merchants

because the sale of his tobacco in England was not always sufficient to cover the cost of goods and services he contracted there. After his death, his estate owed James Buchanan & Company £373.8s.5d; John Hyndman & Company £575.9s.3d; Thomas Aselby, a Bristol mariner, £371.9s.; and Farrell and Jones £7194.19s.12d.<sup>193</sup> These debts went to court, the plaintiffs asserting that Randolph "left a very large Estate in Lands Slaves and personal property." Finally, in 1797, after a protracted legal contest, the Randolph heirs paid.

There are a few other records pertaining to Randolph's finances, but they contain scant information. Twice, in 1753 and 1754, he brought suits in the Henrico County court to recover debts; one case was dismissed, the other awarded him £6.<sup>194</sup> He was sued for debt in York County in 1759, but the case was "dismissed the Sumon not being Served."<sup>195</sup> In 1770 the executors of his estate were ordered to pay the estate of Samuel Gleadon £60.14s.3½d. Virginia money with 5 percent interest from January 1, 1753.<sup>196</sup> In none of these cases is it clear how or why the parties were obligated to each other. While the other cases clearly concern Randolph, the Gleadon case is questionable. Joseph Farrell had retained Randolph in 1753 particularly to settle the Farrell accounts with Gleadon, a Virginia merchant, and Randolph had secured £325 sterling.<sup>197</sup> However, the records do not make clear whether Gleadon's later claims were against Randolph alone or in conjunction with Farrell.

At the same time as he was engaged in plantation management, Randolph was also active in public affairs. In February, 1745/46, he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Goochland County replacing his recently deceased cousin, William Randolph of Tuckahoe.<sup>198</sup> Becoming a

burgess without prior experience on the vestry or the county court was unusual in Virginia; there is no record, other than his rank as colonel in the militia, that William Randolph III held previous office. His election can be explained through his family connections; his father, uncles, and cousins were well known in Goochland, and it was probably to his advantage to share the same name as his cousin and predecessor.

His first term was not particularly noteworthy. He was appointed to the Committee of Courts of Justice and served on special committees which enabled him to look after his county's interests.<sup>199</sup> No longer representing Goochland after his removal to Henrico in 1748, he continued his service to the House as clerk, an appointive post he obtained upon the resignation of his brother, Peter. For an unknown reason his clerkship was brief. He assumed office on April 8, 1749, serving until the end of the session on May 11; but when the burgesses next convened on February 27, 1752, his cousin, John Randolph, was the clerk.<sup>200</sup>

Nevertheless, Randolph returned to the House in 1752. He was elected a burgess for Henrico,<sup>201</sup> an office he held for the rest of his life. A combination of ability and family connections placed him among the powerful. Appointed to the two most important committees of the House, the Committee of Propositions and Grievances in 1752 and the Committee of Privileges and Elections in 1756, he also served in other capacities concerning advice to the Governor and Council, land development, and military and economic affairs. It is difficult to assess Randolph's performance as a burgess. He was not a great leader, but a recent study of the membership of the House places him in the second rank of the most active and influential members.<sup>202</sup> Considering his years as burgess, Randolph could take pride in his steady work in



committee and in his participation in such major matters as the Pistole Fee Controversy and the French and Indian War.<sup>203</sup> He was sufficiently respected, moreover, to be recommended by Governor Dinwiddie as a man eligible for the Council,<sup>204</sup> an appointment he never received.

Randolph was also involved in the affairs of his home county and parish. From 1748 to 1761 he was justice of the peace for Henrico County. He was always among the first named justices on the commission, which indicates the high regard in which his contemporaries held him.<sup>205</sup> He attended the sessions of the county court regularly, arbitrated a dispute among his neighbors, provided standard weights and measures for the county, and during the French and Indian War returned a deserter to the Virginia Regiment.<sup>206</sup> Randolph also served Henrico as a colonel in the militia, but nothing is known of his military career.

For thirteen years, from 1748 to 1761, he was a vestryman for Henrico Parish. He took his responsibilities seriously, serving two terms as churchwarden and attending all but three of the vestry meetings during his term.<sup>207</sup> He took an interest in affairs beyond his own parish. In 1760 the widow of William Byrd II complained of the absence of her minister from Westover Parish in Charles City County. Her neighbor, Colonel Benjamin Harrison, and his brother-in-law, "Will" Randolph, suggested she ask the Reverend Alexander Finney of Henrico Parish for an occasional sermon. Accordingly, Mrs. Byrd said, "I wrote to him & he has given me his Promise that he will preach."<sup>208</sup>

William Randolph died in 1761.<sup>209</sup> Apart from a brief trip to England in 1759,<sup>210</sup> he spent all thirty-seven of his years in Virginia. He led an active life, sired a large family, amassed a sizeable estate, built a fine house, and established himself as an able and important

leader in the county, parish, and province.

Randolph's widow lived after him. Named executrix of his will, she apparently had life-rights to Wilton,<sup>211</sup> where she remained for the rest of her life. She never remarried. Sympathetic to the patriot cause, she supported the boycott of British goods in 1769, and was friend to George Washington who was her houseguest. After the War for Independence, she and some of her children visited Mount Vernon.<sup>212</sup> Her later years were not without grief: her sons, Peter and Peyton II, predeceased her.<sup>213</sup> She lived at least until 1793 when she received a legacy from her father's estate.<sup>214</sup>

B. HENRY RANDOLPH of Turkey Island (c. 1683--?)

There is little information about Henry Randolph of Turkey Island. In the first place, few records survive; and, in the second, the evidence is often ambiguous because he had two cousins named Henry Randolph who were his contemporaries.

Born about 1683, he was the second son and fourth child of William Randolph of Turkey Island and his wife, Mary Isham.<sup>215</sup> Unlike all six of his brothers, there is no record that Henry attended the College of William and Mary, but a legal document drawn in his handwriting indicates that he received some schooling.<sup>216</sup>

In the confusion surrounding the three Henry Randolphs, it is impossible to determine if Henry Randolph of Turkey Island was a public official in his home county of Henrico. He was certainly a planter, however. His land came from his father. On November 1, 1706, William Randolph deeded Henry the tract of about 480 acres adjacent to Turkey Island "Called by the Name of Curles with Long Field and all marshes and swamps to the same belonging."<sup>217</sup> He also inherited his father's

one-third interest in the 623-acre Warwick tract in Prince George County.<sup>218</sup> Apparently he received his inheritance during his father's lifetime, for in the elder Randolph's will he was given no more land.

William Byrd II of Westover provided the only personal glimpses of Henry Randolph whom he called Hal.<sup>219</sup> For instance, on March 3, 1711, Byrd noted in his secret diary that Hal visited Westover and "played 30 games of billiards."<sup>220</sup>

According to Randolph family tradition,<sup>221</sup> Henry went to England and died there unmarried. The fact that he disposed of some of his Virginia property lends support to the tradition. On November 5, 1716, he granted the Curles tract to his brother, Richard, "during his natural Life" and should Henry die "without any Issue of my Body Lawfully begotten" Richard was to have the property forever.<sup>222</sup> Nevertheless, he was still residing in the colony on August 23, 1720, when Byrd noted that he and some friends "called on Hal Randolph for half an hour and drank a glass of claret...."<sup>223</sup>

Whether Henry intended to remain permanently in England, tradition does not say. The fact that he granted the Curles property to his brother only for life suggests he had not dismissed the possibility of marriage and family. Nevertheless, he died without heirs, and Curles became the property of Richard Randolph.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER V

<sup>1</sup>Epitaph of William Randolph II, Turkey Island burying ground, copied by the author, August 12, 1970.

<sup>2</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.

<sup>3</sup>Randolph's epitaph notes his "Knowledge of the Laws in general and...the Laws & Constitution of this Colony in particular." Although there is no direct evidence that the elder Randolph taught his son, there are examples of other parents in Virginia who personally educated their children. George Wythe learned Greek from his mother and the mother of Littleton Waller Tazewell taught law to her son before he entered the College of William and Mary; see Alan M. Smith, "Virginia Lawyers, 1680-1776: The Birth of an American Profession" (Ph.D. dissertation, Johns Hopkins University, 1967), 63-64, 79-80.

<sup>4</sup>H. R. McIlwaine, ed., Executive Journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia, 6 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Superintendent of Public Printing, 1925-1966), II, 267-268 (cited hereinafter as EJCCV); and H. R. McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, eds., Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1776, 13 vols. (Richmond: E. Waddey Co., 1905-1915), 1695-1702, 347, 370, 380 (cited hereinafter as JHB).

<sup>5</sup>EJCCV, II, 358; and JHB 1702-1712, 43, 131, 173.

<sup>6</sup>JHB 1702-1712, 137, 173; and Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 115, 202 (VSLm). In 1711 Randolph received 1,350 pounds of tobacco from Henrico County.

<sup>7</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 379 (VSLm); and Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXV (1927), 237, 239 (cited hereinafter as VMHB).

<sup>8</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 1, 4 (VSLm).

<sup>9</sup>Hening, Statutes At Large, II, 145, 485-487.

<sup>10</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 38, 115, 202, 266; and Minute Book (1719-1724), 55, post 360 (VSLm).

<sup>11</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 52, 115, 202, 266; and Minute Book (1719-1724), 55, post 360 (VSLm).

<sup>12</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), passim (VSLm); and Byrd, Secret Diary, 45, 301, 579.

<sup>13</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 2, 5, 6, 11, 16, 19, 23, 31, 33, 36, 44, 45, 74, 75, 84, 145, 150, 167, 168 (VSLm); and Byrd, Secret Diary, 43.

<sup>14</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 2, 4, 5, 6, 16, 19, 23, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 39, 44, 45, 46, 53, 56, 58, 62, 63, 65, 67, 69, 74,

75, 82, 84, 89, 92, 106, 117, 123, 134-135, 141, 142, 145, 150, 157, 167, 168; and Orders (1710-1714), 3, 56, 65, 139, 148, 162, 189-190, 208, 209 (VSLm).

<sup>15</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 467.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., 470; and Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 2:2-3:1.

<sup>17</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 201, 470.

<sup>18</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 2:2-3:1; and JHB 1712-1726, 3.

<sup>19</sup>After the episode Randolph was no longer the frequent guest and companion of Byrd. See Byrd, Secret Diary, 492, 579; and Byrd, London Diary, 376, 382, 438.

<sup>20</sup>EJCCV, III, 380; and Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 309 (VSLm).

<sup>21</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 423-424.

<sup>22</sup>Alexander Spotswood to the Lords of Trade, quoted in Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 424.

<sup>23</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 121, 126.

<sup>24</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 121, 126, 177, 257, 359.

<sup>25</sup>Charles S. Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, 45-59.

<sup>26</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 445.

<sup>27</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 123, 251, 261, 277, 343, 350, 361.

<sup>28</sup>Jack P. Greene, The Quest for Power (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1963), 473.

<sup>29</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 359.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., 257, 277, 287.

<sup>31</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 2:3-3:1.

<sup>32</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 174 (VSLm).

<sup>33</sup>EJCCV, III, 533; and Henrico County, Minute Book (1719-1724), 159, 295 (VSLm).

<sup>34</sup>Henrico County, Minute Book (1719-1724), 125-367 passim. (VSLm).

<sup>35</sup>William Gooch to the Secretary of State, December 30, 1727, Governors' Correspondence with the Secretary of State 1694-1753, PRO, CO 5/1337, 110 (CWM).

- <sup>36</sup>Privy Council Office, 1727-1729, PRO, PC 2/90, 241 (Cwm).
- <sup>37</sup>EJCCV, IV, 192-193.
- <sup>38</sup>Ibid., 192-438 passim; and Ibid., V, 1-99 passim.
- <sup>39</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 376.
- <sup>40</sup>The History of the College of William and Mary from its Foundation, 1693, to 1870 (Baltimore: Printed by John Murphy & Co., 1870), 65; and Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 54.
- <sup>41</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 7, 16.
- <sup>42</sup>Ibid., 13, 16.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., 17, 34.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., 48. Randolph was living in Goochland County.
- <sup>45</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 213 (VSLm).
- <sup>46</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 16; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 38, 310, 485, 559; and Miscellaneous Court Records, III (1727-1737), 951 (VSLm).
- <sup>47</sup>Copied by the author from the tombstone at Turkey Island, August 12, 1970.
- <sup>48</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 445.
- <sup>49</sup>Copied by the author from the tombstone at Turkey Island, August 12, 1970.
- <sup>50</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1697-1704), 306, 439; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1706-1709), 3; Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 215-218, 221-222, 288, 289; Orders (1710-1714), 249, 301; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 181, 183, 186; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 391; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 103-104, 114 (VSLm); Colonial Papers, Folder 30, No. 22; Folder 32, No. 24 (VSL); Virginia State Land Office, Patents #12 (1724-1726), 134-135; Patents #13 (1725-1730), 11, 44-45, 157, 158, 504-505; Patents #15 (1732-1735), 149-150 (VSLm); EJCCV, III, 548; IV, 118, 142.
- <sup>51</sup>Colonial Papers, Folder 32, No. 24, VSL; EJCCV, IV, 118.
- <sup>52</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 306, 439; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1706-1709), 3 (VSLm).
- <sup>53</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 215-218 (VSLm).
- <sup>54</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 179 (VSLm).

- <sup>55</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 249, 301; Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 221-222, 288-289; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 161-162 (VSLm).
- <sup>56</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 103-104, 114 (VSLm).
- <sup>57</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 157-161, 181-186 (VSLm).
- <sup>58</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #9 (1695-1706), 576-577 (VSLm).
- <sup>59</sup>Colonial Papers, Folder 30, No. 22 VSL; EJCCV, III, 548.
- <sup>60</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #12 (1724-1726), 134-135; Patents #13 (1725-1730), 11, 44-45, 157-158, 504-505; Patents #15 (1732-1735), 149-150 (VSLm); Colonial Papers, Folder 32, No. 24 VSL; EJCCV, IV, 118, 142, 244.
- <sup>61</sup>EJCCV, IV, 244; Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101; Deed Book (1734-1736), 112; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 119 (VSLm).
- <sup>62</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #9 (1695-1706), 576-577 (VSLm).
- <sup>63</sup>Webb was the husband of the widow of Henry Randolph, cousin of William Randolph I.
- <sup>64</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 379-380 (VSLm).
- <sup>65</sup>Royall was the grandson of a half-brother of Mrs. William Randolph I.
- <sup>66</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #13 (1725-1736), 348-349; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 365 (VSLm).
- <sup>67</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1710-1714), 25-26 (VSLm).
- <sup>68</sup>Ann Isham, aunt of William Randolph II, married Francis Eppes.
- <sup>69</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 30, 48 (VSLm).
- <sup>70</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 112 (VSLm).
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid., 113-114.
- <sup>72</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 119 (VSLm).
- <sup>73</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 181-183 (VSLm); Byrd, Secret Diary, 23, 89.
- <sup>74</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 186-187 (VSLm).

- <sup>75</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 184-185 (VSLm).
- <sup>76</sup>Ibid., 183; and Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 391 (VSLm).
- <sup>77</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 364-365 (VSLm).
- <sup>78</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1710-1714), 92-95; Orders (1710-1714), 88-89 (VSLm). C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," WMQ, 3rd series, XXV (1968), 545-586.
- <sup>79</sup>Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1710-1714), 24; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 181-187; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 391; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 30, 48; Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 364-365; Deed Book (1734-1736), 112 (VSLm).
- <sup>80</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1714-1718), 182-187; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 391; Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 364-365 (VSLm).
- <sup>81</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 73; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 434 (VSLm).
- <sup>82</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101 (VSLm).
- <sup>83</sup>William Randolph II to John Chiswell and John Corby, May 11, 1737, Jones Family Papers, IV, 550 (Cwm).
- <sup>84</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #9 (1695-1706), 576-577 (VSLm).
- <sup>85</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101 (VSLm).
- <sup>86</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101 (VSLm).
- <sup>87</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 139, 148, 163, 164 (VSLm).
- <sup>88</sup>Goochland County Deed Book (1734-1736), 113-114; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 119 (VSLm).
- <sup>89</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 80 (VSLm).
- <sup>90</sup>Ibid., 80-81.
- <sup>91</sup>William Randolph II to Henry Lee, April 29, 1725, The Papers of Richard Bland Lee, #351 (Cwm).
- <sup>92</sup>Caroline County, Order Book (1732-1740), 515, 516; Goochland County, Order Book (1735-1741), 319; Henrico County, Court Orders (1707-1709), 47, 163, 170; Orders (1710-1714), 56, 65, 139, 148, 162, 163, 164, 208, 209, 257, 262, 265, 268, 269, 276, 302; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 30, 38, 99, 102, 120, 121, 122, 127, 129, 151, 170, 173, 259, 276, 283, 321, 334; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 45, 108; Order Book (1737-1746), 52, 182, 191; Prince George County, Orders (1714-1720), 97 (VSLm).



<sup>93</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 291, 333, 380; Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 708-709 (VSLm).

<sup>94</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 53 (VSLm).

<sup>95</sup>Prince George County, Orders (1714-1720), 97 (VSLm).

<sup>96</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 139, 148, 163, 164, 209 (VSLm).

<sup>97</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 40, 74, 83, 120-121, 153.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 26.

<sup>99</sup>Epitaph of Elizabeth Beverley Randolph at Turkey Island, copied by the author August 12, 1970; W. G. Stanard, "Major Robert Beverley and his descendants," VMHB, III (1896), 263; and Byrd, Secret Diary, 52.

<sup>100</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 72.

<sup>101</sup>See sketches of their lives infra.

<sup>102</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1697-1704), 379 (VSLm).

<sup>103</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 72, 120-121.

<sup>104</sup>R. P., "Turkey Island," Virginia Historical Register, VI (1853), 105.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid.

<sup>106</sup>York County, Deeds (1741-1754), 181-182 (VSLm).

<sup>107</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., July 1, 1737, 4:2.

<sup>108</sup>"Col. Randolph is this day gone to Gravesend, and Sails the next wind," William Dandridge to Lord Albemarle, March 6, 1737, British Museum, Additional Ms. 32691 (CWm); Parks' Va. Gaz., June 2, 1738, 4:1.

<sup>109</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 48; Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101 (VSLm).

<sup>110</sup>Epitaph at Turkey Island; and Journal of the Board of Trade 1742/3-1743, PRO, CO 391/51, 1 (CWm).

<sup>111</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100 (VSLm).

<sup>112</sup>A. J. Morrison, "An Account of the Time of the Births of the Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," VMHB, XXV (1917), 403. Morrison found a list of the Randolph children recorded in the first volume of the Works of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson... (London, 1712). Although the compiler and the date of the list are unknown, the list, with one exception discussed below, is accurate when checked against eighteenth-century sources.

- <sup>113</sup>Homer Worthington Brainard, A Survey of the Ishams in England and America Eight Hundred and Fifty Years of History and Genealogy (Rutland, Vt.: The Tuttle Publishing Co., 1938), 86.
- <sup>114</sup>Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403.
- <sup>115</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>116</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33; and Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 197, 212; Deed Book (1744-1748), 194; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 19 (VSLm). In these cases Randolph arbitrated local disputes, settled estates, and served as an attorney.
- <sup>117</sup>EJCCV, IV, 342.
- <sup>118</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1735), 496 (VSLm). The deed is dated July 1, 1735.
- <sup>119</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 113-114 (VSLm). The deed is dated July 12, 1735. The first tract contained 1,159 acres; the second, 1,200.
- <sup>120</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 30, 1737, 4:2.
- <sup>121</sup>Elizabeth Randolph's parents died in 1727 and her brother in 1730. See Lyon G. Tyler, "Old Tombstones in Charles City County," WMQ, 1st series, IV (1895), 123-124.
- <sup>122</sup>Hening, Statutes At Large, V, 112.
- <sup>123</sup>R. T. Barton, ed., Virginia Colonial Decisions: The Reports by Sir John Randolph and by Edward Barradall of Decisions of the General Court of Virginia 1728-1741, 2 vols. (Boston: Boston Book Company, 1909), II, B40-B42.
- <sup>124</sup>Hening, Statutes At Large, V, 111-114; JHB 1727-1740, 396-398.
- <sup>125</sup>Drafts of Letters, Reports and Representations from the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, PRO, CO 5/1335, 193 (Cwm).
- <sup>126</sup>Robert Bolling, "Bon Mot of John Bolling Esq.," Hlarodina, 61 (UVa.m). A spelling error has been corrected in the interest of clarity. Beverley Randolph was one of the securities for John Bolling when he became sheriff of Henrico County on July 4, 1737, Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 635 (VSLm).
- <sup>127</sup>There is no clear evidence that Beverley Randolph held office or otherwise served on the colony level. He was never a member of the House of Burgesses.
- <sup>128</sup>EJCCV, IV, 342; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 121 (VSLm); and EJCCV, V, 289.

- <sup>129</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 165, 172, 185, 249 (VSLm).
- <sup>130</sup>Ibid., 211, 227, 235.
- <sup>131</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., September 12, 1745, 4:2; and Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 212 (VSLm).
- <sup>132</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 121-416, passim. (VSLm).
- <sup>133</sup>Ibid., 249.
- <sup>134</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 65, 68, 69, 72, 73, 74, 93.
- <sup>135</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 42-43 (VSLm); and Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 113-114 (VSLm).
- <sup>136</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1735), 496; Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 113-114; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 55; Henrico County, Deed Book (1744-1748), 65 (VSLm).
- <sup>137</sup>Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 308, 317 (VSLm).
- <sup>138</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 10, 1737/38, 4:1-2; September 12, 1745, 4:2.
- <sup>139</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 277, 294 (VSLm). John Ellis of Hanover County captured the runaway. On August 16, 1744, he came to Henrico Court charging that Randolph had not paid him for the recovery. On December 4, 1744, Randolph paid Ellis 172 pounds of tobacco.
- <sup>140</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 43 (VSLm).
- <sup>141</sup>Shipping Returns (1735-1756), PRO, CO 5/1446, n.p. (CWm).
- <sup>142</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, ed., Extracts from missing issues of the Virginia Gazette, Tucker-Coleman Papers, William and Mary.
- <sup>143</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>144</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 42 (VSLm).
- <sup>145</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>146</sup>Ibid., 43. On January 19, 1751, John Blair of Williamsburg recorded in his diary, "Hear sad news of poor Mr. Randolph." "Diary of John Blair," WMQ, 1st series, VIII (1899), 3.
- <sup>147</sup>Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW.
- <sup>148</sup>Lightfoot Account Book, 96 (CWm); Henrico County, Deeds (1767-1774), 201-204 (VSLm); and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 8, 1770, 2:1.

<sup>149</sup> Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403. Purdie's Va. Gaz., March 8, 1776, 3:1, reported "Mrs ELIZABETH CHISWELL... died in her 54th year..." which makes her birthdate 1722 or 1723. But since, as McGill, Beverley Family, 118, claims, she was apparently married on May 19, 1736, the earlier birthdate is accepted here.

<sup>150</sup> Chiswell's father and William Randolph II were members of the Spotswood faction; see William Hendy Shepherd, "Colonel John Chiswell, Chiswell's Lead Mines, Fort Chiswell," (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1936), 4-6. For other connections between the Chiswells and the Randolphs see Prince George County, Deeds and Wills (1713-1728), 708-709 (VSLm); and William Randolph II to John Chiswell and John Corby, May 11, 1737, Jones Family Papers IV, 550 LC (CWM). For Chiswell's property, see Hening, Statutes at Large, VIII, 270-271. Also see Carl Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue in Virginia, 1766: or the Importance of the Trivial," Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 76 (1964), 10-14

<sup>151</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., April 5, 1770, 4:1; and Waterman, Mansions of Va., 66, 74-75.

<sup>152</sup> The sequence of birth of the Chiswell girls is established in the wills of William Randolph II (1742) and Beverley Randolph (1750), Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 101; and Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 42 (VSLm). Elizabeth was born June 4, 1737, Family Bible of Charles Carter of Cleve, photocopy, VHS. Susanna was born 1740, Mary 1748/9, and Lucy 1752; see George H. S. King, "Will of Colonel John Chiswell (c. 1710-1766) with Some Genealogical Notes," Virginia Genealogical Society Quarterly Bulletin, VII (1969), 79; McGill, Beverley Family, 118; and Epitaphs of Gloucester and Mathews Counties in Tidewater Virginia (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia State Library, 1959), 97.

<sup>153</sup> Account book of Francis Jerdone (1750-1772), 45, 71, 99, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary. The Chiswells arrived in Williamsburg sometime between April 28, 1752, when the Colonel was listed "in Hanover County," and January 16, 1753, when he was listed "in Williamsburg." In 1803, Edmund Pendleton said Chiswell came to Williamsburg in 1753; see Lead Mine Papers, Auditor's #90, VSL.

<sup>154</sup> York County, Deeds, V (1741-1754), 493 (VSLm).

<sup>155</sup> Elizabeth Chiswell married Carter about 1754; see Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, n.d. [internal evidence indicates 1754], Dawson Papers, LC (CWM). On Carter see George Green Shackelford, "Nanzatico, King George County, Virginia," VMHB, LXXIII (1965), 394-395.

<sup>156</sup> The December 21, 1759, notice of the Chiswell-Robinson nuptials was copied from a Va. Gaz., now lost, by John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, c. 1826, 11, VHS.

<sup>157</sup> Waterman, Mansions of Va., 65-69, 415. The house, which has been reconstructed in Colonial Williamsburg, is similar to Scotchtown.

<sup>158</sup>Will of Dr. Kenneth Mackenzie, February 8, 1755, probated March 17, 1755, York County, Wills, Inventories, XX (1745-1759), 353 (VSLm).

<sup>159</sup>McGill, Beverley Family, 119.

<sup>160</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., March 8, 1776, 3:1.

<sup>161</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book (1750-1752), 45, 52, 58.

<sup>162</sup>Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue," 12-13, found Chiswell owed William Byrd III £1300 sterling and John Robinson "many thousands of pounds." To satisfy Robinson, Chiswell, on May 8, 1758, conveyed to him his interest in the Raleigh Tavern, see York County, Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 507 (VSLm). On May 31, 1760, Chiswell settled other properties in Albemarle and Augusta counties on Robinson; see Hening, Statutes at Large, VIII, 270-271. Chiswell apparently gave Robinson title to the Scotchtown plantation and to his Williamsburg residence, for these properties were later part of the Robinson estate; see Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 29, 1769, 1:1, and April 5, 1770, 4:1. Throughout the 1750's Chiswell sold property, see Hunter's Va. Gaz., April 18, 1751, 4:1; August 1, 1755, 4:1; and September 2, 1757, 4:1. In April, 1754, John Lidderdale in behalf of Thomas Chamberlayne and Company of Bristol brought suit against Chiswell in the Virginia General Court for £1102. 18s. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ d. The court found for the defendant, but the decision was reversed by the Privy Council on February 27, 1758, see Privy Council Registers, 1758-1759, PRO, PC 2/106, 43-46 (Cwm).

<sup>163</sup>Mays, Pendleton, I, 203. Between November 5, 1760, and March 19, 1766, Robinson advanced Chiswell £1089.18s.6d. for the operation of the mine; see Account of John Robinson and the Lead Mine Grant, Byrd Papers, VHS.

<sup>164</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 18, 1766, 2:1-2.

<sup>165</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 20, 1766, 2:3.

<sup>166</sup>On September 6, 1766, William Nelson wrote John Norton, "The Secretary [Thomas Nelson] sends you the Virginia Gazette, which will show you the great Subjects which have engaged the Thought of the People here arising from the Death of the Speaker & poor Chiswell's unfortunate Conduct; perhaps too much hath been said upon both." William Nelson Letterbook, VSL.

<sup>167</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 12, 1766, 2:2.

<sup>168</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1766, 3:1. The circumstances of Chiswell's death are unknown. In 1786, Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, edited by Jonathan Bouchier (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1925), 111, wrote that Chiswell in an "extraordinary manner was found dead, it was never known how." A somewhat garbled account written in 1850 by John Blair Dabney asserts that Chiswell "committed suicide by taking laudanum a short time before... his trial." Dabney also says that at Chiswell's burial at Scotchtown

his coffin was opened to prove that he was actually dead and not hiding from the consequences of his crime, see John Blair Dabney, The John Blair Dabney Manuscript written with his own hand for his children A.D. 1850, edited by Charles W. Dabney (n.p., n.d.), 11. More recent studies have not solved the mystery. Bridenbaugh, "Violence and Virtue," 23-24, dismisses the suicide story, but J. A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," Early American Literature, VI (1971), n.p., 36n, believes that Chiswell indeed took his own life. In part, Lemay bases his conclusion on a statement in VMHB, XVI (1908), 207, which he attributes to John Randolph of Roanoke. An examination of the original Randolph Commonplace Book, c. 1826, 10, VHS, indicates that Randolph made no reference to suicide at all; the evidence cited by Lemay was added by an editor in 1908.

<sup>169</sup>Williamsburg-James City County Tax Book (1768-1777), 13, CW; and Rind's Va. Gaz., June 16, 1768, 3:2.

<sup>170</sup>Prudie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 2, 1768, 2:3; and November 29, 1770, 2:1.

<sup>171</sup>Will of John Chiswell, June 23, 1766, probated November 3, 1766, Lead Mine Papers, Auditors #90, VSL.

<sup>172</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 21, 1769, 1:1; and April 5, 1770, 4:1.

<sup>173</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., March 8, 1776, 3:1. Her will was proved in Caroline County court on January 9, 1777, but the document itself has not survived. See Caroline County, Minute Book (1774-1781), 102 (VSLm).

<sup>174</sup>Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403.

<sup>175</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100 (VSLm).

<sup>176</sup>Louisa County, Deed Book A (1742-1754), 64 (VSLm).

<sup>177</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 42 (VSLm), indicates John Price was employed by Beverley Randolph who, in his will, gave his "Nephew John Price [Jr.]...the two Negro Boys belonging to me which his Father now has in his Possession to Teach Them the Trade of a Carpenter." McGill, Beverley Family, 220, says that Price was Beverley Randolph's "Factor." Benjamin L. Price, John Price the Emigrant...with some of his Descendants (n.p., [1910]), 11, asserts that Price was a carpenter at Peter Randolph's Chatsworth.

<sup>178</sup>Elizabeth was born c. 1745, Jane c. 1748, John c. 1750, and Thomas August 29, 1754. Compare Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 42 (VSLm); Theodore H. and Charlotte P. Price, The Price Family of "Cool Water," Hanover County, Va. (New York: Tobias A. Wright, n.d. [1906]), [genealogical chart]; John Blair Dabney, The John Blair Dabney Manuscript Written with his own hand for his children A.D. 1850, edited by Charles W. Dabney, (n.p., n.d.), 32; and McGill, Beverley Family, 220.

179 Price Family of "Cool Water". John Price was still living in 1763 when he was listed in A True and Perfect Rent Roll of all the Lands in the County of Hanover paying Quitrents to His Majesty for the year One Thousand & Sixty Three, 23, Loyalist Claims, 1782-1790, PRO, AO 13/30 (Cwm).

180 Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403.

181 Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.

182 The wedding date is established by Benjamin Harrison's will, signed October 17, 1743, which refers to Anne as an unmarried minor; and which was presented for probate in August, 1745, by "William Randolph Gent. and Wife." See VMHB, III (1895), 129-131. Anne Harrison's brother and two sisters also married Randolphs: Susannah Randolph, Peyton Randolph, and Edward Randolph II.

183 John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book 1806-1830, 59, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M. The birthdates of the Randolph children have not been established by genealogists; they are not listed here according to their rank in age.

184 Thomas Dawson to William Randolph III, n.d. July 24, 1755?, Dawson Papers, 170, LC (Cwm).

185 Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100 (VSLm).

186 EJCCV, V, 218, 219, 293; Lunenburg County, Deed Book #1 (1746-1751), 209-213; Va. State Land Office, Patents, #28, 368-372; #32, 5-6; #34, 198-199; Henrico County, Deed Book (1744-1748), 297, 325, 326, 330; Deed Book (1748-1750), 137; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 50, 132, 224, 328, 436, 487, 543, 577; Minute Book (1752-1755), 75; Cumberland County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1752), 238, 241; Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 205-206 (VSLm). Randolph and Richard Buckner owned 10,000 acres in Lunenburg; Randolph's share has been computed here as 5,000 acres, see EJCCV, V, 219. In Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 23, 1756, 3:2, Randolph and his cousin, Richard Randolph II, advertised for sale 2,800 acres in Bedford County, but since there is no evidence that the Randolphs owned the land, it has not been included in the total acreage.

187 See note 7 supra.

188 Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, 12 (October 3, 1796), 194 (VSLm); and Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 203-212.

189 Randolph, who had served as burgess from Goochland, was not in the House in 1748, indicating he was probably not at Fighting Creek. During the restoration of Wilton in 1934, the following inscription was found which gives an approximate date for the mansion's completion: "Samson Darril put up This Cornish in The year of our Lord 1753"; for a photograph of the cornice see Architect's Emergency Committee, Great Georgian Houses of America, 2 vols. (New York, 1970), II, 116. Wilton now stands in the western suburbs of Richmond, having been moved in the 1930's to escape industrial development which never took place. It is one of the best of the surviving mansions in Virginia.

- 190 Hunter's Va. Gaz., October 20, 1752, 2:2.
- 191 Thomas Stephens to John Pownall, February 8, 1757, PRO, CO 323/13 349 (Cwm).
- 192 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1750-1767), 198; Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 31 (VSLm).
- 193 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #4, 171, 253, 440-448, VSL; and Memorial of John Tyndale Warre, PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).
- 194 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 92, 176; and Chesterfield County, Order Book #3 (1759-1767), 2 (VSLm).
- 195 York County, Judgments & Orders #3 (1759-1763), 65 (VSLm).
- 196 *Ibid.*, #2 (1770-1772), 33.
- 197 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1750-1767), 198; and Goochland County, Deed Book (1748-1755), 305-307 (VSLm).
- 198 Parks' Va. Gaz., February 27, 1745/46, as copied by John Randolph of Roanoke, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.
- 199 JHB 1742-1749, 168, 195, 237.
- 200 JHB 1742-1749, 359; and JHB 1752-1758, 3.
- 201 Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 17, 1752; 4:1; February 27, 1752, 3:2.
- 202 Jack P. Greene, "Foundations of Political Power in the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1720-1776," WMQ, 3rd series, XVI (1959), 500.
- 203 JHB 1752-1758, 132, 154, 156, 266, 300, 345, 361.
- 204 Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, PRO, CO 324/48, 20 (Cwm).
- 205 EJCCV, V, 254, 289, 391; Henrico County, Court Minute Book, (1752-1755), 98; Miscellaneous Court Records, V (1747-1757), 1719; and Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 1 (VSLm).
- 206 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 190, 294; Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 332, 370 (VSLm); and William Randolph III to Benjamin Clarke, August 26, 1757, VHS.
- 207 Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 82, 83, 87-90, 93-95, 97-99, 102, 105, 106, 108, 109.
- 208 Maria Taylor Byrd to William Byrd III, May 13, 1760, VHS.



209 The day of death is unknown, but Randolph attended the Henrico County court on June 1, 1761, see Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 499; and October 3, 1761, the Henrico vestry noted Randolph's death, see Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 117.

210 Richard Corbin to Edmund Jenings, June 12, 1759, Letterbook (1758-1768), 39, Corbin Papers LC (Cwm)

211 Henrico County, Court Orders (1755-1762), 613 (VSLm). Randolph's will does not survive.

212 Rind's Va. Gaz., July 27, 1769, 2:3; and Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of Washington, II, 189, 190; III, 115.

213 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 13, 1774, 2:3; and Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 131-137 (VSLm).

214 Accounts of the Estate of Benjamin Harrison, Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library (Cwm).

215 His position in the family has been determined by the reference to him in the will of his grandmother, Katherine Isham, Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1677-1692), 392 (VSLm).

216 Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 311 (VSLm).

217 Henrico County, Deeds & Wills (1706-1709), 3; Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm). Also see Virginia State Land Office Patent Book #9 (1695-1706), 270 (VSLm); and EJCCV, II, 33.

218 Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 317 (VSLm).

219 Secret Diary of William Byrd, 53, 69, 212.

220 Ibid., 308.

221 Wassell Randolph, William Randolph I of Turkey Island, 71-72; R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 11.

222 Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 311 (VSLm).

223 Byrd, London Diary, 442.

## CHAPTER VI

### PETER RANDOLPH: SURVEYOR-GENERAL

PETER RANDOLPH (20 October 1717--8 July 1767)<sup>1</sup>

Peter Randolph was born at Turkey Island. His mother died when he was six years old, beyond that nothing is known of his childhood. He attended the College of William and Mary.<sup>2</sup> Although no record exists of his education, he thought well enough of it later to tell his young kinsman, Thomas Jefferson, that it would be to his advantage to attend the College.<sup>3</sup> While he was a student in Williamsburg, Randolph possibly studied law with his uncle, Sir John Randolph, but the evidence does not specify any arrangement with the great lawyer.<sup>4</sup> His later career suggests that he knew at least the rudiments of the law but whether his knowledge came through formal scholarship or practical experience cannot be determined.

On July 20, 1738, Randolph married Lucy Bolling, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Robert Bolling of Prince George County. According to a contemporary account, she was "a very deserving young Lady, with a pretty Fortune."<sup>5</sup> Between about 1739 and 1760, she bore at least four children: William, Anne, Beverley, and Robert.<sup>6</sup> She presided over the home which her husband, sometime after their marriage, established on the north bank of the James River in Henrico County between Turkey Island and Richmond. The place, a visitor later noted, had "a very good house with an agreeable perspective."<sup>7</sup> Like the Dukes of Devonshire, the Randolphs called their home Chatsworth. It was, a neighbor said, a

"cheerful" household.<sup>8</sup>

Lucy Randolph long survived her husband. She supported the Virginia patriots in their struggle with the mother country signing the articles of the association boycotting English goods in 1769, and furnishing the army in 1783 with pork, bacon, and corn.<sup>9</sup> She was hosting a family dinner at Chatsworth in 1775 when two nephews began a quarrel at the table which resulted in one of them stabbing the other. "You'll judge," one of the guests recorded, "what Poor Mrs. Randolph must suffer on this Unhappy Affair, but she is become Familiar with Misfortune."<sup>10</sup> While the extent of her misfortune cannot be detailed, she had, by 1775, not only suffered the death of her husband who had left her burdened with many debts, but her eldest son had died in the previous year leaving a young wife.<sup>11</sup> Her own death is unrecorded.

Peter Randolph was a planter. Land, therefore, was an essential part of his livelihood, and he spent much time acquiring and selling it. The records, however, are so fragmented that it is impossible to obtain an exact account of his holdings. Nevertheless, there is sufficient data to place him among the larger landholders in Virginia. From his father he inherited tracts in Henrico and Goochland amounting to more than 6,370 acres;<sup>12</sup> he himself acquired at least 13,436 acres in Brunswick, Charlotte, Chesterfield, Cumberland, Goochland, and Halifax counties. Throughout his life he sold 8,268 acres, of which 7,154 can be identified as the land he inherited or purchased. These figures are not definitive; Randolph probably bought and sold more land than appears in the surviving records.<sup>13</sup>

Labor and crops were among Randolph's concerns as a planter. His vast holdings made it difficult to supervise his estates personally.

Consequently, on the plantations farthest from Chatsworth he employed resident overseers.<sup>14</sup> Slaves were also part of his plantations. By his father's will in 1742 he acquired thirty-two blacks and he continued acquiring them until at the time of his death he owned more than 250 slaves.<sup>15</sup> As a slaveholder Randolph was apparently humane, but humanity did not hamper his business sense. When his friend, William Byrd III, was in need of ready money, he advised him "to sell the Young Negroes, for it will by no Means answer to sell the Workers. The only Objection to this Scheme is, that it will be cruel to part them from their Parents, but what can be done, they alone can be sold without great Loss to you, and at present they are a charge."<sup>16</sup>

In addition to black slaves Randolph employed white servants, at least one of whom gave him difficulty. In 1755 he offered a reward for a runaway "named William Jakins, a Ploughman, about 24 Years of Age: He was just imported...and deliver'd to me the Day before Yesterday...."<sup>17</sup>

Like most other Virginia planters, Randolph's main crop was tobacco. He also grew corn, which he probably did not market, but kept on his plantations to use as feed. He owned stocks of cattle, horses, sheep and swine. And he had all the tools and implements necessary for farm operation.<sup>18</sup>

Concerned with more than the agricultural aspects of planting, Randolph had other ways of making money. With the death of his elder brother he became a town developer. Beverley Randolph had proposed subdividing one of his tracts in Henrico County on the north bank of the James River several miles above the falls at Richmond, but he died before he carried the proposal very far. It fell to Peter and his brother, William, the principal heirs, to continue it.<sup>19</sup> Peter Jefferson,

their cousin's husband, surveyed the tract and laid out streets and 150 half-acre lots in a gridiron design;<sup>20</sup> the General Assembly passed an act officially establishing the town of Beverley.<sup>21</sup> Peter Randolph conducted the land-sales himself selling each lot for £5.7.6.<sup>22</sup> Between 1751 and 1756 he sold 115 lots. Although Randolph collected purchase money as late as 1765, the town, for reasons unknown, did not prosper.<sup>23</sup> Even so, the Randolphs profited from the venture; their estimated total sales amounted to more than £600.<sup>24</sup>

Randolph had interests besides real estate. Between 1743 and 1767 he brought eighteen suits in the county courts for the recovery of more than £2917.<sup>25</sup> In these cases his credits ranged from 27 shillings to 1,783 pounds; seven of the suits were for sums in excess of one hundred pounds. The court records are imperfect and they give no indication of the nature or the extent of Randolph's business. Perhaps he kept a store; perhaps he dealt in land, slaves, and tobacco; or perhaps he loaned money outright.<sup>26</sup>

Not all his schemes were solitary; sometimes they involved his relatives and friends. In 1754 "The Honourable Peter Randolph Esqr. and Company" sued for £233.2.0.<sup>27</sup> The members of the company, except for his cousin John Randolph, are unknown. Furthermore, little is known about the company. In 1751 Randolph took out 300 advertisements in the Virginia Gazette to sell slaves; and in 1754, he sent a petition to the Lords of the Treasury informing them of his "Desire of weighing &c," which he supported with letters from Governor Dinwiddie and Receiver-General Grymes.<sup>28</sup> Whatever the schemes, the company seemed risky to at least one potential investor who wrote from London on March 1, 1754: "...I may not intermeddle in an Affair wch I apprehend to be charged

with more difficulties than I care to Incounter or make my Friends lyable to."<sup>29</sup> In 1764 Randolph joined with Roger Atkinson, a merchant, to recover a debt of £724.10.0;<sup>30</sup> a year later he was a partner of Archibald Cary and Bowler Cocke when they sued for £2000;<sup>31</sup> in both cases, however, the nature of their business cannot be determined.

Generally, Randolph's cases in the county courts went well for him. Of the eighteen suits he instituted in his own behalf, two were dismissed without explanation, and the remainder were all decided in his favor awarding him more than £2332 and court costs.<sup>32</sup> In three suits brought by his company, by his association with Atkinson, and by his partnership with Cary and Cocke, he recovered £116.11.0, £362.5.0, and £1000, respectively.<sup>33</sup> Peter Randolph, however, was not always the creditor; he himself was deeply in debt.

After his death in 1767, his executors listed £18,772.1.8 against the estate.<sup>34</sup> Apart from £435.10.2 owing to three Virginians, the greatest part of the debt belonged to English mercantile houses. Like many another Virginia planter, his tobacco never paid for the English goods he found necessary to his way of life. His executors sold off his stock, slaves, household goods, and farm implements to meet the more pressing demands.

"I have done everything in my Power to preserve Colonel Peter Randolph's Estate," his executor wrote after Randolph's death, "but am now satisfied it cannot be done....The Situation in which this poor Gentleman has left his affairs ex[er]cises the Amazement of many..but when it is considered that he was a most expensive Man in every Article of Life And his Estate was under but indiff[erent]t Managemt, for he never went to a Plantation himself the wonder ceases."<sup>35</sup>

Randolph had been plagued by debt for years. "I do from my Heart return you thanks for your support of my Credit," he wrote his Bristol creditors, Farrell and Jones, in 1764, "and beg leave to assure you I shall take every Occasion of making you the most grateful Return."<sup>36</sup> Earlier, on June 1, 1761, after requesting Farrell and Jones not to sell his tobacco in a hurry, Randolph wrote, "I have the more reason to hope for your Indulgence in this respect as I readily acquiesce to the paying Interest for any Money you may be in advance for me."<sup>37</sup>

The extent of his liabilities in comparison to his assets is difficult to determine. Much of his capital was invested in land, slaves, and crops, but he also had money for various business ventures. Furthermore, he kept his credits under close account--no sum was too small for him to collect. He may have incurred great debt, as his executor said, by luxurious living and indifferent plantation management, but it is doubtful that his assets were completely exhausted even though part of his estate had to be sold. This conclusion is supported by the fact that his executors administered his estate for fifteen years to the benefit of his heirs. Randolph's debts were troublesome not because they exceeded his assets, but because his assets were not easily converted to cash. To pay his debts Randolph sold his tobacco in England at a price which fluctuated from year to year. If his crop were insufficient to cover his indebtedness, he could dispose of land, slaves, or plantation stocks, but the market for these assets was, at best, uncertain.<sup>38</sup>

In addition to his personal affairs, Randolph looked after the interests of his friends and relatives. In 1751 he and his brother acted as attorneys collecting debts for the Hanburys, a pair of London

merchants.<sup>39</sup> Later he was agent for William Byrd III who was fighting the French and Indians. Byrd, never a prudent man of finance, left his affairs in disorder. Perplexed at the claims against the estate, Randolph wrote to Byrd on September 20, 1757, proposing the disposal of some of the slaves in order to prevent the sale of land. "We have applied to the Monied Men in Philadelphia," Randolph continued, "to borrow a large Sum for your Use...but the Danger the Colonies are in... disappoint us of the Success we hoped for. If the Money cou'd be borrow'd on Interest, I am persuaded your Estate, provided you continue your Resolutions of Frugality, might be in a reasonable Time clear'd without a Sale."<sup>40</sup> Apparently, Randolph could not protect Byrd's assets, for on December 19, 1760, Randolph advertised an auction of five hundred slaves and thirty thousand acres belonging to Byrd together with a large variety of stock, tools, and a quantity of corn.<sup>41</sup>

On several occasions Randolph served as an executor of the estates of his deceased relatives, namely William Randolph of Tuckahoe and William Stith, his cousins, and Beverley and William Randolph, his brothers.<sup>42</sup> When Peter Jefferson died in 1757, he appointed Randolph an executor of his will and a guardian "to all my Children," which included the fourteen-year-old Thomas Jefferson.<sup>43</sup> At the request of his niece, Susanna Chiswell Robinson, the widow of Speaker John Robinson, he shared in the administration of the Robinson estate. A cursory investigation convinced Randolph that the Speaker's affairs were in vast disarray. He begged Edmund Pendleton to join him and Peter Lyons as an administrator. "For gods sake refuse not this favour...", he wrote.<sup>44</sup> The three administrators did their best to settle the estate speedily, but since Robinson had made loans from the public treasury,



his affairs were too complex for easy settlement.<sup>45</sup>

In correlation with his private interests, Peter Randolph pursued a public career. His first position was clerk of the House of Burgesses, an office to which he succeeded on May 22, 1740.<sup>46</sup> The post was appointive and he got it probably because his father was a councilor friendly to the Governor. The office carried a stipend of as much as £100.,<sup>47</sup> and was practically a Randolph sinecure, for Peter's grandfather, father, and uncle all held the post. As clerk Randolph had no official power in the proceedings of the House, but he was in a position to observe the government first-hand and to forge personal and political alliances. He held the post until 1749, when he was elected burgess for Henrico County.

Elected specially to the seat of his recently deceased uncle, Richard Randolph, he took his place among the burgesses on April 24, 1749.<sup>48</sup> Even though it was late in the session, he was added to the two most important committees, Propositions and Grievances, and Privileges and Elections.<sup>49</sup> Quickly he took up the work of the House. He helped prepare a bill creating Chesterfield County (a place where he had property) and by himself he brought a bill to establish the town of Beverley above the falls of the James River (a scheme proposed by his brother, Beverley).<sup>50</sup> On sub-committees he examined enrolled bills, the treasurer's accounts, and the exchange-rate for gold and silver in Virginia.<sup>51</sup>

When the session concluded on May 11, his career as a burgess also came to an end. A week later, on May 18, came the announcement of his appointment as Surveyor-General of the Customs for the Southern District.<sup>52</sup> It was followed shortly with an appointment to the Council.

At the same time as he was advancing his career in Williamsburg, Randolph was active in the county and the parish. On May 4, 1741, he was recommended as a man eligible for justice of the peace for Henrico County, an office he assumed on August 3.<sup>53</sup> Listed regularly on the commission of the peace, he was justice until about 1754.<sup>54</sup> The record of his activity in the Henrico court is sparse, but he was regular in attendance, and he acted in special capacities: standardizing weights and measures at the tobacco warehouses, serving on inter-county committees, collecting tithables, appraising estates, examining witnesses, and repairing roads.<sup>55</sup> Incidental to his service in Henrico County, Randolph was a colonel in the county militia. Apart from his rank, however, there is no record of his military career.

Randolph was elected to the vestry of Henrico Parish on July 21, 1739, in place of his father who had resigned, but he did not take the oath of office until May 5, 1740.<sup>56</sup> During the early years of his tenure he served as churchwarden, and oversaw the building of a new chapel and glebe house. He was not very much involved in the affairs of the parish, however. In the twenty-seven years he was a vestryman, the vestry met thirty-seven times. Randolph attended eleven meetings;<sup>57</sup> and from December 8, 1752, until his death in 1767, he was never in attendance.<sup>58</sup>

Neither the county court nor the vestry satisfied Randolph's ambition. An officer of these local institutions, he kept abreast of affairs as they pertained to his personal interests. More important, the court and the vestry advanced his career in Williamsburg and London for they provided the opportunity to prove himself as a reliable public official.

The appointments of Surveyor-General and Councillor were the culmination of Randolph's career. They made him unquestionably a person of "Rank & Distinction."<sup>59</sup> He had probably sought the posts as soon as he learned that the incumbent, Robert Dinwiddie, would retire. No doubt he arranged support for his case in England. He could count very little on the Governor, for Gooch had never included him in his recommendations for the Council.<sup>60</sup> Perhaps Dinwiddie and Beverley Randolph, both of whom were in England early in 1749, advanced his claims. Possibly he profited from the influence of John and Capel Hanbury, the London merchants.<sup>61</sup> Whatever his methods, Randolph was successful. Early in April, 1749, the Commissioners of the Customs nominated him for Surveyor-General of the Customs for the Southern District of America; and, on May 2, the King in Council appointed him to the Council in the Colony of Virginia.<sup>62</sup>

The Southern District, at the time of Randolph's appointment, comprised Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, Jamaica, and the Bahamas. When the customs service was reorganized in 1763, the district was reduced to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas. As Surveyor-General, Randolph was required to inspect the activities of the customs officers within his district, examine their books and accounts, search for illegal goods, replace collectors who died or resigned. He was also to confer with and advise the Governor (which explained Randolph's appointment to the Virginia Council),<sup>63</sup> and, when the need arose, to act as an informer in the Vice Admiralty courts. He was, moreover, to handle disputes arising among local officials. The Surveyor-General received a salary of a pound a day with fifty pounds for a clerk and eighty pounds for a boatman; he also had allowances for

transportation and other contingencies including rewards for occasional and extra services.<sup>64</sup>

The purpose of the customs service, when Randolph joined it, was the regulation of trade; however, after 1763, the purpose changed to the raising of revenue as England forged new policies to meet the expenses of the recent war with France.<sup>65</sup> Whatever the purpose of the service, Randolph complied and performed his duties to the best of his ability. According to the policy of the customs board he annually surveyed the ports within his district or, if he could not make the survey himself, he sent one of his colleagues.<sup>66</sup>

When, in 1765, Charles Steuart, Surveyor-General of the Northern District, suspected fraud at Port Beaufort, North Carolina, Randolph, despite his poor health, went to the port and when he discovered that the deputy collector was pocketing the duties and covering the duplicity with false clearances, he recovered the stolen revenue.<sup>67</sup>

Not all cases, however, were simply matters of fraud. The passage of the Stamp Act in 1765 put Randolph in a difficult situation because the act stipulated that all vessels must be cleared with stamped certificates. In Virginia the stamps arrived, but the agent was not allowed to distribute them. As he did in all difficult cases, Randolph consulted with the Governor and the Council, but they now declined to give their advice. "In this situation I scarce know how to conduct myself," Randolph admitted. Nevertheless, on November 2, 1765, he advised collectors to clear vessels as usual, granting certificates attesting the inability to procure stamped paper. At the same time, he said, they should take a waiver of damages from the master in case his vessel were seized for lack of a proper clearance. "I flatter myself," he concluded,

"impossibilities will not be expected of us, and that from the Nature of the Case our Conduct will stand justified."<sup>68</sup> Once Randolph acted, Governor Fauquier approved and thereafter gave his signature to the stampless certificates.<sup>69</sup>

Most of the customs officers throughout the district followed Randolph's directives. In South Carolina, however, the officers, with the support of Governor Bull, refused to clear any vessels. The Assembly, on the other hand, pressured by merchants, shippers, and the public in general, urged the issuance of unstamped clearances. The situation in the colony was festering when the Surveyor-General arrived in Charles Town late in January, 1766. Hinting that the trade should proceed as it did elsewhere in the district, Randolph seemed to side with the Assembly, but he would not open the port. Bull was suspicious and sent a letter to Randolph, which, unfortunately, is lost.

Randolph replied on February 1, 1766, reminding Bull that he had explained his opening of the other ports in the district and that when he sought the advice of the Governor and the Council regarding the South Carolina port, they refused any opinion. Randolph said that he could not on his own authority open the port without risking censure by his superiors. He continued that if the Governor thought the port should be opened, let him put the matter in the hands of the naval officer, a customs official under the governor's authority. This action, Randolph said, he could support.<sup>70</sup>

Bull replied the next day. He told Randolph that neither he nor the Council could properly advise him in the matter of opening the port because the ultimate authority and responsibility belonged to the Surveyor-General. Regarding the Naval Officer, Bull said he was only

nominally under the Governor's authority, and furthermore, the officer would never open the port because he supported the Stamp Act.<sup>71</sup>

In a letter dated February 2, the same day as he received Bull's response, Randolph reiterated his position: he would not open the port.<sup>72</sup> Nor would Bull budge. "I shall not give you the trouble of coming to my house to discourse further on these matters," he wrote Randolph on the third, "as I have no new arguments to make use of."<sup>73</sup>

Finally, at the public announcement of the local stamp distributor that he would distribute no stamps, the Governor capitulated. On February 4, he issued clearances which affirmed the unavailability of stamped paper.<sup>74</sup> Even so, the port did not open immediately, and the conflict between Bull and Randolph resumed when the Collector refused to yield without written orders from a superior. Randolph urged the Collector to comply, but he would not order him to do so, nor would Bull.<sup>75</sup> The surviving records do not tell how the crisis was resolved, but it was resolved, for by the end of the month vessels cleared from South Carolina were arriving in Virginia.<sup>76</sup>

Randolph's position in regard to the opening of the port of South Carolina is difficult to explain. On the face of it his claim that he could not open the port on his own authority for fear of censure from his superiors is incredible, because when he came to Charles Town he had already opened other ports in the district without consequence. Opening one more port could hardly make his position any more critical than it was already. Yet, Randolph understood that his actions in the preceding months could be called to account. Perhaps these thoughts weighed so heavily on his mind that by the time he arrived in South Carolina he had a case of cold feet and did not intend to compound his

difficulties any further by opening another port.

Randolph's elevation to the Council of Virginia was coupled with his appointment as Surveyor-General. Since the Surveyor, in the course of his duties, met with the Council, it was expeditious to appoint him an official member. The position carried power and prestige. A councilor served as advisor to the Governor, judge of the General Court, and member of the upper house of the Assembly. Although Randolph was regular and active in council affairs, he was not, in the beginning, more distinguished than his colleagues. He made good and lasting friends among the councilors, notably William Byrd III. And, he got on well with Governor Dinwiddie.

With the outbreak of the French and Indian War, Dinwiddie singled out Randolph and Byrd for a special mission. The French, according to the Governor's information, were stirring up the Indians on the southern frontier. In November, 1755, he commissioned the two councilors to go and enlist the support of the Cherokees and the Catawbas for the English.<sup>77</sup> The two commissioners, accompanied by a retinue of "Gentlemen and Attendants," and carrying "very large Presents," set out from Petersburg, Virginia, late in January, 1756, to confer with the Indians.<sup>78</sup> The mission was successful. When, early in April, Randolph and Byrd appeared in Charles Town, South Carolina, "in 3 gilt Coaches with 40 led Horses, and 20 covered Waggons," they announced the Indians' "Willingness to serve the English at all Times, and now in particular...for the Interest of his Britannick Majesty." In return for the support of the red men, the commissioners promised to erect a fort for the security of Indian women, children, and old men while their warriors were gone to battle the French.<sup>79</sup> The commissioners kept their promises. For their

services Randolph and Byrd made a handsome profit; together they were paid £700 out of the Virginia quitrents<sup>80</sup> and £1000 out of the revenue collected on two shillings per hogshead of tobacco.<sup>81</sup>

In February, 1759, Randolph was appointed to the Committee of Correspondence. Created in 1759 by an act of the General Assembly to correspond with the colony's newly appointed agent in London, the committee was comprised of four councilors and eight burgesses.<sup>82</sup> During the eight years Randolph was a member, the committee took an anticlerical stand in the Parson's Cause, advocated the issuance of paper money in Virginia, tried unsuccessfully to prevent additional duty on tobacco, protested the adoption of the Stamp Act, and worked on other problems. Randolph was present at many of the committee meetings, but the surviving records indicated neither his contributions nor opinions.<sup>83</sup>

Randolph was one of four councilors and four burgesses appointed to the newly established Committee for encouraging Arts and Manufactures. He attended the first meeting on November 14, 1759, but for some unexplained reason he never again was present at subsequent meetings.<sup>84</sup>

He was also a Visitor of the College of William and Mary, but the incompleteness of the records precludes any knowledge of his activities.<sup>85</sup>

In 1764 he was named to the New Jersey boundary commission to settle that colony's dispute with New York over their mutual border. His fellow commissioners were William Franklin, Governor of New Jersey, Andrew Oliver of Massachusetts, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Corbin of Virginia. A solution to the dispute evaded them, however. A new commission met in 1769, but by that time Peter Randolph was dead.<sup>86</sup>

For all of his public importance there is very little information



regarding Randolph's social relationships. Even so, it is clear that he took for granted his position among the Virginia gentry. A story, written a century after his death, told that on one occasion he rode into Goochland to attend the county court and seeing no servant to take his horse, asked a "plainly dressed man" standing nearby to take the animal. The man, accustomed to doing things for himself, asked Randolph why two should hold his horse.<sup>87</sup> That he enjoyed the comraderie of his friends is indicated by his membership in the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge.<sup>88</sup> Like other members of his class, he was inclined to be conservative. He had risen within the structure of Virginia politics and maintained his position without shaking the foundations. His attitude during the Stamp Act crisis underscored the point. As Surveyor-General and member of the Committee of Correspondence he had protested and even side-stepped the stamp duties. But there were limits as to how far he would go in protest to the mother country. When Patrick Henry's famous Stamp Act resolves were adopted by the House of Burgesses in May, 1765, he considered them inappropriate apparently because the British authorities had already been informed of Virginia's opposition through official channels. Even though he was no longer a burgess, he came to the House chamber to aid the leadership who were seeking to undo the damage of the upstart Henry. Young Thomas Jefferson stood nearby as Randolph leafed through the journals seeking a precedent established years before during his clerkship which would allow the excision of the Henry resolves. Afterwards, unfortunately, Jefferson could not recall whether Randolph had found the precedent or not.<sup>89</sup>

By midsummer of 1765 Randolph's health was failing. Eager for his offices, some of his so-called friends began to solicit British politicians

even before he died.<sup>90</sup> Difficult though it was to discharge his duties, Randolph made two trips to South Carolina in 1765 and 1766.

Death of "an Iruposthume in his Lungs" came at Chatsworth on July 8, 1767.<sup>91</sup> A friend wrote, "Colc. Peter Randolph Died the 8th inst. after being sick at times for thise several months past. his last Confinemt. was not more than 10 or 12 Days, During which he was very ungovernable, & in all probability hasten'd his end. He is really a loss to the Public, having distinguish'd himself as a Judge...and [with] a firm attachment to the interest of His Country."<sup>92</sup>

Peter Randolph lived almost fifty years. At the time of his death he was an important man. All the advantages of a Virginia aristocrat were his. Born to a powerful family, well educated by Virginia standards, married to a lady of quality, possessed of extensive land holdings and a large dwelling house on the James River, he was a man of ambition and opportunism. Rising through the county, parish, and House of Burgesses, where he held offices both elective and appointive, he at last became Surveyor-General and Councilor. Randolph was a dependable public official with a good attendance record who, in addition to his regular duties, was occasionally given special assignments, such as the mission to the southern Indians and his membership on the Committee of Correspondence. All of his service was satisfactory. Once he had gained the upper echelons of government, however, he lost interest in the inferior positions on the county court and vestry.

He lived in the manner of a Virginia gentleman. He got his start as a planter from his father and was helped along by the inheritance that came to him at the death of his brother, Beverley. By his own efforts he increased his estates by several thousand acres. He

attracted business partners and invested in various enterprises to supply his plantation needs. He went to court regularly to recover overdue accounts. He kept a big house on his James River plantation and maintained his family in style and comfort. His debts, however, were heavy. One of his executors said after his death that his financial problems were the result of personal extravagance and bad management. Yet, he did not completely squander his resources; in part, his troubles were typical of the Virginia gentry whose tobacco sold at a fluctuating price and whose principal assets of land and slaves could not be easily turned to cash.

During his lifetime Randolph's contemporaries knew little or nothing of his financial difficulties. He was well respected. When he died, his passing was, said the Virginia Gazette, "universally regretted."<sup>93</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER VI

<sup>1</sup>Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:3.

<sup>2</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33.

<sup>3</sup>Thomas Jefferson to John Harvie, January 14, 1760, Julian Boyd, ed., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, 19 vols. (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950--), I, 3.

<sup>4</sup>York County, Deeds IV (1729-1740), 228 (VSLm).

<sup>5</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., July 28, 1738, 4:1. Lucy Bolling was born May 3, 1719; see Philip Slaughter, A History of Bristol Parish, Va. with Genealogies of Families Connected Therewith and Historical Illustrations, 2nd ed. (Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph & English, 1879), 141.

<sup>6</sup>William was born after 1738; Anne, 1747; Beverley, 1754; and Robert, 1760. See George H. S. King, "Will of the Honorable Peter Randolph of Chatsworth, Henrico County," The Virginia Genealogist, II (1958), 6, 10, 11, 12.

<sup>7</sup>J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United States of America, 2 vols. (London: Printed for G. Robinson..., J. Robson,...J Sewell, 1784), I, 28.

<sup>8</sup>Maria Taylor Byrd to William Byrd III, September 23, 1759, VHS.

<sup>9</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., July 27, 1769, 2:3; and Public Service Claims, Henrico County, Court Booklet, 14; and Commissioner's Book, III (1783), 105, VSL.

<sup>10</sup>Archibald Cary to Thomas Jefferson, October 31, 1775, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 250. Peyton Randolph of Wilton was assaulted by his brother-in-law, Lewis Burwell.

<sup>11</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 26, 1767, 2:3; and November 10, 1774, 4:1.

<sup>12</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 119; Deed Book (1744-1748), 160; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 224; and Cumberland County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1752), 241 (VSLm).

<sup>13</sup>For Randolph's land holdings and transactions see: Brunswick County, Deed Book #5, 556-558; Deed Book #6, 533-534; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 332, 375, 411, 435, 502; Deed Book #2 (1753-1755), 158, 305-311; Deed Book #3 (1755-1759), 5; Deed Book #5 (1764-1768), 180, 432; Cumberland County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1752), 238, 241; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 119; Deed Book (1744-1748), 160; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 224; Order Book (1767-1769), 99; Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101; EJCCV, V, 145; Purdie

and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 4:1; and Will of Peter Randolph of Chatsworth, Henrico County, Va., Typescript CW.

<sup>14</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 4:1.

<sup>15</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100-101; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 4:1.

<sup>16</sup>Peter Randolph to William Byrd III, September 20, 1757, VHS.

<sup>17</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., May 16, 1755, 2:1.

<sup>18</sup>Peter Randolph's Will, Typescript CW; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 4:1. Rind's Va. Gaz., July 27, 1769, 3:2.

<sup>19</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 43 (VSLm).

<sup>20</sup>Plan of the Town of Beverley, June 6, 1756, Ambler Papers 1638-1809, LC, 117 (CWm).

<sup>21</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, VI, 273-274.

<sup>22</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. 1750-1767, 60-83; 139-152; and 971 (VSLm).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 971; and John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 227.

<sup>24</sup>See noted 16 and 18 above. The sales-record is incomplete.

<sup>25</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 215, 276, 311; Court Minute Book (1752-1757), 32, 129; Court Orders (1752-1755), 554; Court Orders (1755-1762), 633, 651, 659; York County, Orders, Wills, Inventories #19 (1740-1746), 278, 287, 294, 301, 316, 330, 337, 346, 347; Judgments & Orders (1759-1763), 82; Order Book (1765-1768), 397; Judgments & Orders (1768-1770), 15; Chesterfield County, Order Book #3 (1759-1767), 63, 216, 235 (VSLm); and Accounts of Peter Randolph's Estate, LC, 8, 15, 21, 29, 39; cited hereinafter as Randolph's Estate.

<sup>26</sup>Aubrey C. Land, "Economic Base and Social Structure: The Northern Chesapeake in the Eighteenth Century," Journal of Economic History, XXV (1965), 647-654. Randolph's Estate, 21, implies that he dealt in tobacco.

<sup>27</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 184 (VSLm).

<sup>28</sup>Edmund Jenings II to Peter Randolph, March 1, 1754, Jenings Letterbook, VHS; and Va. Gaz. Day Book (1750-1752), 65, 67.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid. Earlier, on January 29, 1754, Jenings wrote Randolph from London: "The Late unexpected Agreeemt between your self & Mr. John Randolph must apologize for this Address to Acquaint you That I Have found on Inquiry an Application in it...so likely to be attended

with Great Risque That I am Determined not to Cut in it at all Nor wd I Have a Hand in Making my Friends Lyable...." Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>30</sup>York County, Judgments & Orders (1763-1765), 240 (VSLm).

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 425.

<sup>32</sup>See note 21 above. Three of the cases mentioned no money.

<sup>33</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 184; and York County, Judgments & Orders (1763-1765), 240, 425 (VSLm). In these cases the plaintiffs were awarded less than they asked; the reduction was probably result of bonded debt.

<sup>34</sup>Randolph's Estate, 1, 3. See also Chesterfield County, Order Book #4 (1767-1771), 261, 262, 474-475; Henrico County, Order Book (1767-1769), 444; and York County, Order Book (1765-1768), 465 (VSLm).

<sup>35</sup>John Wayles to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, July 9, 1769, American Loyalist Claims, PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).

<sup>36</sup>Peter Randolph to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, May 2, 1764, Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Peter Randolph to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, June 1, 1761, Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., July 27, 1769, 3:2; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 4:1; and Randolph's Estate, 5-39. Also see Emory G. Evans, "Planter Indebtedness and the Coming of the Revolution in Virginia," WMQ, 3rd series, XIX (1962), 524-525.

<sup>39</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 85 (VSLm).

<sup>40</sup>Peter Randolph to William Byrd III, September 20, 1757, VHS.

<sup>41</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 16, 1761, 4:1.

<sup>42</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 74; Henrico County, Order Book (1763-1767), 482; Henrico County, Court Orders (1755-1762), 613; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 43 (VSLm).

<sup>43</sup>Albemarle County, Will Book 2, 34 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Peter Randolph to Edmund Pendleton, May 25, 1766, United States Circuit Court, Richmond, Virginia, Record Book, No. 20, 462.

<sup>45</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 13, 1766, 3:1. The estate was not settled when Randolph died in 1767; in fact, some aspects of it were still at issue as late as 1832.

<sup>46</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 391.

<sup>47</sup>In 1746 Randolph received £50; in 1747 and in 1749, £100; see Ibid., 1742-1747, 230, 248, 397.

<sup>48</sup>Va. Gaz., April 13, 1749, in John Randolph of Roanoke, ed., Extracts from missing issues of the Virginia Gazette, Tucker Coleman Papers; JHB 1742-1749, 376.

<sup>49</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 376.

<sup>50</sup>See "Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island" supra.

<sup>51</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 378, 379, 380, 382, 383, 386, 387.

<sup>52</sup>Va. Gaz., May 18, 1749, in John Randolph of Roanoke, ed., Extracts from missing issues of the Virginia Gazette, Tucker Coleman Papers.

<sup>53</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 145, 154 (VSLm); EJCCV, V, 60.

<sup>54</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 153, 171 (VSLm); EJCCV, V, 254, 289.

<sup>55</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 165, 173, 260; Henrico County, Deed Book (1744-1748), 381-382; Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 153, 171 (VSLm).

<sup>56</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 48, 59.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., 59, 62, 72, 74, 76, 77, 81, 82, 88, 94, 95.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., 95-127 passim.

<sup>59</sup>James Maury to Peter Randolph, November 30, 1765, James Maury Letterbook, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia, Pa. (CWm).

<sup>60</sup>Correspondence from Col. William Gooch...to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, PRO, CO 5/1326, 101-102, 245 (CWm).

<sup>61</sup>On April 8, 1751, Peter Randolph was appointed attorney for the Hanburys in Virginia, Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 85 (VSLm). Earlier in 1744, one of the Hanburys had secured the Attorney Generalship for Peyton Randolph, Peter's cousin; see Walter King to Thomas Jones, January 23, 1743/44, Jones Family Papers IV, 658, LC (CWm). See also Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 506-507.

<sup>62</sup>Original Correspondence--Secretary of State 1728-1754. Orders in Council, PRO, CO 5/21, 184; Privy Council Registers 1748-1750, PRO, PC 2/101 (CWm); Charles M. Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, 4 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1934-1938), IV, 195.

<sup>63</sup>Randolph's predecessor, Dinwiddie, took a seat on the Council in 1741 by virtue of his being surveyor-general and claimed the full rights of a councillor. When the Council objected to Dinwiddie's behavior, the dispute was appealed to the home government which responded by appointing Dinwiddie a regular member. See Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 507.

<sup>64</sup>Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, IV, 198-203, 213. On January 18, 1769, Peter Randolph's executors listed his salary as £534.19.0; see Randolph's Estate, 4.

<sup>65</sup>Andrews, The Colonial Period of American History, IV, 195, 215-221.

<sup>66</sup>Charles Steuart to Peter Randolph, October 1, 1765, Letterbook 1765-1767, 30, Charles Steuart Papers, MS 5045, National Library of Scotland (CWM).

<sup>67</sup>Charles Steuart to Peter Randolph, August 5, September 10, October 1, October 12, December 11, 1765; Steuart to the Board of Trade, October 25, 1765; Steuart to the Collector and Comptroller at New York, November 13, 1765, *Ibid.*, 16-17, 29-33, 54; 33-34; 43.

<sup>68</sup>Peter Randolph to Collector of the Port of Norfolk, in Charles R. Hildeburn, "Notes on the Stamp Act in New York and Virginia," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, II (1878), 298-299. Cited hereinafter as PMHB.

<sup>69</sup>Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis Prologue to Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1963), 206.

<sup>70</sup>Peter Randolph to William Bull, February 2, [sic.] 1766, PRO, CO 5/649, transcript, LC.

<sup>71</sup>William Bull to Peter Randolph, February 2, 1766, *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup>Peter Randolph to William Bull, February 2, 1766, *Ibid.*

<sup>73</sup>William Bull to Peter Randolph, February 3, 1766, *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup>William Bull to Henry Seymour Conway, February 6, 1766, South Carolina: Original Correspondence--Secretary of State, PRO, CO 5/390, 66-67 (CWM).

<sup>75</sup>Morgan and Morgan, Stamp Act Crisis, 211.

<sup>76</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 14, 1766, 3:1-2.

<sup>77</sup>Robert Dinwiddie to Sir Thomas Robinson, November 24, 1755, Records of Dinwiddie, II, 283.

<sup>78</sup>Pennsylvania Gazette, March 25, 1756, 2:1. The paper reprinted news from Williamsburg dated February 6. Cited hereinafter as Pa. Gaz. Also see Robert Dinwiddie to James Abercromby, February 24, 1756, Records of Dinwiddie, II, 358.

<sup>79</sup>Pa. Gaz., April 22, 1756, 2:3; and May 20, 1756, 2:2.

<sup>80</sup>Journal of the Board of Trade 1758, 224-225, PRO, CO 391/65 (CWM); Treasury Miscellaneous--Early Warrants, 1861, 446-449, PRO, T 52/52 (CWM).



- <sup>81</sup>EJCCV, VI, 251.
- <sup>82</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, VII, 276-277; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 788-798.
- <sup>83</sup>"Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence," VMHB, IX (1903), 353-360; X (1903-1904), 338-356; XI (1904-1905), 1-25; XII (1905-1906), 1-14.
- <sup>84</sup>Royal Society of Arts Correspondence, Guard Book, VI, item 50 (Cwm).
- <sup>85</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary 1859, 20.
- <sup>86</sup>Harry M. Ward, Unite or Die: Intercolony Relations 1690-1763 (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), 214, 224n.
- <sup>87</sup>Extract from the Memoirs of Thomas Jefferson Randolph [c. 1865-1875], typescript, CW.
- <sup>88</sup>George Eldridge Kidd, Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1957), 1-31.
- <sup>89</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 14, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 404.
- <sup>90</sup>Richard Corbin to Robert Dinwiddie, July 12, 1765, Letterbook 1758-1768, 171, Corbin Papers, LC (Cwm). See also John Syme to Farrell and Jones, May 25, 1768, U.S. Circuit Court, Richmond, Va., Record Book #5, 474, VSL.
- <sup>91</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:3; and John Wayles to Farrell and Jones, July 9, 1767, American Loyalist Claims, PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).
- <sup>92</sup>John Syme to Farrell and Jones, July 20, 1767, U.S. Circuit Court, Richmond, Va., Record Book #5, 476, VSL.
- <sup>93</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:3.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE FAMILY OF ELIZABETH RANDOLPH BLAND

#### A. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH BLAND (c. 1686--22 January 1719/20)

Elizabeth Randolph Bland was the daughter, sister, and mother of famous Virginians. Her father was William Randolph of Turkey Island, her brothers included Sir John Randolph, and her son was Richard Bland. Except for her family associations, history might have overlooked her completely. As it is, there is precious little information about her.

She was born about 1686 and named for an elder sister who had died some months previous to her birth.<sup>1</sup> On February 11, 1701/02, she married Richard Bland, Sr.<sup>2</sup>

The Blands were a leading Virginia family who had been in the colony since 1654. Richard Bland, born August 11, 1665, was a burgess and justice of the peace for Charles City and Prince George counties, vestryman of Bruton Parish, and visitor of the College of William and Mary. At the time of his marriage to Elizabeth Randolph he was a widower who had not only outlived his wife but all six of his children as well. Although he owned a plantation at Jordan's Point in Prince George County, directly south across the James River from the Westover plantation of the Byrd family, he was a merchant in Williamsburg until about 1716.<sup>3</sup>

Typical of most Virginia women of her time, Mrs. Bland's life was confined largely to home and family. In Williamsburg she kept house "upon ye South Side Duke of Gloucester Street", where Wetherburn's

Tavern now stands.<sup>4</sup> William Byrd II saw her regularly when he came to town, and in the secret diary he kept between 1709 and 1712, he noted her hospitality and generosity. Preparing to depart Williamsburg for Westover, he wrote in a typical entry on December 14, 1710, "I went and took leave of Mrs. Bland and thanked her for all her kindness to me and my servants." The following April Byrd visited her with the specific purpose "to console the death of her father."<sup>5</sup>

Between 1704 and 1719 she bore five children, Mary, Elizabeth, Richard, Anna, and Theodorick.<sup>6</sup> The last years of her life she spent at the Jordan's Point plantation where she died January 22, 1719/20, a few weeks after the birth of her youngest son, and shortly before the death of her husband on April 6, 1720.<sup>7</sup>

1. MARY BLAND LEE (21 August 1704--May, 1764)

Mary Bland was born August 21, 1704, the eldest of the five children of Richard and Elizabeth Randolph Bland.<sup>8</sup> Little is known about her. She lived in Williamsburg until about 1716 when her family moved to Jordan's Point, a plantation on the James River in Prince George County. Although no records of her education exist, she was literate. She wrote letters and drew up her will. There were books in her home, and she marked favorite Biblical texts to teach to her children.<sup>9</sup> Orphaned at fifteen, she married Henry Lee about 1722,<sup>10</sup> and went to Lee Hall, his plantation on the Potomac River in Westmoreland County.

Her husband, a third generation member of the famous Lee family of Virginia, was born in 1691, the sixth of seven children. He inherited land from his father and was a planter. Although he was active in county affairs serving as sheriff, justice of the peace, and militia colonel, he took no part in colony government. Throughout his life he was

overshadowed by his more prominent brother, Thomas Lee of Stratford Hall. A chronicler of the Lee family said that Henry Lee was distinguished more for his marriage than for personal achievement.<sup>11</sup>

As the mistress of a plantation, Mrs. Lee's life was typical. She was the mother of four children: John, born 1724; Richard, 1726; Henry, 1729; and Lettice, 1730.<sup>12</sup> She knew enough of cooking for one of her sons to solicit fish in her behalf.<sup>13</sup> Neighbors found her a good friend and enjoyed her company.<sup>14</sup>

Henry Lee died in June, 1747,<sup>15</sup> after a prolonged illness. Under the terms of his will Mrs. Lee had an ample provision. During the remainder of her life she had the complete use and income of the Lee Hall plantation with the house, land, stock, and slaves and other property.<sup>16</sup> Widowhood was difficult, as she confessed in a letter to her brother: "The death of my dear Mr. Lee, who was one of the best and tenderest of husbands, is so great an affliction to me, that I hadn't words to express it....I know it is my duty as a christian, to bear patiently whatever happens to me, by the alotment of divine providence, and I humbly beseech Almighty God, to grant me his grace, that I may be enabled to submit patiently, to whatever trialls it may please him to lay on me.... I thank God my children are pretty well and the greatest cumforts I have...."<sup>17</sup>

She remained a widow for the rest of her life living quietly at Lee Hall near her children and grandchildren. She died early in May, 1764. She was, said one of her sons, "the best of Mothers, the best of Women & the best of friends."<sup>18</sup>

2. ELIZABETH BLAND BEVERLEY (29 May 1706--ante 1761)

Elizabeth Bland was the second of the five children of Richard and Elizabeth Randolph Bland. The second daughter, she was born May 29, 1706, and spent her first years in Williamsburg.<sup>19</sup> About 1716 she moved with the family to a plantation at Jordan's Point in Prince George County. She was thirteen years old when both of her parents died early in 1720. By the terms of her father's will she inherited a third part of her mother's clothes and jewelry, as well as £500 sterling, a bedstead with a feather bed, a dozen silver spoons, and two negro girls.<sup>20</sup>

She married William Beverley,<sup>21</sup> who was born about 1696,<sup>22</sup> and was the scion of prominent Virginia families. His grandfather, Robert Beverley the Elder, arrived in the colony about 1663; his father, Robert Beverley the Younger, was the author of the famous History and Present State of Virginia, published in 1705; and his mother was Ursula Byrd, daughter of William Byrd I of Westover.<sup>23</sup> A planter with extensive landholdings, William Beverley distinguished himself as a public servant. He was justice of the peace and clerk in Orange and Essex counties and was a burgess for Orange from 1734 to 1740, and for Essex from 1742 to 1749.<sup>24</sup> During his tenure in the House of Burgesses, he was appointed to the commission to survey the Fairfax land in Northern Neck in 1736,<sup>25</sup> and in 1744 he was a negotiator of the Treaty of Lancaster with the Six Indian Nations.<sup>26</sup> On April 3, 1750, after seeking an appointment for years,<sup>27</sup> he became a member of the Virginia Council.<sup>28</sup>

In contrast to her husband, Elizabeth Beverley spent most of her life outside the public sphere. Domestic matters were her chief concerns. She bore five children: Elizabeth, born January 15, 1725/26;<sup>29</sup> Ursula, birthdate unknown; John, born about 1736;<sup>30</sup> Robert, born August 21,

1740;<sup>31</sup> and Anna, born about 1743.<sup>32</sup> Although her husband placed the clothing orders with English merchants, Mrs. Beverley undoubtedly advised him of the children's sizes and needs, and she probably shared his frustration when the clothes did not fit: "...my Sons Shoes & Gloves are not too big for a boy of 3 yrs old," Beverley complained to a London merchant, "wherefore instead of 6 I have in the next order made him 8 years old."<sup>33</sup> As a mother she was concerned with childhood disease and illness. "My wife woud gladly wait on Mrs. Fairfax and the good Company," Beverley wrote a friend, "but our daughter Ursula is in a bad state of health and takes one kind of Physick or other every day...."<sup>34</sup> Ursula recovered, but her brother, John, was not so fortunate. A grief-stricken father told how the six-year-old boy died: "...my Dear son John...departed this life at Col Byrds (where I had placed him at School) & yt inhuman Lady kept my dearest boy tho' very sick all along in a cold room without fire or any body to lie with him to keep him covered, tho' it was very cold & to my extream grief I got there 2 nights before he died, having with him only that old fool of a Doctor... who had no medicines & before I could get another Doctor, it was too late, for God took him from me on the 26th of Novr. 1742."<sup>35</sup> It was doubtless a relief and satisfaction to the parents that their other children survived to maturity. In addition to their own offspring, the Beverleys took her nephew, Robert Munford, and reared him as their own child because his widowed mother could not support him.<sup>36</sup>

Elizabeth Beverley was mistress of Blandfield, the Beverley plantation in Essex County, which her husband named to honor her family, the Blands. A colonial mansion survives on the site, but, if it is the house where she lived, it was altered by her son in the 1770's.<sup>37</sup>

She maintained close ties with her brothers and sisters long after she had a home and family of her own. Perhaps they were drawn together by the early deaths of their parents. She was concerned about the precarious state of Anna Munford's finances, worried about the condition of Mary Lee's health,<sup>38</sup> and distressed when Richard Bland thought of going to England for clerical orders.<sup>39</sup> She had maternal feelings for her youngest brother, Theodorick, who had been a babe in arms when they were orphaned. He was married and a father when she wrote him in 1745:

I am very sorry we should be depriv'd of your company for want of cloaths & I wish it ware in my power to give you some & I am shore if Mr Beverley had money at command you would not want them or anything in reason for I doo assure you /you/ are a very perticuler favorite of his....I hope your behaviour will be always such as to Deserve his esteem & to doo it more affectionally. I would have you keep a corryspondance with him by Letter which I am shore he would be very much pleased with....<sup>40</sup>

In the midsummer of 1750, in the company of her husband, nephew, and two younger children (Elizabeth and Ursula were both married by that time), she departed for England where her ten-year-old son, Robert, and her thirteen-year-old nephew, Robert Munford, were to be placed in school. The entire family, probably remembering son John's death at school, intended to reside in England during the time of the boys' education.<sup>41</sup> They arrived in Liverpool on August 8, 1750. The students were first put in Beverley School, but when the master of Beverley School became headmaster of Wakefield Grammar School in April, 1751, Beverley transferred his son and nephew there and took a house nearby.<sup>42</sup> However, the Beverleys did not remain in England as long as anticipated. When Beverley learned that his absence from Virginia threatened his place on the Council, in January, 1752, he returned to the colony. Mrs. Beverley, however, remained at Wakefield. A friend reported in March that she "has a bad cough she has kept her room a month I fear

it will be too hard for her."<sup>43</sup> When she returned to Virginia is not known.

There are few records of Mrs. Beverley's later years. Her husband died February 28, 1756,<sup>44</sup> and by the terms of his will she was given life tenure to the Blandfield plantation.<sup>45</sup> Of her children, her elder daughters were married--Elizabeth to James Mills, a merchant; and Ursula to William Fitzhugh, a Stafford County planter;<sup>46</sup> Robert continued his education in England at Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple;<sup>47</sup> only the teen-aged Anna remained at home. Mrs. Beverley died sometime before 1761.<sup>48</sup>

3. RICHARD BLAND (6 May 1710--26 October 1776). See Chapter VIII infra.

4. ANNA BLAND (MUNFORD) CURRIE (25 February 1711--4 February 1771)

Born February 25, 1711, Anna Bland was the third daughter and fourth child of Richard and Elizabeth Randolph Bland.<sup>49</sup> She moved with her family from Williamsburg to a plantation at Jordan's Point in Prince George County about 1716. Orphaned in 1720, she inherited £500 sterling, a feather bed with a bedstead, a dozen silver spoons, two negro girls, and a third part of her mother's clothing and jewelry.<sup>50</sup>

She married Robert Munford, a planter who owned Whitehall, a plantation in Prince George County. The origins of his family in Virginia are obscure; a Munford may have settled in Nansemond County in 1664; the first family member about whom there is certain information was Robert's grandfather, James Munford who patented land south of the James River in Charles City County in 1689.<sup>51</sup> Robert Munford was a second son born sometime after 1701.<sup>52</sup> A vestryman in Bristol Parish from 1735 to 1742,<sup>53</sup> he also was a burgess for Prince George County



from 1736 to 1740.<sup>54</sup>

Anna Munford bore her husband three children: Elizabeth, born September 22, 1734; Robert, born about 1737; and Theodorick, born February 21, 1741/42.<sup>55</sup> Her marriage, however, was unhappy. Much of the blame lay with Munford, for he had a drinking problem. Liquor was readily available in colonial Virginia, and there were few who did not know the properties of strong drink; but Munford was more than an occasional drinker and by contemporary standards now he might be considered an alcoholic. Perhaps he was drinking on August 23, 1736, when in Prince George County he disrupted a sheriff's committee investigating the irregularities of his election as burgess, an act for which he was reprimanded on the floor of the House by the Speaker, Sir John Randolph.<sup>56</sup> Perhaps his drinking was the reason he resigned from the vestry of Bristol Parish on October 14, 1742.<sup>57</sup> Certainly his drunkenness drew him into debt and, as a result, he was compelled to sell some of his estate.<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, it was hard to live in the same household with him. He was, said his brother-in-law, William Beverley, "a Sot & used [his wife] very Ill on all Occasions, yet she always behaved her Self towards him on all accounts as a good & dutiful wife ought to do...."<sup>59</sup> The unfortunate Munford died late in 1744.<sup>60</sup>

Munford's death left his wife "a poor distressed widow...in very mean circumstances."<sup>61</sup> Her children were small and the Whitehall plantation where they all lived was mortgaged for £360 sterling. The Blands came to their sister's assistance, providing such help as they could. The Lees took her daughter, and her son Robert went to the Beverleys at Blandfield. Despite their best efforts her family was unable to raise money among themselves to discharge the mortgage on

her home, but she somehow secured the funds because Whitehall remained in the family until the 1770's.<sup>62</sup>

In the fall of 1747, Anna Munford married George Currie whom she had apparently hired to manage some property in Roanoke. The courtship was troubled. In June, 1747, Currie registered Mrs. Munford's power of attorney in Lunenburg County. In September she brought suit against him. Suddenly, before November, they were married.<sup>63</sup>

Currie was a Scotsman of uncertain background. Nothing is known of him before his marriage. He was a man of ambition and enterprise. He managed his wife's property, and it was probably at his instigation that the Whitehall place was divided into town lots and sold with other holdings.<sup>64</sup> At the formation of Halifax County in 1752, he became county clerk. The next year, 1753, he was elected burgess, but was not allowed to take his seat because he had not lived three years in the county. He was a surveyor, developer, and speculator in western land. He laid out the Halifax county seat where he built the first courthouse, prison, stocks, and pillory. He also served as jailor and operated an ordinary. When the county seat was moved in 1755, Currie moved with it and again built the county government buildings. Between 1755 and 1756 he acquired over 5,700 acres in Halifax.<sup>65</sup>

There is virtually no information about Anna Bland after her marriage to Currie. Certainly she accompanied her husband when he moved to Halifax County in the early 1750's. She bore him two daughters, Margaret and Ann, but neither of their birthdates is recorded. She lived to see her children grow up. Elizabeth married the Reverend Archibald McRoberts of Dale Parish, Chesterfield County.<sup>66</sup> Robert was taken to England by the Beverleys in 1750, where he was educated in

Beverley and Wakefield grammar schools. He read law for a time with Peyton Randolph, fought in the French and Indian War, married his cousin, Anna Beverley, became a planter and burgess, and is remembered as the author of two remarkable plays, The Candidates and The Patriots.<sup>67</sup> Theodorick, after his schooling at the College of William and Mary, became a sea-captain in the Virginia trade. Of her daughters by Currie, Margaret married John Fawn, a ship's captain, and Ann remained with her mother until her death. Mrs. Currie and her daughter, Mrs. McRobert, redeemed Whitehall, the old Munford place sold by Currie in 1752, and conveyed it to Theodorick Munford.<sup>68</sup>

Anna Bland Currie died on February 4, 1771.<sup>69</sup> Her husband died shortly afterwards.<sup>70</sup>

5. THEODORICK BLAND (2 December 1719--13 October 1784)

Theodorick Bland was born December 2, 1719,<sup>71</sup> at Jordan's Point, Prince George County, the second son and fifth child of Richard and Elizabeth Randolph Bland. Orphaned at the age of five months, he was reared under the guardianship of his uncles, William and Richard Randolph.<sup>72</sup> Nothing is known of his early life. Perhaps, like his brother, Richard, he attended the College of William and Mary, but his name does not appear on any surviving class list.

A planter, Bland was of necessity concerned with land. His plantations cannot be defined exactly because of the incompleteness of the records, but it is clear that his holdings were extensive. From his father he inherited plantations of unspecified dimension south of the James River; and by his marriage he acquired, in addition to the Kippax plantation where he made his home, an interest in Amelia, Essex, and Surry counties amounting to more than 4,535 acres.<sup>73</sup> He accumulated

land on his own initiative either through patent or purchase. In 1745 he patented 1,500 acres in Surry County; five years later he patented 8,000 acres in Augusta County,<sup>74</sup> in 1754 he purchased 161 acres in Amelia County,<sup>75</sup> in June, 1760, he patented 2,217 acres in Amelia; and the following October he bought 200 acres more in the same county.<sup>76</sup>

Occasionally he sold land. The records indicated that he disposed of tracts in at least four counties. Of these sales, however, only 3,501 acres were enumerated in Amelia and Essex.<sup>77</sup>

Totaling Bland's acreage and deducting the acres he sold, one is left with 13,112 acres, a total indicative more or less of his actual holdings. The use to which he put his land is unknown. Certainly, since he lived in the area, his tracts in Amelia, Prince George, and Surry counties were agricultural operations. It is probable that his interest in Augusta County was primarily speculative because the property was far removed from his other holdings, and he made the patent with four other men.

Labor was an important factor in the management of Bland's plantations. He owned slaves throughout his life. He inherited half of his father's slaves, and after his marriage he had the use of the Bolling slaves. At the time of his death, his executor listed fifty-one blacks, men, women, and children belonging to his estate.<sup>78</sup> While some of his slaves were routinely employed in the house and the fields, others, because of their skills, were given special positions on his plantations where he had both a shop for carpenters and smiths. In 1763 he hired a baker named Cicero and paid his owner £30 a year for his services.<sup>79</sup> He trained a promising negro named Phill to be a blacksmith in his plantation shop. "Your Waggon is done," Bland informed his son-in-law

on June 12, 1772, "and the whole work performed by Phill and I think is well done, however, I dont beleive he is yet master of his Trade tho' a few months more will Compleat him...."<sup>80</sup> By the following November Phill had apparently improved his skill, for Bland wrote "the wheels Phill made I have sold."<sup>81</sup> There are, furthermore, references to his employing his blacks as house-painters.<sup>82</sup>

Bland also employed whites on his plantations, but the record nowhere specifies the tasks to which they were assigned. Perhaps they were overseers on his outlying farms.<sup>83</sup> Little is known of his relations with these men, but one Rigley, after leaving his service, murdered a slave,<sup>84</sup> and Bland was asked to assist in collecting Rigley's fine.

There was livestock on his plantations. The inventory of his home plantation made after his death in 1784 listed fifty-five milk-cows, twenty-seven sheep, two horses and three mares.<sup>85</sup>

As a planter Bland was naturally concerned with agriculture. His crops were typical of Virginia in the mid-eighteenth century: tobacco, indigo, and wheat.<sup>86</sup> These crops he sold in England. He also grew fruit: apples, peaches, and grapes,<sup>87</sup> which were mostly for home consumption. He thought well enough of his peach brandy, however, to present it to a friend in England.<sup>88</sup>

Bland was an amateur botanist who experimented with grapes. Planting seeds from raisins, he developed the Bland Grape, which was described as "a hybrid in no way...inferior to some of the European grapes."<sup>89</sup>

How successful was Bland as a planter? An evaluation is difficult. Time and again he complained of debts and his inability to pay them.

"I must beg you'll excuse my not makg. you full remitt...", he wrote a creditor in 1767, "wch. I do assure you gives me great Concern, the di[s]agreable Stamp Act prevented my making anything by my office [as county clerk] & the weather Occationed my Crops to be so very Short that I shall not be able to raise more from them then will pay my Taxes and Cloath & Tool my negroes...."<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, as he sold his produce in England he was subject to the risks of a trans-Atlantic voyage and the fluctuations of the market when his crops reached the port.<sup>91</sup> Nevertheless, Bland's position was not unique in Virginia; other planters, among them his Randolph cousins, found themselves in similar circumstances. In spite of his difficulties, Bland's home was well furnished and his plantations well stocked.<sup>92</sup>

At the same time as Bland was establishing himself as a planter, he was also engaged in public service. Appointed to the vestry of Bristol Parish in 1740, he served about twenty-seven years until he left the parish. While he was vestryman he was several times churchwarden, and was in charge of remodeling the church and improving the glebe.<sup>93</sup>

In 1742 he became a justice of the peace in Prince George County.<sup>94</sup> The local county records are incomplete and when they are extant, they make no evaluation of Bland's justiceship. He served until 1747 when he became county sheriff.<sup>95</sup> Nothing further is known of his service to the county until 1759 when he was county clerk.

The county clerkship was a lucrative post for it carried not only a regular salary but also additional fees for extra services. The clerk maintained the county records keeping the court minutes and compiling books of orders, deeds, wills, and inventories. The clerk was

required to be trained for the post, and it was common in Virginia for an aspiring clerk to apprentice himself to a practising clerk. Since the Prince George records are incomplete, it is impossible to determine exactly when Bland became clerk, or how he obtained the post. By the 1750's it is unlikely that he served an apprenticeship; he probably gained the post because of his family and county connections. Regardless of how he came to the office, he was considered fit to instruct apprentice clerks. On June 10, 1760, one Edward Wyatt voluntarily bound himself to Bland "to be taught and Instructed in the Business of a County Clerk" until he was twenty years old. Wyatt pledged to be honest and trustworthy, to avoid cards, dice and other "Unlawful Games," not to frequent taverns or "Tipling Houses," and not to indulge in fornication or matrimony. For his part, Bland promised to instruct Wyatt in clerical duties, to provide him with food, laundry, and shelter, and, during the final two years of his apprenticeship, to pay him £10 Virginia money.<sup>96</sup>

Bland also served the county as a member of the Prince George militia. In 1751 he was listed as a major and by December 15, 1758, he was a colonel,<sup>97</sup> but there is no information about his military activities.

Unlike his brother, Richard, and many of his Randolph cousins, Bland took no part in colonial government. He was never a member of the House of Burgesses or the Council. Nevertheless, he kept abreast of the political situation in Virginia, subscribing, for instance, to the Journals of the House of Burgesses.<sup>98</sup> During the 1760's and 1770's, as relations between England and her American colonies grew strained, he sided with his fellow Virginians against the mother country. He

complained in 1767 that the Stamp Act deprived him of his clerk's fees. In 1774 he was clerk of a meeting of the freeholders of Prince George County protesting the Coercive Acts and supporting the curtailing of trade with the mother country.<sup>99</sup>

Imperial policies shaped Bland's thought, but Virginia politics influenced him too. "We have a report," he wrote early in 1771, "which seems to be Credited that Ld. Dunmore is to be our Governor." Several months later, when the Governor apparently had intervened to Bland's detriment in a case before the General Court, Bland wrote, "our Ld. D-----e is a very great B-----d in my opinion."<sup>100</sup> There was no reason for him to change his opinion of Dunmore, when on April 21, 1775, royal marines on the Governor's orders took fifteen half barrels of powder from the magazine in Williamsburg. According to tradition, Bland actively resisted the Governor's measures. With his son and John Randolph of Bizarre, his son-in-law, he sold forty slaves in order to replace the seized powder.<sup>101</sup> If the tradition is true, the Bland's made a considerable sacrifice for the patriot cause.

With the coming of independence in 1776, Bland was elected to the Virginia Senate. There is not sufficient information to trace his senatorial career. On November 11, 1778, the sergeant at arms was ordered to arrest him for non-attendance, but the next day he was made chairman of the committee of the whole.<sup>102</sup>

The private life of Theodorick Bland is better documented than any of his Bland or Randolph relatives because more of his personal papers have survived. Orphaned during infancy, he was reared under the guardianship of his uncles, William and Richard Randolph. As the youngest child in the family, his sisters and brother took a protective



attitude toward him that lasted into his maturity. He was the father of several children when his sister, Elizabeth Beverley, instructed him in polite behavior.<sup>103</sup> "It is always a sensible satisfaction to me, whenever I can enjoy the pleasure of your company," wrote his brother, Richard, "and I've often purposed to see you, at your own house, but my business has prevented me...if I was to follow my own inclinations, I should always be in your company, but that, in this troublesome world, is not to be done."<sup>104</sup>

Bland married young, perhaps because his parents were dead and he had no permanent home. He was nineteen when, about 1739, he married Frances Bolling.<sup>105</sup> By Virginia standards he made a good marriage indeed. Frances Bolling was born in 1724,<sup>106</sup> a descendant of a family which had come to the colony in 1660. She was the only child of Drury Bolling, a Prince George County planter, who died in 1726,<sup>107</sup> leaving her plantations in Essex and Prince George counties and an inventory valued at £542.19.4 $\frac{1}{4}$ .<sup>108</sup> It was at Kippax, the Bolling plantation on the south side of the Appomattox River, that the Blands made their first home.

The marriage produced six children, five daughters and a son. They were, in the order of their birth, Elizabeth, born January 4, 1739/40; Theodorick, Jr., March 21, 1741/42; Mary, August 22, 1745; Ann, September 5, 1747; Jane, September 30, 1749; and Frances, September 24, 1752.<sup>109</sup>

The Blands moved several times. From Kippax, where they lived during the first years of their marriage, they went to Buckskin, a plantation in Prince George County, where they remained until about 1746 when they returned to Kippax.<sup>110</sup> Five years later they were established

at Cawsons, a plantation on the south bank of the James River near the mouth of the Appomattox.<sup>111</sup> Situated high on a bluff overlooking the confluence of the two rivers, the Cawsons house had a magnificent prospect "embracing in one view Shirley, the seat of the Carters, Bermuda Hundred, with its harbor and ships, City Point, and other places...."<sup>112</sup> Bland remained at Cawsons until the early 1780's when he moved to Amelia County.

As his children grew up, Bland took an interest in their education. In 1752 he purchased copies of Lewis's Catechism and Lilly's Grammar. He sent his son to the grammar school at the College of William and Mary in 1754, then to Wakefield Grammar School in England, and finally to the University of Edinburgh for training in medicine. His daughters were not neglected, for on August 27, 1756, after his son was abroad, he advertised for "A PERSON who understands teaching Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, and comes well recommended."<sup>113</sup>

In a series of letters written to his son-in-law, John Randolph of Bizarre, between 1770 and 1772, Bland described life at Cawsons when his children were married and gone from his house. "As to domestick affairs," he wrote in February, 1771, "we are at present neither Sick or well [ ] ; [ ] my wife--in one Corner and my Self in the other sometimes Grunting and sometimes laughing at each other....My wife (who is employed in the old Work of Curtain making [ ] ) [ ] joins in her most Sincere love to you...."<sup>114</sup> "I am laid up with a fit of the Gout," he complained in March, "therefore must refer you to my wife for the news...."<sup>115</sup> In July he wrote a short letter because "the tooth Ake prevents my saying any more...."<sup>116</sup> "I want much to see you and my dear children....," he wrote in June, 1772, "would it be any great prejudice to Spend a few

days at Cawsons, if it will be a prejudice I must forego that Satisfaction great as it would be."<sup>117</sup> "My wife has been very unwell ever since you left us," he wrote the following November, "but yesterday was prevailed on to take a puke which has relieved her very much and she is better this morning than she has been for sometime passed."<sup>118</sup>

His wife's health, despite treatment, continued to fail. On December 6, 1773, he wrote to Randolph asking that he bring his family to Cawsons because Mrs. Bland's "Indisposition will, I fear, prevent our Coming up this Xmas...."<sup>119</sup> "My wife Still continues in the low way she has been for sometime past....," he wrote in April, 1774. "Your Mama has been extreemly ill but is now recovering," the younger Theodorick Bland's wife told Fanny Randolph on May 24.<sup>120</sup> "My wife is better....," Bland wrote next day, "tho' still Continues very unwell."<sup>121</sup> Sometime later in 1774 Frances Bolling Bland died; she was about fifty.

Bland was lonely as a widower and, on the advice of his son, sought a new mate. One woman he met was unsatisfactory. "Our politics differed so much," he confessed to Theodorick, Jr., "that we parted by mutual consent." There was a more attractive woman, he continued, "a lady of great goodness, sensible, and a true whig."<sup>122</sup> Perhaps the attractive Whig was Elizabeth Yates whom he married in 1777.

His second wife was the daughter of his uncle, Captain Edward Randolph, and the widow of the Reverend William Yates, late President of the College of William and Mary. Since the death of her husband in 1764, the widow Yates had lived near Bland on a plantation in Prince George County. The Blands were pleased with the union. Fanny Randolph wrote her brother, "our good Papa has repaired his loss by his connection with Mrs. Yates, who is now our Mother, an epithet I give her with

greatest pleasure, & which she has the highest tittle to from her tenderness to me."<sup>123</sup> Bland himself found contentment in his second marriage and advised a despondant friend "in order to remove your melencholly I must recommend to you a good wife which I think you are in great want off [sic] there being no real comfort in this life without a help mate."<sup>124</sup>

During the early part of his second marriage Bland continued to reside at Cawsons. Much of his time throughout the war for independence was spent managing his affairs and those of his son who was away fighting the British. He fled Cawsons for a brief time in early January, 1781, when Benedict Arnold led British troops up the James River in a raid on Richmond.<sup>125</sup> Although he had suffered from the gout in the winter of 1781, and his wife had been ill too, spring found the Blands on the mend. "I have sent all my workman to Amelia to Build me a House," he informed his son on March 21, "and shall remove there as soon as I can get one Built."<sup>126</sup>

With his wife, he left Cawsons about 1782 for their new home in Amelia, a plantation called Springfield. They were comfortable, for the house was well appointed with mahogany and walnut furniture, mirrors, portraits, pictures, silver, china, linen, and bedding. The cellar and outbuildings were well stocked with food, tools, and supplies.<sup>127</sup>

Bland died at Springfield on October 13, 1784. Of his death, his step-son wrote, "he expired about half after four this morning perfectly in his senses."<sup>128</sup> His wife did not survive him a year.<sup>129</sup>

Theodorick Bland is remembered, if at all, chiefly as the brother of Richard Bland and the grandfather of John Randolph of Roanoke. Although in his own time he gained neither power nor prestige as a planter

or a public official, he was on his own terms a successful man, as were many of his contemporaries who left no mark on their times. His plantations were prosperous enough for him to live well and to provide for his children. His public service in the county, vestry, militia, and Virginia Senate indicated both the respect in which he was held by his peers and his ability in positions of responsibility. Furthermore, Bland's personal papers reveal a man content with his station and accomplishments.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER VII

<sup>1</sup>The date of her birth is between April 17, 1685, when the elder sister, Elizabeth, died (see supra.) and October 10, 1686, when her grandmother Isham mentioned the younger Elizabeth in her will, Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1677-1692), 392-393 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>2</sup>Charles Campbell, ed., The Bland Papers Being a Selection from the Manuscripts of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr., of Prince George County, Virginia, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va., 1840), I, 149. See marriage bond, Henrico County, Deeds and Wills (1697-1704), 279 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>3</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149; Goodwin, Bruton Parish, 142; Prince George County, Deeds and Wills (1713-1728), 46, 57, 122 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>4</sup>York County, Deed Book #3 (1713-1729), 119-120 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>5</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 83, 231, 271, 334, 359, 433, 479, 524, 560.

<sup>6</sup>See sketches of their lives infra.

<sup>7</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Bland Family Notes, n.d., Bryan Family Papers, UVa (CWM).

<sup>8</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>9</sup>Will of Mary Bland Lee, October 19, 1762, Westmoreland County, Deeds & Wills #14 (1761-1768), 265 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and Henry Lee to Richard Lee, May 13, 1764, Edmund Jennings Lee Papers, VHS.

<sup>10</sup>Cazenove Gardner Lee, Lee Chronicle, edited by Dorothy Mills Parker (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 1957), 62, 85.

<sup>11</sup>Burton J. Hendrick, The Lees of Virginia, Biography of a Family (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1935), 329-330; and Westmoreland County, Court Orders (1705-1721), 369, 392; Orders (1721-1731), 55, 148 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 438; and Frederick W. Alexander, Stratford Hall and the Lees (Oak Grove, Va.: n.p., 1912), 67-68, 132.

<sup>13</sup>Henry Lee to Richard Lee, February 22, 1758, Papers of Richard Bland Lee, 338 (CWM).

<sup>14</sup>Fothergill, ed., Wills of Westmoreland County (n.p., 1925), 124; and Robert Rose Diary 1746/47-1751, entry of January 5, 1747/48 (CWM).

<sup>15</sup>Robert Rose Diary, entry of June 27, 1747.

<sup>16</sup>Westmoreland County, Deeds & Wills #10 (1744-1748), 364-368, 375 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>17</sup>Mary Bland Lee to Theodorick Bland, March 1, 1747/48, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 4-5.

<sup>18</sup>Henry Lee to Richard Lee, May 13, 1764, Edmund Jennings Lee Papers, VHS. For a portrait of Mary Bland Lee, the original of which is in the Henry Francis Dupont Winterthur Museum, see Robert S. Gamble, Sully, The Biography of a House (Chantilly, Va.: Sully Foundation Limited, 1973), 8.

<sup>19</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>20</sup>Will of Richard Bland, February 4, 1719/20, Prince George County, Deeds & Wills 1713-1728, 395 (VSLm).

<sup>21</sup>The marriage date is unknown. Apparently Beverley was still a bachelor on April 29, 1721; see Byrd, London Diary, 523. Presumably, the wedding took place before the birth of their first child in January, 1725/26.

<sup>22</sup>The date is taken from a mourning ring inscribed, "The Hon. William Beverley, Ob. Feb. 28, 1756, ae 60." See McGill, Beverley Family, 535.

<sup>23</sup>Furthermore, his uncle, Peter Beverley, was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and father-in-law to William Randolph II and Sir John Randolph; and John Robinson, son of his father's sister, was the longtime Speaker and Treasurer of the colony.

<sup>24</sup>Essex County, Deed Book #23 (1742-1745), 9 (VSLm); and JHB, 1727-1740, ix; JHB 1742-1749, vii, ix.

<sup>25</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 546, 547.

<sup>26</sup>CVSP, I, 238; and "The Treaty of Lancaster, 1744," VMHB, XIII (1913), 141-142.

<sup>27</sup>Beverley actually sought the clerkship of the colony which carried with it a seat on the Council. See William Beverley to Christopher Smyth, March 10, 1741/42; Beverley to Lord Fairfax, August 9, 1742, William Beverley Letterbook, New York Public Library (CWM). Cited hereinafter as Beverley Letterbook.

<sup>28</sup>EJCCV, V, 388.

<sup>29</sup>In a letter to John Fairchild, February 3, 1743/44, Beverley referred to "My Eldest daughter Eliza," Beverley Letterbook. The birth-date is given in McGill, Beverley Family, 535.

<sup>30</sup>Beverley wrote to Micajah Perry on July 11, 1738, "my Son...will be 2½ yrs old next Spring," Beverley Letterbook.

<sup>31</sup>Beverley Family Bible, photocopy VSL; Beverley Fleet, ed., Virginia Colonial Abstracts, Kind and Queen County, XXVIII (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1961), 61; J. A. Venn, ed., Alumni Cantabrigiensis, a biographical list of all known students, graduates and holders of office at the University of Cambridge, from earliest times to 1900, (part II, 1752-1900) 2 vols. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1940), I, 254.

- <sup>32</sup>Beverley to John Fairchild, July 18, 1743: "My wife is with child...", Beverley Letterbook.
- <sup>33</sup>Beverley to Micajah Perry, August 4, 1742, Beverley Letterbook.
- <sup>34</sup>Beverley to William Fairfax, January 20, 1737/38, VHS.
- <sup>35</sup>Beverley to John Fairchild, March 9, 1742/43, Beverley Letterbook.
- <sup>36</sup>Beverley to Richard Bennett, February 12, 1744/45, Ibid.
- <sup>37</sup>Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 261-265.
- <sup>38</sup>Elizabeth Beverley to Theodorick Bland, July 26, 1745, Campbell Papers, VHS.
- <sup>39</sup>William Beverley to Richard Bland, May 11, 1743, Beverley Letterbook.
- <sup>40</sup>Elizabeth Beverley to Theodorick Bland, 1745, Campbell Papers, VHS.
- <sup>41</sup>Richard Ambler to Edward Ambler, June 12, 1750, Elizabeth Barbour Ambler Deposit, Alderman Library, UVa (CWM).
- <sup>42</sup>Diary and Account Book of William Beverley, 1696-1756, VHS.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid.; EJCCV, V, 388; and Mary Shaw to Edward Ambler, March 26, 1752, UVa. (CWM).
- <sup>44</sup>McGill, Beverley Family, 535.
- <sup>45</sup>"Will of William Beverley, 1756" VMHB, XXII (1914), 207-208.
- <sup>46</sup>Diary and Account Book of William Beverley, 1696-1756, VHS.
- <sup>47</sup>Venn, Alumni Cantabrigienses, pt. II, I, 254.
- <sup>48</sup>Robert Beverley returned to Virginia in 1761; on July 11, he wrote, without any reference of his mother, "I have the Satisfaction to acquaint you...of my safe arrival here after a Passage of nine Weeks.... I had the Pleasure of finding all my Sisters here well, & I have concluded to stay with Mr. Miles till the last of Sept. when he breaks up Housekeeping, & he will then accompany me to Blandfield where he proposes to stay 'till the Summer, at wh. Time he is determined to go to England...." Robert Beverley to John Bland, Robert Beverley Letterbook 1761-1775 (CWM).
- <sup>49</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.
- <sup>50</sup>Prince George County, Deeds & Wills (1713-1728), 395 (VSLM).



<sup>51</sup>"Mumford and Munford Families," Tyler's Quarterly Magazine, III (1921-22), 174.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid., 174-175.

<sup>53</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Register, 69-70, 109.

<sup>54</sup>JHB 1727-1740, ix.

<sup>55</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Register, 340, 341; Rodney M. Baine, Robert Munford, America's First Comic Dramatist (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1967), 100 n. 22. R. I. Randolph, Randolphs of Va., 243, asserts that there was a fourth child, William born November 28, 1734. Since the date conflicts with the birth of Elizabeth, which is recorded in the parish register, and since there is no contemporary reference to William Munford, he is not listed here.

<sup>56</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 246, 250, 281-282, 298. The charges were brought by his brother-in-law, Richard Bland.

<sup>57</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Register, 109.

<sup>58</sup>William Beverley to Richard Bland, May 11, 1743, Beverley Letterbook.

<sup>59</sup>William Beverley to Richard Bennett, February 12, 1744/45, Beverley Letterbook.

<sup>60</sup>"It is now some months since...Mrs. Anna Monford [sic.] has been left a...widow...." Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.; Elizabeth Beverley to Theodorick Bland, July 26, 1745, Campbell Papers, VHS; and Baine, Robert Munford, 100 n. 23.

<sup>63</sup>Lunenburg County, Order Book #1 (1746-1748), 227, 281, 314 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and Baine, Robert Munford, 6.

<sup>64</sup>Amelia County, Deed Book #3 (1747-1750), 366-367 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 3, 1752, 3:2; June 6, 1755, 3:1.

<sup>65</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., May 16, 1755, 2:1; JHB 1752-1758, 153, 160; Wirt Johnson Carrington, A History of Halifax County (Virginia) (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1969 [orig. pub. 1924]), 45; and Baine, Robert Munford, 8, 100 n. 31.

<sup>66</sup>Meade, Old Churches, I, 448-449.

<sup>67</sup>Baine, Robert Munford, passim.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., 8.

<sup>69</sup>Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, February 18, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>70</sup> Frances Bolling Bland to Frances Bland Randolph [March, 1771] Tucker-Coleman Papers: "...no newes but Death, poor Mr. Nicholas & Mr. Currie are both ded...." George Nicholas' death was reported in Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 14, 1771, 3:1.

<sup>71</sup> The birthday is given in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149; the year of birth is determined from a letter of Theodorick Bland, Jr., to Frances Bland Tucker, October 13, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

<sup>72</sup> Will of Richard Bland, February 4, 1719/20, Prince George County, Deeds & Wills (1713-1728), 395 (VSLm).

<sup>73</sup> Amelia County, Deed Book #16 (1780-1784), 201; Essex County, Deed Book #23 (1742-1745), 123-127, 129, 143-148; Surry County, Court Orders (1744-1749), 40 (VSLm).

<sup>74</sup> EJCCV, V, 175, 342.

<sup>75</sup> Amelia County, Deed Book #5 (1749-1757), 100-101 (VSLm).

<sup>76</sup> Amelia County, Deed Book #8 (1762-1765), 200-202; Deed Book #7 (1759-1762), 334-335 (VSLm).

<sup>77</sup> Amelia County, Deed Book #8 (1762-1765), 200-202; Essex County, Deed Book #23 (1742-1745), 123-127, 129, 143-148; Surry County, Court Orders (1744-1749), 40; Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 398 (VSLm).

<sup>78</sup> Amelia County, Will Book #3 (1780-1786), 322 (VSLm).

<sup>79</sup> Ann Kennon to Theodorick Bland, August 16, 1763, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>80</sup> Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 12, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>81</sup> Same to same, November 30, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>82</sup> Same to same, November 5, 1771, May 8, 1772, June 12, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>83</sup> Theodorick Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., March 21, 1781, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>84</sup> John Tayloe to Theodorick Bland, October 25, 1758, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>85</sup> Amelia County, Will Book #3 (1780-1786), 322 (VSLm).

<sup>86</sup> Charles Goore to Theodorick Bland, November 3, 1759; [John Bland] to Theodorick Bland, April 20, 1761; John Bannister to Theodorick Bland, August, 1772, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

- <sup>87</sup> Charles Goore to Theodorick Bland, March 14, 1758, and September 10, 1758, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS; Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 21, 1770, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>88</sup> Charles Goore to Theodorick Bland, March 14, 1758, and September 10, 1758, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>89</sup> Robert Bolling, A Sketch of Vine Culture for Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas, [c. 1775], 55, Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library (CWM); William Robert Prince, Treatise on the Vine (New York: T. & W. Swords, 1830), 224, 351. For these references I am indebted to Edward Ayres and Julia Davis of the research department of Colonial Williamsburg.
- <sup>90</sup> Theodorick Bland to ?, April 19, 1767, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>91</sup> Charles Goore to Theodorick Bland, November 3, 1759, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>92</sup> Amelia County, Will Book #3 (1780-1786), 322-326 (VSLm).
- <sup>93</sup> Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Vestrybook, 101, 109, 116, 122, 126, 170, 212; and Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 13, 1770, 3:1. The date Bland terminated his service cannot be determined because his son, Theodorick, Jr., was also a vestryman and the records do not distinguish between them.
- <sup>94</sup> EJCCV, V, 103-104.
- <sup>95</sup> Ibid., 238.
- <sup>96</sup> Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1759-1760), 195 (VSLm).
- <sup>97</sup> Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1750-1752, 27 CW photostat; and Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, xiv.
- <sup>98</sup> Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1750-1752, 117.
- <sup>99</sup> Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 30, 1774, 2:1; and Rind's Va. Gaz., June 30, 1774, 2:3.
- <sup>100</sup> Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, February 18, 1771, and November 5, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>101</sup> Hugh A. Garland, The Life of John Randolph of Roanoke, 2 vols. in 1 (New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1860 [orig. ed., 1850]), I, 2.
- <sup>102</sup> Journal of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Virginia (1778) (Richmond: Printed by Thomas W. White, 1828), 20-21; Purdie's Va. Gaz., September 6, 1776, 3:3; and April 25, 1777, 2:2.
- <sup>103</sup> Elizabeth Bland Beverley to Theodorick Bland, 1745, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

- <sup>104</sup>Richard Bland to Theodorick Bland, February 20, 1745, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 3.
- <sup>105</sup>Bland Family Notes of John Randolph of Roanoke, n.d., Bryan Family Papers, UVa (CWM); Slaughter, History of Bristol Parish, 156. Bland was already married by April 1, 1739; see the letter of that date he received from William Beverley, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>106</sup>Bland Family Notes of John Randolph of Roanoke; and Slaughter, History of Bristol Parish, 156.
- <sup>107</sup>Prince George County, Deeds & Wills (1713-1728), 952-955 (VSLm).
- <sup>108</sup>Ibid., and Essex County, Deed Book #23 (1742-1745), 123-127 (VSLm).
- <sup>109</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Vestrybook, 291-292.
- <sup>110</sup>"I hear you intend to remove to your old house, for which I am sorry, though I can believe it," Richard Bland to Theodorick Bland, February 20, 1745/46, Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 4.
- <sup>111</sup>Cawsons is marked on the 1751 Fry-Jefferson map.
- <sup>112</sup>Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 1. The house burned sometime before 1850.
- <sup>113</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., August 27, 1756, 4:1; September 3, 1756, 4:1.
- <sup>114</sup>Bland to Randolph, February 18, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>115</sup>Bland to Randolph, March 21, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>116</sup>Bland to Randolph, July 19, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>117</sup>Bland to Randolph, June 12, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>118</sup>Bland to Randolph, November 30, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>119</sup>Bland to Randolph, December 6, 1773, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>120</sup>Martha Dangerfield Bland to Frances Bland Randolph, May 24, 1774, Tucker-Coleman Papers.
- <sup>121</sup>Bland to Randolph, May 25, 1774, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- <sup>122</sup>Theodorick Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., n.d., quoted in Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 2.
- <sup>123</sup>Frances Bland Randolph to Theodorick Bland, Jr., September 18, 1777, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

<sup>124</sup>Theodorick Bland to Henry Tazewell, May 1, 1779, Tazewell Papers, VSL.

<sup>125</sup>Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 16-17.

<sup>126</sup>Theodorick Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., March 21, 1781, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>127</sup>Amelia County, Will Book #3 (1780-1786), 322-324 (VSLm).

<sup>128</sup>William Yates to St. George Tucker, October 13, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

<sup>129</sup>See sketch of Elizabeth Randolph Yates Bland, infra.

## CHAPTER VIII

### RICHARD BLAND: BURGESS AND PAMPHLETEER

RICHARD BLAND (6 May 1710--26 October 1776)

Richard Bland came of families well established in Virginia. His father, Richard Bland, Sr., was born in the colony in 1665. The elder Bland owned extensive acres along the James River, but he was not a planter. He was a merchant in Williamsburg where he was among the town's leading men. Bland's mother was Elizabeth Randolph, member of a dynasty that arrived in Virginia about 1670. Some twenty years younger than her husband, she was his second wife, the first Mrs. Bland and all six of her children having died.<sup>1</sup>

Bland was born in Williamsburg on May 6, 1710,<sup>2</sup> and spent his first years growing up in the little town with his three sisters, Mary and Elizabeth who were older, and Anna not quite two years younger. They lived with their parents on the Duke of Gloucester Street in a simple frame house where their father kept his store.<sup>3</sup> About 1716 the family moved to Jordan's Point, a plantation in Prince George County, south across the James from the Westover plantation of the Byrds.<sup>4</sup>

Four years later, Richard Bland, just short of his tenth birthday, was an orphan. His mother died on January 22, 1719/20, a few weeks after giving birth to his brother, Theodorick; and his father died soon afterwards on April 6.<sup>5</sup> As the eldest son, he inherited the plantation at Jordans and the remainder of the property not specifically willed to Theodorick. Together he and his brother divided the family slaves. Too

young to manage for himself, his affairs were supervised by his uncles, William and Richard Randolph, family guardians by his father's will.<sup>6</sup>

When he was about twelve years old, he enrolled in the grammar school of the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg. Up to that time his schooling had probably been in the hands either of tutors or schoolmasters in or near his home. He most likely remained at the college until he had completed the curriculum, in all, about six years.

Undoubtedly he went to Williamsburg at the direction of his uncles, who sent their own sons to the college and thought it a good place to educate a boy. Besides, there was family in town to look after him occasionally; his mother's sister, Mrs. Stith, was college housekeeper; and his uncle, John Randolph, was a permanent Williamsburg resident.

The college provided the best education in Virginia, and Bland was happy there. Later he educated his sons at his "Alma Mater" and served on her Board of Visitors. No record of his course of instruction survives, but in view of the vast learning he displayed throughout his life, he was undoubtedly an excellent scholar. A "most learned and logical man...profound in his constitutional lore", was Thomas Jefferson's opinion of Bland.<sup>7</sup> Another friend noted that as he aged, he took on "something of ye look of musty old Parchm'ts w'ch he handleth & studieth much."<sup>8</sup>

Bland's intellect ranged widely from literature, history, and religion to the practical aspects of government, law, and agriculture. His learning, as his later career revealed, was neither narrow nor compartmentalized. As planter, lawyer, public servant, and pamphleteer, he made good use of the lessons learned in school.

Having completed his formal education, Bland married on March 21, 1729. His bride was Anne Poythress, who had turned sixteen a few months earlier on December 13, and was the only daughter of Peter Poythress, a Prince George planter.<sup>9</sup> By his family's standards Bland was young at eighteen to take a wife and because he had not yet arrived at his majority, needed the approval of his guardians.<sup>10</sup> His early marriage can be understood since both of his parents were dead, his elder sisters were married with homes of their own, and as the owner of Jordans plantation he was able to support a wife and family.

He became the father of twelve children, six boys and six girls, born between 1731 and 1754.<sup>11</sup> Two of his sons and one of his daughters, however, did not survive him. There is very little information of Bland's relationship with his children, but from all indications he was a responsible and affectionate parent. The young Blands, like most other boys and girls of the planter class, undoubtedly received their elementary education from a tutor or schoolmaster near their home. The boys afterwards continued their studies at the College of William and Mary.<sup>12</sup> William then went on to England for holy orders. Besides schooling, Bland provided for his children in other ways. In 1760 he deeded a hundred acres each to sons Peter and John.<sup>13</sup> When his seventeen-year-old daughter, Sally, married in 1768, he hosted her wedding at Jordans inviting a company of friends to join the festivities.<sup>14</sup> No doubt he was proud when his son, Richard, joined him in Williamsburg as a burgess from Prince George.

After bearing his children, his wife died "about half after seven in the evening" on April 9, 1758.<sup>15</sup> He was not long a widower. On January 1, 1759, he married Martha Stagon Massie, a widow of independent



means, from New Kent County. A dozen years his junior, she had not his stamina and died little more than eight months after their marriage on August 8, 1759.<sup>16</sup>

He then married a third time.<sup>17</sup> His new wife was Elizabeth Blair Bolling, described as "a Lady not more distinguished by her good sense and sweetness of temper, than for the many virtues which adorned her character...."<sup>18</sup> Born about 1708,<sup>19</sup> she was the daughter of president of the Council, John Blair of Williamsburg, and widow of Colonel John Bolling of Cobbs, a planter and sometime burgess for the counties of Goochland, Henrico, and Chesterfield. The couple lived happily together until she died on April 22, 1775.<sup>20</sup> Her death, said Bland, was an "irreperable Loss." In his sorrow he thought of quitting public life, but supported by his family and urged on by his friends, he resumed his activities.<sup>21</sup>

At his marriage to the widow Bolling, her children joined his own numerous offspring to make Jordans a lively, if crowded, household. The bonds between the families were strengthened when young Richard Bland married Mary Bolling.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore, Bland found an intellectual and political ally in his wife's son, Robert Bolling of Chellowe, who had an English education and fancied himself a man of letters. Stepfather and stepson undoubtedly traded books and ideas, and in 1766, when Bland sought the speakership of the House of Burgesses, Bolling came to his support by publishing verses and letters in the Virginia Gazette.

Beyond the family circle there are few glimpses of the private side of Richard Bland. From time to time he called on his neighbors. He was often a guest of William Byrd of Westover, usually staying long enough for a meal.<sup>23</sup> On one occasion at Berkeley, the home of Benjamin

Harrison, he joined a company of players to stage "The Careless Husband," a comedy by the English playwright, Colley Cibber. Bland took the part of Lord Foppington and afterwards recalled that "he and his fellow Comedians rehearsed several Times to Col. Byrd to receive his Directions for perfecting their Voice and Action before the principal Exhibition." That Byrd should direct the play was significant, for he told Bland that as a young man in England he and his friends had actually written it and ascribed it to Cibber.<sup>24</sup>

Bland had other literary interests besides drama. He showed a marked talent as a writer producing several pamphlets on political and religious topics. He also wrote poetry. In 1758, for instance, hearing that Landon Carter, his colleague in the House of Burgesses, did not intend to be a candidate for re-election, he composed a series of couplets to dissuade him:

Rise then judicious Friend, step boldly forth,  
 And vindicate your Merit, and Your Worth,  
 Strike bold Pretenders, to the highest Place,  
 Into Oblivion, & a just disgrace....  
 The Countrys Patriot once again appears  
 To vindicate our Laws, & calm our Fears.  
 He'l suffer none, whilst he, his Pen, can wave,  
 To be with Ease, & Safety Fool or Knave.  
 He'l always foremost be, and boldly rise,  
 A Friend to Virtue & a Foe to Vice.  
 Then Stand Once more, aloud your Country cries,  
 (Nor do her Prayers, nor her Commands dispise)  
 Stand once again, and save a Sinking Land,  
 Which is sincerely Wish'd, by Yours D<sup>r</sup>ic<sup>k</sup> B<sup>r</sup>lan<sup>d</sup>.<sup>25</sup>

Coupled to his literary pursuits was his profound interest in history. St. George Tucker believed Bland "was unquestionably more intimately acquainted with the history of Virginia (and probably of America generally) than any man in the Colony."<sup>26</sup> He may have begun historical studies as a student in Williamsburg where he not only had access to the facilities of the college but also the documents of the Virginia

government. Furthermore, certain of his relatives were very much interested in the history of the colony. Uncle John Randolph planned a compilation of the laws of Virginia and for that purpose had assembled many old records, but he died before he completed the project, and his manuscripts went to Bland's cousin, William Stith, who was also a nephew to Randolph. Stith wrote the History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, which was published in 1747, as the first of two projected volumes, but Stith too died with his work unfinished. Bland inherited Stith's papers which, together with materials he had collected himself, he planned to incorporate into a history of Virginia that would be, he told his friends, "more correct than any yet written."<sup>27</sup> He was, however, no more successful than his kinsmen in realizing his plans, for in the press of his other duties he never found time to write his account of the Old Dominion. Nevertheless, he did employ his learning in his pamphlets.

In addition to literature and history, religion was also one of his main interests. "I profess my self a sincere Son of the Established Church," he wrote in 1771.<sup>28</sup> No doubt his convictions were fostered and confirmed at home and school. His father, a vestryman of Bruton Parish, was a man of at least conventional piety. "First and principally," the elder Bland wrote in his will, "I recommend my Soul unto Almighty God, hoping for pardon & remission of my Sins, through the death and passion of my blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ."<sup>29</sup> Not long after that expression of faith, the nine-year-old Richard saw his parent interred in the family burying-ground near the new grave of his mother. Subsequently, at the college he came under the influence of the Reverend James Blair and a faculty who were all Anglican clergymen. He thought of entering the ministry himself, but when he finally decided in 1743

to take holy orders in England, he was apparently dissuaded by family considerations.<sup>30</sup> Even though he was never ordained, he was a leading layman. A minister, with whom he was not on good terms, said Bland "read the public prayers and deliver<sup>[ed]</sup> sermons in the churches of his own parish whenever he pleases." Bland explained: "I officiate sometimes as READER in the church which I frequent in the absence of the minister, being thereto appointed by the vestry."<sup>31</sup>

Bland's knowledge of scripture and theology was sufficient for him to speak confidently on matters of church doctrine. Signing himself "a Layman", he wrote, in 1755, A Treatise on Baptism; in which the Quaker-Doctrine of Water Baptism is considered; their Objections answered; and the Doctrine of the Church of England upon this important Point stated and vindicated. No copy of the treatise has been found, but a contemporary noted that Bland "miscalled ye Quaker Doctrine of Water Baptism."<sup>32</sup> Probably the polemic was directed against baptism by affusion or immersion as practiced by the Baptists. An orthodox believer in the divinity of Christ, Bland published a letter in the Virginia Gazette in 1774 branding the Reverend Samuel Henley, professor of moral philosophy at the college, with Socinianism, a heresy that kept Henley from the rectorship of Bruton Parish.<sup>33</sup>

Bland was concerned for the faith and morality of his household and parish. For instance, in 1751, he purchased four dozen books on the catechism and the sacraments; and in 1752, he bought a dozen copies of The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming, a sermon by his cousin, the Reverend William Stith.<sup>34</sup> It was hardly an accident that his sons entered the service of the church: Richard as a vestryman, William, a clergyman.

Bland, moreover, served two parishes in Prince George County. In 1731 he was listed among the men who "processioned off" Bristol Parish for purposes of taxation, and in 1752 he contracted to build an addition to the Bristol church, but it is not certain that he was ever a member of the Bristol vestry.<sup>35</sup> He was indeed a vestryman for Martin's Brandon Parish for which in 1757 he served on an inter-parish committee that established a poor house and school in Prince George. In 1770 he advertised for improvements to be made on the parish glebe.<sup>36</sup>

Virginians in Bland's time were not especially noted for their piety. Their support of the religious establishment was more of obligation than conviction. Bland obviously was an exception. In matters of church doctrine and practice he was at least as knowledgeable as many of the Virginia clergy. Bland, like most of the laymen in the colony, did not hold the ministers in high regard. In the Parson's Cause and the struggle over the American episcopate he proved to be a withering anti-clerical critic.

Bland kept a library at Jordans for his books and papers, but there is very little information about it. He may have acquired some volumes at the death of William Stith whose manuscripts eventually came to him. Shortly before his own death he bought from Peyton Randolph's estate The Law of Nations, or Principles of the Law of Nature applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns (1759-1760) by Emer de Vattel, Scripture-Doctrine of the Trinity (1712) by Samuel Clarke, The History of the Royal Society, and works by Horace and Caesar. If he purchased a great many books, he apparently did so in England, for his account with the Williamsburg bookseller reveals that besides such practical publications as almanacs and the Journals of the House of

Burgesses, he bought for himself only Stith's sermon against gaming and Emilius and Sophia; or a New System of Education by Jean Jacques Rousseau.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, Bland's pamphlets indicate that he had other books in his library. Fond of the classics, he cited the works of Julius Caesar, Homer, Horace, Juvenal, and Tacitus. He knew the works of Milton and Pope. Many of his books were history and law: Robert Brady, A Complete History of England (1685); Edward Coke, Institutes (1642, 1644); Jean Domat, The Civil Law in Its Natural Order, William Strahan, trans., 2 vols. (1722); Richard Hakluyt, The Principall Navigations (1589); Daniel King, The Vale-royall, or the County Palatine of Chester (1656); John Locke, Two Treatises of Government (1690); William Petyt, The Antient Rights of the Commons Asserted (1680); Thomas Pownall, The Administration of the Colonies (1764-1766); Paul de Rapin, The History of England from the Earliest Period to the Revolution of 1688, 21 vols. (1757-1763); Thomas Salmon, An Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time, 41 vols. (1736-1765); William Temple, Miscellanies; in Four Essays (1681); Emer de Vattel, The Law of Nations, 2 vols. (1759-1760); William Peere Williams, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the High Court of Chancery and of Some Special Cases Adjudged in the Court of Kings Bench, 2 vols. (1740); and William Wollaston, The Religion of Nature Delineated (1746).<sup>38</sup>

Bland began his career not as a scholar, but as a planter. The death of his parents and his early marriage brought him into the possession and management of his patrimony sooner than most of his peers. The extent of his land and plantations is unknown because of the incompleteness of the local records; but he certainly was among the larger planters, for it is known that he owned at least 11,536 acres. The Jordans

plantation, where he made his home, contained 1,000 acres; he held 1,000 acres in Surry County, 600 in Isle of Wight County, 500 in Chesterfield County, 1,770 in Halifax County, and a sixth interest in 40,000 acres in Augusta County.<sup>39</sup> He also owned lots with buildings in Williamsburg, but their number and location are uncertain.<sup>40</sup>

Not all of these acres remained in Bland's possession. In 1750 he sold the Chesterfield tract to a neighboring merchant; ten years later he gave 200 acres to his sons; and in 1764 and 1765 he advertised in the Virginia Gazette that he had land to sell.<sup>41</sup>

There is almost no evidence regarding the management of his plantations. According to a newspaper account there were at the time of his death at least thirty slaves belonging to his estate; the county records make reference to "Colo. Blands Mill"; Thomas Jefferson noted that the green beans at Monticello came from Bland; and a "Stray Mare" was among the things he advertised in the Virginia Gazette.<sup>42</sup> It is not too much to assume, even though positive proof is lacking, that tobacco was his principal crop. Scant as the sources are, they nevertheless reveal a planter's manifold duties. Bland was a farmer concerned with crops, laborers, and animals; he was a millowner responsible for grinding his own and his neighbors' wheat and corn; he was a businessman involved in marketing his produce; and he was a commercial agent in charge of procuring supplies to sustain his plantation enterprise.

Planting, however, was not his only means of support. He was also a lawyer. Despite his vast knowledge of the law, his training is obscure. Family responsibilities, if nothing else, precluded study in Great Britain.<sup>43</sup> He apparently read law with a local lawyer and studied on his own, a practice common in Virginia. He was following, perhaps

consciously, his uncle and guardian, William Randolph II, who with no more law than he could get at home, had a distinguished career as lawyer and politician.

In 1743 Bland qualified as an attorney at law to practice in the county courts of Charles City, Henrico, Surry, and probably Prince George.<sup>44</sup> He, therefore, had to ride the circuit. He renewed his certification in 1746, and in 1750 was certified in the newly formed Chesterfield County.<sup>45</sup> Always a county lawyer, he apparently never practised in the General Court in Williamsburg. He was active at the bar at least until 1772, but almost nothing is known of his cases and clientele. According to the surviving records, his work was routine: he secured a warrant against a husband who had abused his wife, he brought a suit in chancery against the widow of his friend, William Byrd, and he settled property claims in Chesterfield County for one David Johnson of London. Sometimes he worked with other lawyers; in 1746 he appeared in court with John Wayles, a well-respected attorney of Charles City County who is best remembered as the father-in-law of Thomas Jefferson; and as Bland grew older, he turned some of his business to Jefferson. The fact that Bland was a practising lawyer throughout three decades indicates that he was successful. The degree of his success, however, cannot be measured from the existing evidence.<sup>46</sup>

Even though as planter and lawyer Bland had two sources of income, and, for the most part, was comfortably situated, his finances were uncertain. To a large degree his uncertainties were the result of conditions in Virginia. The economy was dominated by tobacco which the planters sold in England, often at a loss which forced them to borrow against next year's crop. Virginians, furthermore, were plagued by a



shortage of hard money and resorted to tobacco as a basis of exchange. The county court records are replete with debt suits brought by Bland; unfortunately the records fail to describe the nature of the obligations. Three of the suits were for relatively large amounts, £54, £41, and £26, but in thirteen other suits listing specific amounts the average was only about £4.<sup>47</sup> Only three suits against Bland have been uncovered. In 1737 Robert Page sued in the Prince George Court for 348 pounds of tobacco and 23 shillings, 7 pence, and a farthing. The case, however, was dismissed and Bland paid James Harrison 25 pounds of tobacco for witnessing in his behalf.<sup>48</sup> Bland had two suits for debt brought against him in the York County court in 1763 by the merchants Andrew Buchanan & Son Company and Archibald Buchanan, John Bowman Company. In addition to these debts, he owed the Bristol firm of Farrell and Jones £546.1s.7d.<sup>49</sup> Apparently he was never free of financial worry. Toward the end of his life he did not think he could afford to attend the Continental Congress. "I have," he wrote, "two or three hundred Pounds due to me but every Application I have made hitherto for payment have been unsuccessful....I am not able to raise more than £15 or £20...."<sup>50</sup> Nevertheless, he made the trip to Philadelphia.

Had Richard Bland remained only a planter and lawyer there would have been little to distinguish him from his contemporaries. He made a lasting reputation, however, as a leader in Virginia government and politics. His public career, which included service to the parish, county, and colony, spanned at least four and a half decades.

The smallest unit of government in Virginia was an ecclesiastical division, the parish. Each parish had at least one church and a clergyman, but its affairs were directed by a board of twelve laymen known

collectively as the vestry. While the vestrymen attended to such matters as choosing the minister and keeping up the parish property, they had duties outside the church. They cared for the poor and the orphans, posted governmental laws and proclamations, punished cases of immorality, and apportioned taxes among the freeholders of the parish. The vestries of eighteenth-century Virginia were self-perpetuating bodies on which it was an honor to serve. As a man of property and family who had a deep interest in religion, Bland was a good choice for vestryman.<sup>51</sup>

In addition to his parish activities, Bland was involved in county affairs. County government was dominated by the Commission of the Peace, about twenty justices appointed by the Governor. The Governor's appointment, however, was largely a formality, for by the eighteenth century he usually selected men from a list submitted by the local justices themselves. A justiceship carried no salary, but it was a desirable post, nevertheless, because a justice was part of the county oligarchy and he held his post for life. Bland was appointed to the Prince George Commission in 1733, an appointment that was regularly confirmed thereafter.<sup>52</sup> As a justice he judged civil and criminal cases, appointed county officials--sheriff, coroner, clerk, militia officers--collected taxes, maintained local roads and bridges, and regulated taverns and tobacco warehouses. The county records are incomplete so that his individual duties cannot be detailed. Even so, the surviving records indicate that he was attentive to duty and was regular in his attendance at court.<sup>53</sup>

Another indication of his status and authority within the county was his membership in the Prince George militia. He was a commissioned officer, but nothing is known of his military experience except, like

many of his contemporaries, he was called "Colonel."<sup>54</sup>

Bland was active in counties other than Prince George. In 1745 he appeared before the Henrico County court with a commission signed by the masters of the College of William and Mary appointing him county surveyor.<sup>55</sup> In 1757 he was appointed justice of the peace for Halifax County.<sup>56</sup> Although as a landholder in the county he was qualified for the post, he gained it not because the Halifax justices recommended his appointment, but because he had gained the favor of Governor Dinwiddie by supporting the war effort against the French and Indians. The Governor appointed Bland deliberately in spite of the recommendations from Halifax. In general, Dinwiddie was irritated with the county because the local authorities ignored the directives of the General Assembly. In particular he was angry because they refused to honor an act of the legislature for drafting men to fight the enemy.

The Halifax justices balked at the Dinwiddie appointment. When they met to organize on July 21, 1757, one after another they refused to serve so long as Bland was included in the Commission.<sup>57</sup> Dinwiddie professed surprise. "I expected," he wrote Bland, "they w'd have been verry thankfull on my including a Gent'n of y'r good Sense and Capacity to be Magistrate there, w'ch I'm convinced they greatly want."<sup>58</sup> But the Governor did not yield. Instead, on August 23, he reappointed Bland. "I hope it will be agreeable to Yo." Dinwiddie wrote. Bland was not present when the Halifax justices were sworn on September 15. Not until November did he take the oath and then he undoubtedly met with a chilly reception. He attended court only once more in March, 1758, and when a new Halifax commission was issued by Governor Fauquier in November, 1759, he was not among the justices.<sup>59</sup>

Bland entered the House of Burgesses in 1742, as one of the two representatives elected from Prince George County. He held his post for thirty-four years, until 1776, when Virginia declared her independence from Great Britain. During that time he distinguished himself as one of the most important and active leaders in the Virginia government.

Bland's service to the parish and county made him familiar to the freeholders of Prince George. Time and again they gave him the majority of their votes for burgess.<sup>60</sup> It was no accident, for Bland cultivated the voters. "Our election is to be on Thursday, the 27<sup>th</sup>, of this month..." he wrote in February, 1745. "I hope I have given no occasion to the country, to refuse me at this time, and I shall always act to the utmost of my capacity, for the good of my electors, whose interest and my own, in a great measure, are inseparable."<sup>61</sup>

When Bland first entered the House of Burgesses, he replaced his brother-in-law, Robert Munford, who had represented Prince George since 1736. Undoubtedly he took special satisfaction in assuming Munford's old seat. Six years earlier he had appeared before the House to charge fraud in Munford's election. There were witnesses to substantiate the case, but Munford intimidated them before they could speak against him and thus kept his place even though the Speaker issued him a stinging rebuke from the chair.<sup>62</sup>

Bland's motives in attempting to unseat his brother-in-law apparently were not altogether high-minded. The Bland family disliked the alcoholic Munford who abused their sister.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, there is little doubt that Bland wanted the burgess' seat for himself.

Upon his entrance into the House, Bland was assigned to the Committee on Propositions and Grievances, an assignment he retained

throughout his career. He was made chairman of the committee in 1766.<sup>64</sup> Assigned to the Committee of Privileges and Elections in 1748, he was thereafter routinely reassigned, and was its chairman from 1762 to 1766.<sup>65</sup> He was also a member of the Committee of Public Claims and served as its chairman from 1758 to 1761.<sup>66</sup> From time to time he was a member of the Committees for Trade and Religion.<sup>67</sup> He served, moreover, on ad hoc committees and on occasion was chairman of the Committee of the Whole House.

There was much routine work for a burgess. Throughout his tenure, no one was more active than Bland. He drafted and reported bills regulating the tobacco trade, taxes, county courts, lawyers practice, estates of insolvents, debtor relief, internal improvements, establishment of new towns, parish and county division, currency adjustment, and revision of the laws. He concerned himself with such legislative matters as restraining hogs in Port Royal and crows and squirrels in Accomack, studying how to provide for homeless children, licensing peddlers, preventing fraud in the fur trade, and checking the claims of medical quacks. Furthermore, he conferred with the councillors, prepared addresses to the Governor and the King, represented the burgesses in settling differences with the Governor and Council, revised enrolled bills, drafted bills to fix burgesses' salaries in money rather than tobacco, and inspected the treasurer's accounts.<sup>68</sup>

Despite his manifold activities in the House, Bland apparently did not anticipate remaining a burgess for the rest of his life. He did not attend the special session called in February, 1745, because he had accepted an unidentified "Place of Profit." The House accordingly ordered a new election in Prince George to fill his seat, but the

freeholders reelected him. He resumed his place among the burgesses and presumably gave up his place of profit.<sup>69</sup>

By 1747 Bland emerged as a leader in the House. That year the capitol in Williamsburg burned. Even though Governor Gooch and the Council wished to rebuild on the old site, a majority of the burgesses, Bland included, resisted. They preferred to locate the seat of government in a place unlike Williamsburg, that was more convenient for most of their members, nearer the center of the colony's population, and more accessible for trade and navigation. Bland was on the select committee that informed the Governor of the intentions of the House; he was also among the burgesses who drafted the bill to move the capital to the Pamunkey River, which flows into the York about thirty miles west of Williamsburg.<sup>70</sup>

The Williamsburg mayor and other city officials protested, but the burgesses were adamant and passed the bill by a vote of forty-five to thirty-five. When the Council rejected the bill, the burgesses retaliated by refusing to appropriate funds requested by the Governor for an expedition against Canada and by stalling all but the most minor legislation.<sup>71</sup>

The House then passed a bill to send a party to survey prospective sites for the new capital on the Pamunkey and the upper James. The Council rejected the bill. Next the House passed and sent to the Council a bill for erecting a building in Williamsburg to hold the public records. Apparently the burgesses intended the bill as a temporary measure until the capital was relocated.<sup>72</sup> The Council, however, seems to have struck out the provision for moving the records from Williamsburg. The House requested a reconsideration, but the councillors would

not yield. Bland informed the upper chamber that the burgesses would not have their bill amended. A series of conferences followed with Bland and Charles Carter, a leader in the fight to move the capital, representing the House. The negotiations resulted only in mutual antagonism with the burgesses especially resentful because the councillors refused to submit in writing their disagreement with the House bill. Finally, to let the matter cool, Governor Gooch prorogued the Assembly in mid-April, 1747.<sup>73</sup>

With the burgesses safely out of town, Gooch and the councillors pressed their advantage by choosing the College Burgess, who was also Bland's first cousin, Beverley Randolph of Gloucester, to petition the Board of Trade in London to confirm two outdated acts of Assembly passed in 1699 and 1705 providing for the establishment of the capital in Williamsburg. Randolph's mission was a success. On January 13, 1747/48, the Board revived the 1705 law for the purpose of rebuilding the burned-out capitol in Williamsburg.<sup>74</sup>

The General Assembly convened in October, 1748. About two-thirds of the burgesses were new.<sup>75</sup> The leadership, however, remained the same and despite smaller majorities than the previous session was able to resist the Governor's request to rebuild the Williamsburg capitol by renewing the scheme to build a new capital in the west.<sup>76</sup> Tempers flared. The Councillor, John Blair of Williamsburg, accused House Speaker John Robinson of King and Queen County of trying to relocate the capital in order to advance his own interests at the expense of the colony. Insulted by Blair's outburst, the burgesses appointed Bland to a committee to demand of the Council that Blair be punished for his attack on the honor of the House. The Council apologized and the

dispute subsided somewhat.<sup>77</sup>

The leaders of the burgesses, however, did not give up their efforts to move the seat of government. In November, 1748, Charles Carter brought a bill for a new capital, but he could not hold a majority and the bill failed narrowly. The same day, the burgesses, by a vote of forty to thirty-eight, passed a bill to rebuild the old capitol in Williamsburg. The bill passed the Council, but the die-hards in the House were stubborn. The final bill to rebuild contained a provision that the government would remain in Williamsburg only until the Assembly determined a new site more convenient to trade, navigation, and the center of population. In 1749 Carter proposed building the capital near Newcastle on the Pamunkey, and the bill passed by two votes only to be rejected by the Council. Three years later Bland was part of a committee that framed a bill to move the capital, but it failed in the Council and the government remained in Williamsburg until 1780.<sup>78</sup>

The attempt to relocate the Virginia capital was significant. Although Bland was one of its leaders, he did not really distinguish himself in the episode. Nevertheless, the affair was important to him for he had resolutely supported the House in a struggle with the Governor and Council. He had, as he would on other occasions, declared his political independence from his relatives. It made no difference that his cousin was agent for his opponents.

Having joined the burgesses in asserting their independence from the Governor and Council, Bland was also among the members of the House who protested the interference of the King in local affairs. In 1752, for example, when it was announced that the King had disallowed ten of the acts passed in the 1748-1749 session, Bland was appointed to a



committee to confer with the Council as to what should be done. The committee agreed that a protest should be registered in London. Accordingly, Bland helped prepare the address to the King.<sup>79</sup>

Bland became increasingly more influential in the House during the 1750's. In 1749 Governor Gooch retired to England. He was replaced by Governor Robert Dinwiddie who was soon embroiled in a struggle with the burgesses. The new Governor imposed a fee of a pistole for affixing the official seal to land patents. The fee, which amounted to about sixteen shillings, was a burden to small farmers and an irritation to large planters. Opposition in the colony was widespread. Bland's cousin, William Stith, popularized the slogan, "Liberty, and Property and no Pistole."

Doubtless aware that trouble was brewing, Bland went to Williamsburg for the convening of the General Assembly in November, 1753. Petitions from six western counties seeking relief from the pistole fee came before the House, which dissolved itself into a Committee of the Whole and decided on immediate action. Bland and eleven others were named to a special committee to draw up an address informing Dinwiddie of the dissatisfaction to the fee. Furthermore, the burgesses asked to know on what authority he was acting. To underscore the seriousness of their intent, the Speaker and all the House presented the address to the Governor and Council.

Dinwiddie responded that he was only fulfilling his instructions from the King in Council and that the Virginia Council had approved his action. Not satisfied, the burgesses once more met as a Committee of the Whole. Again they instructed the committee which had drafted the address to make a further appeal to the Governor.

Bland worked diligently on the second address to Dinwiddie and was probably one of its principal authors.<sup>80</sup> The address, "in the strongest Terms," reiterated the rights and privileges of the House asserting that the pistole fee was illegal since the burgesses had not passed upon it. To substantiate their claim, the committee, undoubtedly at the suggestion of Bland who was well steeped in Virginia history, pointed out that the fee for sealing land patents imposed by the Governor, Lord Howard of Effingham, in 1685 had been denied upon appeal to the home government. The address was respectful throughout, but it concluded firmly that it was the burgesses' indispensable duty to urge the Governor to give up his demand.<sup>81</sup>

Dinwiddie did not yield. Instead he responded to the second address by stating that his regulation of the crown land in Virginia "is confirmed to me by unquestionable Authority."<sup>82</sup>

The burgesses remained unconvinced. As far as they were concerned the Governor's response only confirmed that he was arbitrary and in contempt of the constitution. The committee which had addressed the Governor was instructed to draft a petition to the King imploring the withdrawal of the fee because it was burdensome and detrimental to the westward expansion of the colony. As before, Bland served on the committee.

After the petition was finally approved by the House, the burgesses appointed Peyton Randolph, one of their colleagues, to go to London as their agent to represent their side in the pistole fee controversy. Since Randolph was the Attorney General and stood to lose his post by defying the Governor, the House authorized Bland, Charles Carter, and Carter Burwell to explain to the King the necessity for appointing an agent and asking him to continue Randolph in office.<sup>83</sup>

Dinwiddie responded by refusing Randolph permission to leave the colony. Randolph left anyway. The Governor dissolved the Assembly.

Bland carried his opposition to the pistole fee beyond the chamber of the House of Burgesses. Sometime during the controversy he wrote a pamphlet, A Modest and True State of the Case. Written in the form of a letter to an English correspondent, Bland's argument, which survives only in fragment, was well-aimed and compelling.

Bland was critical of the way the governor had imposed the fee. There were, when Dinwiddie assumed his post, over a thousand surveyors' certificates in the Secretary's office awaiting the seal. People seeking land patents were told that none would be signed until after the Assembly ended. Since Dinwiddie had said that he had the interests of the colony at heart, nobody questioned his motives. And then, the day after the Assembly adjourned, he announced the fee of a pistole for affixing the seal to land patents.

The fee, Bland said, was illegal, because it violated the rights and liberties of Virginia. It was not the Governor's prerogative to impose the fee, for the fee was a tax, and a tax could only be levied by the representatives of the people. "The Rights of the Subjects are so secured by Law that they cannot be deprived of the least part of their property without their own consent. Upon this Principle of Law, the Liberty and Property of every Person who has the felicity to live under a British Government is founded."<sup>84</sup>

Dinwiddie believed that the fee was trifling, but Bland asserted that the issue was not the size of the fee, but its legality. "For if it is against Law," he wrote, "the same Power which imposes one Pistole may impose an Hundred, and this not in one instance only but in every

case in which this Leviathan of Power shall think fit to exercise its authority."<sup>85</sup>

The fee must be stopped, Bland continued, before a dangerous precedent were established to deprive Virginians of their liberties. A "small spark," he pointed out, "if not extinguished in the beginning will soon gain ground and at last blaze out into an irresistable Flame."<sup>86</sup>

Ever the historian, Bland recalled the ship money dispute that had stirred England in the seventeenth century. The King had revived the tax for revenue without summoning Parliament. With John Hampden the opponent of the ship money in mind, Bland noted that the tax had been opposed, not because it was demanded, but because it was illegal.<sup>87</sup>

In other colonies, Bland admitted, governors imposed fees similar to the pistole fee, but these fees were based on laws that had no bearing whatsoever for Virginia.

Bland dismissed the argument that the pistole fee was necessary because of the expense of the seal. It was, he said, too insignificant for comment. "I would ask what People are there upon Earth who if they are free and I hope we are so would make so stupid and ridiculous a bargain as to be at the annual expense of 7 or 8 hundred Pounds for a seal which does not cost more than 40 or 50, especially if it is not wanted...."<sup>88</sup>

Bland concluded that the pistole fee was based upon "slight Pretences" and was "contrary to the Law and Principles of the Constitution." To prove it, he cited the royal patent granted by King James to the Virginia Company in 1609. The patent bestowed on the Company and their descendants "Power to make, ordain and establish all manner of Laws, Orders, Directions, Instructions, Forms and Ceremonies of

Government and Majesty fit and necessary for and concerning the Government of the said Colony and Plantation...."<sup>89</sup> In other words, only the Virginia General Assembly, by patent right, could impose taxes on Virginians.

Neither Bland's protests, nor those of the burgesses altered the fundamental principles of the controversy. The Privy Council upheld Dinwiddie's levying of the fee as a legitimate exercise of the royal prerogative in regulating the royal lands in Virginia. The claims that Virginians were deprived of property without the consent of their representatives were not well taken because no one was compelled to take up western lands.

But there was a practical victory for the colonials. The Board of Trade limited the application of the fee. The land patents that were pending before April 22, 1752, were exempt, as were grants of less than one hundred acres and land west of the Alleghany Mountains. Furthermore, the Board urged the Governor to reinstate Peyton Randolph, who had lost office as Attorney General by leaving Virginia without official permission. Reluctantly Dinwiddie complied.

In the shaping of Richard Bland the pistole fee controversy should not be overemphasized. He had already served in the House for a decade and had risen in leadership by his willingness to undertake manifold responsibilities. As a consequence of his service he had developed a sense of the competence of the House to represent Virginians and protect their rights and liberties. Nevertheless, the controversy gave Bland an opportunity to state his principles, both as a burgess and a pamphleteer, and accordingly contributed to his growing awareness of the importance of self-government.

At this point, however, Bland was not advocating independence. He considered himself a British subject with all the rights and privileges of an Englishman. Nowhere did he better display his loyalty to the mother country than in support of her cause in the French and Indian War.

The war had begun in America in 1754 when Virginia troops led by the young George Washington were defeated by the French in the Ohio Country. Before it ended in 1763, the war expanded from the small skirmish in the colonies to theatres in Europe and India. Meanwhile, in Virginia Bland responded eagerly to the demands occasioned by the outbreak of hostilities.

Governor Dinwiddie called the House of Burgesses into session in 1755 to support and finance the war. A committee, of which Bland was a member, drew up a response to the Governor pledging their loyalty and willingness to sacrifice. Bland carried the address from the House to Dinwiddie.<sup>90</sup>

The war brought many burdens to Virginia, not the least of which was financial. The expense of maintaining troops in the field, outfitting, supplying and paying them, satisfying public claims, buying munitions, and erecting fortifications demanded a revenue greater than the Assembly had ever raised.<sup>91</sup> Bland frequently framed military appropriations bills which included proposals for raising the necessary taxes to support such bills.<sup>92</sup> The burgesses not only appropriated monies, they oversaw their spending. Repeatedly Bland was assigned to ad hoc committees making certain that the appropriations were correctly spent.<sup>93</sup>

The cost of military operations, however, placed a strain on Virginia, especially since the Old Dominion, like her sister colonies, was

notoriously short of hard money. Years later Bland recalled that "when the Colony was exhausted of all its Specie, we were forced against our Inclinations to emit Treasury notes."<sup>94</sup> The decision to issue treasury notes, or paper currency, was made reluctantly. Several alternatives were tried. Lotteries were created but failed to raise sufficient funds. Petitions were sent to the King. Bland was a member of a committee which in August, 1755, and April, 1756, petitioned for assistance in financing the war. There was no immediate relief. The royal ministers worked at their own pace, and the royal monies were not forthcoming until 1760.<sup>95</sup>

In August, 1755, therefore, the House voted to appropriate £40,000 for defense by issuing paper currency secured by future taxes on tithables and land. As the use of paper money became more popular, the burgesses levied more taxes to secure it: taxes on carriages, legal papers, tobacco exports, imported slaves.<sup>96</sup> Bland served on the committees that were established to see that the taxes were collected fairly.<sup>97</sup> Altogether, in the course of the war the colony issued £540,000 in treasury notes.<sup>98</sup> The burgesses, a recent scholar noted, "raised the money needed to prosecute the war by those means that seemed to be in the best interests of the colony."<sup>99</sup> Bland himself came to believe that the issuance of paper money was a good solution to Virginia's financial problem. In 1764 he defended the Virginia currency against the criticism of Jerman Baker of Chesterfield County, who noted that he had caused "some warm altercation with many Blockheads & some men of Senses among the latter I recon Colo R. Bland."<sup>100</sup>

In addition to his efforts to put the war effort on a sound financial footing, Bland worked to subdue various Indian tribes which

the French had set against the British. As a burgess Bland was involved in a scheme to deprive the French of their allies by developing the Indian trade. In 1757 the House passed a bill appropriating £5000 for items of trade. Bland, his cousins, William Randolph of Wilton and Peter Randolph of Chatsworth, together with Archibald Cary (who was married to a Randolph) and Thomas Walker were appointed directors.<sup>101</sup> The trading scheme, however, came to nothing. An Indian war broke out along the South Carolina frontier, and in 1760 all the goods and supplies were sold.<sup>102</sup>

Bland continued to be involved in matters relating to the Indian trade after the end of the French and Indian war. In 1770 he and Patrick Henry were appointed by the General Assembly to meet in New York with delegations from other colonies to deal "with the northern Indians respecting trade &c."<sup>103</sup> The meeting was called by New York and Pennsylvania after the King had decided that the colonial assemblies should regulate the Indian trade. Bland and Henry were appointed in response to a letter to the General Assembly from Governor Penn of Pennsylvania inviting Virginia to send a delegation, and they went to New York expecting to work out a plan for regulating the trade which would be submitted for approval to the various colonial assemblies.<sup>104</sup> However, they returned to Williamsburg with almost nothing accomplished. The Virginia Gazette explained: "Very little business was transacted, the commissioners from Pennsylvania and Quebec not attending."<sup>105</sup> There were no further attempts at an inter-colonial Indian policy. The King decided after all that the colonies should not handle such matters, and, on the recommendation of the Board of Trade, he disallowed the act of the Virginia Assembly authorizing Bland and Henry to attend the New York



meeting.<sup>106</sup> One of Bland's biographers speculates that Bland was disgusted with the colonials for their failure to work out a common Indian policy and annoyed at the King's men for their refusal to allow colonials to regulate the Indian trade.<sup>107</sup>

Bland engaged in further activities to promote the war against the French. As a burgess he was involved in measures to regulate the militia, to protect settlers on the frontier from Indian attack, to guard the Williamsburg magazine, to set bounties on Indian scalps, to prevent mutinies and desertions, to check the conduct of soldiers in the field, and to deport French aliens from Virginia.<sup>108</sup> He also examined the accounts of the militia in order to curtail corruption or profiteering. As the chairman of the Committee of Claims and member of other special committees, he passed on many and varied claims arising from the war: claims for wounds, damaged property, money due for arms and supplies, the service of Indians and frontiersmen.<sup>109</sup>

Bland was among the most active supporters of the soldiers in the field. "I should look upon it as a singular Felicity if I could contribute towards perfecting any Scheme, for the advantage of my Country: my Endeavours, so far as my Influence will reach, shall never be wanting," he wrote Colonel George Washington of the Virginia Regiment.<sup>110</sup> When public money was not immediately available to supply local troops, Bland, confident of reimbursement from the Virginia treasury, used his own funds to arm soldiers from Prince George County so that they could join forces with Washington.<sup>111</sup>

When the Virginia Regiment was criticized for an alleged lack of discipline in the ranks, Bland came to the defense. Charges against the Regiment, written by the anonymous "Centinel No. X", appeared in the

Virginia Gazette on September 3, 1756.<sup>112</sup> The Centinel went to some length to prove that "the Officers give their Men an Example of all Manner of Debauchery, Vice and Idleness." Sometime later the Gazette apparently printed a rebuttal by "Philo patria," but that edition of the newspaper is not known to survive. Among Washington's papers is a handwritten copy of the Philo patria letter docketed in Washington's hand: "Written It is supposed by Colo Richd Bland 1756." Washington had reason to suppose that Bland had written the rebuttal, for Bland told him: "I have some thoughts of writing an Account of our Transactions, which I design to communicate to Public View in order to wipe off all Reflection from my Country and the Several Person[s] concerned in the conduct of our Military Emrprises, so far as they can be justified; I shall take it, a peculiar Mark of Friendship, if...you would send me ...such things...as you Judge most Interesting and proper for such a Work."<sup>113</sup> Moreover, the content of the letter with its emphasis on Virginia history, the British constitution, and the successful prosecution of the war seems to indicate that Bland was its author.<sup>114</sup> Yet Washington may have been mistaken in ascribing the letter completely to Bland. Perhaps there was a collaborator. The letter is not in Bland's handwriting, but he had read it and made two minor corrections with his pen before the letter was sent. Whether or not he alone was responsible for the letter, he approved entirely of its sentiments.<sup>115</sup>

Philo patria asserted that he had "a very good Opinion" of most of the officers of the Virginia Regiment: "they have given sufficient Proofs of their Resolution in their Country's Cause; and their moral Characters...are unexceptionable." The officers, contrary to Centinel's charges, were not responsible for the military reverses. The failure

was the result of the niggardliness of the House of Burgesses: "it is impossible that military Enterprizes can be carried on with Advantage without a proper Assistance from those who are intrusted with the Disposition of the People's Money. If the Supplies, necessary to give Life and Vigour to our Arms, are refused or granted with too much Frugality, we must never expect to succeed against an Enemy subject to a despotic Prince, who can dispose of the Lives and Fortunes of his Subjects as he pleases."<sup>116</sup> Bland expressed identical thoughts in a private letter to Washington: "I had the mortification to find the Majority of our House, against the most vigorous measures for effectually putting a stop to the French attempts upon our Frontiers."<sup>117</sup>

Let us, Philo patria concluded, "give freely and liberally, such supplies as will enable the Government with Spirit and Resolution, and at least to attack, with Success Fort Du Quesne....By a vigorous Effort...we shall oblige the French to divide their Forces...."<sup>118</sup> An attack on Fort Duquesne had been proposed in 1756 and had been defeated by the House of Burgesses. Bland wrote Washington: "But tho' numbers carried it against my Opinion, I am not yet convinced, that an Attack upon Fort duquesne, or a lodgment, near that Place, with a sufficient Force, so as to keep them [the French] in perpetual alarm, is impracticable. This is my favorite Scheme...."<sup>119</sup>

Throughout the French and Indian War, Governor Dinwiddie was generally unhappy with the burgesses because they were not only slow with appropriations, but they insisted on directing the funds themselves. While the Governor fumed that the House was infringing on the royal prerogative, he signed the supply bills because there was desperate need for money to continue the war.<sup>120</sup> Despite his irritation,

Dirwiddie appreciated Bland's support and singled him out for special consideration by appointing him to the Halifax County commission to thwart the local officials who had not supported the war.

Matters other than war demanded the attention of Bland and his fellow burgesses. Twice, in 1755 and 1758, the Virginia tobacco crop failed driving up the market price. Since tobacco was the basis of Virginia money and its valuation was fixed according to the plant's normal availability, debtors were at a particular disadvantage. They petitioned the Assembly for relief. Accordingly, the so-called Two Penny Acts were passed fixing the price of tobacco at two pence per pound. The laws, which Bland helped to write,<sup>121</sup> were framed for a specific emergency and were to expire within a year. Under the circumstances the laws were passed without suspending clauses withholding them from operation until they were approved by the crown. The legislation was approved by the Council and signed by the Governor.

There was opposition, however, particularly from the clergy whose salary had been set by law in 1748 at 17,280 pounds of tobacco. Many ministers thought the laws a deliberate act of deprivation. Nothing came of their protest in 1755, and the law expired without incident after ten months. They renewed their protests against the Two Penny Act of 1758 with determination because the market price of a pound of tobacco had risen to about six pence. When Governor Fauquier, who had succeeded Dirwiddie in the summer of 1758, signed the act over their objections and Commissary Thomas Dawson proved unsympathetic, they sent the Reverend John Camm to England with an appeal to the King charging that the Virginia Assembly was defying royal prerogative. Camm found an important ally in Thomas Sherlock, the Bishop of London, who

influenced the Board of Trade to recommend that the Two Penny Act be disallowed. This was the beginning of the famous Parsons' Cause.

Meanwhile in Virginia, the General Assembly had appointed Edward Montagu its agent in London and created a committee of correspondence from its members to instruct him. Bland was a member of the committee which directed Montagu to work for the support of the Two Penny Act.

In spite of the Virginia agent the Act was disallowed. The Board of Trade recommended disallowance because the law was contrary to the royal instructions to the Governor and was unjust in principle and practice. This recommendation went to the Privy Council along with a letter from Bishop Sherlock highly critical of the Virginia Assembly. The Bishop charged that the Virginians had intentionally defrauded the clergy, and were treasonous because the Two Penny Acts negated the 1748 law which had the King's approval, to pay clerical salaries in tobacco. After hearing these arguments, the King in Council invalidated the laws and commanded the Governor in the future to obey his instructions.<sup>122</sup>

Virginians were disturbed, and justifiably so, with the disallowance. The General Assembly had passed the laws in response to a crisis brought on by a failure of the tobacco crop. To be sure, the lawmakers had acted contrary to royal instructions, but their intention was to solve an immediate local problem not to interfere with the prerogative of the King. Except for the protests of the clergy, the laws might have served their purpose and expired without incident. "Now," Bland's biographer noted, "the controversy took on the proportions of a full-blown clash between provincial legislative autonomy and royal prerogative."<sup>123</sup>

When the General Assembly convened in October, 1760, the House

appointed a committee of which Bland was a member, to work with a committee from the Council on an address to the King informing him that the Two Penny Acts were framed only because the local situation demanded them.<sup>124</sup> The Committee of Correspondence also asserted the right of the Assembly and the Governor to deal with colonial problems regardless of prior laws sanctioned by the crown: "For all Countries are liable to such Charges & Accidents, as require the immediate Interposition of the Legislature, And no less than an infallible Power can form Laws so perfect that they may not afterwards stand in Need of Alterations or Amendments."<sup>125</sup>

In addition to these official acts in defense of the Virginia government, there was a pamphlet and newspaper battle between Bland and his friend, Landon Carter, on the one hand and the Reverend Dr. Camm on the other. Carter published, December, 1759, A Letter to the Right Reverend Father in God, the Lord B<sup>i</sup>sho<sup>p</sup> of L<sup>o</sup>ndo<sup>n</sup> specifically to deny Sherlock's charges that the General Assembly was disloyal. The Two Penny Act, said Carter, was not passed to flaunt royal instructions, but to meet an immediate crisis when there was no time to wait for the King's pleasure.<sup>126</sup>

Bland likewise was incensed with the Bishop of London. While he refuted the Bishop's charges against the General Assembly, his tract was entitled A Letter to the Clergy. Systematically he showed that the Virginia clergy were not abused, that they received by the Two Penny Act more money than ever, about £144 per annum exclusive of the glebe and other perquisites. As far as the royal prerogative was concerned, Bland admitted that it is "without Doubt, of great Weight and Power in a dependent and subordinate Government...but, great and powerful as it

is, it can only be exerted...for the Good of [the] People...." Accordingly, when the Governor and Council, "to whom the power is in part delegated" are faced with "any accident" not covered by the royal instructions, or find that a strict observation of the instructions would impose hardship before they could be appealed to the King, such instructions should be ignored without fear of treason. Only "the most pressing Necessity can justify any Person for infringing" the royal instructions, "but as salus populi est suprema lex, where this Necessity prevails, every Consideration must give Place to it, and even these Instructions may be deviated from the Impunity: This is so evident to Reason, and so clear and fundamental a Rule in the English Constitution, that it would be losing of Time to produce Instances of it."<sup>127</sup>

Carter's and Bland's pamphlets were "received with great applause" in Virginia.<sup>128</sup> They were attacked, however, by John Camm in a pamphlet published in Annapolis in 1763 entitled A Single and Distinct View of the Act Vulgarly Called the Two-Penny Act. Camm dismissed the arguments that the act was just and in keeping with the general welfare because it abused the already underpaid clergy and made the richest men in the colony richer. No one, he charged, "can discover any Justice, Charity, Benefit to the Community, Sense or Reason in this Project, which is not infinitely over-balanced by contrary effects."<sup>129</sup> Moreover, Camm disagreed with Bland on the function of the provincial government. The fact that the Two Penny Act was passed without a suspending clause withholding it from operation until it was approved in London was a usurpation of the royal prerogative that had to be stopped if the British Empire were to survive. Virginia, said Camm, was not "a little independent Sovereignty"; she had a "particular Connection" with the mother

country and was dependent on the crown. "And I know not," he continued, "in what this dependence can more properly consist than in the standing uninterrupted Validity of Laws confirmed by the Crown, until they are Repeal'd or Suspended by the Same Authority."<sup>130</sup>

Bland wrote a letter in response to Camm's pamphlet that was published on October 28, 1763, in the Virginia Gazette.<sup>131</sup> He charged that Camm was "a little Jesuitical" in waiting three years to reply to him and Carter. Yet, he said sarcastically, he could appreciate the delay, for Camm was suing his vestry for his back salary and the "pamphlet appears mighty properly for that trial."<sup>132</sup> As to Camm's argument, Bland was reminded of a story of an English judge who told a lawyer that his case was like a Banbury cheese which if the bad parts were cut out the remainder would be very small.<sup>133</sup> "Your Single and Distinct View," said Bland to Camm, "may then most justly be compared to a BANBURY cheese: pare off the scurrility and abuse, the false reasoning, and more false facts, and it will be reduced to less than the title page."<sup>134</sup> Bland advanced no new arguments; he simply repeated what he had said earlier that the legislation was a response to the poor tobacco crop. Camm's insinuation that the General Assembly was attempting to dislodge royal prerogative, he held "too contemptible to deserve any reply."<sup>135</sup> He concluded with a bitter blast at the preacher: "Could I attain to the sublimity of your diction I might very justly exclaim out on this occasion, O John Camm! opprobrious John Camm! no good cometh out of John Camm."<sup>136</sup>

The minister gave as good as he got. In "Observations on Colonel BLAND's Letter," which he published in the Virginia Gazette,<sup>137</sup> Camm dismissed the charge that he was as devious as a Jesuit by saying that



such an epithet was out of date. The idea that he wrote his pamphlet to influence the outcome of his court suit was ridiculous. Since when was it usual for the legislature "to interfere in a private lawsuit"? Besides, said Camm, Bland was "a false prophet". The case would not be decided at the current session of the General Court. As for scurrility, Bland was no judge. Camm recommended himself to his readers hoping they would consider his "scurrility was provoked defensive scurrility." Royal prerogative was still very much an issue. Had not Bland admitted as much when he said that "departure from the established rule of right can be justified by the most pressing necessity alone?" But Bland had evaded the issue, said Camm, by branding Camm's arguments as too contemptible to answer. There was no way to escape the conclusion, Camm repeated, of discrimination against the clergy. He concluded: "Let Colonel Bland say what he will of me, I am far from saying no good can come out of Colonel Bland....I believe some good may come out of him in his calmer moments....It would be hard if there should not some good come out of him when he is pleased, considering how much evil comes out when he is disobliged."<sup>138</sup>

Early in 1764, Landon Carter published a pamphlet, The Rector Detected, in response to Camm. He repeated that the Two Penny Act was a piece of emergency legislation framed for the necessary welfare of the community with no intent of dislodging royal authority. Carter argued, moreover, that "it is a virtue in a Prince to acquiesce at all times in the agreement of his subjects among themselves...when that agreement does not affect his own royal right in any sensible manner, or the rest of his subjects of his Kingdom in any manner whatever."<sup>139</sup>

Camm retorted in A Review of the Rector Detected: or the Colonel

Reconnoitred that the act did not benefit the people of Virginia, that the general welfare did not allow for interference with private property, and that the General Assembly had no right to disturb the royal prerogative.<sup>140</sup>

In August Bland entered the pamphlet war again with The Colonel Dismounted: or the Rector Vindicated.<sup>141</sup> He had written it more than eight months earlier to amuse himself, but in view of Camm's recent behavior, he published it. The title was satirical, a tone maintained throughout the pamphlet. Nevertheless, Bland's message was serious. Writing under the pseudonym, Common Sense, the author posed as Camm's defender in a debate with a certain Colonel who reviewed the controversy point by point to refute Rector Camm. Common Sense took a drubbing; he was bombarded with facts that were not easily denied. "I was silent," said Common Sense at one point. "For, may it please Your Reverence [Camm], what could I say in your vindication...."<sup>142</sup> The Colonel's strongest blast was directed against the Rector's claim that he and the clergy were preserving the British constitution which was being destroyed by the Virginia General Assembly.

"The constitution cannot be destroyed, nor the royal prerogative restrained by any act of the General Assembly," Bland asserted. "The King as sovereign possesses an inherent power in the legislature of the colony and can give his allowance or disallowance to any act passed by them...."<sup>143</sup> The royal sovereignty, however, was to be understood in the proper historical context. Virginians were not a conquered people, for "by their own consent and at the expense of their own blood and treasure [they] undertook to settle this new region for the benefit and aggrandizement of the parent kingdom." Consequently, said Bland, "the

native privileges our progenitors enjoyed must be derived to us from them, as they could not be forfeited by their migration to America." All men are born free under an English government, they are subject only to laws made with their consent, and cannot be deprived of them without violation of law.<sup>1144</sup> Citing the colonial charters from the time of King James I, Bland supported the contention that the Virginia legislature had authority over local affairs.<sup>1145</sup>

Even so, the Virginia government was dependent on the King and Parliament of Great Britain. As the rights of Englishmen were not lost by the removal to North America, so, said Bland, "neither can we withdraw our dependence without destroying the constitution."<sup>1146</sup> The Virginia legislature had authority to regulate internal government, the Parliament to regulate external government. Bland explained:

I do not deny but that the Parliament, as the stronger power, can force any laws it shall think fit upon us; but the inquiry is not what it can do, but what constitutional right it has to do so. And if it has not any constitutional right, then any tax respecting our INTERNAL policy which may hereafter be imposed on us by act of Parliament is arbitrary, as depriving us of our rights, and may be opposed.<sup>1147</sup>

This was not to say that the common law was excluded in the Virginia government. Common law was the "birthright of every Englishman" following him wherever he went and was as a result "the GENERAL law by which the colony is to be governed."<sup>1148</sup> Such was the nature of the British constitution.

While it was "evident that the Legislature of the colony have a right to enact ANY law they shall think necessary for their INTERNAL government," Bland said it was necessary that laws can be made only with the assent of the King. But it was plainly impossible for the King to give his assent in person, so he had delegated that power to the royal

governor whose "assent to laws here is in effect the King's assent." The King reserved the right to negate a law of the colonial legislature, but Bland underscored a fundamental point. If laws were abrogated "FROM THE TIME of such abrogation and not BEFORE, they are to cease and determine."<sup>149</sup>

Finally, there was the matter of the King's instructions to the colonial governor. Camm said the instructions had the force and validity of law. Bland disagreed. As far as the governors were concerned, the instructions were law, but it was unconstitutional to think that they were law to the people. Instructions were made in England only for the governor, and more often than not they were kept secret from the officials of the colony. Furthermore, Bland pointed out, instructions were made by English ministers with an imperfect knowledge of colonial conditions. "The King's instructions, then, being only intended as guides and directions to governors, and not being obligatory upon the people, the governors are only answerable for a breach of them, and not the General Assembly; and if [the governors] are answerable only, they have the only right of determining whether their passing acts upon particular emergent occasions is contrary to the spirit and true meaning of their instructions or not."<sup>150</sup> In other words, Bland believed that the governor in times of "great exigency" could approve legislation contrary to the strict letter of his instructions because he thought circumstances in the colony required it.<sup>151</sup>

Camm responded in 1765 with a pamphlet, Critical Remarks on a Letter Ascribed to Common Sense...with a Dissertation on Drowsiness. He did not add substantially to his constitutional argument. In fact, as a recent commentator observed, Camm's pamphlet is remarkable mostly

"for its frenzied effort to top Bland's raillery", but its "imagery is so elaborate, the conceits and name-calling so jumbled together, that it is impossible to follow the thought."<sup>152</sup>

The court suits initiated by Camm and some other ministers to recover their back salaries since the disallowance of the Two Penny Act were no more successful than Camm's last pamphlet. Uncertain in the beginning whether they should contest the suits or give in to the ministers' demands, the vestries of the various parishes decided to resist in 1759 when the House of Burgesses instructed their agent to support the vestries if the clergy appealed to London.<sup>153</sup> The ministers took little satisfaction in the judgments of the courts. The Reverend James Maury was awarded one penny by the Hanover County court after the lawyer Patrick Henry had argued against him saying that the Two Penny Act was a good law and that the rights of Virginians were endangered by an arbitrary King who had negated it. Camm's case before the General Court went against him in 1764 when the judges ruled that the disallowance of the Two Penny Act came after its expiration and could not be made retroactive. Camm appealed to the Privy Council, but the appeal was denied in 1767.<sup>154</sup>

The debate over the Two Penny Act was important in the formation of Bland's political thought. As in the Pistole Fee controversy, he still considered himself fortunate to be a British subject whose rights were protected under the constitution. In 1754 he had asserted Virginians could not be deprived of their property without their consent, so in 1764, he carried the concept further asserting that the power of the King and Parliament did not extend in all matters to Virginia. When it came to the external government of the British Empire, Bland

did not dispute the authority of King and Parliament, but when it came to the internal government of Virginia, only the General Assembly, as the representatives of the people, had the authority. Such thinking reflected Bland's political experience over two decades in the House of Burgesses and his profound sense of history. More than a theorist, Bland was a man of action.

Bland's concept that Parliament had no right to interfere with internal affairs in the colony was soon put to the test. Following the end of the French and Indian War, Britain found herself with a national debt approaching half a million pounds. To defray the debt, a large part of which had been incurred in the defense of the North American colonies, the King's First Minister, George Grenville, proposed to levy a stamp tax on the colonies. In March, 1764, Grenville laid his plan before Parliament. At the same time he hinted vaguely that the stamp tax might be unnecessary should the colonial legislatures come up with a suitable alternative to raise money adequate in discharging the national debt. But Grenville never intended to defer to the colonial legislatures, and Parliament followed his plan for a stamp act never questioning its competence to legislate for the colonies.

These developments Edward Montagu, London agent of the Virginia Assembly, reported to the Committee of Correspondence. News of the proposed stamp duty caused great alarm in the colony. The committee resolved to instruct Montagu to oppose with all his influence this tax made without the colony's consent. They prepared a letter forecasting trouble, but before they could send it letters came from the agent telling of Parliament's determination to tax them. The Virginians added a postscript to their letter informing Montagu that they would

have no further instructions until the General Assembly met in the fall.<sup>155</sup>

The General Assembly convened on October 30, 1764. As soon as the House was organized, the burgesses assembled as a committee of the whole to discuss the proposed tax as detailed in the Montagu correspondence. Next day, in regular session, the burgesses resolved to petition the King to protect their rights as "Descendants of Britons" which would be violated "if Laws respecting their internal Polity, and Taxes imposed on them by any other Power than that derived from their own Consent."<sup>156</sup> Petitions also were to be sent to the houses of Parliament--the Lords and the Commons. To draft the documents a committee was appointed which included Peyton Randolph, the chairman, Landon Carter, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, Archibald Cary, John Fleming, and, of course, Richard Bland.<sup>157</sup> The petitions, while respectful, stated no taxes could be levied without the consent of the people or their representatives. Undoubtedly Bland contributed to the framing of the petitions, but it is impossible to estimate his influence. As an old man, Thomas Jefferson said that Randolph wrote the petition to the King and George Wythe the petition to the Commons.<sup>158</sup> William Wirt, after comparing the petition to the Lords with the composition style of the members of the committee, thought probably it was written by Pendleton, possibly Bland.<sup>159</sup> The petitions were approved by the General Assembly on December 18.

The Committee of Correspondence then sent five copies of each petition to Montagu with instructions to deliver them to the proper authorities and to support them with the "utmost Influence." Since, in the past, other colonial petitions had been ignored by the London government,

the committee recommended that Montagu print the petitions for public distribution so that the English people were aware of the "Privileges & Liberties we claim as British Subjects...and the dreadful apprehensions we are under of being deprived of them in the unconstitutional method proposed."<sup>160</sup>

With their petitions registered in London, the General Assembly awaited the action of Parliament. The Virginia petitions, and those of the other colonies, received no hearing. The Stamp Act passed without serious opposition and in March, 1765, was signed by the King. News of the passage did not reach the Old Dominion until May. By that time the General Assembly was in session and, having transacted most of the business at hand, was anticipating adjournment. Only thirty-nine bur-gesses, or about a third of the House membership, remained in Williams-burg. Nevertheless, on May 29, the House organized itself in a Commit-tee of the Whole to consider a necessary response to the imposition of stamp duties on the colonies. Two resolutions condemning the Stamp Act emerged from the committee, the work of Patrick Henry with the assis-tance of John Fleming and George Johnston. The resolutions asserted that the first settlers had brought the traditional rights of Englishmen with them to Virginia, rights protected in the colonial charters, that the colonists could not be taxed by a parliament in which they were un-represented, and that the Assembly had the sole authority to tax the colony. These sentiments were similar to those expressed in the previ-ous session of the House, but when the resolutions were introduced on May 30, they met stiff opposition.

According to recollections made by Thomas Jefferson in 1814, the established leadership of the House, including Peyton Randolph, Richard



Bland, Edmund Pendleton, and George Wythe, resisted the Stamp Act resolutions. On the face of it, the opposition of these men is difficult to explain because all of them had helped to frame the petitions against the stamp duties. They may have believed that the only constitutional procedure left to them was, not resolutions against a bona-fide act of Parliament, but measures urging the repeal of the Act. Jefferson suggested another motive for their opposition. Until the Stamp Act crisis, said Jefferson, these "old members" had been unchallenged in the House.<sup>161</sup> Patrick Henry, a freshman burgess, had joined with other men from the back-country to challenge the tidewater aristocracy. The absenteeism in the House in the last days of May, 1765, reduced the strength of the leadership, and Henry and his colleagues were quick to strike an advantage by exploiting the Stamp Act crisis.<sup>162</sup>

Despite Jefferson's recollection that Bland had opposed the Stamp Act resolutions, it is not at all clear that Bland was present in the House during the debates. Like many of his fellow burgesses, he apparently thought that the most important business was finished and had gone home to Prince George. He was last mentioned in the official journals on May 7, when he submitted a report as chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections. While the House was debating Henry's proposals on May 30, Peyton Randolph reported from Bland's committee. Furthermore, when Governor Fauquier wrote to the Board of Trade describing Virginia's reaction to the Stamp Act, he did not list Bland among those who were opposed to Henry.<sup>163</sup>

Had Bland been present there was good reason to expect that he would have stood with the leadership against the Stamp Act resolutions. It was not that he disagreed with the sentiments; he had been expressing

similar thoughts for years, but he was strongly attached to the ideals and traditions of the mother country and the threat of a young hothead like Henry undoubtedly made him cautious.<sup>164</sup>

Nevertheless, Bland was opposed to the Stamp Act. Caught in the fury that swept the colonies, he wrote An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, which was published in March, 1766. Bland's pamphlet was written in epistolary form to answer an anonymous tract, The Regulations Lately Made Concerning the Colonies, and the Taxes Imposed upon Them Considered. The author of the tract was Thomas Whately, who has been described as "the best informed person in England on the intricacies of the laws and regulations governing the colonies."<sup>165</sup> The Stamp Act in large measure was Whately's work. Not only did he contend that stamp duties were the most easy, equal, and certain of all taxes, but he also said that the right of Parliament to tax the colonies rested squarely on the constitution. The fact is, Whately wrote, "that the colonies are represented in Parliament: they do not indeed choose members of that assembly; neither are nine tenths of the people of Britain electors." It was the same with all British subjects: "none are actually, all are virtually represented in Parliament; for every member of Parliament sits in the House not as representative of his own constituents, but as one of that august assembly by which all the commons of Great Britain are represented."<sup>166</sup>

Probably Bland never knew that Whately wrote the pamphlet. It would have been little different had he known, because Bland was primarily concerned with the premise of the pamphlet which he thought endeavored "to fix shackles upon the American Colonies." Consequently, he intended to examine "whether the Ministry, by imposing Taxes upon

the Colonies by Authority of Parliament, have pursued a wise and salutary Plan of Government, or whether they have exerted pernicious and destructive Acts of Power."<sup>167</sup>

First of all, he considered "whether the Colonies are represented in the British Parliament or not." The concept of virtual representation was incomprehensible. Bland could not understand "how Men who are excluded from voting at the Election of Members of Parliament can be represented in that Assembly, or how those who are elected do not sit in the House as Representatives of their Constituents." Such assertions to Bland appeared "not only paradoxical, but contrary to the fundamental Principles of the English Constitution."<sup>168</sup>

In order to refute the idea of virtual representation, Bland, as he always did when he wrote a pamphlet, resorted to history. Beginning with the fourth century Saxon Invasion of Britain, he traced the development of constitutional principles to recent times. He followed John Locke in asserting that all government is founded "upon the Principles of the Law of Nature."<sup>169</sup> Bland explained: "Men in a State of Nature are absolutely free and independent of one another as to sovereign Jurisdiction, but when they enter into a Society, and by their own Consent become Members of it, they must submit to the Laws of the Society according to which they agree to be governed."<sup>170</sup> Having consented to live together in a lawful society, men nevertheless retain the right under the law of nature "to Retire from the Society, to renounce the Benefits of it, to enter into another Society, and to settle in another Country." No one is obliged to continue in a society "longer than they find it will conduce to their Happiness, which they have a natural right to promote."<sup>171</sup>

Any person, said Bland, who did not exercise his natural right to quit the society, must be a subject to its laws. It made no difference whether or not a person was qualified to vote, so long as he enjoyed the benefits of society by remaining part of it, he was giving implicit consent to its laws. Thus the people of Britain, some of whom could not satisfy property qualifications or were otherwise restricted of franchise, were bound to the laws of Parliament, not "from their being virtually represented, but from a quite different Principle; a Principle of the Law of Nature, true, certain, and universal, applicable to every Sort of Government, and not contrary to the common Understanding of Mankind."<sup>172</sup>

Bland argued that since the British people were not represented in Parliament, "the Conclusion is much stronger against the People of the Colonies being represented." The American colonists were considered "by the British Government itself, in every Instance of Parliamentary Legislation, as a distinct people."<sup>173</sup> The Privy Council, Bland pointed out, had decided any parliamentary legislation not specifically mentioning the colonies did not pertain to them. As far as Bland was concerned, Parliament was the supreme lawmaking body for Britain alone. The colonies had their own legislatures.

Bland explained his concept of divided sovereignty. Men who had exercised their natural rights and withdrawn from their society to a new country had recovered "their natural Freedom and Independence." The sovereignty and jurisdiction of the country they left behind ceased; by common consent they established themselves in a new country, they formed a new political society, and became a "sovereign State, independent of the State from which they separated." "If then," Bland

continued, "the Subjects of England have a natural Right to relinquish their Country, and by retiring from it, and associating together, to form a new political Society and independent State, they must have a Right, by Compact with the Sovereign of the Nation, to remove into a new Country, and to form a civil Establishment upon the terms of the Compact." Such a compact was binding absolutely upon all parties; it was, said Bland, "the Magna Charta," the fundamental principle of government. Any infringement of the compact was wrong and could be opposed. The American colonies were established under contractual obligations. They were, Bland noted, "not settled by Fugitives from their native Country, but by Men who came over voluntarily, at their own Expense, and under Charters from the Crown, obtained for that purpose...."<sup>174</sup> Bland described a theory of empire in which the Parliament and the legislatures of the individual colonies were independent of each other. They were united only by common allegiance to the crown.

Within the British Empire, therefore, Virginia was sovereign, as England was sovereign. In support of his contention, Bland traced the history of the charters of the colony. The charters and other royal acts proved, he said, that from the beginning Virginians "had a regular Government...and were respected as a distinct State, independent, as to their internal Government, of the original Kingdom, but united with her, as to their external Polity, in the closest and most intimate LEAGUE AND AMITY, under the same Allegiance, and enjoying the Benefits of a reciprocal Intercourse."<sup>175</sup>

The Navigation Acts were troublesome. Bland admitted that the legislation passed after 1660 affecting trade "constituted an unnatural

Difference between Men of the same Allegiance, born equally free and entitled to the same civil Rights."<sup>176</sup> Even so, the Navigation Acts did not disturb Bland's concept of empire. "I have proved irrefragably that the Colonies are not represented in Parliament, and consequently, ...no new Law can bind them that is made without the Concurrence of their Representatives, and if so, then every Act of Parliament that imposes internal Taxes upon the Colonies is an Act of Power, and not of Right."<sup>177</sup>

Fundamental to Bland's concept of divided sovereignty within the empire was the doctrine of natural rights. If these rights were violated arbitrarily by Parliament, the colonists had the right of resistance. In the first instance, if the colonies were dismembered by an act of Parliament and abandoned to a despotic power, "they had a natural Right to defend their Liberties by open Force." In the second instance, if their internal political sovereignty were violated by Parliament, the colonies were not to resort to force, but they were "to lay their Complaints at the Foot of the Throne, and to suffer patiently rather than disturb the publick Peace, which nothing but a denial of Justice can excuse them in breaking." Bland was moderate, but if the mother country continued to press too far, more direct protest could be employed. Every colony, said Bland, properly treated, "ought to pay Honor and Regard to its Mother State; but, when treated with Injury and Violence, is become an Alien. They were not sent out to be Slaves, but to be Equals of those that remain behind."<sup>178</sup>

Bland hoped, however, that it would never be necessary to exercise the right of resistance. Toward the end of his pamphlet, he wrote: "May the interests of Great Britain and her Colonies be ever united so

as that whilst they are retained in a legal and just dependence no unnatural or unlimited Rule may be exercised over them; but that they may enjoy the Freedom, and other Benefits of the British Constitution, to the latest Page in History!"<sup>179</sup>

An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies was Bland's final pamphlet. In it he gave a summation to ideas he had held for then a decade and a half. He had always maintained that Virginians enjoyed the traditional rights of Englishmen as guaranteed by the British Constitution. He also had long held that the Virginia General Assembly, not the Parliament in England, was entitled to regulate internal affairs in the colony. In the Inquiry these ideas were tied to the natural rights philosophy. Men in a state of nature came together by their own consent to frame the laws by which they would live in society. The laws were binding so long as men gave their consent; but whenever men left their society, they were free to begin anew with laws in another place. The American colonists had departed from England under a compact with the King defining their rights to form their own governments independent of England's sovereignty and jurisdiction. Consequently, the colonies were sovereign in internal affairs. They were co-equal with the mother country being bound with her by common allegiance to the crown. And, men had the right to resist any authority that tended to interfere with the natural laws that guaranteed liberty within the empire.

Bland had justified the right of revolution, but with some reluctance. Thomas Jefferson, as an old man, described the Inquiry as "the first pamphlet on the nature of the connection with Great Britain which had any pretension to accuracy of view on that subject." Jefferson,

however, was critical of Bland: "He would set out on sound principles, pursue them logically till he found them leading to the precipice which he had to leap, start back alarmed, then resume his ground, go over it in another direction, be led against by the correctness of his reasoning to the same place, and again back about, and try other processes to reconcile right and wrong, but finally left his reader and himself bewildered."<sup>180</sup>

Bland's attitude was indeed ambivalent. On the one hand he was proud to be a British citizen; on the other, he was troubled by the fact that the British Parliament was denying his natural rights. The stamp duties undermined the legislative autonomy of the colonies and threatened what Bland took to be his indisputable rights. He did not wish to sever the ties with the mother country, but he did not intend to give up his political rights. No wonder Bland was bewildered. By nature a cautious man, he was not given to rash decisions, but he could scarcely have failed to recognize that if Parliament continued to force internal taxation on the colonies he would have to decide what was more important, his British citizenship or his natural rights. Until the end he continued to hope that the British ministry would see the folly of its policy and restore to America its traditional rights of self-government.<sup>181</sup>

According to his biographer, Bland's primary contribution to the history of American society was that he was the first to define clearly the idea of divided sovereignty in the British Empire. The idea itself was not original with him, for certainly other colonists thought of their provinces as possessing independent rights. Bland spelled out the idea more clearly. His pamphlets reflected the thoughts of many people. For instance, the English traveler in the colonies, Andrew Burnaby,



observed in 1759 that Virginians were "haughty and jealous of their liberties, impatient of restraint, and can scarcely bear the thought of being controlled by any superior power." Virginians were loyal, Burnaby thought, even though "many of them consider the colonies as independent states, not connected with Great Britain, otherwise than by having the same common king, and being bound to her by natural affection."<sup>182</sup>

Bland had expressed these ideas ever since the Two Penny Controversy.

As one of the most important political theorists of his time, Bland was saying what his countrymen were thinking. On March 31, 1766, soon after he published the Inquiry, the Norfolk Sons of Liberty passed a series of resolutions in response to the Stamp Act. One of the resolutions called for a committee to thank Bland for his pamphlet.<sup>183</sup>

Accordingly, on April 25, they sent a letter of praise to Bland: "When the LIBERTY of a State is in Danger, the Man surely deserves well of his Country, who is instrumental in removing the impending Evil; but as the Means are various, we believe none preferable to reasonable Conviction: In this glorious Undertaking, you have eminently distinguished yourself, by your Treatise...and should the Legislature of Great Britain, at any Time hereafter, by the Dint of Power, make Inroads on our Privileges, your Merit will still remain conspicuous...."<sup>184</sup>

The Stamp Act was repealed in March, 1766. There was wild rejoicing when the news reached the colonies. Bland was, of course, relieved "that the violent Attack made upon our civil Rights, by the late arbitrary and oppressive Minister" was removed.<sup>185</sup> As chairman of a committee of the House of Burgesses, he worked on plans for a statue of George III and helped prepare an address to the King thanking him for delivering the colony from "the late unconstitutional Stamp Act."<sup>186</sup>

The colonists celebrated too soon. At the same time as the Stamp Act was repealed a declaratory act was passed asserting that Parliament had the right to legislate for the colonies in all matters whatsoever. In May, 1767, Parliament enacted the Townshend Duties ostensibly to regulate trade by taxing paper, paint, glass and tea imported into the colonies. The colonies had always recognized the right of the mother country to regulate their external trade, so the British ministry anticipated none of the difficulty occasioned by the stamp duties. The colonists, including Virginians, looked with suspicion on the Townshend Duties. It seemed to them that the purpose of the taxes was not to regulate trade, but to raise revenue. Furthermore, since duties were imposed on imports, they were an interference in internal affairs.

When the General Assembly convened on March 31, 1766, the speaker laid before the burgesses a circular letter from Massachusetts protesting the Townshend Duties. Much of the business of the session centered on discussions concerning this latest action of Parliament against colonial rights. As usual Bland played a prominent part. He led the deliberations of the Committee of the Whole, delivered that committee's report in regular session, chaired a special committee to draft addresses of protest to the King and the two houses of Parliament, submitted the drafted documents, and headed the committee which conferred with the Council.<sup>187</sup> The House adopted the addresses on April 14, after several amendments had been made by the Committee of the Whole. The Council concurred two days later.

The addresses bore unmistakably the stamp of Bland's mind. The principles he had long held were expressed with clarity and force. The Virginians stressed their loyalty being "truly sensible of the Happiness

and Security they derive from their Connexions with and dependence upon Great Britain their Parent Kingdom." They also hoped for the "continuance of those Connexions permanent and equally Desirable to both." They were, moreover, grateful at the repeal of the "late oppressive" Stamp Act, but at the same time they could not lament strongly enough the enactment of "several late acts" of the Parliament equally burdensome to the colonies and "equally derogatory to those Constitutional Privileges and immunities" which the heirs "of free born Britons, have ever esteemed their unquestionable and invaluable birth Rights."

The Virginians claimed no more than "the natural Rights of British Subjects" which were "that no Power on Earth has a right to impose Taxes upon the People or to take the smallest Portion of their Property without their Consent, given by their Representatives in Parliament." These rights were so firmly established that no elaboration was necessary, but the Virginians were careful to point out that these rights were brought over "entire" by the colonists when they settled the new country "with the Approbation of their Sovereigns" and "at the expence of their Blood and their own Treasure." The legislative assemblies, which the colonists had established for themselves, had the absolute right to regulate the internal affairs of the colonies. The "notion of a virtual Representation" of the colonists in Parliament had been "so often and clearly refuted" that the Virginians saw no reason to discuss it further. They conceded that Parliament could regulate external matters, such as the imperial trade, for the welfare of the Empire as a whole, but so far as they were concerned the Townshend Duties were not in the category of externals. Since the duties were imposed "upon such of the British Exports, as are necessaries of Life, to be paid by the Colonists

upon Importation," their purpose was not the regulation of trade, but the raising of revenue. The Townshend Duties were "a Tax internal to all Intents and Purposes."

While the addresses of the General Assembly dealt mainly with the Townshend Duties, they also registered a protest against the act suspending the New York legislature for its refusal to comply with the 1766 act for quartering and billeting British soldiers in the colonies. Such action on the part of Parliament was "replete with every kind of Mischief and utterly subversive of every Thing dear and valuable to us." Of what advantage was a representative assembly, if the representatives were not permitted to exercise their judgment?

The address to the House of Commons ended with a warning. Should the Virginians be disappointed in their expectation of repeal, they would be compelled "to contract themselves within their little Spheres and obliged to content themselves with their homespun Manufactures." In other words, the burgesses threatened an embargo on trade if they were forced to pay the Townshend taxes.<sup>188</sup>

At the same time as they prepared to send their protests to London, the burgesses, in response to the Massachusetts circular letter, resolved to inform the assemblies of the other colonies that they thought it necessary for all of them to unite "in a firm but decent Opposition to every Measure which may affect the Rights and Liberties of the British Colonies in America."<sup>189</sup>

The protests against the Townshend Duties failed to move the home government. So annoyed was the British ministry that they instructed Virginia's Governor Botetourt to dissolve the Assembly that was set to meet in the spring of 1769.<sup>190</sup> The Governor carried out his instructions,

but the burgesses who were returned to the May, 1769, session were no less defiant than those who sat in the previous session.

When the House of Burgesses assembled on May 8, the speaker said he had been in correspondence with the other speakers throughout the colonies regarding the Townshend Duties and the Quartering Act and had received several replies. It was ordered that these letters be laid on the table together with the communications made during the last five years between the Committee of Correspondence and the Virginia agent, Edward Montagu.<sup>191</sup> A week later, in response to a new British law threatening colonials accused of treason and other felonies with transport to England for trial, the House appointed a committee to frame resolves of protest to be sent to the King and to the assemblies of the other colonies.<sup>192</sup> The burgesses condemned the denial of trial by a local jury. They were, they said, very much alarmed by "such dangerous Invasions of our dearest Privileges." The resolves were printed as a broadside for immediate distribution.<sup>193</sup> The day after the resolves passed the House, May 17, Governor Botetourt summoned the burgesses to the council chamber in the capitol. Greeting the Speaker and the gentlemen of the House, he said, "I have heard of your Resolves, and augur ill of the Effect. You have made it my Duty to dissolve you; and you are dissolved accordingly."<sup>194</sup>

Strangely, Bland was not assigned to the committee to draft the resolves. Certainly he agreed with the sentiments of the House regarding the right of trial by one's peers. Probably, he was not present on May 15 when the committee was appointed. Otherwise, he would no doubt have assumed his usual leadership.<sup>195</sup>

Upon their dismissal, the burgesses, Bland among them, left their

chambers in the capitol on the afternoon of May 17, and "with the greatest Order and Decorum" marched down the street to the Raleigh Tavern where they resumed their business. They made Peyton Randolph, the "late Speaker," their moderator. After a full discussion, it was agreed that a non-importation association be formed to oppose the Townshend Duties. The next day, the Association adopted a series of resolutions condemning the British government for pursuing a policy which was reducing Virginians "from a free and happy People to a wretched and miserable State of Slavery." The members of the association pledged that they would neither "directly or indirectly" import a long list of items from Great Britain unless the detested acts of Parliament were repealed. One hundred and eight Virginians signed the pledge. Richard Bland signed third, after Peyton Randolph and Robert Carter Nicholas.<sup>196</sup>

When the passions of the spring subsided, Governor Botetourt called for new elections and the General Assembly convened on November 7. At the opening session the Governor was conciliatory, announcing that the British ministry did not intend to levy any further taxes on America for the purpose of raising revenue and that it was proposed in the next session of Parliament to repeal "such Duties" as were contrary to the "true Principle of Commerce."<sup>197</sup>

The Townshend Duties, except for the tax on tea, were repealed in April, 1770, and the Quartering Act was allowed to expire. However, by the Tea Act, Parliament maintained the principle enunciated four years earlier in the Declaratory Act that it still possessed the right to legislate for the colonies in all matters. The burgesses were not fooled. In June, 1770, they sent an address to the King, which Bland helped prepare, stating that the colony would not be satisfied until

all the Townshend Duties were repealed, including the duty on tea.<sup>198</sup>

Meanwhile there were efforts to revive the Association which had not really proven effective. Toward the end of the session in June, 1770, the burgesses invited prominent merchants to join them in forming a new association. Accordingly, on June 22, the burgesses and merchants pledged not only to boycott British goods, but also to boycott any Virginian "who shall import, any merchandise or manufactures exported from Great Britain, which are, or hereafter shall be, taxed by act of Parliament for the purpose of raising a revenue in America." Bland's name appeared fourth among the signers, after Randolph, Nicholas, and the merchant Andrew Sprowle.<sup>199</sup> The second association, however, was little more effective than its predecessor, and by late 1770, it had all but expired.<sup>200</sup>

At the same time as Bland was formulating his ideas of the relationship of the colonies to the mother country, he was involved in a scramble for political office which followed the death, on May 10, 1766, of John Robinson, the longtime Speaker of the House and Treasurer of Virginia. Robinson had held his offices for twenty-eight years during which time he had employed his power and influence to build a political clique. Chief among Robinson's lieutenants was Peyton Randolph, who was ambitious to succeed his mentor as speaker and treasurer. But Randolph was not alone in his ambitions, for Richard Henry Lee and Richard Bland were also maneuvering for office. That Lee would challenge Randolph was hardly surprising because Lee was a man competitive and driven, a man whose family had long rivalled Robinson. Bland's motives, however, are not so easily explained.

By 1766 Bland had been in the House for twenty-four years. During

that time, when no one got ahead without the consent of Speaker Robinson, he had established himself in the front ranks of the burgesses. Certainly in terms of seniority and service Bland was qualified to succeed Robinson, and there is little doubt that he very much wanted the office. He was fifty-six years old and doubtless realized that he must seize the opportunity now even though it meant competing with a cousin and a friend. Nevertheless, he had reservations, as he revealed to Lee on May 22: "...I have been persuaded to offer myself a Candidate for the Chair," he wrote, "it is reported with us you have the same intention. My friend the Attorney Randolph is likewise soliciting. Under these Circumstances I am greatly puzzled how to Act. A Sincere Friendship for both of you and a Bias to my own Interest divide me much; however I am resolved that nothing shall interrupt the Friendship, on my part, which has subscribed between us: Whether I succeed or not you shall be always the same in my Esteem you have ever been a man highly to be valued for his Public and Private Virtues."<sup>201</sup>

No sooner had Robinson died than Randolph began to allign support for his advancement. Governor Fauquier was among his supporters and would have appointed Randolph acting treasurer except for the fact that in order to qualify, Randolph would have to resign his House seat and Fauquier feared that when the burgesses assembled to elect a speaker they would not wait until a special election returned Randolph to his seat and thus the speakership would go to someone else. Accordingly, Fauquier appointed Robert Carter Nicholas acting treasurer. Nicholas, however, had no intention of vacating the treasury. To secure the post permanently, Nicholas arranged for his friends to support a movement to separate the offices of Speaker and Treasurer. Bland and Lee were among



those who recognized the advantage of supporting Nicholas.<sup>202</sup>

The movement to separate the treasury from the speakership did not begin with Nicholas. In fact, for years the British ministry had instructed Virginia governors to divide the offices; but Robinson's power was such that the practical minded governors ignored their instructions.<sup>203</sup> Separation was all but demanded with the revelation late in May, 1766, that Robinson had embezzled over £100,000 from the public treasury and loaned much of it to his friends and supporters.

The Robinson scandal had scarcely broken when it was followed by another. The second scandal involved Robinson's father-in-law, John Chiswell, who after being arraigned in county court on a murder charge without bail, had been bailed anyway by three judges of the General Court who were his personal friends. While Chiswell awaited his trial, there were charges of preferential treatment.

Bland, Lee, and Nicholas recognized the Robinson and Chiswell scandals as potentially embarrassing to Randolph. It was not that Randolph had any direct connection with either scandal; as a matter of fact he had avoided acting as executor of Robinson's estate or giving advice on Chiswell's bailment; but his sidestepping the issues made it seem he had something to hide. Nevertheless, Randolph was a formidable opponent; he remained publicly silent; and left open maneuvering to his supporters, Landon Carter and his brother, John Randolph.

Bland himself was vulnerable because he was among the debtors of the Robinson estate. The accounts listed against him "£167.7s./ £77.14s.3d." Undoubtedly aware of the threat to his political aspirations, he discharged the obligation.<sup>204</sup> He was an exception, for most of those who had accepted loans from the late speaker could not pay.

Apparently nurtured by his opponents, rumors spread that Bland would withdraw from the speaker's race. "I have never entertained a thought of giving up my present attempt...", Bland wrote in an open letter to the Virginia Gazette. The letter was masterfully understated. The report of his retirement came perhaps from his contention that the treasury and the speakership ought not to be united, for, said Bland, he was "unwilling to believe any Gentleman would propagate it on purpose to do me an injury." He hoped that "the Gentlemen of the House of Burgesses" would pay no attention to the report, and he would be obliged for their support.<sup>205</sup>

Robinson's death postponed the meeting of the General Assembly until November, 1766. The summer therefore was spent in political warfare that was openly carried on in the columns of the newspapers. Bland engaged actively in the battles by writing at least three pieces that were printed in the Virginia Gazette in August and October. Employing the pseudonyms "Freeholder" and "Friend to the Constitution," he wrote in particular to refute "Honest Buckskin" and "Metriotes" whom he knew were, respectively, Landon Carter and John Randolph.

The opponents of separating the speakership and the treasury asserted that the united offices were established in the constitution which would be weakened if they were uncoupled. "Time was," replied Bland, always the historian, "even within the memory of many now alive when these offices were disunited; and their union since derives its existence only from temporary laws, which have constantly expired upon the dissolution of every Assembly." He ridiculed Metriotes' contention that the separation was a dangerous innovation in government. Why then had Metriotes (who was in reality clerk of the House) supported the

innovation several years before which had doubled the clerk's salary? A constitutional custom may be abrogated or an innovation in government made, Bland asserted, in order to establish "the perfection of the State upon the firmest foundation."<sup>206</sup>

The union of the "Chair and Treasury," he continued, made the speaker too powerful because he had at his disposal both "honorary appointment and pecuniary benefit" which "may be conducted by a skilful hand, so as to produce several prodigious effects...." Robinson's friends asserted that Robinson was always the disinterested public servant who had made short-term loans from the treasury because money in Virginia was scarce. Even if such were the case, was it right, asked Bland, for Robinson "to break through acts of the whole Legislature, and to controul their power by his own authority, in a case of the utmost consequence to the publick credit?" As far as Bland was concerned, Robinson's behavior was proof of "his influence, which he depended upon to protect him for so flagrant a breach of his publick trust."<sup>207</sup>

Furthermore, said Bland, it had been suspected for years that much of the Speaker's influence was obtained by "indirect methods." In 1753 and again in 1765, Bland recalled, the treasury did not have sufficient specie to discharge its obligations, and the creditors had to be paid in paper money emitted by the Assembly. At the time there had been much criticism of Robinson's conduct and of the House of Burgesses. It was said "that the Speaker would not have dared embezzle the publick money if he had not obtained an influence in the House by indirect methods." Always sensitive to the honor of the House, Bland pointed out, that the recent discovery of the "deficiency in the Treasury appears to be full one hundred thousand pounds, which have been

flung back into circulation by the single authority of the late Treasurer, in violation of the positive acts of the Legislature."<sup>208</sup>

Contrary to Robinson's defenders who said that influence peddling, direct or indirect, was not only outside the Speaker's character but beyond his power to carry every question according to his own opinion, Bland stuck to his charges. The Speaker had great influence even without carrying every question. "Might not he, with a select number of friends, constantly adhering to him, fling his weight into this or that scale, as best suited his purpose?" asked Bland. "Upon questions where the majority of the House were against him, he must submit; but upon a difference of opinion among the other Members...his weight must incline the balance to the side he appeared on. Might not he by this means carry many questions, and embarrass others so as to render them almost of no effect?"<sup>209</sup>

While Bland sought the separation of the treasury and the speakership to advance his own political career, he was also concerned for the honor of the House which had been tarnished by Robinson's speculation. In earlier writings he had defended the Virginia legislature with some success, but now his position was weakened by his own ambitions. His critics had questions. Why had Bland been silent during Robinson's lifetime? Was he "laboring under some prodigious undue influence obtained...by some indirect method, to be comprehended within the late discovery [of the shortage of Robinson's accounts]?" Bland's reply was not altogether convincing, especially since he had taken a loan from Robinson. "I never was under any such influence," he said, "...yet I confess I had not assurance enough to accuse [the speaker] at the head of the House of Burgesses of indirect practices upon bare suspicion."<sup>210</sup>

On October 30, writing as "A Friend to the Constitution," Bland entered the discussion of the Chiswell scandal. By the time he published his thoughts, the discussion was largely academic because Chiswell had died two weeks before. There had been sharp criticism of the judges who had bailed Chiswell. They had not only been charged with showing favoritism, but also with usurping the prerogatives of the Attorney General whose right it was to decide if Chiswell were bailable. Bland's stepson, Robert Bolling of Chellowe, was one of the chief critics of the Chiswell affair. Bolling satirized Attorney Randolph for his refusal to deal with the bailment asking what use the King had for an Attorney General when the councillor-judges discharged his duties. Bland certainly had knowledge of Bolling's activities, for the younger man did some of his work at Jordans.

Bland's letter denied the authority of the judges of the General Court out of session to bail a criminal denied bail by the county court. Basing his case on a law of George II, Bland concluded: "When...the County Court determines, upon examination, that a prisoner committed for a capital offence is not bailable, such prisoner must be removed to the publick gaol, there to remain 'until then delivered by due course of law;' and no such delivery can be but by a regular trial, or the order of the Supreme Court, if they determine the judgment of the County Court erroneous."<sup>211</sup>

At long last the House convened on November 6. By that time Richard Henry Lee had withdrawn from the Speaker's race to support Bland whom he nominated as "a Gentleman who had given undeniable Proofs of his Abilities and Fitness for that office."<sup>212</sup> Peyton Randolph, however, was elected to the Speaker's chair by an overwhelming

majority.<sup>213</sup> Bland was undoubtedly disappointed, but several days later he at least had satisfaction when his colleagues in the House separated the treasury and the speakership agreeing with Bland's contention that the Treasurer had gained too much influence and from now on must be held accountable to the House.

In retrospect it does not seem that Bland, with all of his obvious qualifications, could have been elected Speaker. Peyton Randolph was a formidable opponent. The affable Randolph had many friends among the burgesses. A conservative of long service and close standing to the leadership, he had been involved in most of the major issues before the Assembly. These qualities alone did not elect Randolph; they were for the most part the same qualities which also characterized Bland. The crucial factor in the election may have been that Randolph, better than Bland, understood the subtleties of the political situation in 1766. The Robinson and Chiswell scandals were potentially damaging to Randolph, but he handled them with great sagacity. While never denying his connections in either affair, he did not engage in the public dispute that raged through the newspapers right up to the time that the burgesses met to elect the Speaker. As the heir-apparent of the Robinson clique, he remained purposely behind the scenes, while his cohorts defended his position in the public press.

Bland and Randolph's other opponents exploited the scandals fully. They hinted that Randolph had neglected his duty by refusing to pass on Chiswell's bailment. They made a case for separating the offices of Speaker and Treasurer charging Robinson, and, by implication, his friends, with abuse of power and influence-peddling. In the end they created more heat than light. Whatever merits they found in the Chiswell

case were largely irrelevant after Chiswell died. In their charges against Robinson they went too far for too long.

Throughout the summer the Randolph faction had defended the late Speaker stating what was later proven indeed to be true; that because there was a chronic shortage of ready money in Virginia, Robinson made loans from the treasury to benefit the public and had put up his own estate as collateral.<sup>214</sup> By insisting that Robinson was corrupt, Bland apparently lost support. For example, William Nelson noted in November, 1766, that Robinson's abuses "had long been Subject of Conversation & private Complaint." Nelson admitted mistakes had been made, but he had grown weary of the attacks on Robinson. "It hath griev'd Me," Nelson wrote, "to think that so good a Man as he was in private Life, should be prevail'd upon by a set of men he was connected with & pretended to be his Friends, to do anything to Stain a Character otherwise so amiable. But the Truth is he had a Benevolence for all Mankind & so great an Application to him for money which he hoped to be able to replace before he should be called upon for it. This human Disposition of his they took Advantage of, therefore on them stay the Balance; he was the Error, or rather let me say the Weakness of carrying even his Virtues to too great an Excess."<sup>215</sup>

Bland insisted that he had nothing but esteem for Robinson's memory. "In private life, he was, I verily believe, a burning and a shining light, and highly worthy of our imitation; in his publick conduct, as Treasurer and Speaker, I cannot entertain so high an opinion of him."<sup>216</sup> There was a certain element of opportunism in Bland's remarks. He had borrowed money from Robinson either as a political favor, which he now said was wrong, or else as a loan to ease his

finances, in which case he knew Robinson's intentions were honorable. Under the circumstances, the burgesses made Randolph their Speaker.<sup>217</sup>

Bland's failure to be elected Speaker in no way affected his status in the House. There was no bitterness between him and Randolph. They had avoided personal abuse during the campaign, and they continued in the years ahead to work together harmoniously. Bland was as hard-working as ever, serving on the major committees, and handling important assignments. As always he remained a champion of the rights and prerogatives of the House.

In 1768 Bland resigned from the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary after having been a member for at least a decade, probably longer.<sup>218</sup> The college records during the time of Bland's tenure have not survived intact. Little is known of his specific contributions to college matters except that in the late 1750's he shipped college tobacco in behalf of the Visitors.<sup>219</sup> One can only speculate on his role in the 1757 removal of three professors, John Camm among them, for protesting the Two Penny Act. Did he vote to reinstate Camm in 1766?

He quit the Board in disgust, as he explained to Robert Carter Nicholas. "I must confess," he wrote, "I am quite tired with the instability of the Resolutions of the Visitors; what it proceeds from I know not, but I can scarce help impeding the unsettled state of the College to their Conduct: for my part, I am desirous to have no further Concern in the Government of an unfortunate Alma Mater, and freely resign my office as a Visitor, since I despair of seeing her recover from her unhappy Circumstances. I sincerely wish her Prosperity."<sup>220</sup>

Early in the 1770's Bland and the burgesses became embroiled in



ecclesiastical controversies. The first one concerned an attempt on the part of some Virginia clergymen to have an Episcopal bishop established in the colonies. The idea of a resident bishop did not originate in Virginia. Many churchmen in England and America had long sensed the need for an official in the colonies with the authority to ordain, confirm, and foster the spiritual welfare because the Bishop of London, who was charged with these duties, was too far removed from the colonies to attend them properly. Only the King as the head of the Church of England could seat an American bishop and set the bounds of his authority. In 1715, after urging the appointment of a bishop for at least a dozen years, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts presented the King with a scheme for the creation of four bishoprics--two in the West Indies and two on the North American continent with one of the latter located in Williamsburg.<sup>221</sup> Not until mid-century was there again a serious effort to establish an American bishop. The timing, coming as it did with the attempt to reorganize the empire, was unfortunate.

Some Americans, already protesting the Stamp Act and the Townshend Duties, feared that a bishop appointed by the King would be invested with power to interfere with secular authority. As far as they were concerned, the taxation of the colonies and the introduction of bishops were parts of a general scheme to undermine their political and religious liberty.

Yet every colony had its supporters of an American episcopate. In June, 1771, James Horrocks, Commissary of the Bishop of London, President of the College of William and Mary, and member of the Virginia Council, called a convention of the Virginia clergy to discuss

petitioning the King to favor a bishop. The convention, however, was less than a success. Of the one hundred or so ministers in the colony, only eleven came to Williamsburg for the meeting, and they were not all in agreement on the expediency of an episcopate. During initial discussions some thought a petition to the crown might be inappropriate so that they should seek the advice of the Bishop of London. Upon further discussion, they decided to send a petition in care of the Bishop. Four of the ministers said it would be best to wait until the petition had been approved by the General Assembly, but the eight others, including Commissary Horrocks and the Reverend John Camm, disagreed, and the petition went to London without any action by the burgesses.<sup>222</sup>

Two of the ministers who had opposed the petition to the King, Samuel Henley and Thomas Gwatkin, professors of philosophy at the College of William and Mary, published protests against an American episcopate in the Virginia Gazette. They were answered by John Camm who supported a bishop. The newspaper war between the clergymen grew hot and abusive.

Finally in July the whole matter came before the General Assembly. The burgesses, unanimously opposed to the establishment of an episcopate, resolved to express their appreciation to the ministers who had opposed the movement in the recent convention. Richard Bland and Richard Henry Lee were charged to prepare the document thanking them "for the wise and well timed Opposition they have made to the pernicious Project of a few mistaken Clergymen, for introducing an American Bishop; a Measure by which much Disturbance, great anxiety, and apprehension, would certainly take Place among his Majesty's faithful American subjects."<sup>223</sup>

Bland followed the dispute over the episcopate with close interest. His position was never in doubt. As a burgess he feared that a bishop would interfere in the internal affairs of Virginia. The establishment of a bishop went against his low-church sensibilities, for, as he said, he did not approve the hierarchy of the Church of England "which I know to be a Relick of the Papal Incroachments upon the Common Law."<sup>224</sup> Doubtless his convictions were sharpened and confirmed by reports from his son, William, who, as minister of James City Parish, had attended the convention and opposed creation of an American episcopate.

As he usually did in times of crisis, Bland turned to his pen. Probably he wrote a pamphlet against the establishment of a bishop, no copy of which survives.<sup>225</sup> He expressed his convictions in a long letter to Thomas Adams of London which he suggested be put through the public press to stimulate opposition from religious dissenters.

Bland wrote the letter because he feared that Commissary Horrocks, who had gone to England for his health, was applying to the authorities for a bishop. Some Virginians, Bland said, claimed that Horrocks had gone home because he expected "to be the First Right Reverend Father of the American Church." As far as Bland himself was concerned, Horrocks had not the qualifications for high office. Horrocks had been a good teacher, Bland admitted, but when he advanced into other posts, he was out of his element. Horrocks had accumulated these offices not because he was able but because he was a sycophant. Bland charged that Horrocks was not content with his preferments, that he was "attempting to Soar Higher, by setting all America into Flame, in which perhaps he may be made the First Sacrifice."

The scheme to establish an episcopate, asserted Bland, would

overturn the acts of the General Assembly regarding ecclesiastical jurisdiction, most of which had received the assent of the King and had been in effect since the founding of the colony. According to these acts, the vestries were given charge of the parish and could select their own ministers from among any clergymen duly ordained in the Church of England. There was no interference from royal officials so long as the vestry chose a minister within a year; if they waited longer, the Governor was authorized to make an appointment.

Furthermore, Bland pointed out, since the King had given his assent to a law of the Virginia General Assembly which gave the General Court jurisdiction over civil and ecclesiastical cases,<sup>226</sup> the "whole Ecclesiastical Constitution...must be altered, if a Bishop is appointed in America with any Jurisdiction at all." An American bishop, he fore-  
 case "will produce greater Convulsions than any thing that has ever, as yet happened in this part of the Globe. For let me tell you, a Religious Dispute is the most Fierce and destructive of all others, to the Peace and Happiness of Government."

It was, Bland concluded, the "highest Presumption" to attempt to establish a bishop for America, which was after all a considerable "alteration in our Constitution," "with-out consulting, nay, expressly contrary to the consent of the Legislature of the Country."<sup>227</sup>

The efforts to establish an American episcopate got nowhere. Not until the Church of England was disestablished after the Revolution was a bishop appointed for America. Bland's position was popular with most of the Virginia clergy, who stayed away from the Williamsburg convention. His ideas were no doubt typical of much of the Virginia laity. As he had done during earlier crises, in the fight for a bishop Bland

had fought to maintain the independence of the Virginia General Assembly.

No sooner had the furor subsided than Bland was once more involved in another dispute over the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the secular government. In October, 1771, the vestry of the Upper Parish of Nansemond County sought to remove their minister, Patrick Lunan, on grounds of drunkenness and adultery. Lunan refused to leave. The Commissary had no authority to discipline Lunan, so the vestry appealed to the General Court. Lunan, however, asserted that neither the vestry nor the General Court had the authority to dismiss a minister.

When the case came to trial, Bland, acting as a volunteer, aided George Wythe in support of the vestry and the court. As he had in the letter to Adams, Bland asserted that the King assented to the law granting ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the General Court. Furthermore, he said, local vestries had authority to remove unworthy ministers. The churches of Virginia, Bland argued, were "of a constitution peculiar to themselves, and not resembling any before known to the law" because the vestries had the power to try and to sentence clerics. The General Court yielded none of its ecclesiastical authority. Eventually Lunan was removed from his parish.<sup>228</sup>

The matter of disciplining clergymen was taken up by the House of Burgesses in March, 1772. The framing of the bill was given to Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Robert Carter Nicholas. The bill would have given the clergy the power to discipline themselves, but the measure came to nothing because the Assembly was prorogued. Nevertheless, once again Bland had given his effort to protect local practices and institutions that kept affairs in the hands of Virginians.<sup>229</sup>

Meanwhile, there were changes in the Virginia government. Governor

Botetourt died in October, 1770. Popular among the Virginians, Botetourt was praised by the General Assembly, whose members not only had many fine things to say about the Governor, but also caused what Bland described as a "very Elegant Statue" to be erected in his honor at the capitol.<sup>230</sup>

Botetourt's successor was John Murray, Earl of Dunmore, the Governor of New York. Virginians were not impressed at the first reports of Dunmore. "We entertain a very disadvantageous Opinion of him from the accounts brought to us from new york," Bland reported. As Bland had the story, Dunmore and his companions, too full of drink one midnight, had ambushed the carriage of Chief Justice Horsmanden, broke it to pieces, and chopped off the tails of the horses. When Horsmanden applied next day for redress, the Council offered a reward of £200 leading to the apprehension of the criminals. "We have not heard," Bland noted, "whether the Governor demanded the Reward."<sup>231</sup> Despite such rumors, Dunmore got on well during his early days in Virginia.

Bland was the head of a committee of the General Assembly which informed Dunmore that there was no legal basis for the fees demanded by the clerks of former governors for issuing public commissions. When the burgesses requested that the practice be abolished, the Governor agreed.<sup>232</sup>

During the 1772 session, the House settled into uneventful routine. Bland retained his position on all the major committees and was appointed chairman of Propositions and Grievances.<sup>233</sup> While much of his time was spent with local concerns--roads, bridges, tobacco laws--he also served on a committee to petition the King to allow the Assembly to enact a law to regulate the slave trade.<sup>234</sup> Jefferson later claimed that he

had mentioned the deplorable state of Negro slaves to Bland who then moved for laws to protect them. However, Jefferson recalled, Bland was "denounced as an enemy of his country, & was treated with the grossest indecorum."<sup>235</sup>

There was trouble between the Governor and the burgesses in 1773. Early in the year Dunmore learned of a counterfeiting ring in the colony and summoned for their advice Speaker Randolph, Treasurer Nicholas, and John Randolph, the Attorney General, whom he considered the best lawyers in Virginia. The three advised Dunmore to act in his capacity as chief justice of the colony, issue a warrant for the counterfeiters' arrest, and instruct the county officials to apprehend the criminals and bring them to jail in Williamsburg.<sup>236</sup> Six counterfeiters accordingly were seized in Pittsylvania County and brought to the capital where Dunmore, the Randolph brothers, and several other gentlemen examined them. One of the accused was released on insufficient evidence, but the other five were held for trial.<sup>237</sup>

Concerned because of the counterfeit currency in circulation, Dunmore called a special session of the General Assembly in March. The burgesses were quick to redeem the bogus money and new bills were issued. But the burgesses were unhappy with the way in which the Governor had treated the alleged criminals. Bland, Patrick Henry, and Bartholomew Dandridge were charged to investigate the matter. They decided there were irregularities. Virginia law specified that the accused would be examined either in the county where he had committed a crime or at the place where he was arrested.<sup>238</sup> In behalf of the burgesses, Bland reported to Dunmore that he had created a harmful precedent in his indiscriminate execution of the criminal law which did great danger to "the

safety of innocent men."<sup>239</sup> Under the circumstances the burgesses overreacted. The case was minor; the Governor, who had sought the best legal counsel available, intended no breach of the law. However, doubtless remembering an attempt on the part of the crown two years before to transport American prisoners to England for trial, the burgesses were jealous of their rights and authority.<sup>240</sup>

The relations between the Governor and the burgesses were never entirely harmonious again. A larger conflict soon engulfed the colonies and the mother country. Tensions, which had subsided after the repeal of most of the Townshend Duties in 1770, were revived by the Gaspee affair in which the British intended to round up Rhode Islanders responsible for burning the ship and try them for their crime in England. This was reported in Williamsburg just as the burgesses were considering Dunmore's treatment of the counterfeiter. Several of the younger burgesses, including Thomas Jefferson and Patrick Henry, not thinking the "old and leading members up to the point of forwardness and zeal which the times required," met at the Raleigh Tavern to discuss methods of resistance.<sup>241</sup> They were to a great degree responsible for the resolution which passed the House on March 12, creating a standing committee of correspondence and inquiry whose business it was "to obtain the most early and Authentic intelligence of all such Acts and Resolutions of the British Parliament, or proceedings of Administration, as may relate to or affect the British Colonies in America, and to keep up and maintain a Correspondence and Communication with our Sister Colonies, respecting these important Consideration; and the result of such proceedings, from Time to Time, to lay before this House."<sup>242</sup> The members of the committee included the younger and more radical burgesses,



Jefferson, Henry, Richard Henry Lee, and Dabney Carr, but their enthusiasm was tempered by Peyton Randolph, who was chairman, Bland, Robert Carter Nicholas, Archibald Cary, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, and Dudley Digges.

As an old man Thomas Jefferson claimed that it was strategic to include the older and moderate members in the protest against the mother country. "These," Jefferson wrote, "were honest and able men, had begun the opposition on the same grounds [as we did], but with a moderation adapted to their age and experience." Bold men like himself, Henry, and Lee wished to move rapidly, Jefferson said, but realizing the importance of unanimity, "we slackened our pace, that our less ardent colleagues might keep up with us; and they, on their part, differing nothing from us in principle, quickened their gait somewhat beyond that which their prudence might of itself have advised, and thus consolidated the phalanx which breasted the power of Britain."<sup>243</sup>

Almost in spite of himself Bland was swept along by his bolder colleagues. Sometime in 1774 he attended a banquet where Philip Mazzei read a paper critical of the British constitution. An Italian agriculturalist and friend of Jefferson, Mazzei believed that Virginians were mistakenly attached to the mother country. When Robert Carter Nicholas commented that he was afraid to lose the constitution, Mazzei wisecracked that if he had such a constitution he should think himself a consumptive. "Everybody," Mazzei recalled, "was pleased with the answer, and laughed; especially, Mr. Richard Bland, who was near me, looked at me with great satisfaction."<sup>244</sup>

Events mounted, forcing Bland to take a stand. The Tea Act passed the Parliament in 1773 reducing the duty on tea sold in America, but

retaining a token tax to assert parliamentary supremacy. The colonists would have none of it. At Norfolk, Virginians turned back the Mary and Jane with its cargo of tea. More radical action was taken in Massachusetts where in December the tea was dumped into Boston harbor by outraged patriots. The British government responded with the so-called Intolerable Acts designed to compel Massachusetts to yield to British authority. But these acts provoked widespread resistance throughout the thirteen colonies.

Among the Intolerable Acts was the Boston Port Bill, passed on March 31, closing the New England port to trade after June 1, until the tea destroyed in December was paid for. News of the port bill arrived in Virginia in May, and on May 24, the House of Burgesses resolved unanimously to support the Bostonians by setting aside the first day of June as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. There is no record of Bland's thoughts during these days, other than his vote to set aside the day to show that Virginians were united with New Englanders against the latest British action. Perhaps, like his friend and colleague, Edmund Pendleton, he thought the tea party a rash act and that Parliament's response was a violation of constitutional right.<sup>245</sup>

Governor Dunmore took the resolution of the House as an insult to the Crown and Parliament and dissolved the Assembly. The next day, May 27, eighty-nine of the burgesses, Bland included, assembled in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern to form a new association boycotting British goods. Once again Bland's name was at the top of the list of subscribers. He signed third after Speaker Randolph and Treasurer Nicholas.<sup>246</sup>

While they were still meeting in the tavern, the burgesses agreed

that an attack upon one colony would be taken as an attack on "all British America" and accordingly directed the committee of correspondence to contact "the several Colonies of British America to meet in general congress...to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require."<sup>247</sup>

Presumably Bland was present on May 28, when the committee of correspondence sent copies of the recent resolutions to the other colonies, but soon afterwards he left Williamsburg, for he was not among the twenty-five burgesses remaining in town who, on May 30, called for their colleagues to meet in convention on August 1 to consider extending the non-importation agreement.<sup>248</sup> Apparently Bland spent the day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer at home in Prince George.

The Virginia freeholders met throughout the summer to elect delegates and pass resolutions to guide them in the coming Convention. In Prince George, in June, Bland and Peter Poythress were elected the county delegates. The county resolutions affirmed loyalty to the King; that only the Virginia General Assembly could fix the colony's taxes; that the Tea Act deprived the colonists of their property without their consent and reduced them to a state of slavery; that the Intolerable Acts violated constitutional rights and liberties; that Boston's cause was the common cause of the colonies; that the colonies must unite in an association to prevent, by every just and proper means, the infringement of their common rights and liberties; that the non-importation association be supported until the Intolerable Acts be repealed; that luxury, dissipation, and extravagance be banished from the colonies; that colonial manufactures be encouraged; that the African slave trade was detrimental; that the raising of sheep, hemp, and flax be encouraged;

that Americans wear only cloth produced locally as a badge of respect and true patriotism; that the dissolution of the General Assembly by order of the ministry whenever the Virginia legislators consider their rights and liberties is proof that the ministry intends to reduce the colonies to a state of slavery; that Virginians, being deprived of their legal representation by the dissolution of the Assembly, are entitled to send delegates to the Virginia Convention in Williamsburg; that Bland and Poythress, late burgesses of Prince George, are nominated as convention delegates; that the delegates elect delegates to a general congress of all the colonies; that Virginia ought not to trade with any colony who does not uphold the association; and that these resolutions be printed in the newspapers to influence other counties and corporations to follow their example.<sup>249</sup> The resolutions were signed by the clerk, Theodorick Bland, who was Richard's younger brother.

The Virginia Convention met as scheduled in Williamsburg during the first week of August, 1774. The convention adopted a new association strictly banning the importation of British goods and slaves, but excepting medicine, after November 1, 1774. Exportation of tobacco to Great Britain was to cease in August, 1775, if the Intolerable Acts were then in force. Any merchant who did not support the association would be boycotted, and anyone violating the association would be considered an enemy of the colony. What role Bland played in these resolutions is not apparent, but during the first days of the convention he introduced the Prince George resolutions and urged a plan of non-intercourse.<sup>250</sup>

The convention, moreover, on August 5, elected seven delegates to a general congress of the colonies to meet in Philadelphia in September. Apparently fourteen were nominated for congressmen with each delegate

instructed to vote for seven. Two ballots were required before the requisite number was elected. On the first ballot Bland stood fifth with 79 votes behind, in ascending order, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Richard Henry Lee, and Peyton Randolph; he had more votes than Benjamin Harrison and Edmund Pendleton. On the second ballot Bland had 90 votes, but Pendleton had pushed him to sixth on the slate.<sup>251</sup> Long afterwards Edmund Randolph wrote that some of the ballots had on them notations explaining why the delegates were chosen: Peyton Randolph was to preside over the congress; Lee and Henry to display their eloquence; Washington to command an army if one were raised; Bland to "open the treasures of ancient colonial learning;" Harrison to speak the plain truth; and Pendleton to be the penman.<sup>252</sup> The delegation was granted £1000 to be raised by subscription from the various Virginia counties.<sup>253</sup> The convention adjourned on August 6.

The General Assembly was scheduled to convene five days later, but the Governor was gone from Williamsburg leading troops against the Indians on the frontier, so it was rescheduled for November. Thus, temporarily relieved of his local responsibilities, Bland left for Philadelphia, apparently traveling with Randolph, Harrison, and Lee. He and his companions arrived in the city on September 2. That day he met John Adams of Massachusetts and impressed Adams as "a learned, bookish Man." Adams noted that Bland said he would have come to congress even "if it had been to Jericho."<sup>254</sup>

During his first days in Philadelphia Bland met other delegates. Silas Deane of Connecticut saw Bland as "a plain, sensible man, deeply studied into and acquainted with the antiquities of Virginia and of this Continent in general, he wrote several very sensible pieces on the

subject, and is a tolerable speaker in public."<sup>255</sup> Ezra Stiles thought Bland among "the men of greatest Abilities and Influence" in the congress.<sup>256</sup>

The First Continental Congress opened on September 5. Peyton Randolph was elected President. Among the early decisions to be made was the matter of voting. Some discussion followed with other congressmen speaking for equal representation. John Adams and Richard Henry Lee said there was not data available to determine proportional voting. "I agree....," said Bland, "We are not at present provided with Materials to ascertain the Importance of each Colony. The Question is whether the Rights and Liberties of America shall be contended for, or given up to arbitrary Power."<sup>257</sup> The debate continued. Finally the Congress resolved that since it could not presently procure proper materials for ascertaining their relative importance "each Colony or Province shall have one Vote."<sup>258</sup>

The next record of Bland's participation in debate came toward the end of September when the Congress considered the policy of non-importation which was moved by Richard Henry Lee. Most of the delegates favored some kind of embargo to force removal of the Intolerable Acts. Basically they had to decide when the embargo would be applied and what goods it would cover. Early in the discussion Bland said he thought "the Time ought to be fixed, when Goods are shipp'd in Great Britain, because the ship may have a long Voyage."<sup>259</sup> Christopher Gadsden of South Carolina and Richard Henry Lee disagreed. The dates of the invoices of goods shipped to the colonies could be altered, they argued. Later in the debate Thomas Cushing of Massachusetts said he favored immediate non-importation, non-exportation, non-consumption. "It has

been our Glory..." Bland said, but if he finished his thought it went unrecorded.<sup>260</sup> Finally, on September 27, the delegates agreed unanimously neither to import nor consume British goods after December 1, 1774, and three days later, on September 30, they agreed on non-exportation to the mother country after September, 1775. The enforcement of the plan, which came to be known as the Association, after the Virginia Association of August, 1774, was left to local committees of safety within each colony. These committees were to publish a list of the violators of the embargo.<sup>261</sup>

Certainly Bland was aware of other business that came before the Congress, and it would have been strange with his vast knowledge of history and politics had he remained merely a passive observer. There is, however, no record of his participation in the adoption of the Suffolk Resolves condemning the Intolerable Acts, the discussion and defeat of Joseph Galloway's plan of proposed union between Great Britain and the colonies, or the framing of the Declaration and Resolves denouncing British colonial policy since 1763 and asserting the exclusive right of the colonial assemblies over internal affairs.

Bland did not remain for the final session of the Congress. Anticipating an imminent adjournment and looking forward to the convening of the Virginia General Assembly, he left Philadelphia with Randolph and Harrison on Monday, October 24. Before leaving the city, however, he and his colleagues authorized George Washington "to sign our Names to any of the Proceedings of the Congress." Accordingly, when Congress petitioned the King professing their loyalty as they urged him to remove his oppressive ministers, Washington signed for Bland.<sup>262</sup>

Arriving home before the end of October,<sup>263</sup> Bland was presumably

in Williamsburg on November 3, for the convening of the Assembly. Dunmore, however, had been detained on the frontier, so the date was moved forward to the 10th. When the Governor was unable to keep that date, the Assembly was postponed until February, 1775.

In the meantime, in January, 1775, Peyton Randolph issued a call for delegates to attend the Second Virginia Convention scheduled to meet in Richmond in March. The Prince George freeholders promptly elected Bland to be their delegate.<sup>264</sup> By the time the delegates gathered, the assembly scheduled for February had been postponed until May. The second convention, therefore, took on special significance.

Meeting in St. John's Church, the convention once again named Peyton Randolph moderator. The delegates gave their sanction to the work of the Congress in Philadelphia, thanked the Virginia congressmen, and reelected them for another term.<sup>265</sup> On March 23, Patrick Henry moved that the Virginia colony be put immediately on a defensive footing and that a plan for an army be prepared. To support his motion, Henry delivered his celebrated liberty or death speech. The motion passed, but not without opposition from Bland, Nicholas, Pendleton, and Harrison, who thought it premature. The vote was 65 to 60.<sup>266</sup> Before adjourning on March 27, the convention appointed Bland to a special committee to encourage colonial manufacturing in the belief that colonial competition would compel the British government to alter its policy. The convention also urged Virginians to boycott the royal courts because of the dispute with the mother country.<sup>267</sup>

April was a critical time for the American colonies. In Massachusetts, on the 19th, shots were exchanged between militiamen and British regulars at Lexington and Concord. In Virginia, on the 21st, alarmed at



the military preparations taken in the recent convention, Dunmore ordered royal marines secretly to remove the gunpowder from the Williamsburg magazine in the middle of the night and to secure it aboard an armed ship in the James River. The angry Virginians were barely kept from violence.

For Richard Bland, April was a time of personal crisis. As a Virginian who cherished British traditions, he was no doubt disturbed by the open hostilities between the colonies and the mother country. But he gave little immediate thought to imperial relations. On April 22, his wife died.<sup>268</sup> Grief-stricken, he left Jordans to be with his married daughter, Sally Goode. When he returned home on May 15, Congress had been in session for five days in Philadelphia. He was disinclined to attend, his loss was irreparable and he was short of money besides; but friends urged him on, so toward the end of the month he departed.<sup>269</sup>

Once he arrived in Philadelphia, Bland did little to distinguish himself. Congress had already resolved that because of recent events the colonies should be put into a state of defense. Bland was named to a committee to thank the Reverend Jacob Duche for his prayer at the opening session, a most insignificant assignment.<sup>270</sup> Bland did not stay long. By the middle of June he was back in Virginia. The General Assembly was then in session, and he had instructions from the Congress to work with the burgesses in negotiating a treaty with the Indians along the Virginia frontier.<sup>271</sup>

The Committee of Safety and Inquiry in Augusta County had petitioned the Congress expressing concern about relations with the Indians which Governor Dunmore had disturbed in the recent frontier war. In the face of hostilities with England, Congress sensed a need for allies,

so since Dunmore had failed to cultivate the Indians, they assigned the task to Bland.<sup>272</sup> Bland brought the matter before the House of Burgesses, and commissioners were named to negotiate a treaty.<sup>273</sup>

Much had transpired during Bland's absence from Williamsburg. The General Assembly convened on June 1, 1775, for the first time in over a year. Governor Dunmore had summoned it to consider the British proposal that the colonies should tax themselves according to a schedule from London rather than have the tax fixed on them by the Parliament. The burgesses not only rejected the plan, but maintained the boycott of the royal courts as well. Furthermore, they began an investigation of Dunmore's seizure of the gunpowder. From that point their relations with the Governor deteriorated until he fled with his family to the refuge of a warship in the York River. When Bland took his seat in the House, the burgesses were communicating with the Governor in dispatches carried back and forth, among others, by John Randolph, a burgess who was still on good terms with Dunmore. Such a means of communication was inconvenient and irritating, and the burgesses made it clear that they submitted to it only in the interest of government harmony.

Soon Bland was in the thick of the fight. He chaired a committee to appoint a new Virginia agent in London, and decided, after meeting several times with the Council, that the arms in the Governor's Palace should be stored in the Williamsburg magazine. In response to Dunmore's charge that the assembly was not inclined toward imperial reconciliation because the burgesses had refused the government's request to moderate their protest, Bland formulated a rationale for continued resistance to British policy which was the basis of a House address sent to the Governor.<sup>274</sup>

The burgesses' words were direct without the usual civilities reserved for the Royal Governor. Dunmore, they said, had misrepresented them to the home government, he had removed arms from the public storehouse illegally, he had burdened them by his absence from the capital. As a result of the Governor's behavior, the colony was agitated and on the verge of insurrection. Nevertheless, the burgesses concluded, they desired a peaceful solution to the crisis of the empire so long as the solution preserved Virginia's ancient rights and liberties in self-government.<sup>275</sup>

By late June the General Assembly, grown weary of dealing with the Governor on shipboard some fifteen miles away, requested that he come back to town to sign the bills they had passed. He refused, so the legislation was sent to him for his signature. When he failed to sign two laws because he said they violated his instructions, the burgesses responded by dissolving themselves into a Committee of the Whole with Bland as the chairman.<sup>276</sup>

Passions were high. Dunmore had irritated the burgesses beyond endurance. James Parker, a Norfolk merchant, reported "Old Dick Bland talked very fluently in the house about hanging him, & [Thomas] Whiting of Gloucester made some foolish Speeches to the Same purpose."<sup>277</sup>

Despite their intense feelings, the burgesses expressed a unanimous desire to strengthen the amiable bonds "with all our fellow Subjects in Great Britain." The harshest action they took against Dunmore was to condemn his requiring them to send their bills to him which they considered "a high Breach of the Rights and Privileges of this House."<sup>278</sup>

But the burgesses paid no further attention to Dunmore. On their own they moved to negotiate a treaty with the Indians. Finally, on

June 24, they adjourned. The burgesses met again in October, 1775, and March, 1776, but there were not enough members to form a quorum. The General Assembly convened once more in May, 1776, "several members met, but did neither proceed to business, nor adjourn, as a House of Burgesses."<sup>279</sup>

When the assembly adjourned in June, 1775, Bland turned his attention to a matter involving his loyalty and integrity as a patriot. Earlier in the year, the Reverend Samuel Sheild, recently come from ordination in England, spread a tale given him in the mother country that Bland had petitioned the ministry for the lucrative post of collector of the tea-tax in return for which he pledged to support the parliamentary policy in America.<sup>280</sup>

For anyone who cared to believe it, the tale had plausibility. Bland's support of the British constitution and his pride in his British citizenship were matters of record; he had never shared the radicalism of Patrick Henry, for instance; he had opposed the measures adopted by the Second Virginia Convention to defend the colony; he had arrived late at the second Continental Congress. "We have a report he [re]," wrote the young James Madison, "that Bland one of our delegates has turned traitor & fled from Phila [delphia]. I hope it is not true tho' some unfavorabl [e] Hints have been thrown out of late to his prejudice.... Bland is in needy circumstances & we all know age is no stranger to avarice."<sup>281</sup>

Edmund Pendleton, likewise knew Sheild's tale, and from his long association with Bland should have measured its worth, but he wrote: "...I fear [it] has too just a foundation. It highly dishonours Us & our Countrey, & our Assembly has surely examined into it, & either restored Bland to his Credit on his Innocence Appearing, Or on the contrary wiped off Stain from the Colony,

by degrading him from the Delegation & expelling him from their House, sending him to sink in infamous Obscurity."<sup>282</sup>

Obviously Bland could not allow the rumors to go unchallenged. He wrote a public letter to Sheild which was printed in the Virginia newspapers on July 7 and 8. Bland noted that he had served for thirty years in the Assembly and had recently sat in the Continental Congress. Now, he charged, Sheild was loading him with public contempt. "Make good your charge," he told Sheild, "or...make a public atonement to me for the high insult you have offered my character."<sup>283</sup>

Sheild replied in a public letter of his own that appeared in the newspapers on July 21 and 22. The minister went on for some length to insult and defame, but the basis of his charge against Bland was slim indeed. On the night before his departure from England, Sheild met a gentleman at Gravesend who asked what he should think if he were told that "one of the Delegates for Virginia had applied to Lord North for the office of tax-gatherer of the duties on tea." "I, of course, expressed my astonishment at such a question," Sheild recalled. The gentleman, however, "pledged his word and honour that he had seen a petition from one of the Delegates to that purpose...that the Delegate therein assured the Minister, it had been in his power to inflame the minds of some of the people; that he could compose them at will, and only waited an opportunity to distinguish himself on behalf of Government." Sheild asked to know the delegate's identity and several names were suggested, but the informant said they were all innocent. But when "the name Mr. Bland was mentioned, he said he did not choose to discover the person at all."<sup>284</sup>

Bland thought Sheild's letter "a scurrilous and very abuse[ive]"

piece." "This is a matter of too much importance to me to be passed over," he wrote. Determined that "my innocence, and [the] vindication of my character, should be made equally publick," he informed the Virginia Convention meeting in Richmond of the "false and scandalous reports" reflecting on his "public character."<sup>285</sup> The rumors, as he knew them, were that he had applied to Lord Dartmouth or some other minister to collect taxes imposed on America and had promised in return to promote the British schemes against the colonies. Furthermore, it was said that his conduct in the Congress had been such that he had been forced suddenly to leave Philadelphia. Reminding the delegates of the length and quality of his service, he requested a public inquiry be made into his alleged misconduct.

On Friday, July 28, 1775, therefore, there was a public hearing. After examining the Reverend Mr. Sheild, the Reverend John Hunt, and several other witnesses, the Convention found the reports against Bland "utterly false and groundless," and not only injurious to his reputation, but also to "the glorious cause in which America is now entrusted." Unanimously the delegates resolved "to bear to the world their testimony that the said Richard Bland hath manifested himself the friend of his country, and uniformly stood forth an able assertor of her rights and liberties."<sup>286</sup>

Bland insisted that the findings of the Convention be given to the Continental Congress in order to clear his name before that body. He also had a copy of the proceedings sent to Arthur Lee in London whom he suspected of originating the slander against him. Lee certainly was capable of such action, for he defamed such American patriots as John Jay, Joseph Reed, and John Langdon.<sup>287</sup>

With this unfortunate episode behind him, Bland continued his public service. He took his place as the delegate from Prince George in the Virginia Convention which convened on July 17. As chairman of the Committee of the Whole, he guided discussions concerning the condition of the colony. The delegates decided to raise an army of two regiments commanded by Patrick Henry. In addition they divided the colony into sixteen districts, each to raise, train, and discipline five hundred men. Bland's position had changed since March; no longer did he consider military preparations premature.<sup>288</sup>

On August 11, the Convention elected seven delegates to the Continental Congress. For the third time Bland was chosen, standing with 61 votes, sixth on the slate.<sup>289</sup> No doubt after the recent charges against him, he was honored that he still had the confidence of his colleagues, but he resigned his seat in the Congress. He told the Convention that their trust in him "was sufficient for an old man, almost deprived of sight, whose greatest ambition had ever been to receive the plaudit of his country, whenever he should retire from the public stage of life; that the honorable testimony he lately received of his approbation, joined with his present appointment should animate him, as far as he was able, to support the glorious cause in which America was now engaged; but that his advanced age rendered him incapable of taking an active part in these weighty and important concerns, which must necessarily be agitated in the great council of the United Colonies."<sup>290</sup>

The Convention extended its appreciation for his service and noted that only on account of his age did it dispense with his service. He was replaced in the Congress by Francis Lightfoot Lee.

Despite his announcement that he was retiring, Bland did not withdraw

entirely from public affairs. The Virginia Convention created a committee of safety, an executive body, to conduct the affairs of the colony after its adjournment. Eleven members were elected to the committee: Edmund Pendleton, George Mason, John Page, Richard Bland, Thomas Ludwell Lee, Paul Carrington, Dudley Digges, William Cabell, Carter Braxton, James Mercer, and John Tabb. Bland stood fourth in the balloting with 66 votes. The committee had extensive authority to arm and direct troops, commission officers, collect supplies, issue finance warrants. In general it took whatever action was deemed necessary by its members for the security of Virginia.<sup>291</sup> Bland was not without experience in such a body, for since May, 1775, he had served as chairman of the Prince George County Committee of Safety and Intelligence.<sup>292</sup>

Among the responsibilities of the Virginia Committee of Safety was the enforcement of the boycott of British goods. Generally the members were lenient with violaters who pledged that in the future they would support the colonial cause, but some cases were referred to local committees for trial.<sup>293</sup>

Most of Bland's and his colleagues' time, however, was spent on military matters. They issued marching orders, bought provisions, paid wages, secured ships, and arranged the manufacture of gunpowder.<sup>294</sup> "We want to know," Bland wrote his nephew, Dr. Theodorick Bland, Jr., on October 29, 1775, "if Mr Banister who was married to his niece, the younger Bland's sister] will pursue his claim of turning his Saw Mill], into a Powder Mill; he may get Partners; we have in prospect & of his doing this, order'd Salt Petre & Sulpher to him. Will no Body undertake to make Salt Petre at Appomattox warehouses? Strange negligence I fear supiness posseseth all ranks among us. Why do we talk and not act? I



myself will give £20 or £30 towards this useful Work if you & other Persons will Join with me."<sup>295</sup> Not only was Bland concerned with munitions for Virginia, but he also served on a special committee of the Congress to secure salt peter for the manufacture of gunpowder for the Continental Army.<sup>296</sup>

There was some criticism of the Virginia Committee of Safety. From Williamsburg on April 5, 1776, General Charles Lee wrote to George Washington: "...I am sorry to grate your ears with a truth, but must at all events assure you that the Provincial Congress of New-York are angels of decision when compared with your countrymen--the Committee of Safety assembled at Williamsburgh. Page, Lee, Mercer, and Payne, are, indeed, exceptions; but from Pendleton, Bland, the Treasurer [Nicholas], & Co., libra nos Domine."<sup>297</sup> Bland, Pendleton, and Nicholas, indeed, were well-known for their cautious decisions, but the erratic Charles Lee, who tended to be critical of anything that did not go exactly his way, was hardly a good judge of the Virginia Committee.

The Virginia Convention convened on May 6, 1776. Peyton Randolph, who had served as moderator of the previous conventions, was dead, so Bland nominated Edmund Pendleton to replace him, and Pendleton was elected. The delegates then took up the matter of Virginia's relations with England. They debated for more than a week. Patrick Henry argued for independence. Robert Carter Nicholas was opposed. Finally Pendleton moved for independence. Now that the question had come to a vote, Bland had to come to a decision.<sup>298</sup>

He had long opposed the interference of the Parliament in colonial affairs. No one had been more consistent in support of the right of self-government in Virginia. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1775,

Bland was firm in his patriotism. He had endured Sheild's abuse and made certain that his loyalty to the colonial cause was unquestioned. He was, therefore, shocked when an acquaintance betrayed the cause:

Can you believe it--be assur'd it is true--Mat Phrip has deserted the Cause of Liberty and gone over to Ld Dummore--The man in whom we all most implicitly confided from his warm & repeated declarations against Tyranny is become a Traitor to his Country & a supporter of that very Cause he declaimed against. He was a deceiver from the beginning & I hope will in the End receive his just chastisement but enough of him.<sup>299</sup>

This did not mean that Bland had given up entirely a hope of reconciliation with the mother country. He had read Common Sense, the pamphlet by Thomas Paine, which appeared early in 1776 advocating American independence. Apparently the pamphlet had not pleased him, for he called Paine a "blockhead and ignoramous."<sup>300</sup> But by the middle of April it was reported that almost every one in Virginia except Robert Carter Nicholas favored independence.<sup>301</sup> Thus, on May 15, 1776, Bland joined his colleagues of the Virginia Convention in unanimously adopting the resolution instructing the Continental Congress to declare independence from England.

The Convention proceeded to establish an independent government for Virginia. Bland was named to the Committee to prepare the Declaration of Rights. George Mason prepared the draft that was reported out of committee and adopted unanimously by the Convention on June 15. What part Bland played in writing the Declaration is open to surmise. Fundamental to it was an assertion which Bland had long held, the assertion based on natural law that laws can be made or altered only by the consent of the governed through their chosen representatives. Whatever contributions Bland made were subtle, for the Declaration as finally adopted was mostly Mason's work.<sup>302</sup>

A new frame of government was created for Virginia. There was a two-house legislature, the lower chamber was called the House of Delegates, the upper, the Senate. A separate executive was established with Patrick Henry as Governor assisted by an elected Privy Council. The Committee of Safety and the Virginia Convention gave way to the new government.

When the independent government convened in Williamsburg on October 7, 1776, Bland was present representing Prince George County in the House of Delegates. Even though he had professed his desire to retire more than a year earlier, he had hardly slackened his activities. Named to the standing committees on privileges and elections and religion, he framed a bill for the revision and codification of the Virginia laws which Jefferson guided through the legislature. He and Jefferson worked on bills to naturalize foreigners and assisted in establishing the court system. Bland helped draft a law breaking the system of entail.<sup>303</sup> As a member of the Committee on Religion, he may have contributed to the disestablishment of the Church of England in 1779. The Committee received several petitions from religious dissenters to be relieved from the authority and support of the established church, and Bland, even though he was a devout Anglican, had a tolerant attitude toward dissenters, which may have aided their eventual emancipation from episcopacy.<sup>304</sup>

Apparently Bland had reached the limits of his strength. He was walking in Williamsburg on October 25, 1776, when he collapsed in the street. His sixty-six years hung heavy, his sight was bad, and he felt old. Friends carried him to the home of his brother-in-law, John Tazewell. He died later in the evening<sup>305</sup> and was laid out in a walnut

coffin for which Tazewell paid £4.10s.<sup>306</sup>

Bland lived, said the Virginia Gazette

universally beloved, and died universally lamented. He was more than thirty years a representative in General Assembly...and filled the trust with so many shining abilities, so much unre-mitted attention, that he gained the esteem and confidence of his constituents. When his country called him forth to the arduous and important task of a Delegate for this State in Continental Congress, he approved himself an able and zealous friend and advocate for the rights and liberties of his injured country. —In a private sphere of life he supported the character of a humane and benevolent man, an affectionate, kind, indulgent husband and parent, and amongst his acquaintances that of a warm and steady friend. In short, he possessed all the inestimable qualifications that could render him dear to society, —all that could form the virtuous, upright man.<sup>307</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER VIII

<sup>1</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Bland Family Notes, Bryan Family Papers, Alderman Library, UVa.

<sup>2</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>3</sup>The house with subsequent additions still stands and is shown as Wetherburn's Tavern in Colonial Williamsburg. See York County, Deed Book #3 (1713-1726), 119-120 (VSLm).

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., and Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 46-47, 122 (VSLm).

<sup>5</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Bland Family Notes, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>6</sup>Will of Richard Bland, Sr., February 4, 1719/20, Prince George Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 395-396 (VSLm).

<sup>7</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 5, 1815, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 413.

<sup>8</sup>Roger Atkinson to Samuel Pleasants, October 1, 1774, VMHB, XV (1908), 356.

<sup>9</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>10</sup>My own computation of marriage age of the men in three generations of the Randolph family which included twenty-two out of twenty-five married men for whom data was available, indicated that 25 was the approximate average. The eldest was about 33, and Bland, at 18, was the youngest.

<sup>11</sup>They were Richard born February 20, 1730/31; Elizabeth, March 17, 1732/33; Ann, August 15, 1735; Peter, February 2, 1736/37; John, October 19, 1739, died; Mary, January 15, 1740/41, died as a child; William, December 26, 1742; Theodorick, September 28, 1744, died as a child; Edward, December 16, 1746; Sarah, September 19, 1750; Susan, February 20, 1752; and Lucy, September 22, 1754. See Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>12</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (1859), 30, 35.

<sup>13</sup>Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1759-1760), 187, 188, 189 (VSLm).

<sup>14</sup>Richard Bland to Robert Carter Nicholas, June 16, 1768, Pierpont Morgan Library; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 23, 1768, 2:3.

<sup>15</sup>Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>16</sup>Martha Bland was born August 12, 1722, and her first husband, William Massie, died in 1751. See C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1937), 476; Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 18, 1751, 3:2; October 27, 1752, 2:2; and Edward C. Massie, "Tombstones in New Kent County," Tyler's Quarterly, I (1919-1920), 58-59.

<sup>17</sup>The date is not recorded, but has been given without documentation as sometime between 1760 and 1762. See WMQ, 1st series, VII (1899), 133.

<sup>18</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 28, 1775, 2:2.

<sup>19</sup>VMHB, IX (1902), 110.

<sup>20</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 28, 1775, 2:2; and VMHB, XXII (1914), 215.

<sup>21</sup>Richard Bland to ?, May 20, 1775, Pierpont Morgan Library.

<sup>22</sup>October 8, 1761, Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 149.

<sup>23</sup>William Byrd, Another Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover 1739-1741 (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1942), 103, 114, 172.

<sup>24</sup>Robert Bolling, A Collection of diverting Anecdotes, Bon-Mots, and Other Trifling Pieces, (1764), 34, Brock Collection, Box CXXXVII, BR 163, Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif. (Cwm). "The Careless Husband," described as "a brilliant comedy of intrigue", was first performed in London in December, 1704, and published the next year. See "Cibber, Colley (1671-1757)", DNB, IV, 352-359.

<sup>25</sup>Richard Bland, "An Epistle to Landon Carter Esqr upon hearing that he does not intend to show a Candidate at the next Election of Burgesses," June 20, 1758, Lloyd W. Smith Collection, Bound Manuscripts, Letters used by Moncure Conway in the Preparation of Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J. (Cwm).

<sup>26</sup>St. George Tucker to William Wirt, September 25, 1815, WMQ, 1st series, XXII (1913), 256. The punctuation has been corrected.

<sup>27</sup>St. George Tucker to Jeremy Belknap, June 29, 1795, in Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th series, III (1877), 410; and George Washington to Jeremy Belknap, June 15, 1798, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXXVI, 290-291. See also Stith, History, i-viii.

<sup>28</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>29</sup>Will of Richard Bland, Sr., February 4, 1719/20, Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1713-1728), 394 (VSLm).

<sup>30</sup>On May 11, 1743, his brother-in-law, William Beverley, wrote to Richard Bland, cousin in England: "Colo Bland is going to London for

priests orders much against my wives & my will. See Worthington C. Ford, ed., "Some Letters of William Beverley," WMQ, 1st series, III (1894), 233.

<sup>31</sup>John Camm, "Observations on Colonel Bland's Letter," October 28, 1763, xi, in Richard Bland, The Colonel Dismounted: or the Rector Vindicated (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed by Joseph Royle, 1764). Also see pp. 15-16 for Bland's reply.

<sup>32</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., June 20, 1755, 4:1; June 27, 1755, 4:2; July 4, 1755, 4:1; and July 11, 1755, 4:1; and Roger Atkinson to Samuel Pleasants, October 1, 1774, VMHB, XV (1908), 356.

<sup>33</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., March 10, 1774, 1:3-4; 2:1.

<sup>34</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 42, 110 (CW photostat). This was the greatest single purchase of the sermon.

<sup>35</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Vestry Book, 56, 148, 152, 153, 154, 161, 188, 195, 220, 221, 223. Bland was slow to complete his building contract. In January, 1764, the vestry informed him that unless he finished "the Work according to agreement within three months" they would find someone else. Even so, the account was not settled until 1770. Also see Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 103-104 (VSLm).

<sup>36</sup>Chamberlayne, ed., Bristol Parish Vestry Book, 165-166; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 13, 1770, 3:1.

<sup>37</sup>Sales of the Estate of Peyton Randolph Esqr., LC (CWm); and Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 116; Va. Gaz. Day Book 1764-1766, 11, 124, 161.

<sup>38</sup>These volumes are cited in Bernard Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets of the American Revolution (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1965), I, 707-712; and William J. Van Schreeven and Robert L. Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Virginia: The Road to Independence (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 28-44. Cited hereinafter as Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets; and Van Schreevan and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va. In addition to the works cited above Bland also referred to decisions in court cases by Bacon, Coke, and C. J. Holt.

<sup>39</sup>Wertenbaker, Planters, 187; Virginia State Land Office, Patents #14 (1728-1732), 163, 365 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 324; V, 208, 342, 404; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 69; and Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 36 (VSLm). In addition to these Bland may have inherited 125 acres in James City County which belonged to his father in 1704; see Wertenbaker, Planters, 211.

<sup>40</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, VII, 637; VIII, 169. James Hubbard purchased six one-half-acre lots belonging to Bland and his nephew, Robert Beverley.

<sup>41</sup> Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 69, Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 36; and Prince George County, Deeds, Wills (1759-1760), 187, 188, 189 (VSLm); and Va. Gaz. Day Book (1764-1766), 92, 179. The advertisements do not survive.

<sup>42</sup> Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 31, 1777, 7:2; Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 219 (VSLm); Jefferson's Garden Book, 48; Va. Gaz. Day Book 1764-1766, 32, 81.

<sup>43</sup> Some of Bland's biographers have claimed that he studied at the University of Edinburgh, but there is no record of his matriculation. Probably he has been confused with his nephew, Dr. Theodorick Bland, Jr., who attended the university in the 1760's.

<sup>44</sup> Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 265; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 227; and Surry County, Court Orders (1741-1744), 143 (VSLm). Although there is no record, it would have been strange if he had not practised in his home county of Prince George.

<sup>45</sup> Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 422; Chesterfield County, Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 37; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 375, 411; and Surry County, Court Orders (1744-1749), 202 (VSLm).

<sup>46</sup> Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 422, 425, 432; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #7 (1772-1774), 116 (VSLm).

<sup>47</sup> Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 240, 329, 336, 340, 346; Chesterfield County, Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 22, 23, 24, 32-33, 34, 45; Order Book #2 (1754-1759), 47; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 129, 135, 136, 194-195, 255, 260, 301; Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 156; Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 108, 129, 146, 280, 282, 300, 303, 323, 371, 382, 389; Surry County, Court Orders (1749-1751), 11, 33, 50, 134 (VSLm).

<sup>48</sup> Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 87 (VSLm).

<sup>49</sup> York County, Judgments & Orders, IV (1763-1765), 22 (VSLm); and Memorial of John Tyndal Warre [1798], PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).

<sup>50</sup> Richard Bland to ?, May 20, 1775, Pierpont Morgan Library.

<sup>51</sup> For Bland's specific duties, see p. 248, supra.

<sup>52</sup> EJCCV, IV, 299; V, 162-163, 388, 394.

<sup>53</sup> Prince George County, Minute Book (1737-1740), 104, 141, 144, 173, 184, 201, 233, 249, 266, 278, 289, 297, 309, 310 (VSLm).

<sup>54</sup> Ibid., 239.

<sup>55</sup> Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 296, 352 (VSLm).

<sup>56</sup> EJCCV, VI, 51. Also see EJCCV, V, 404.



- <sup>57</sup>Halifax County, Pleas #2 (1755-1759), 214-215 (VSLm).
- <sup>58</sup>Dinwiddie to Bland, August 24, 1757, Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, II, 688. The letter is mislabeled to Theodorick Bland.
- <sup>59</sup>Halifax County, Pleas #2 (1755-1759), 215, 216, 236, 265; Pleas #3 (1759-1762), 1 (VSLm).
- <sup>60</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 17, 1752, 4:1; February 27, 1752, 3:2; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 1, 1768, 3:1; December 5, 1771, 3:1; and Rind's Va. Gaz., November 9, 1769, 1:1.
- <sup>61</sup>Richard Bland to Theodorick Bland, February 20, 1745, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 304.
- <sup>62</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 246, 248, 250, 280-281, 298-299.
- <sup>63</sup>See sketch of Anna Bland Munford Currie, infra.
- <sup>64</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 5-7, 78; JHB 1766-1769, 15.
- <sup>65</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 258; JHB 1761-1765, 68; JHB 1766-1769, 15.
- <sup>66</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 418; JHB 1758-1761, 199.
- <sup>67</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 237, 419; JHB 1766-1769, 190, 228.
- <sup>68</sup>JHB 1742-1749, xxv, 57, 115, 123, 128, 179, 189-192, 194, 202, 207, 212, 215, 229, 238-240, 248, 282, 300, 303, 308, 314, 315, 318, 320, 323, 329, 333, 347, 356, 358, 382, 391; and Hening, Statutes at Large, VI, 22-228; VII, 530-534. For these references I am obliged to Robert C. Daetweiler, "Richard Bland: Conservator of Self-Government in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 1968, 49-52; and Clinton Rossiter, "Richard Bland: The Whig in America," WMQ, 3rd series, X (1953), 40-41.
- <sup>69</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 155, 166. Daetweiler speculates that Bland was either appointed to an imperial office or was preoccupied with his own business affairs. See Daetweiler, "Bland," 52-54.
- <sup>70</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 235-239.
- <sup>71</sup>Ibid., 244-246, 250; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 63-64.
- <sup>72</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 64.
- <sup>73</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 246-251; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 64-65.
- <sup>74</sup>Governors' Correspondence with the Board of Trade, 1735-1747, PRO, CO 5/1326, 274-275 (CWM); and Journal of the Board of Trade, 1747/48-1748, PRO, CO 391/56, 8 (CWM); and sketch of Beverley Randolph of Gloucester, infra.
- <sup>75</sup>JHB 1742-1749, vii-x as analyzed in Daetweiler, "Bland," 65.

<sup>76</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 283-284; Daetweiler, "Bland," 66.

<sup>77</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 290; Daetweiler, "Bland," 66-67.

<sup>78</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 294, 301, 361-363; JHB 1752-1758, 58-59, 76; Hening, Statutes at Large, VI, 197-198; Reys, Tidewater Towns, 187; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 67-68.

<sup>79</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 78, 80, 81, 82, 89, 91, 96, 103; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 69-71.

<sup>80</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 80, 16n, finds that both the thought and phrasing of the address conform exactly with Bland's pamphlet, A Modest and True State of the Case, the surviving portion of which is contained in Worthington C. Ford, ed., A Fragment on the Pistole Fee, claimed by the Governor of Virginia, 1753 (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Historical Printing Club, 1891). Compare pp. 37, 42-43 and JHB 1752-1758, 143-144.

<sup>81</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 143-144.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 154.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 121, 129, 154, 156, 167-169. For fuller discussion of Randolph's appointment and its consequences, see sketch of Peyton Randolph, infra.

<sup>84</sup>Fragment, 37.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 38-39.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid., 39-40; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 87n.

<sup>88</sup>Fragment, 41.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>90</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 235.

<sup>91</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 103.

<sup>92</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 196, 216, 265-266, 300, 328, 356, 404; JHB 1758-1761, 32, 71, 119, 125-126, 141-142, 160, 173, 187-188, 252; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 104.

<sup>93</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 462; JHB 1758-1761, 12, 16, 23, 26, 31; Hening, Statutes at Large, VI, 418, 437, 524; VII, 13, 116, 120, 354; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 104.

<sup>94</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>95</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 197, 216, 265-266, 285, 300, 388; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 106n.

- <sup>96</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland, " 107.
- <sup>97</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 372; JHB 1766-1769, 142, 154-156; JHB 1770-1772, 35, 55, 125; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 107.
- <sup>98</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 108.
- <sup>99</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>100</sup>Jerman Baker to Duncan Rose, February 15, 1764, WMQ, 1st series, XII (1903), 239.
- <sup>101</sup>Richard Bland to George Washington, June 7, 1757, photostat, Washington Papers, series 4; also see Hening, Statutes at Large, VII, 116, 229.
- <sup>102</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 102.
- <sup>103</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 19, 1770, 2:1.
- <sup>104</sup>JHB 1770-1772, vii-viii, 6, 9, 34-35, 66, 76, 107, 137; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 102.
- <sup>105</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 19, 1770, 2:1.
- <sup>106</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 103.
- <sup>107</sup>Ibid., 102-103.
- <sup>108</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 181-182, 345, 368, 391, 408, 467; JHB 1758-1761, 12, 31.
- <sup>109</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 339, 366, 386, 404, 417, 443-444; JHB 1758-1761, 7, 31, 68-70, 75, 86, 94-95, 106-108, 111-112, 138, 145, 150, 210-232, 234-237, 244-245; JHB 1761-1765, 7, 124; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 100-101.
- <sup>110</sup>Richard Bland to George Washington, June 7, 1757, photostat, Washington Papers. Also see Worthington C. Ford, "Washington and 'Centinel X'", PMHB, XXII (1898), 437-438.
- <sup>111</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 463.
- <sup>112</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., September 3, 1756, 1:1-2.
- <sup>113</sup>Richard Bland to George Washington, June 7, 1757, photostat, Washington Papers.
- <sup>114</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 98n.
- <sup>115</sup>See Philo patria letter, c. 1757, Washington Papers.
- <sup>116</sup>Phil patria letter, c. 1757, Washington Papers, LC.

- <sup>117</sup>Richard Bland to George Washington, June 7, 1757, photostat, Washington Papers, LC.
- <sup>118</sup>Philo patria letter, c. 1757, Washington Papers, LC.
- <sup>119</sup>Richard Bland to George Washington, June 7, 1757, photostat, Washington Papers, LC.
- <sup>120</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 104.
- <sup>121</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 351; JHB 1758-1761, 5-7.
- <sup>122</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 796-797; Daetweiler, "Bland," 132-133.
- <sup>123</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 133, and for the contents of this paragraph.
- <sup>124</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 188.
- <sup>125</sup>VMHB, XI (1903), 15-16.
- <sup>126</sup>(Williamsburg, 1759), 11-12.
- <sup>127</sup>Bland, Letter to the Clergy, 18.
- <sup>128</sup>William Robinson to the Bishop of London, November 20, 1760, quoted in Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 802, and Daetweiler, "Bland," 142.
- <sup>129</sup>Camm, Single and Distinct View, 12, quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 142.
- <sup>130</sup>Camm, Single and Distinct View, 37-38, quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 143.
- <sup>131</sup>This letter no longer survives in the newspaper edition, but was reprinted in Bland's pamphlet, The Colonel Dismounted, 1-vii.
- <sup>132</sup>Ibid., i.
- <sup>133</sup>Ibid., iv.
- <sup>134</sup>Ibid., vi.
- <sup>135</sup>Ibid., vi.
- <sup>136</sup>Ibid., vi-vii.
- <sup>137</sup>The edition of the newspaper is missing. Camm's reply is printed in Colonel Dismounted, viii-xxiii.
- <sup>138</sup>Camm, "Observations," ix-x, xix, xxi.

139 Landon Carter, The Rector Detected: Being a just Defence of the Twopenny Act, Against the artful misrepresentations of the Reverend John Camm (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed by Joseph Royle, 1764), 5, 14, 30, quoted in Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 813. Also see Daetweiler, "Bland," 144.

140 John Camm, A Review of the Rector Detected: or the Colonel Reconnoitred (Williamsburg, Va.: 1764), 17-20, quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 144-145.

141 In a Letter addressed to His Reverence: Containing A Dissertation upon the Constitution of the Colony (Williamsburg, Va.: Printed by Joseph Royle, 1764). Reprinted in Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets.

142 Colonel Dismounted, 10.

143 Ibid., 20.

144 Ibid., 21.

145 Ibid., 23-25.

146 Ibid., 22.

147 Ibid.

148 Ibid.

149 Ibid., 25.

150 Ibid., 27.

151 Ibid., 28.

152 Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets, 707n.

153 JHB 1758-1761, 146; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 153.

154 Daetweiler, "Bland," 153-158.

155 "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence," VMHB, XII (1904-1905), 5, 9, 13-14.

156 JHB 1761-1765, 256-257.

157 JHB 1761-1765, 257, 264. According to the recollection of Thomas Jefferson, who was not a member of the House of Burgesses at the time, Bland was added to the committee after it had been constituted; William Wirt, The Life of Patrick Henry, rev. ed. (Hartford, Conn.: S. Andrews & Sons, 1854), 447.

158 Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 14, 1814, in Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 405-406; and JHB 1761-1765, 302-304.

<sup>159</sup>Wirt, Henry, 448. Daetweiler, "Bland," 165n, notes a similarity between the petitions and Bland's Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies.

<sup>160</sup>"Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence," VMHB, IX (1901-1902), 354-355.

<sup>161</sup>Wirt, Henry, 78.

<sup>162</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 5, 1815, in Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 412-413. Also see Carl Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1950), 55-71.

<sup>163</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 171-172n. See JHB 1761-1765, 325-326, 334-335, 350-351, 358-359; and Fauquier to the Board of Trade, June 5, 1765, PRO, CO 5/1331, 29 (CWM).

<sup>164</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 173.

<sup>165</sup>Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets, I, 601.

<sup>166</sup>Ibid., 601-602.

<sup>167</sup>Richard Bland, An Inquiry into the Rights of the British Colonies, Intended as an Answer to the Regulations Lately Made concerning the Colonies and the Taxes Imposed upon them Considered. In a Letter Addressed to the Author of That Pamphlet (Williamsburg, Va.: Alexander Purdie & Co., 1766), as reprinted in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Virginia, I, 28-29; Cited hereinafter as Bland, Inquiry.

<sup>168</sup>Bland, Inquiry, 29-30.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid., 30.

<sup>170</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>171</sup>Ibid., 32-33.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid., 33.

<sup>173</sup>Ibid., 34.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., 35.

<sup>175</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>176</sup>Ibid., 40.

<sup>177</sup>Ibid., 41.

<sup>178</sup>Ibid., 42.

<sup>179</sup>Ibid., 42-43.

<sup>180</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 5, 1815, in Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 413.

<sup>181</sup>Bailyn, ed., Pamphlets, I, 297-299; Clinton Rossiter, "Richard Bland: The Whig in America," WMQ, 3rd series, X (1953), 59-74; H. Trevor Colburn, The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1965), 143-148; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 187-188. Both Rossiter and Colburn provide excellent analyses of Bland's thought, but possibly exaggerate his whiggishness.

<sup>182</sup>Burnaby, Travels Through North America, 55-57. I am indebted to Daetweiler, "Bland," 188, for these references.

<sup>183</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., April 4, 1766, 3:3.

<sup>184</sup>Ibid., May 30, 1766, 3:1. Bland's response of May 8 was printed in the same issue of the paper.

<sup>185</sup>Richard Bland to the Norfolk Sons of Liberty, May 8, 1766, in Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 30, 1766, 3:1.

<sup>186</sup>JHB 1766-1769, 28, 33-34, 53.

<sup>187</sup>Ibid., 149, 157-158, 165, 172-173.

<sup>188</sup>Ibid., 165-171.

<sup>189</sup>Ibid., 174.

<sup>190</sup>Ibid., 185.

<sup>191</sup>Ibid., 180-190.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid., 214-215.

<sup>193</sup>Resolves of the House of Burgesses, Passed the 16th of May, 1769, in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., I, 70-71.

<sup>194</sup>JHB 1766-1769, 218. Italics removed. Also see Peyton Randolph to the Speaker of the House of Assembly of New Hampshire, May 19, 1769, Virginia Miscellany Box 1 (1606-1772), LC (CWM).

<sup>195</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 199n.

<sup>196</sup>Nonimportation Resolutions, May 18, 1769, in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., I, 73-77; and JHB 1766-1769, xxxix-xlii.

<sup>197</sup>JHB 1766-1769, 227. Italics removed.

<sup>198</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 101-102.

<sup>199</sup>Nonimportation Association of Burgesses and Merchants, June 22, 1770, in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., I, 79-84; and JHB 1770-1772, xxvi-xxix.

<sup>200</sup>JHB 1770-1772, xxxi.

<sup>201</sup>Richard Bland to Richard Henry Lee, May 22, 1766, Lee Family Papers, UVa (CWM). See also "Selections and Excerpts from the Lee Papers," Southern Literary Messenger, XXVII (1858), 116-117.

<sup>202</sup>Fauquier to the Board of Trade, May 11, 1766, and May 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/1331, 83, 85 (CWM); Robert Carter Nicholas to Richard Henry Lee, May 23, 1766, Southern Literary Messenger, XXVII (1858), 117; Bland to Lee, May 22, 1766, Ibid., 116-117; and Bland to the Burgesses, June 20, 1766, Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 27, 1766, 3:1.

<sup>203</sup>Jack P. Greene, "The Attempt to Separate the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer," VMHB, LXXI (1963), 11-18.

<sup>204</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Va. District, Record Book #20, 449, VSL.

<sup>205</sup>Richard Bland, June 20, 1766, Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 27, 1766, 3:1.

<sup>206</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1766, 1:2.

<sup>207</sup>Ibid., 1:2-3.

<sup>208</sup>Ibid., 1:3-2:1.

<sup>209</sup>Ibid., 2:1.

<sup>210</sup>Ibid.

<sup>211</sup>Ibid., October 30, 1766, 1:1.

<sup>212</sup>JHB 1766-1769, 11.

<sup>213</sup>Ibid., and William Nelson to Edward and Samuel Athaws, November 13, 1766, William Nelson Letterbook, VSL.

<sup>214</sup>Metriotes [John Randolph], quoted in Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1766, 1:3.

<sup>215</sup>William Nelson to Edward and Samuel Athaws, November 13, 1766, William Nelson Letterbook, VSL.

<sup>216</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1766, 1:3.

<sup>217</sup>Daetweiler speculates that Bland was defeated for the speakership because the burgesses saw in him a contrast to the aristocratic Randolph, for Bland seemed to be "a man struggling to arrest the declining status of his middling gentry family." Daetweiler, "Bland," 191-192. I find nothing in the record to substantiate such speculation.



<sup>218</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia (1859), 20, lists Bland among the Visitors in 1758. The date is not necessarily when Bland was appointed because Peyton Randolph is similarly listed and he was a Visitor in 1752.

<sup>219</sup>Richard Bland to ?, January 1760, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 306.

<sup>220</sup>Richard Bland to Robert Carter Nicholas, June 16, 1768, Pierpont Morgan Library.

<sup>221</sup>John H. Overton and Frederic Relton, The English Church from Accession of George I to the End of the Eighteenth Century (London: Macmillan and Co., 1906), 309-309.

<sup>222</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 6, 1771, 2:3; June 20, 1771, 1-2:1-3.

<sup>223</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 122; Rind's Va. Gaz., July 18, 1771, 2:3.

<sup>224</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>225</sup>Hugh Blair Grigsby, The Virginia Convention of 1776 (Richmond, Va.: J. W. Randolph, 1855), 59. Governor Tazewell told Grigsby that Bland wrote a tract against the episcopate, but Grigsby never saw it.

<sup>226</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, VI, 327.

<sup>227</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>228</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 205-206.

<sup>229</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 189; and Ibid., 206-207.

<sup>230</sup>Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, August 1, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>231</sup>Ibid.

<sup>232</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 185, 200-201; Daetweiler, "Bland," 218.

<sup>233</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 157-158.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid., 175-179, 187-189, 196-207, 217-221, 233-250, 256-257, 268-279, 281-296, 301-312; Daetweiler, "Bland," 218-219.

<sup>235</sup>Thomas Jefferson to Edward Coles, August 25, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 416-417.

<sup>236</sup>Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, March 31, 1773, PRO, CO 5/1351, 27-29 (Cwm).

- <sup>237</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., February 25, 1773, 3:1.
- <sup>238</sup>JHB 1773-1776, 14, 15, 29, 31; Hening, Statutes at Large, II, 53; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 219.
- <sup>239</sup>JHB 1773-1776, 13-14, 19-20, 22.
- <sup>240</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 220.
- <sup>241</sup>Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, I, 7-8.
- <sup>242</sup>JHB 1773-1776, 28.
- <sup>243</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Wirt, August 14, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 406. Pendleton, Wythe, Bland, Nicholas, and Peyton Randolph were mentioned specifically as the cautious burgesses.
- <sup>244</sup>"Memoirs of the Life and Voyages of Doctor Philip Mazzei," WMQ, 2nd series, IX (1929), 169.
- <sup>245</sup>Mays, Edmund Pendleton, I, 272.
- <sup>246</sup>JHB 1773-1776, xiv-xv.
- <sup>247</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>248</sup>Peyton Randolph et al., in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 99-102.
- <sup>249</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 30, 1774, 2:1; Rind's Va. Gaz., June 30, 1774, 2:3. The resolutions are conveniently reprinted in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 150-153.
- <sup>250</sup>Peter Force, ed., American Archives, 4th series, I, 494-495; 686-688. Also see Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 231-235; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 229-230.
- <sup>251</sup>Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 228.
- <sup>252</sup>Edmund Randolph, History of Virginia, edited by Arthur H. Shaffer (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 206.
- <sup>253</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 4, 1774 [sic], 2:3. Also see the instructions to the congressional delegation in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 236-239.
- <sup>254</sup>Adams, Diary, II, 120.
- <sup>255</sup>Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane, September 10, 1774, Edmund C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1921), I, 28. Cited hereinafter as Burnett, ed., Letters.

- <sup>256</sup>Quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 231.
- <sup>257</sup>Adams, Diary, II, 125.
- <sup>258</sup>Journals of the Continental Congress 1774-1789, edited by Worthington Chauncey Ford, et al., 34 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1904-1937), I, 25. Cited hereinafter as JCC.
- <sup>259</sup>Adams, Diary, II, 134.
- <sup>260</sup>Ibid., 139.
- <sup>261</sup>Burnett, Continental Congress, 54-58.
- <sup>262</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 27, 1774, 2:3; November 3, 1774, 1:1; Power from Messrs. Harrison, Randolph, Bland, October 24, 1774, Washington Papers, Series 4; and JCC, I, 118-120.
- <sup>263</sup>Randolph was in Williamsburg on October 30. Bland, however, may have gone directly to Jordans. Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 3, 1774, 1:1.
- <sup>264</sup>Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., February 18, 1775, 2:3.
- <sup>265</sup>Pinkney's Va. Gaz., March 30, 1775, 2:2. See also Bland et al. to Thomas Lewis and Samuel McDowell, n.d., Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 4, 1775, 3:1.
- <sup>266</sup>Wirt, Henry, 139-141; Moses Coit Tyler, Patrick Henry (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1888), 119-122.
- <sup>267</sup>Daetweiler, "Bland," 240.
- <sup>268</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 28, 1775, 2:2; and VMHB, XXII (1914), 215.
- <sup>269</sup>Richard Bland to ?, May 20, 1775, Pierpont Morgan Library.
- <sup>270</sup>JCC, II, 22.
- <sup>271</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., June 16, 1775, 2:2.
- <sup>272</sup>JCC, II, 76, 174-177.
- <sup>273</sup>JHB 1773-1776, 230, 246-248, 277-278, 283.
- <sup>274</sup>Ibid., 219, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 245.
- <sup>275</sup>Ibid., 253-262; Daetweiler, "Bland," 246.
- <sup>276</sup>JHB 1773-1776, 270-281.

- 277 James Parker to Charles Steuart, June 27, 1775, Steuart Papers, National Library of Scotland, MS 5029, 66 (Cwm).
- 278 JHB 1773-1776, 282.
- 279 *Ibid.*, 283-284; Daetweiler, "Bland," 247-248.
- 280 Purdie's Va. Gaz., July 7, 1775, 3:2; and Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 8, 1775, 3:1. Sheild was brother-in-law of Bland's old antagonist, John Camm.
- 281 James Madison to William Bradford, Jr., June 19, 1775, The Papers of James Madison, edited by William T. Hutchinson and M.E. Rachal, 9 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962--), I, 151-152. Cited hereinafter as Papers of Madison. Madison may never have held a high opinion of Bland, see his letter to Bradford, August 23, 1774, *Ibid.*, 121.
- 282 Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford, June 14, 1775, Mays, ed., Pendleton Papers, I, 109.
- 283 Richard Bland to Samuel Sheild, Purdie's Va. Gaz., July 7, 1775, 3:2; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 8, 1775, 3:3.
- 284 Samuel Sheild to Richard Bland, July 12, 1775, in Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 22, 1775, 1:1-2; Purdie's Va. Gaz., July 21, 1775, suppl. 3:3.
- 285 Richard Bland to ?, July 25, 1775, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 36-37; and Pinkney's Va. Gaz., August 3, 1775, 2:3.
- 286 Pinkney's Va. Gaz., August 3, 1775, 2:3.
- 287 Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., Fragment on the Pistole Fee, 25-26.
- 288 Peyton Randolph to George Washington, September 6, 1775, Washington Papers; Proceedings of the Va. Conv., July 1775, 4-5, 9-12.
- 289 Proceedings of the Va. Conv., July 1775, 13.
- 290 *Ibid.*, 14-15.
- 291 *Ibid.*, 15, 18, 44-46; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., August 26, 1775, 3:1; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 257-258.
- 292 Purdie's Va. Gaz., June 3, 1775, 3:3; October 28, 1775, 1:1.
- 293 CVSP, VIII, 104, 123-124, 159, 160, 162, 163, 193-194, 214, 215, 222, as cited in Daetweiler, "Bland," 258.
- 294 CVSP, VIII, 75-239, as cited in Daetweiler, "Bland," 258.

<sup>295</sup>Richard Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., October 29, 1775, Bland Papers, UVa. (Cwm). The manuscript is battered and should be compared with the printed version in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, 37-38.

<sup>296</sup>JCC, III, 344-347.

<sup>297</sup>Charles Lee to George Washington, April 5, 1776, in Force, ed., American Archives, 4th series, V, 793.

<sup>298</sup>Proceedings of the Va. Conv., May 1776, 5.

<sup>299</sup>Richard Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., October 29, 1775, Bland Papers, UVa (Cwm). Compare Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 37-38.

<sup>300</sup>Charles Lee to Richard Henry Lee, April 5, 1776, American Philosophical Society, quoted in Daetweiler, "Bland," 263.

<sup>301</sup>John Page to Thomas Jefferson, April 26, 1776, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 286-290.

<sup>302</sup>Proceedings of the Va. Conv., 42-43; Daetweiler, "Bland," 273; and Meade, Patrick Henry Practical Revolutionary, 114.

<sup>303</sup>Journal of the House of Delegates of Virginia 1776, 5, 9, 13, 16, 19, 22, 24, 30, 37.

<sup>304</sup>Ibid., 9, 19-20; and Daetweiler, "Bland," 276.

<sup>305</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., November 1, 1776, 3:1. Hugh Blair Grigsby, Va. Conv. 1776, 61n, says Bland was stricken with apoplexy.

<sup>306</sup>John Tazewell's receipt for the coffin, October 25, 1776, Tazewell Papers 1650-1775, Box 1, VSL.

<sup>307</sup>Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., November 1, 1776, 3:2.

## CHAPTER IX

### THE FAMILY OF ISHAM RANDOLPH OF DUNGENESS

#### A. ISHAM RANDOLPH (24 February 1687--2 November 1742)

Isham Randolph was the sixth child and third son of William and Mary Isham Randolph. Born February 24, 1687,<sup>1</sup> on his father's plantation at Turkey Island, he was named for his mother's family. After attending the College of William and Mary,<sup>2</sup> he became a sea-captain, a contrast to his elder brothers who were planters.

Ships and sailing were part of his boyhood experience. He grew up along the James River which, as the colony's principal highway, was ever alive with maritime traffic. He saw the boats of neighboring planters and English merchantmen tie up at the Turkey Island dock, near the family sloop. As a boy he undoubtedly took to the water and sailed up and down the river. Just when he decided to be a sailor is not recorded, but ships became so much a part of him that when he retired, his friend, William Byrd II, feared for his life unless he returned "to his own Element, the Sea."<sup>3</sup>

When he first went to sea is unknown, but he had probably been a member of a ship's crew before he was a captain. In February, 1709, his father and William Byrd attempted to secure a ship for him to command. Byrd himself advanced £250, but he could interest none of his friends in the venture, and so, for the time being, Isham remained ashore at Turkey Island.<sup>4</sup>

Frequently he was Byrd's companion at Westover where he played at

cricket, billiards, and cards. Once he was the subject of a good-natured prank. Walking along a creek one mild day in December, 1709, Randolph took Byrd's wager that he would not venture out on the ice. "He ventured," Byrd noted in his diary, "and the ice broke with him and took him up to the midleg."<sup>5</sup> Not all of their time was spent in amusement, however. Early in 1710, Randolph began the study of French under Byrd's tutelage. He made "good improvement" in his lessons, but he quickly abandoned them for the opportunity to go to sea.<sup>6</sup>

In March, 1710, the captain of a ship belonging to Colonel Edward Hill of Shirley died. With Byrd's prompting, Hill pledged to support Randolph in his bid for the captaincy.<sup>7</sup> Byrd also wrote a letter recommending Randolph to Governor Spotswood which Randolph himself delivered together with a squirrel Byrd sent to the Governor's concubine.<sup>8</sup> Finally, Randolph gained command of the Henrietta, a one hundred and fifty ton merchant ship with four guns and a ten-man crew.<sup>9</sup> Throughout the late summer and into the autumn, he loaded tobacco along the James River, and on November 2, 1710, he sailed from Hampton Roads.<sup>10</sup>

Bound for England, Randolph intended to reside there permanently.<sup>11</sup> He sold his inheritance of 1,035 acres in Virginia to his brother, William,<sup>12</sup> and took a house in London. He found a wife in England, marrying on July 25, 1717, Jane, the seventeen-year-old daughter of Charles and Jane Lilburne Rogers, in the parish of White Chapel, London.<sup>13</sup> A descendant of the radical puritan "Freeborn" John Lilburne,<sup>14</sup> she was, according to William Byrd, "a pretty kind of woman,"<sup>15</sup> and she brought to the marriage an interest in a family estate in the bishopric of Durham and a legacy from her grandmother.<sup>16</sup>

Despite his residence in England, Randolph maintained his ties in

Virginia. His voyages brought him regularly to the colony where he not only discharged routine business, but also assumed personal obligations. In 1711, as "Attornato legitimo" for his brother, William, executor of the will of Eusebius King, Randolph presented King's will for probate in London.<sup>17</sup> In 1719 he took William Byrd's four-year-old daughter to her father in London. Byrd paid him twelve guineas and noted that Randolph "was so kind as to offer to take care of her [in his house] till she was cured of the itch."<sup>18</sup> In Virginia he saw his family and friends frequently on their plantations and in Williamsburg;<sup>19</sup> in London he hosted them at his residence and met them in their homes or in the coffeehouses.<sup>20</sup>

Undoubtedly Isham Randolph continued to sail between England and Virginia for a number of years after his first command of the Henrietta. By 1720 he had come ashore and was listed as a London merchant "in Shakespeare's Walk."<sup>21</sup> He joined in business with his younger brother who had also come to London as a sea-captain and had formed Edward Randolph & Company. The extent of Isham's involvement in the company cannot be determined, but together he and his brother owned two vessels in the Virginia trade: the Williamsburg, a British ship of about three hundred tons and sixteen guns, built in 1712 and registered in London December 21, 1722; and the Randolph, a British frigate of about one hundred tons and six guns, built in 1725 and registered the same year on November 2.<sup>22</sup> In addition to these ships, Isham may have had an interest in the Dudley, Molly Gully, and the Gooch, all of which were registered in his brother's name.<sup>23</sup> Although Isham himself brought the Williamsburg to Virginia in the spring of 1726,<sup>24</sup> the Randolph ships were usually under the command of captains employed by the company.



Charles Rogers, probably Isham's brother-in-law, was master of the Williamsburg and its crew of about twenty-eight, while Thomas Bolling, scion of a prominent Virginia family, was master of the Randolph and its twelve-man crew.<sup>25</sup>

Lack of discipline among the sailors sometimes caused difficulty. The situation proved sufficiently troublesome in 1722 for Isham and his colleagues, Constantine Cane and William Halladay, to petition Governor Spotswood in his capacity as Vice Admiral of Virginia. They claimed that as ship-masters they had to take on sailors whose characters proved unruly once they put to sea. They petitioned Spotswood for permission to punish the troublemakers, so the crews "may Serve to keep their Ships Companys in due obedience, which will not only prove of great benefit to the Merchants & owners of Ships, but to the people of this Colony, whose Tobacco will be more carefully and speedily brought on board...."<sup>26</sup>

As a rule the Randolph brothers sent their ships from London directly to the Upper District of the James River, except in 1726, the Randolph anchored in Barbados before coming to Virginia. In the colony the ships unloaded cargoes listed simply as "European goods," and in return took on such things as tobacco, snuff, skins, staves, planks, and firewood for sale in the mother country.<sup>27</sup>

About 1725 Isham Randolph settled his family in Virginia<sup>28</sup> and four years later established a plantation on the upper James River. It is strange that in his early forties he abandoned a maritime enterprise to become a planter, the landlubber's livelihood he had rejected in his youth. His reasons for returning to the colony are unknown. Certainly he had lost none of his zeal for the sea. His investments in the Virginia trade appeared sound. He was, moreover, proud of his station in

English society, for in 1724 he stood for his portrait as a big-wigged gentleman.<sup>29</sup> Perhaps he left England because he sensed impending disaster for Edward Randolph & Company, for during the 1720's when the tobacco trade became depressed, the firm was expanding. If so, he left in time because in 1732 the Randolph company was bankrupt.<sup>30</sup>

In order to be a planter, it was necessary for Randolph to acquire land in Virginia, especially since he had disposed of his patrimony there after going to England. The land in the tidewater region along the James where two of his brothers were situated having been settled for a long time, he established himself farther up on the north bank of the river in Goochland County. He made his first purchase of three hundred seventy-eight acres on September 3, 1729, adding to it a patent for twelve hundred acres on May 6, 1730.<sup>31</sup> He continued to acquire land in Goochland County until 1737, by which time he had purchased 1,264 acres and patented 9,528, for a total of 12,382 acres.<sup>32</sup> Randolph also acquired western land. In 1738 he patented 6,000 acres in Amelia County and 12,000 acres along the Blue Ridge Mountains;<sup>33</sup> in 1740 with his brothers, Richard and Edward, he patented 60,000 acres in Brunswick County.<sup>34</sup> Altogether, counting his third of the sixty thousand acres patented jointly with his brothers, he owned 48,170 acres.

Isham Randolph made his home at Dungeness, a plantation adjacent to the Rock Castle tract of Tarleton Fleming on the north bank of the James River just above the mouth of Lickinghole Creek in Goochland County. It is not known, however, when Randolph moved his family to Dungeness. He was living in Goochland by 1730 when the county court granted him permission to clear a road from his plantation to the main road,<sup>35</sup> but he did not patent the three-thousand-acre Dungeness tract

until June 5, 1736.<sup>36</sup> Perhaps he was already living on the tract at the time he received the patent, for on June 30, 1736, Randolph agreed to an early release of an indentured servant on the condition that he improve the plantation by making and burning one hundred thousand bricks "to enclose a garden with a double ditch of 300 feet Square" and by paving "wth pibble Stone a Coach house [ , ] hen house, Mill house and well house...."<sup>37</sup>

The money Randolph invested in land is difficult to determine because in many cases the sums were never recorded. He paid his nephew, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, 10 shillings sterling for four hundred acres,<sup>38</sup> and to non-relatives he paid £180 Virginia money for 2,242 acres.<sup>39</sup> He paid £40.10 to patent 9,028 acres, but for most of his patents there is no record of monetary transaction.<sup>40</sup> Although by the time Randolph returned to Virginia it was more common to purchase fifty-acre headrights, he brought persons into the colony in order to collect the headrights. When he presented the Council with certification of forty-nine importations in 1734, the clerk refused his claim alleging that headrights belonged to the persons imported rather than the person importing them.<sup>41</sup> Randolph took his case to a court of Oyer and Terminer,<sup>42</sup> but the record of a decision has not been found.

Most of his land Randolph kept to pass to his sons. In June, 1738, however, he and John Carter purchased for £20 Virginia money one hundred acres on both sides of Tuckahoe Creek in Goochland County.<sup>43</sup> On May 19, 1741, Randolph sold his half-interest in the property to Carter for £20 Virginia money.<sup>44</sup> That Randolph should receive as much for his share as he and Carter together paid for the tract is puzzling. Perhaps Randolph put up the money in the first place and took an interest in the

property until Carter could pay him back.

Unlike his brother, William, Isham was not a major creditor. In 1713 he successfully sued one Ralph Jopling for £2.16.1 $\frac{1}{2}$  Virginia money.<sup>45</sup> In 1742 he sued one William Kennon, Jr., for £6.10 plus 5% interest.<sup>46</sup> Significantly, there is no record that Randolph himself was sued for recovery of debt.

In addition to land, labor was a major concern of Randolph as a planter. Undoubtedly the forty-nine persons he imported for their head-rights served a term of indenture to satisfy his expense in bringing them to the colony and outfitting them on his plantations. There are records of two of his indentured servants, each of whom was bound for four years' service. On June 30, 1736, Randolph pledged to release George Dudley after he had made some improvements on the plantation and made one hundred and one thousand, four hundred bricks for him and his brother, Richard.<sup>47</sup> Whether Dudley performed his duties before February 4, 1737/38, when his four years expired, is unknown, but John Newland, a cordwainer, remained in Randolph's service for eleven months after his four-year term because he had to complete "two hundred and fifty pairs of Mens, Womens, Childrens, and Negro Shoes, and mend shoes, Horse Harness for a Chariot and Cart as Occasion Shou'd require."<sup>48</sup>

Randolph also owned chattel slaves. According to an unsubstantiated account, which appeared in the nineteenth century, there were one hundred slaves at Dungeness.<sup>49</sup> Although Randolph left no census of his slaves and contemporary sources list only ten blacks--two men, four women, and four children--belonging to him,<sup>50</sup> the fact that he employed Newland to make two hundred and fifty pairs of shoes for men, women, children, and "Negroes" indicates a sizeable number of slaves.

Since none of Randolph's plantation records survives, it is impossible to know very much about the operation of his farms. Certainly he grew tobacco, for John Hanbury, the London merchant, became the "great creditor" to whom Randolph was in debt at the time of his death.<sup>51</sup>

In keeping with the family tradition established by his father and maintained by his brothers, Isham Randolph engaged in public service. In 1731 he was appointed special agent to represent Virginia in England. His appointment came because Parliament, pressured by the London and Bristol merchants, threatened legislation detrimental to colonial interests. The first proposed bill prohibited trade between the continental colonies and foreign sugar islands. From Virginia, Governor Gooch and the Council sent written protests to the Board of Trade.<sup>52</sup> In London, Randolph, on January 19, 1731/32, presented the Board with a memorial protesting the bill,<sup>53</sup> which he followed on March 16 with a petition to the House of Lords asserting that if the bill were passed limiting the colonies only to trade with the British sugar islands "it will tend greatly to the Impoverishment of his Majestys faithfull Subjects in all the Northern Colonies but more particularly in Virginia; and to the ruin of some Thousand Families there and will be very prejudiciall to the Trade and Navigation of those parts of the British Dominions as well as to the Trade[,] Commerce[,] Navigation and Revenue of this Kingdom."<sup>54</sup> His efforts were successful, for the Lords rejected the bill.<sup>55</sup>

The second proposed bill that Randolph protested provided the English merchants with an easier recovery of their debts in the colonies. Final hearings on the bill began in January, 1731/32. The Board of Trade read the protests of Governor Gooch and the Council,<sup>56</sup> and on

January 20 they received Randolph's memorial.<sup>57</sup> Even so, the Board of Trade supported the merchants in respect to their colonial debts, and the bill passed the House of Commons providing that debts owed by the colonials could be proved before a magistrate in Great Britain and that colonial land and slaves were subject to the claims of the merchants.<sup>58</sup> Undaunted, on March 15, Randolph sent a protest to the House of Lords in which he stated that the bill established "a method of proofs to be taken in England and Transmitted to...America" which was "greatly defective and inconsistent with all the rules and nature of Evidence hitherto observed." Furthermore, he said, the bill would adversely affect "the Rights and Propertys in the Landed Interests...in the said Colony."<sup>59</sup> His petition was referred to the Committee of the Whole House, and Randolph was invited to testify. Despite his best efforts to the contrary, the bill passed the Lords in April, 1732.<sup>60</sup>

Throughout his negotiations, Randolph kept the Virginia government informed of his activities.<sup>61</sup> Although his mission was only partially successful, the Council rewarded his efforts by ordering "the Sum of two hundred pounds Sterl[ing] be paid him of his Majesty's Revenue of 2s per hhd."<sup>62</sup>

His activities as a government negotiator did not dampen his enthusiasm for the sea. When he departed London for home in December, 1732, he was master of the Anna, a ship belonging to the great merchant, John Hanbury, and laden with sundry European goods. He entered the district of the upper James on April 10, 1733, but the voyage was his last; for when the ship cleared outward in July, one George Warriner was the master.<sup>63</sup>

After his return from England, Randolph became a leader in

Goochland County. On November 19, 1734, he was commissioned and sworn a justice of the peace, a post he held for the rest of his life.<sup>64</sup> He was a vestryman of St. James Northam Parish, but beyond the fact he acted as churchwarden in 1738,<sup>65</sup> nothing is known of his service. He held a colonel's commission in the county militia, and on November 9, 1738, upon the death of the Adjutant General of Virginia, the Council "being Sensible of what Use the Continuance of that Office will be towards the Training and Disciplining of the Militia," appointed "Capt. Isham Randolph a Gentlema[n] well known and Universally Acceptable in the Country."<sup>66</sup> Possibly his appointment was smoothed because his brother, William, was a councillor. He was Adjutant General until he die<sup>d</sup>,<sup>67</sup>

In November, 1738, he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Goochland County when the regularly elected representative died in mid-term.<sup>68</sup> A Randolph and a man of prominence in his own right, he was added immediately to the two most powerful standing committees in the House, Propositions and Grievances and Privileges and Elections.<sup>69</sup> From time to time he was given additional assignments, usually conferring with the Governor and returning his communications to the House,<sup>70</sup> but he was never one of the really notable burgesses. According to a quantification of the committee assignments of the House of Burgesses, he was only among the second rank of leadership.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps he would have risen in influence had he remained in the House for a longer period, but he did not return after the 1740 session.

By the standards of his time Randolph came late to public service. Most of his adult life was spent in England, and he was in his middle forties when he first held office in Virginia. Several factors explain

his successful, if belated, rise to leadership. In the first place, his family was prominent in the colony; his father and brothers were notable men. The fact that his brother, William, was a councillor and his brother, John, was Speaker of the House of Burgesses undoubtedly aided his appointments as special agent and Adjutant General. In the second place, he made his home in the recently created Goochland County where the opportunities for public service were more easily attainable than in the older counties. Thirdly, there was Isham Randolph himself. He possessed the qualities of a leader, he was likeable and trustworthy, and despite his long residence abroad, he had never completely severed his connections with Virginia. He was, the Council noted in his appointment as Adjutant General, "a Gentleman      well known and Universally Acceptable in the Country."<sup>72</sup> John Bartram observed that he was "a generous, good-natured gentleman, and well respected by most who are acquainted with him"<sup>73</sup> William Byrd II, recommending Randolph to a friend in England, described him as an "Israelite without Guile" whose "Vertue will merit any Service you will be so kind as to do Him."<sup>74</sup>

There is little information concerning the private life of Isham Randolph. None of his personal papers survives, vanishing probably when his house at Dungeness was destroyed late in the eighteenth century.<sup>75</sup> Scattered sources provide a glimpse of Randolph's private side.

"I do repose great faith in my very Affectionate and virtuous wife," he wrote in his will after they had been married about twenty-three years. Confident that she would "in her life time act as becomes a mother, to my dear, and dutifull children," he named her his sole executor at the same time bequeathing her all his lands and slaves.<sup>76</sup>

Eleven children were born to the Randolphs between 1718 and



1738.<sup>77</sup> Of the five sons and six daughters, two sons died in infancy. His children, girls and boys, were apparently educated to the point of literacy, but none of his sons attended the College of William and Mary. He provided a dowry of £200 sterling for each of his daughters when they married, and his land eventually went to his sons.

Randolph was a good host. "I know no person will make thee more welcome than Isham Randolph," Peter Collinson, an English friend, wrote the Quaker naturalist John Bartram who was embarking on a plant-collecting trip to Virginia. "Now, I take his house to be a very suitable place to make a settlement at,--for to take several days excursions all round, and to return to his house at night."<sup>78</sup> Bartram stopped at Dungeness and found that Randolph was not only hospitable, he also had an interest in the curiosities of nature. "He was very kind to me during the time I stayed with him," Bartram noted, "and sent his man with me to the mountains, which was kind indeed."<sup>79</sup> When Bartram departed for Philadelphia, he and Randolph pledged to correspond with each other. On May 24, 1739, Randolph wrote, "I wish I could entertain you with an account of some new discovery, since your progress here: but, [I] want of a penetrating genius, in the curious beauties of nature....If you see any of my acquaintance, make me acceptable to 'em. My wife and family join in their best respects to you and Mrs. Bartram."<sup>80</sup>

Isham Randolph's epitaph provides as good an estimation of the man as can be made:

The distinguished qualities of the gentleman he possessed in  
the most eminent degree  
To Justice Probity & Honour so firmly attached  
that no view of secular interest or worldly advantage  
no discouraging frowns of fortune  
could alter his steady purpose of heart.

By an easy complaisance & obliging deportment  
 He knew no enemys but gained many friends  
 Thus in life meriting an universal esteem  
 He died universally lamented  
 Nov 1742...  
 Gentle Reader <sup>81</sup>  
 Go & do thou likewise

1. ISHAM RANDOLPH, JR. (10 June 1718--20 June 1718)

Isham Randolph, Jr., was the first child of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph. The spare chronicle of his life was written in the family Bible: "Isham Born 10th June 1718 in Shadwell paris<sup>[h]</sup> London. he Died 20 June 1718."<sup>82</sup>

2. JANE RANDOLPH JEFFERSON (9 February 1720--31 March 1776)

The second child of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph,<sup>83</sup> Jane Randolph was born February 9, 1720, in London, and baptized there at St. Paul's, Shadwell, eleven days later.<sup>84</sup> Early in the 1730's she moved to Virginia where her father established his plantation at Dungeness in Goochland County. She married Peter Jefferson in October, 1739.<sup>85</sup>

Jefferson, born February 29, 1707/08, was a third-generation Virginian. He inherited a plantation from his father on Fine Creek south across the James River from Dungeness, but his largest landholdings were in the back country where he eventually accumulated about 5,000 acres in his own right and had part interest in 50,000 more. He was active in public affairs. In Goochland County he served as justice of the peace and sheriff; after the creation of Albemarle County in 1744, he served there as justice of the peace, colonel and county lieutenant of the militia, surveyor, and burgess; in 1749 he and Joshua Fry were commissioned to complete the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina; and with Fry he made the first official map of Virginia in 1751.<sup>86</sup>

Jane Randolph Jefferson was the mother of ten children. On June 27, 1740, she gave birth to a daughter, Jane, who was followed by Mary on October 1, 1741; Thomas on April 2, 1743; Elizabeth on November 4, 1744; Martha on May 29, 1746; Peter Field on October 16, 1748; an unnamed son on March 9, 1750; Lucy on October 10, 1752; and twins, Anna Scott and Randolph, on October 1, 1755.<sup>87</sup>

While motherhood certainly brought joy to her life, it also brought grief. Elizabeth, Anna Scott, and Randolph were subnormal.<sup>88</sup> The two middle sons did not survive infancy; the bright and talented Jane died in 1765; and the unfortunate Elizabeth succumbed in 1774.<sup>89</sup>

During her marriage Jane Jefferson established her home in several places. She lived first with her husband on the Fine Creek plantation. About 1742 they went into the back country to a plantation on the Rivanna River called Shadwell after the parish where she was born. After the death of her cousin, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, in 1745 the Jeffersons moved their family to his plantation because Randolph had directed that his friend, Peter Jefferson, take charge of his three orphans. With Peter and the children she returned to Shadwell about 1752 and lived there for the rest of her life.<sup>90</sup>

Jefferson died on August 17, 1757, leaving her a widow with eight children ranging in age from seventeen to less than two years old. The estate was sufficient to support the family, and it was placed in the hands of capable administrators, among them Peter Randolph of Chatsworth. According to Jefferson's will, his "Dear & Well beloved Wife" had the use and profits of the Shadwell plantation together with one-sixth of all slaves and one-third of all cattle, but the estate was to remain intact until the children were educated, married, or of age to

receive their individual inheritances.<sup>91</sup> Unlike many another Virginia widow of the time, Jane Jefferson never remarried; in fact, she was a widow longer than she was a wife.

Little is known of her widowhood. Her children grew up. Thomas went off to Williamsburg to the College of William and Mary and remained to study law. Randolph attended school near Shadwell. Mary, Thomas, Martha, and Lucy married. Only the befuddled Elizabeth and the twins remained at home.<sup>92</sup>

The main house at Shadwell burned on February 1, 1770. While Thomas, bemoaning the loss of his books, took refuge at Monticello, the house he was building atop a nearby mountain,<sup>93</sup> Jane Jefferson and her three children moved into one of the unburnt outbuildings.<sup>94</sup>

During her final years she allowed her eldest son to manage her affairs. She leased the Shadwell estate to him, and in return for "divers large sums of money" she deeded him her slaves.<sup>95</sup> But she was not entirely passive, for she carefully examined her son's accounts.<sup>96</sup>

She died at Monticello.<sup>97</sup> On March 31, 1776, Thomas noted in his account book, "My mother died about eight O'clock this morning...."<sup>98</sup> Later he wrote that her final illness was "of not more than an hour. We suppose it to have been apoplectic."<sup>99</sup>

Thomas Jefferson was appointed the sole executor of her estate. In her will she left the twins each two Negroes, to Elizabeth (who had by the time of her death predeceased her) she gave "all my wearing apparel, with one good bed an[d] furniture." The rest of the estate, which comprised household items and a few livestock, was, after her debts had been paid, to be divided equally among her heirs.<sup>100</sup>

Jane Randolph Jefferson's fame lies in the fact that she was the

mother of Thomas Jefferson. However, her character and personality defy easy description. Fawn M. Brodie in her controversial Thomas Jefferson an Intimate History offers a provocative appraisal of her. Mrs. Jefferson, in Brodie's view, was an aristocratic and possessive woman who, because of her English birth, disliked the revolutionary activities of her eldest son.<sup>101</sup> The assessment of Dumas Malone is surer. He wrote of Jane Jefferson, "[T]here is no positive testimony about her personality, and she remains a shadowy figure...almost the only thing about her we can be sure of is that she had physical endurance beyond the average. She suffered inevitable hardships in connection with successive moves; she bore ten children altogether and brought up eight of them; and she survived her husband."<sup>102</sup>

### 3. ISHAM RANDOLPH II (18 August 1724--ante 1771)

The eldest surviving son of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Isham Randolph II was born in Whitechapel Parish, London, on August 18, 1724, and named not only for his father but also for a brother who died in infancy.<sup>103</sup> He came to Virginia at an early age, but nothing is known of his childhood.

Like his father before him, Isham was attracted to the sea and became a captain in the Virginia trade. Making his home in London, he sailed at least six vessels, Anna, Lyde, Dinwiddie, Swift, Commerce, and Rachel.<sup>104</sup> Significantly, as master of the Swift and the Anna, he was employed by John and Capel Hanbury, the London merchants who were friends of his family in Virginia. In 1751 he carried Daniel Parke Custis' tobacco on consignment to the Hanburys; in 1754 he brought "Sundries" to William Lightfoot, Yorktown merchant; and in 1756 he

transported muskets, gunpowder, and "other particulars" to Virginia for Lidderdale and Company of London.<sup>105</sup>

Not all of Randolph's activities pertained to the Virginia trade, however. On May 20, 1748, as commander of the Rachel, a ship registered in London, he cleared the port of Philadelphia bound for Jamaica with a cargo of Pennsylvania lumber. He got only as far as New Castle, Delaware, because England was at war with France and the threat of enemy privateers halted maritime traffic. After ten days at anchor, a Captain Ballet of the Royal Navy, citing instructions of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, ordered Randolph to return to Philadelphia. Randolph immediately protested "against the said Captn. Ballet & all others concern'd in detaining the...Rachel...& ordering her back to Port." The Council received the protest on June 1, 1748, but their action was not recorded.<sup>106</sup>

Although his principal interests were in England, Randolph maintained a few ties in Virginia. In 1745 at the instigation of his uncle, Richard Randolph of Curles, he joined with his brothers, Richard's sons, and the sons of his uncle, Edward Randolph, in a patent of sixty thousand acres in Brunswick County.<sup>107</sup> When his mother died in 1760, he inherited the family plantation at Dungeness. Apparently he came back to Virginia to operate the plantation, but finding it not to his liking and unable to dispose of the property because he had no heirs, he rented the place to his brother, Thomas, for £120 sterling a year.<sup>108</sup> In March, 1764, he returned to England.<sup>109</sup>

According to family tradition, he married Sarah Hargraves in Philadelphia in 1749.<sup>110</sup> Almost nothing is known of the Hargraves family, but Sarah's father apparently was a captain in the colonial

trade. Among her Philadelphia friends were Benjamin Franklin's daughter, Sally, and Lydia Biddle, member of a distinguished family.<sup>111</sup> The Randolphs lived in England; they had no children.

Isham died in England before January 10, 1771, at which time his widow, "Sarah Randolph of Greenwich in the County of Kent," appointed an attorney to collect the rent on his Virginia property.<sup>112</sup> From time to time she entertained old friends from her childhood. A brother of Lydia Biddle wrote from London in the autumn of 1772 that he had dined "at Mrs Randolphs an old Playmate of yours. She is a Daughter of Capt Hardgraves."<sup>113</sup>

The American Revolution, however, brought a change in her fortunes. On July 19, 1785, she wrote to Benjamin Franklin, who was sailing from England for Philadelphia, letting him know that she had fallen on hard times. This was her second letter; she had written to him in France, but had received no response. She was now, she said, "obliged to live in an almshouse at Deptford, owing to the late unhappy contest in america, which has deprived me of the provision my dear departed husband made for me before he left Virginia, and am sorry to acquaint you I have been put to the greatest distress by reason of my not receiving my remittances from Virginia." Nevertheless, she continued, she had reason to bless and adore "the divine Being" for the friends who had secured her a living "though it is but a bare support (that of nine pence three farthings a Day) but this has kept me from want...." She took consolation in the knowledge that she had not brought misfortune upon herself, "but all was owing to this unnatural war which has been the ruin of thousands besides myself." She concluded by wishing Franklin a safe journey home. "If your dear daughter sally and her husband

is with you pray make my respectful compliments to them and tell sally her old friend sarah Hangrave is still alive, and rejoices to hear she is, and may God bless her and hers with every blessing that this World can bestow, and may we all meet in the heavenly Mansions above...."<sup>114</sup>  
 If Franklin replied, his response is lost. There is no other record of Sarah Randolph.

#### 4. MARY RANDOLPH LEWIS (15 October 1725--13 October 1803)

The second daughter of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Mary Randolph was born in Williamsburg, Virginia, on October 15, 1725.<sup>115</sup> She grew up on the family plantation at Dungeness in Goochland County. In July, 1746, she married Charles Lewis, Jr., her father having furnished her with a dowry of £200 sterling and two female slaves.<sup>116</sup>

Little is known of Charles Lewis. The second son of ten children, he was born March 14, 1721/22 at The Byrd, the Lewis plantation near Dungeness.<sup>117</sup> Later he established his own plantation at Buck Island in Albemarle County.

Mary Randolph Lewis was the mother of eight children: Charles, Lilburn, Isham, Mary, Jane, Elizabeth, Anna, Frances, and Mildred.<sup>118</sup> Her husband died May 14, 1782, leaving his "Affectionate and Virtuous wife" the use of his "whole estate real and personal" for the rest of her life.<sup>119</sup> There is no other record of her life; an unsubstantiated account lists October 13, 1803, as the date of her death.<sup>120</sup>

#### 5. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH RAILLEY (c. 1727--11 September 1782)

Third daughter of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Elizabeth Randolph was born in Virginia, probably about 1727.<sup>121</sup> Predictably, she was nicknamed Betty, but nothing else of her early life is known.



Sometime between 1750 and 1753 she married John Railey.<sup>122</sup>

Unlike the spouses of her sisters, Railey was not of an established Virginia family. He was an Englishman who, according to the much later claim of a distant relative, changed his surname after coming to the Old Dominion even though he was a descendant of the second son of Sir Walter Raleigh.<sup>123</sup>

Married in Goochland County, the Raileys, by 1756, were living in Cumberland County where they remained until the late 1760's or early 1770's when they moved to a plantation located about thirteen miles west of Richmond in Chesterfield County.<sup>124</sup> Railey named the place Stonehenge supposedly because the great oak trees there reminded him of "the seat of the Druid priests in England."<sup>125</sup> Fond of horses and horseracing, Railey laid out on his property a race course which as late as 1905 could still be seen despite a growth of "scrubby post oak."<sup>126</sup>

Elizabeth Railey bore ten children: Thomas on September 22, 1754; Susannah, January 25, 1756; Isham, July 15, 1758; Anne, September 17, 1759; William, December 26, 1760; James, April 16, 1762; Jane, August 9, 1763; Martin, October 27, 1764; Charles, November 24, 1766; and Randolph, May 14, 1770.<sup>127</sup> The children were remarkably healthy; all of them, with the exception of Susannah who died before 1778,<sup>128</sup> survived to maturity.

There is no complete listing of the Railey plantations, but Railey was a first-generation Virginian and his holdings were not large. In his will, which he made in 1778, he bequeathed two hundred acres to his eldest son, and set aside £1000 to purchase land for his other six sons.<sup>129</sup> There were coalpits on Railey's land, and he recognized their potential worth, but possessing less than thirty slaves he lacked a

labor force adequate for their development.<sup>130</sup>

Railey did not pursue a career of public service. He was a captain in the county militia, and once he was ordered to survey a road in Chesterfield County.<sup>131</sup>

Elizabeth Randolph Railey is an obscure figure. She was apparently a good wife. Her husband thought her competent to manage his affairs after he died. In his will, he bequeathed to her "over & above her equal Share" of the estate, a riding chair and a team of horses, "and for the great confidence and trust I repose in my Wifes doing me Justice after my Decease that all that part of my Estate that shall fall to her Share of what kind soever it be shall be at her own disposal at her Death except she marry...her share shall return unto my Family;" he also made her executrix of his estate.<sup>132</sup>

She did not live to fulfill the obligations of the will. She died on September 11, 1782, about thirteen months before her husband.<sup>133</sup>

#### 6. WILLIAM RANDOLPH of Bristol (9 July 1729--27 June 1791)

The third son and sixth child of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, William Randolph was born at Turkey Island, the Virginia plantation of the Randolph family, on July 9, 1729.<sup>134</sup> Nothing is known of his early life and ambitions. He may have thought of becoming a planter, for on June 20, 1745, his mother sold six thousand acres to him for £60 sterling.<sup>135</sup> A few months later, along with his uncle, cousins, and brothers, he was included in a patent for sixty thousand acres in Brunswick County.<sup>136</sup> However, if planting were his original ambition, he did not stick to it long. Like his father and elder brother, he went to sea.

By 1754 he was master of the Peacock, a ship engaged in the

Virginia trade. Aboard ship on July 27, he wrote of his activities to his cousin, Theodorick Bland:

You was so kind some time ago to offer me your Service in the sale of some goods I have Left which I have now taken the Liberty of sending you, and beg Leave to Commit them to your care for what they will fetch. please to sell them yet at the first opportunity--I hope there needs no appollige for my not wait ing on you before I sail, Knowing How I am circumstanced in the Hurry of my Business, And as I am certain it will be much to the Advantage of the Gentlemen that has Tobacco on Bo'd to get home as soon as Capt. Benjamin wright , I shall with undaunted Courage drive after him as far as possible-- I have not inclosed your bill of Ladeing as I expect some more of your Tobacco down in the flat boat we have up Appomattox River....<sup>137</sup>

Randolph prospered in the Virginia trade. He settled in Bristol, England, but as a "Marriner" in the command of such vessels as the Hawke, the True Patriot, and the Planter, he made repeated voyages to Virginia.<sup>138</sup> By 1766 he had succeeded well enough to give up sea service and established himself as a partner in the firm of Sedgley, Hillhouse, and Randolph, merchants of Bristol.<sup>139</sup> There is nothing specific in the surviving records to explain his rise from a ship's captain to a leading merchant. He may have proven himself enterprising and reliable. Furthermore, his savings, the sale of some Virginia property, and an inheritance from his mother's estate may have given him sufficient capital for investment in business.<sup>140</sup>

Sedgley, Hillhouse, and Randolph conducted a profitable trade in Virginia and Maryland. The firm took consignments of tobacco and wheat, and transported in return, among other commodities, convict laborers.<sup>141</sup> In Virginia, Randolph employed family connections. His cousin, Richard Randolph II, was an agent and attorney for the firm; and Theodorick Munford, son of another cousin, was captain of the Randolph, a ship employed in the firm's business. For reasons unknown,

the firm ceased operations about 1770.<sup>142</sup>

Upon the death of his childless elder brother about 1770, he inherited Dungeness, the family plantation in Virginia. By that time mercantile interests and a growing family confined him to Bristol, so he continued his deceased brother's arrangement for renting the plantation to their younger brother, Thomas.

On July 31, 1761, Randolph married Elizabeth Little, daughter of a Bristol glassmaker.<sup>143</sup> She bore him twelve children: Mary Little was born 1762; Elizabeth Little, 1763; Jane, 1764; the first William Esten, 1766; Thomas Esten, 1767; Benjamin, 1768; James, 1770; a second William Esten, 1772; Fortune, 1774; Susanna, 1775; Henry Jones, 1778; and Jacob Little, 1783.<sup>144</sup> Three of the children died before reaching maturity: the first William Esten in 1772, the second in 1779, and Susanna in 1776.<sup>145</sup>

What Randolph did after he was no longer associated with Sedgley, Hillhouse, and Randolph is uncertain, but his occupations were interrupted by the American Revolution. Initially he was unable to collect the rents on his land in Virginia. In 1779, however, he lost the property itself when Dungeness was confiscated as belonging to a British subject.<sup>146</sup> Of graver consequence was the war's disruption of the trade between Bristol and the colonies. He was discouraged at the turn of events and told his nephew, Thomas Jefferson, that he wished he had chosen to live in Virginia.<sup>147</sup> "I am extremely concerned at the difficulties under which you are thrown by the stoppage of trade," Jefferson answered. "I know not the particular situation of Maryland where your mercantile connections were; but if it be the same with that of Virginia, I can easily conceive their remittances to have been

inconsiderable."<sup>148</sup> Randolph continued in business despite the hardships and perhaps prospered again. On November 1, 1783, when he apprenticed his four sons to himself, he still considered himself a "merchant venturer."<sup>149</sup>

He died on Jun. 27, 1791, for some reason, by his own hand. His obituary told the story: "[Dead.] Mr. Wm. Randolph, an eminent merchant at Bristol. In a fit of insanity he shot himself behind a hayrick, in a field near that city."<sup>150</sup>

#### 7. DOROTHEA RANDOLPH WOODSON (24 November 1730--February, 1794)

The fourth daughter of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Dorothea Randolph was born November 24, 1730, at the family plantation at Dungeness in Goochland County, Virginia.<sup>151</sup> On October 14, 1751, she married John Woodson of Goochland County.<sup>152</sup>

Woodson was of an old Virginia family. His great-great grandfather arrived at Jamestown in 1619, a half century before the Randolphs. At the time of his marriage, Woodson was about twenty-one years old and already in possession of the family plantation which had come to him at his father's death in 1736.<sup>153</sup> A man active in local affairs, he was vestryman of St. James Parish, colonel in the militia, burgess from Goochland, and delegate to the 1775 Virginia Convention.<sup>154</sup>

Dorothea Randolph Woodson was the mother of twelve children. They were, in the order of birth: Jane, born about 1752; Elizabeth, November 1756; Josiah, January 16, 1758; Isham, September 1759; Susannah, June 26, 1761; John, February 28, 1763; Martha, July 6, 1764; Judith, February 16, 1767; Lucy, October 13, 1768; Sarah, November 14, 1770; Mary, n.d.; and Anne, n.d.<sup>155</sup> Although there is no record of infant

mortality among her offspring, the fact that there is no birth listed between 1752 and 1756 suggests that Mrs. Woodson may have borne a child who did not live long enough to be baptized. It is probable that Isham Woodson predeceased his parents, for there is no mention of him in his father's will.

The Woodsons were patriots during the American Revolution. According to family tradition they were driven from their home in 1781 when General Cornwallis made his headquarters at Dover, a Woodson plantation in Goochland County. The family escaped, so the story goes, in their ferryboat to another of their plantations on Sabot's Island in the James River.<sup>156</sup>

John Woodson died on December 2, 1789.<sup>157</sup> In his will he distributed his lands, which were not extensive, and nine slaves among his children. To his "beloved Wife" during her lifetime he lent three Negroes "wth Liberty to Occupy my manor house & Such a part of my land as may be Sufficient to Work her Negroes on." He also loaned her livestock, a feather bed, furniture, a dozen chairs, and "whatever Else may seem Necessary for her at the Discretion of my Executors and above bequest to be a Consideration for her Relinquishing all her Right of dower in my Estate."<sup>158</sup>

Dorothea Randolph Woodson died on February 2, 1794.<sup>159</sup>

#### 8. THOMAS RANDOLPH (31 March 1732--20 May 1732)

The eighth child of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Thomas Randolph was born at his father's plantation at Dungeness in Virginia on March 31, 1732, and named for his paternal uncle who had died two years earlier. The child, however, did not thrive and was dead on May 20, 1732.<sup>160</sup>

9. ANNA RANDOLPH (SCOTT) (PLEASANTS) PLEASANTS (5 February 1734/5--?)

The fifth daughter of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Anna Randolph was born February 5, 1734/35, at her father's plantation at Dungeness on the James River.<sup>161</sup> On November 28, 1751,<sup>162</sup> she married Daniel Scott and went to live on his plantation in Cumberland County.

Although the date of his birth is unknown, Scott was somewhat older than his wife. His father, a Goochland County planter, died in 1738 leaving Daniel, his eldest son, land in Manakin Town, over a thousand acres elsewhere in the county, and half of his slaves. Daniel, however, did not come immediately into his inheritance, for, by the terms of the father's will, he and his brother were to be put into school until they were sixteen and then apprenticed to a trade.<sup>163</sup>

Daniel Scott did not live long after his marriage. On April 5, 1754, his widow was summoned before the Cumberland County court "to declare whether she will take upon herself the Administration of the Estate of her late Husband Daniel Scott Deceased."<sup>164</sup>

Appearing before the court on May 27, 1754, Anna Scott, with Archibald Cary, her cousin's husband, as her security, posted bond as administratrix of the estate.<sup>165</sup> The estate consisted of household goods and furniture, fourteen slaves, cattle, farm implements and tools, and was appraised at £688.1.5.<sup>166</sup> As a childless widow, Anna Scott had no permanent claim on the estate. The ultimate heir was her husband's brother, and he was dissatisfied with her administration. In August, 1755, therefore, she petitioned the court and was granted a discharge from her responsibilities to the estate.<sup>167</sup>

Apparently the Scott estate was sufficient for her support, for she remained a widow until June 14, 1759, when she married John

Pleasants of Cumberland County.<sup>168</sup>

Little is known about Pleasants. His family were Quakers who had been in Virginia since about 1665 when his great-grandfather settled in Henrico County.<sup>169</sup> A small planter, his estate comprised 515 acres and seven slaves.<sup>170</sup>

Under Pleasants' influence, Anna Randolph shed her Anglicanism to become a Quaker. She bore him two children, Samuel and Jane, and was pregnant with their son John when her husband died early in 1765. She inherited £300 Virginia money, three slaves, a chaise, and two horses, but the bulk of the estate went to her minor children who were put under the guardianship of their uncle, Robert Pleasants. As the "loving wife" of the deceased, Anna Pleasants was named executrix of the will, and on January 28, 1765, she and executors appeared in the Cumberland County court to affirm the will, "they being quakers."<sup>171</sup>

After the death of her second husband, Anna Pleasants took a third by marrying James Pleasants of Contention plantation in Goochland County. James Pleasants was the second cousin of John Pleasants and, as one of the executors of John's estate, he and Anna were often together. Between 1769 and 1779 she bore six more children: James, Tarleton Woodson, Anna, Pauline, Susannah Randolph, and Martha.<sup>172</sup>

There is no other record of her life. Neither the date of her death nor that of her husband is known.<sup>173</sup>

10. THOMAS RANDOLPH of Dungeness (13 August 1736--?)

The tenth child and fifth son of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph, Thomas Randolph was born August 13, 1736, at Dungeness, his father's Virginia plantation, and named for a brother who died in infancy in 1732.



Unlike his seafaring elder brothers, he remained on land, managing the Dungeness plantation for his widowed mother and, after her death, renting it from his brothers.<sup>174</sup>

In 1767 he married Jane Cary, the sixteen-year-old daughter of his cousin, Mary Randolph and her husband, Archibald Cary of Ampthill.<sup>175</sup> He was the father of four children, Archibald Cary, born 1769; twins, Isham and Thomas, born March 27, 1771; and Mary, born February 1, 1773.<sup>176</sup> His marriage, however, was brief: his wife died in February, 1774.<sup>177</sup> Unable to rear his children by himself, he sent his daughter, and probably his sons, to their grandparents Cary.<sup>178</sup> He was, even so, a devoted father. "My dear Child," he wrote his daughter when she was thirteen and away at school,

The necessity for our present seperation is so obvious, that nothing but the sincere desire I have so much at Heart, for your improvement would induce me to submit to it. I must therefore intreat you my Dear Girl to make the most of your time while you have it in your power as my greatest happiness in life depends on your improvement & the satisfaction I promise myself in your company hereafter....I hope you will write to me.<sup>179</sup>

He never remarried.

Thomas Randolph was a planter, but he was never a large landowner in his own right. On November 4, 1745, he and eight of his relatives were included in a sixty-thousand-acre patent in Brunswick County, which he apparently never developed.<sup>180</sup> From his mother he inherited eight hundred acres in Cumberland County, but he sold them to James Cocke for £350.<sup>181</sup> He rented the three-thousand-acre Dungeness tract from his brother, Isham, for £120 sterling per annum,<sup>182</sup> an arrangement he continued when the tract passed to his brother, William, the Bristol merchant.<sup>183</sup> When Dungeness was confiscated in 1779 by the

Virginia authorities as the property of a British subject,<sup>184</sup> he somehow managed to hold on to the plantation<sup>185</sup> and eventually turned it over to his brother's son, Thomas Esten Randolph.<sup>186</sup>

Unlike many of his contemporaries, Randolph was unconcerned with the accumulation of land. In further contrast to them, he did not much care for public service. The only office he held was justice of the peace for Goochland County in 1764.<sup>187</sup>

There are few glimpses of the mind and character of Thomas Randolph. He was a trusted and reliable friend. Serving as executor of the estate of his cousin, John Randolph of Matoax,<sup>188</sup> he informed the widow that he had found for the estate "a Person capable of taking the management of Weaving and spinning."

She will he wrote undertake the management of all your Spinners, and instruct any Weavers you may chose to have Learned, also Weave all your fine cloth herself for £30.--a year but if She is to be employed constantly Weaving £40.-- I should recommend your acceptance of her first proposals as it will certainly be more to your advantage to have your people instructed than to keep her constantly Weaving, however of this you are to do that which seemeth best unto thee.<sup>189</sup>

Randolph could manage the affairs of others with a detachment that was lacking in his own affairs. "Never did I want your Assistance so much as at this time, I am quite at a loss how to Act," he wrote to St. George Tucker on November 28, 1787, the day the sheriff had levied an execution on the Dungeness property to satisfy a debt of £1550 for which Randolph was security. Informed that he could stop the sale of the property if he could raise £550, Randolph asked Tucker, "who am I to apply to...good God Sir will you do for me what I am unable to do myself, as I am so unable that I can scarce Stagger across the room, to you I look up my Dear Sir to save me from Total ruin if the Sale is

not stop'd. I shall exert every nerve to raise the Sum....surely I am hardly dealt by."<sup>190</sup> The outcome of the case is not recorded, but since Dungeness remained in Randolph possession, Randolph apparently succeeded in overcoming the difficulty.

Thomas Randolph presumably lived out his life at Dungeness, but the date of his death is unknown.<sup>191</sup>

#### 11. SUSANNAH RANDOLPH HARRISON (24 October 1738--1806)

Born on her father's plantation at Dungeness on the James River in Virginia on October 24, 1738, Susannah Randolph was the sixth daughter and youngest child of Isham and Jane Rogers Randolph.<sup>192</sup> After the death of her father in 1742, she was reared by her mother, but nothing else is known of her childhood.

She made a good marriage when, on November 9, 1760, she married Carter Henry Harrison of Clifton, a plantation in Cumberland County.<sup>193</sup> Harrison was born about 1732 at Berkeley, his family's plantation in Charles City County. The second son of Benjamin Harrison III and Anne Carter Harrison, he was a landowner even before his birth; for in 1726, his maternal grandfather, Robert "King" Carter, stipulated that his daughter's second son "to be christened Carter" would inherit thirteen blacks and tracts in Surry County and what was later Cumberland County.<sup>194</sup> Educated at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, in 1750 he began law studies at the Middle Temple in London.<sup>195</sup> During the French and Indian War he was a captain in George Washington's Virginia Regiment, but poor health compelled him to retire to his plantation.<sup>196</sup> Active for the American cause in the War for Independence, he was a member of the Cumberland County militia and served from 1774 to 1776 on the

Cumberland Committee of Safety where he wrote "Instructions to the Delegates to be chosen for the County of Cumberland to sit in the General Convention." Furthermore, after the war he was a member of the Virginia House of Delegates between 1782 and 1786.<sup>197</sup>

Susannah Harrison was the mother of six children, two daughters and four sons: Ann, Elizabeth, Robert Carter, Randolph, Peyton, and Carter Henry.<sup>198</sup> She was widowed in January, 1794.

In his will Harrison left his "truly affectionate wife" all the plate and household furniture, ten slaves, all the hogs on his Clifton and Boston plantations "which shall be a proper size and condition to kill for the provision of the year next after my death," one-fourth of the remaining hogs, all stocks of cattle and sheep not otherwise disposed of in the will. The Clifton plantation and the profit of "one moiety" of the other lands with eight slaves were provided for her use during her natural life.<sup>199</sup>

Susannah Harrison survived her husband by twelve years, dying in 1806. She lived to see her children reach maturity, marry, and have children of their own. Her life was not without tragedy, however, for in 1800, her son, Carter Henry, died shortly after opening a law practice. She died at Clifton, and her estate was appraised at £1632.8.2.<sup>200</sup> She was the last of the third generation of the Randolph Family, having outlived all her brothers, sisters, and cousins.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER IX

- <sup>1</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- <sup>2</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.
- <sup>3</sup>William Byrd II to John Hanbury, March 20, 1736/37, Byrd Letter-book, VHS.
- <sup>4</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 4, 5.
- <sup>5</sup>Ibid., 124.
- <sup>6</sup>Ibid., 135, 140, 141, 142.
- <sup>7</sup>Ibid., 152, 153.
- <sup>8</sup>Ibid., 206.
- <sup>9</sup>Sir Tancred Robinson's "Virginia Papers" 1710, Central Library, Leeds, NH2519 (CWm).
- <sup>10</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 253.
- <sup>11</sup>In 1709 his father wrote, "my Son Isham in probability will not Settle in Virginia." Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223 (VSLm).
- <sup>12</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 221-223; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 161-163 (VSLm).
- <sup>13</sup>She was born August 14, 1698, see Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa; and "Lilburne-Randolph-Jefferson," VMHB, XXVI (1918), 324.
- <sup>14</sup>Ibid., 321; and C. H. Firth, "John Lilburne," DNB, XXXIII, 243-250.
- <sup>15</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 157.
- <sup>16</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 110 (VSLm).
- <sup>17</sup>Will of Eusebius King, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, 188 Young (CW photostat).
- <sup>18</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 263, 265.
- <sup>19</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 519, 525, 530, 532, 544, 545, 555, 559; and Byrd, London Diary, 523, 528.
- <sup>20</sup>"Lilburne-Randolph-Jefferson," VMHB, XXVI (1918), 324. See also John Spencer Bassett, "The Relation Between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," American Historical Association Annual Report for...

1901, I (1902), 557.

<sup>22</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns 1715-1727, PRO, C05/1442, 41, 43, 44, 50, 52 (CWM).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 1726-1735, PRO, C05/1443, 18, 44, 56, 68 (CWM).

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 1715-1727, 42, 43.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., 42, 43, 50, 51; and Ibid., 1726-1735, 18, 37, 68. There is no record of the crew of the Williamsburg, but the Gooch was similar in size and employed a crew of twenty-eight.

<sup>26</sup>W. P. Palmer, et al., eds., Calendar of Virginia State Papers, 11 vols. (Richmond, Va.: Virginia State Library, 1875-1893), I, 202-203. Cited hereinafter as CVSP.

<sup>27</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns 1715-1727, 43, 50; and Ibid., 1726-1735, 18, 55.

<sup>28</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVA; Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 146; and Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 238 (VSLm).

<sup>29</sup>Mary Randolph McKim to Lyon G. Tyler, October 29, 1906, Tyler Papers, College of William and Mary. The portrait is now in the possession of the Virginia Historical Society.

<sup>30</sup>Pennsylvania Gazette, May 4-11, 1732, 2:2.

<sup>31</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 132-133 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 218.

<sup>32</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 377-379; Deed Book (1734-1738), 8-10, 10-11, 41-43, 207-209 (VSLm); Virginia State Land Office, Patents #15 (1732-1735), 525-526; Patents #17 (1735-1738), 61-63 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 313, 323, 390, 409.

<sup>33</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #17 (1736-1738), 472 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 435.

<sup>34</sup>EJCCV, V, 16.

<sup>35</sup>Goochland County, Order Book (1730-1731), 27 (VSLm).

<sup>36</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #17 (1735-1738), 61-63 (VSLm).

<sup>37</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 259 (VSLm). Also see Elie Weeks, "Dungeness," Goochland County Historical Society Magazine, IV (1972), 10-15.

<sup>38</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 41-43 (VSLm).

<sup>39</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 132-133, 377-379; Deed Book (1734-1736), 8-11; 207-209 (VSLm).

<sup>40</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #15 (1732-1735), 525-526; Patents #17 (1736-1738), 61-63, 472 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 218, 313, 435; V, 16.

<sup>41</sup>EJCCV, IV, 1v.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 349.

<sup>43</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book #3 (1737-1742), 148-149 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., 428-429.

<sup>45</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 237, 243 (VSLm).

<sup>46</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 167 (VSLm).

<sup>47</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 259 (VSLm).

<sup>48</sup>Ibid.; Order Book #4 (1735-1741), 295 (VSLm).

<sup>49</sup>Henry S. Randall, The Life of Thomas Jefferson, 3 vols. (New York, 1858), I, 10. Cited hereinafter as Randall, Jefferson.

<sup>50</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #3 (1731-1735), 392; Order Book #4, (1735-1741), 252; Deed Book (1759-1765), 168 (VSLm); Hunter's Va. Gaz., April 25, 1751, 4:1; Isham Randolph to John Bartram, May 24, 1739, in William Darlington, Memorials of John Bartram and Humphrey Marshall with Notices of their Botanical Contemporaries (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakistan, 1849), 317. Cited hereinafter as Darlington, Memorials of Bartram.

<sup>51</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 110 (VSLm).

<sup>52</sup>William Gooch to the Lords of Trade, September 8, 1731, Virginia: Original Correspondence--Board of Trade (1729-1732), PRO, C05/1332, 187-191 (Cwm).

<sup>53</sup>Memorial to Board of Trade, January 19, 1731/32, Ibid., 214; and Minutes of the Board of Trade 1731/32-1732, PRO, C0391/41, 28-29 (Cwm).

<sup>54</sup>Isham Randolph to the House of Lords, March 16, 1731/32, House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers 1731/32 (Cwm).

<sup>54</sup>Ishamid., and Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 508.

<sup>56</sup>Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 10, 1731, PRO, C05/1322, 201-205 (Cwm).

<sup>57</sup>Isham Randolph to the Board of Trade, January 1731/32, PRO, C05/1322, 216 (Cwm).

<sup>58</sup> John Mickel Hemphill II, "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1689-1733," (Ph.D. dissertation: Princeton University, 1964), 185, 187-188.

<sup>59</sup> Isham Randolph to the House of Lords, March 15, 1731/32, House of Lords Record Office, Main Papers (CWm).

<sup>60</sup> Hemphill, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 188-9.

<sup>61</sup> EJCCV, IV, 267.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 272.

<sup>63</sup> Shipping Returns 1726-1735, PRO, CO5/1443 (CWm).

<sup>64</sup> Goochland County, Order Book #3 (1731-1735), 309, 377; Order Book #4 (1735-1741), 293 (VSLm).

<sup>65</sup> Goochland County, Order Book #4 (1735-1741), 290 (VSLm).

<sup>66</sup> Ibid., 515; and EJCCV, IV, 429.

<sup>67</sup> EJCCV, IV, 117.

<sup>68</sup> Parks' Va. Gaz., November 24, 1738, 4:1; JHB 1727-1740, ix.

<sup>69</sup> JHB 1727-1740, 352, 393, 417.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., 365-366, 438-440.

<sup>71</sup> Greene, Quest for Power, 272.

<sup>72</sup> EJCCV, IV, 429.

<sup>73</sup> John Bartram to Peter Collinson, [December 1738], Darlington, Memorials of Bartram, 122.

<sup>74</sup> William Byrd to John Hanbury, March 20, 1736/37, Byrd Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>75</sup> Elie Weeks, "Dungeness," 14.

<sup>76</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 110-111 (VSLm).

<sup>77</sup> Randall, Jefferson, I, 10. The children were Isham, Jr., Jane, Isham II, Mary, Elizabeth, William, Dorothea, Thomas, Anna, Thomas II, and Susannah.

<sup>78</sup> Peter Collinson to John Bartram, February 17, 1737, Darlington, Memorials of Bartram, 89

<sup>79</sup> John Bartram to John Custis, November 19, 1738, Ibid., 312.



- 80 Isham Randolph to John Bartram, May 24, 1739, *Ibid.*, 317-318.
- 81 Copied by the author from the original tombstone in the Randolph Family burying ground at Turkey Island, August 12, 1970.
- 82 Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- 83 Jefferson Family Bible, UVa; and Family register made by Thomas Jefferson in a Book of Common Prayer, UVa.
- 84 VMHB, XXVI (1918), 324; and Olivia Taylor, "The Ancestry of Thomas Jefferson," in George Green Shackelford, ed., Collected Papers to Commemorate Fifty Years of the Monticello Association of the Descendants of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 42.
- 85 Marriage bond dated October 3, 1739, Goochland County, Marriage Register, 1 (VSLm). Her father provided a £200 dowry, but it was not paid until after his death in 1742; Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 110 (VSLm).
- 86 Dumas Malone, Jefferson the Virginian (Boston: Little, Brown, 1948), 10-12, 17, 437. See also Taylor, "The Ancestry of Thomas Jefferson," 42-43.
- 87 Malone, Jefferson, 430.
- 88 *Ibid.*, 38; Bernard Mayo, ed., Thomas Jefferson and his unknown brother Randolph (Charlottesville, Va.: McGregor Library, University of Virginia, 1942), 7-8.
- 89 Randall, Jefferson, I, 40-41; Malone, Jefferson, 430.
- 90 Fiske Kimball, "In Search of Jefferson's Birthplace," VMHB, LI (1943), 314.
- 91 Albemarle County, Will Book #2, 32-35 (VSLm).
- 92 Malone, Jefferson, 430.
- 93 Thomas Jefferson to John Page, February 21, 1770, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 34-35.
- 94 Kimball, "Jefferson's Birthplace," 315.
- 95 Jefferson's Farm Book, 8.
- 96 Fawn M. Brodie, Thomas Jefferson an Intimate History (New York: W. W. Norton, 1974), 41.
- 97 "Jane Randolph...Died at Monticello 1776," see "Inscriptions on the Gravestones in the Monticello Graveyard," Shackelford, ed., Collected Papers...Monticello Association, 253.

<sup>98</sup>Sarah N. Randolph, The Domestic Life of Thomas Jefferson (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1871), 49-50.

<sup>99</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Randolph, c. June 1776, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 409.

<sup>100</sup>Albemarle County, Will Book #2, 356, 367.

<sup>101</sup>Evidence for such an appraisal is slight. Brodie characterizes Jane Jefferson as supercilious because Thomas, in his autobiography, made a slur on her Randolph pedigree. It is doubtful that his remarks made in 1820 were directed at his long dead mother. More likely, he aimed the barb at contemporary Randolph genealogists, either John Randolph of Roanoke or Thomas Mann Randolph, his son-in-law. Furthermore, Brodie finds Mrs. Jefferson possessive because she examined her son's accountbooks. Perhaps, but the evidence is far from conclusive. See Brodie, Jefferson, 40-46.

<sup>102</sup>Malone, Jefferson, 38.

<sup>103</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVA.

<sup>104</sup>1743 to 1756 Register Plantations etc., Customs House, Liverpool (Class) Plantation Registers, 305 (CWm).

<sup>105</sup>D. P. Custis Invoice Book, 4, photostat CW; William Lightfoot Account Book 1742-1764, 61, CW; War Office Records--Minutes of the Surveyor-General of the Board of Ordnance, July-December, 1756, 285, PRO, WO 47/48 (CWm); Shipping Returns 1735-1753, PRO, CO 5/1444 (CWm); Shipping Returns 1736-1753, PRO, CO5/1446 (CWm); and Shipping Returns 1754-1770, PRO, CO5/1447 (CWm).

<sup>106</sup>Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania (December 17, 1745--March 20, 1754), in Colonial Records, V (Harrisburg, Pa.: Printed by Theo. Fenn & Co., 1851), 264-265.

<sup>107</sup>EJCCV, V, 195.

<sup>108</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1759-1765), 168, 316-317 (VSLm).

<sup>109</sup>Royle's Va. Gaz., March 16, 1764, 4:2; and John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, c. 1826, 10, VHS.

<sup>110</sup>R. I. Randolph, "The Sons of Isham Randolph," VMHB, XLV (1937), 384. The tradition is supported by the fact that in 1749 Randolph's ship called at Philadelphia; see Shipping Returns 1736-1753, PRO, CO 5/1446 (CWm).

<sup>111</sup>"The Letters of Captain Nicholas Biddle," PMHB, LXXIV (1950), 371.

<sup>112</sup>Chesterfield County, Deed Book (1772-1774), 338 (VSLm).

- 113 Nicholas Biddle to Lydia McFunn, October 20, 1772, PMHB, LXXIV (1950), 371.
- 114 Sarah Randolph to Benjamin Franklin, July 19, 1785, Franklin Papers, XXXIII, 162, American Philosophical Society.
- 115 Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- 116 Marriage bond dated July 15, 1746, Goochland County, Marriage Register, 3; and Deed Book (1741-1745), 110 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 117 "Lewis Family of Warner Hall," WMQ, 1st series, X (1901), 52-53; Sarah Travers Lewis Scott Anderson, Lewis, Meriwethers and their Kin (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1938), 49.
- 118 The dates of birth have not been determined. See Albemarle County, Will Book #2 (1752-1785), 399-400 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 119 *Ibid.*, 399.
- 120 Merrow Egerton Sorley, Lewis of Warner Hall: The History of a Family (n.p., 1935), 347.
- 121 Although no dates are recorded in the Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa, Elizabeth was listed there as born in Virginia after the birth of her sister, Mary, in 1725.
- 122 November, 1750, is given in Henry Morton Woodson, Historical Genealogy of the Woodsons and their Connections (Published by the Author, 1915), 86; 1753 is given in Douglas Register, 41.
- 123 S. W. Railey quoted in Woodson, Woodsons and their Connections, 86. See also A. G. Grinnon, "Railey Family," VMHB, VII (1899-1900), 315.
- 124 Douglas Register, 282; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 1, 1766, 3:1; October 17, 1771, 3:3.
- 125 Woodson, Woodsons and their Connections, 86.
- 126 *Ibid.*
- 127 R. I. Randolph, Randolphs, 152, 157; Douglas Register, 282.
- 128 Chesterfield County, Will Book (1774-1785), 432 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 129 *Ibid.*, 431.
- 130 *Ibid.*, 431-432; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1771, 3:3.
- 131 Douglas Register, 282; Chesterfield County, Order Book (1771-1775), 158 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

- <sup>132</sup>Chesterfield County, Will Book (1774-1785), 432-433 (VSLm).
- <sup>133</sup>Douglas Register, 343, gives Railey's death as October 4, 1784, but according to the testimony of his sons "the death of...John Railey... happened in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighty three..." Chesterfield County, Deed Book (1793-1796), 355-356 (VSLm). Furthermore, Railey's will was probated after November 2, 1783, Chesterfield County, Will Book (1774-1785), 431 (VSLm).
- <sup>134</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- <sup>135</sup>Amelia County, Deed Book (1743-1747), 166-169 (VSLm).
- <sup>136</sup>EJCCV, V, 195.
- <sup>137</sup>Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>138</sup>W. R. Chaplin to James M. Smith, May 12, 1959, mentions one of Randolph's ships which he found in his studies. The letter is in the CW collection. See also Chesterfield County, Deed Book (1759-1764), 434 (VSLm). Norfolk Borough Register, March 7, 1761, 113 (CWm).
- <sup>139</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1767-1774), 84-87 (VSLm).
- <sup>140</sup>Chesterfield County, Deed Book (1759-1764), 434-435.
- <sup>141</sup>Middleton, Tobacco Coast, 151; Abbot Emerson Smith, Colonists in Bondage (New York, 1971 [orig. ed., 1947]), 115.
- <sup>142</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, (1767-1774), 84-87 (VSLm); Rind's Va. Gaz., December 25, 1766, 3:2; April 5, 1770, 4:3; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 22, 1770, 4:2; and Richard Randolph to Farrell and Jones, September 16, 1772, PRO, T79/30 (CWm).
- <sup>143</sup>Robert Isham Randolph, "The Family of William Randolph of Bristol, England, second son of Isham Randolph of Dungeness, Virginia," VMHB, LXIX (1941), 78. Cited hereinafter as R. I. Randolph, "Randolph of Bristol."
- <sup>144</sup>Ibid., 78.
- <sup>145</sup>Ibid., 79.
- <sup>146</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1777-1779), 297 (VSLm).
- <sup>147</sup>Thomas Jefferson to William Randolph, c. June, 1776, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 409.
- <sup>148</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>149</sup>R. I. Randolph, "Randolph of Bristol," 79.
- <sup>150</sup>The Gentleman's Magazine, LXI (1791), 682.

- <sup>151</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- <sup>152</sup>Douglas Register, 51; Marriage bond dated October 25, 1751, is in Goochland County, Marriage Register, 6 (VSLm).
- <sup>153</sup>"Woodson Family," WMQ, 1st series, IX (1900-1901), 254; X (1901-1902), 45.
- <sup>154</sup>Ibid., 187; Douglas Register, 325; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 15, 1768, 2:3; May 11, 1769, 4:1; September 21, 1769, 2:3; December 12, 1771, 3:1; August 4, 1774, 2:3; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., April 1, 1775, 2:1.
- <sup>155</sup>R. I. Randolph, Randolphs, 162, 169, 171, 173.
- <sup>156</sup>Henry Morton Woodson, Historical Genealogy of the Woodsons and their Connections, 83. Doubt is cast on the tradition by Elie Weeks, "Dover," Goochland County Historical Society Magazine, VIII (1976), 43-54.
- <sup>157</sup>Douglas Register, 346.
- <sup>158</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1788-1791), 335 (VSLm).
- <sup>159</sup>Douglas Register, 346.
- <sup>160</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa.
- <sup>161</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>162</sup>Douglas Register, 43. Marriage bond, dated November 26, 1751, is in Goochland County, Marriage Register (1730-1853), 264 (VSLm).
- <sup>163</sup>VMHB, XXXIII (1925), 37; and Cumberland County, Deed Book (1760-1765), 395 (VSLm).
- <sup>164</sup>Cumberland County, Order Book (1752-1758), 166 (VSLm).
- <sup>165</sup>Ibid., 168.
- <sup>166</sup>Cumberland County, Will Book (1749-1769), 91-94 (VSLm).
- <sup>167</sup>Cumberland County, Order Book (1752-1758), 313 (VSLm).
- <sup>168</sup>Douglas Register, 39.
- <sup>169</sup>Valentine Papers, IV, 2290-2298.
- <sup>170</sup>Cumberland County, Will Book (1749-1769), 300-301 (VSLm).
- <sup>171</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>172</sup>R. I. Randolph, Randolphs, 180.

173 He was living in Goochland County on May 24, 1800, when his daughter Anna's marriage bond was recorded, Goochland County, Marriage Register, 75 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

174 Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa; and Goochland County, Deed Book (1759-1765), 316-317, 350 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

175 Jane Cary was born February 12, 1751, see Family Bible of Archibald Cary, photocopy, VHS. The date of marriage is in Fairfax Harrison, The Virginia Carys (New York, 1919), 94.

176 R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 109, 114; and Douglas Register, 283.

177 "A few days ago died, Mrs. Jane Randolph, spouse of Thomas Isham Randolph, Esquire of Chesterfield," Rind's Va. Gaz., February 17, 1774, 2:3.

178 Nannie H. Garrett, "A Sketch of the Life and Parentage of Randolph Harrison, Sr., of Clifton, Cumberland County, Va.," VMHB, XXV (1927), 210.

179 Thomas Randolph to Mary Randolph, July 9, 1786, VHS.

180 EJCCV, V, 195.

181 Cumberland County, Deed Book (1771-1778), 11-13 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

182 Goochland County, Deed Book (1759-1765), 316-317, 350 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

183 Thomas Jefferson to William Randolph, c. June, 1776, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 409.

184 Goochland County, Deed Book (1777-1779), 297 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

185 In 1785 Archibald Cary wrote to St. George Tucker, "Tom Set off this Morn for his Harvrest at Duinginess," Tucker-Coleman Papers, College of William and Mary.

186 R. I. Randolph, "Sons of Isham Randolph," 385.

187 EJCCV, VI, 682; Goochland County, Order Book #9 (1761-1765), 451; and Order Book #10 (1765-1766), 129 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

188 Chesterfield County, Will Book (1765-1774), 332 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

189 Thomas Randolph to Frances Bland Randolph, November 16, 1776, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

190 Thomas Randolph to St. George Tucker, November 28, 1787, Tucker-Coleman Papers.

<sup>191</sup>Randolph died between December, 1791, when he acted as the executor of the estate of his cousin, John Randolph of Matoax, and December, 1802, when another executor assumed his duties. See U.S. Circuit Court, District of Virginia, Record Book #5, 244; and Record Book #19, 20, VSL (Cwm).

<sup>192</sup>Jefferson Family Bible, Alderman Library, UVa; Douglas Register, 282, gives September 25, 1738, as the date of birth.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid., 25; Marriage bond, dated November 7, 1760, is in Goochland County, Marriage Register, 8 (VSLm).

<sup>194</sup>"Carter Papers," VMHB, V (1898), 418.

<sup>195</sup>Bedwell, "American Middle Templars," AHR, XXV (1920), 684.

<sup>196</sup>Brock, ed., Dinwiddie Papers, II, 241, 292.

<sup>197</sup>"Harrison of James River," VMHB, XXXIV (1926), 184-186.

<sup>198</sup>Only two of the birth dates have been found: Randolph Harrison born 1768, and Carter Henry Harrison, Jr., born in 1776, R. I. Randolph, Randolphs, 181, 182, 196.

<sup>199</sup>Cumberland County, Will Book (1792-1810), 20 (VSLm).

<sup>200</sup>Ibid., 345.

## CHAPTER X

### THE FAMILY OF THOMAS RANDOLPH OF TUCKAHOE

#### A. THOMAS RANDOLPH of Tuckahoe (c. 1689--1729)

Thomas Randolph was the seventh child and fourth son of William and Mary Isham Randolph. He was born in Virginia about 1689, on his father's plantation at Turkey Island,<sup>1</sup> and was educated at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.<sup>2</sup>

Randolph was a planter. In March, 1712, he became general overseer of the plantations of William Byrd II. The contract between Byrd and Randolph has not survived, but it is clear from the entries in Byrd's diary that on Byrds' instructions, Randolph rode from plantation to plantation supervising the local overseers, reporting on the slaves, keeping track of stocks and supplies, and loading hogsheads on the England-bound ships.<sup>3</sup> In the beginning Byrd personally conducted Randolph about his estates, noting on April 14, 1712, that he gave a "plantation into Tom Randolph's charge and ordered the overseer to follow his directions in everything."<sup>4</sup> Regularly throughout 1712 Byrd mentioned reports from his general overseer. On May 3, "Tom Randolph... told me... Frank's neck had been cut open and a woman had been brought to bed."<sup>5</sup> On May 11, the overseer reported that a black named Caesar "was run away for killing a hog."<sup>6</sup> On May 20, he came "from sharing my crops in York River and I found, one with another, I had made 1680 a share with which I was content."<sup>7</sup> On June 15, he "let me know Captain [Isham] Randolph's sloop had left out nine hogsheads of my tobacco...



because the sloop was leaky."<sup>8</sup> On July 26, he came with evidence against "the men who entertained my negroes."<sup>9</sup> On August 13, he reported "a hole in the dam at Falling Creek."<sup>10</sup> On September 10, he brought "three men who had robbed my orchard."<sup>11</sup> On September 21, "Tom Randolph [came] and told me all were well above and everywhere. We discoursed about our business till dinner....In the afternoon we sat a little while and talked and then took a walk about the plantation."<sup>12</sup>

Randolph probably left Byrd's employ soon after his marriage in 1712. For his part, Byrd seemed satisfied with his performance. There is no record of discord between them; in fact, when Randolph was ill with fever and cholic, Byrd immediately sent him a remedy which Randolph reported did "much service."<sup>13</sup> Randolph's experience as overseer was no doubt beneficial, for it must have prepared him to manage his own plantations.

As a Virginia planter, Thomas Randolph was very much interested in land, and in the course of his life he amassed at least 62,841 acres.<sup>14</sup> He inherited from his father in excess of 1,075 acres, he purchased 8,169 acres, and patented 53,657 acres. Occasionally he sold some of his land. In 1714 he sold part of his inheritance, 1,075 acres, to his brothers, William and Richard.<sup>15</sup> The record of his other sales is incomplete, but it is known that between 1724 and 1729 he sold at least 4,389 acres.<sup>16</sup> At the time of his death he owned about 57,377 acres, more land than any of his brothers then held.

Randolph's investment in land is only partially known. With none of his ledgers or account books extant, it is impossible to state what portion of his income was invested in land. Furthermore, one cannot know how much he paid for land because in many of his transactions records

of money either were not made at the time or have since disappeared. Quite simply, the existing records reveal that in terms of sterling he paid £30 for 3,256 acres, £100 for 190 acres and a grist mill, and £90 for an unspecified acreage belonging to his brother, John; in terms of Virginia money he paid a total of £2575.10.6 for 4,719 acres, £180 for 4 acres and a grist mill, and £30.1.0 for nine patents totaling 9,807 acres.<sup>17</sup> Likewise the records of his land sales are not very revealing. In sterling he received £75 from his brothers for 1,075 acres; and in Virginia money he received £580 for 3,363 acres.<sup>18</sup>

The lands of Thomas Randolph lay above the falls of the James River and extended westward along both sides of the river to the mountains in what later became Goochland, Cumberland, and Albemarle counties. His home plantation was located on the north bank of the James immediately above the place where Tuckahoe Creek "forces between the Isles and falls into the River," and was part of the 3,256-acre tract he bought of Francis Lightfoot on August 3, 1713.<sup>19</sup> On a "rising ground" with a "most beautiful and commanding prospect" of the James, he built a frame house--a four-room structure of two stories--and he called the place Tuckahoe after the Indian name of the nearby creek.<sup>20</sup>

In addition to land, Randolph had a planter's concern with labor. Typical of his time and station, he was a slaveholder. No complete listing of his chattels exists; the records list only twelve of his blacks--five he inherited from his father, six were children, and one was dead.<sup>21</sup> Randolph also employed white servants. He went before the Henrico court on May 6, 1723, with Nicholas Piper, a horse thief convicted in England, and posted a £10 bond that Piper "shall in all things well & truly behave himself...during the whole time for which he was

imported to serve."<sup>22</sup> Randolph trusted his indentured servants and expected them to fulfill their obligations to him. He allowed Thomas Tindal to hunt wolves for the bounty on their heads, but when James Pritchett ran away for nine days, Randolph saw that he was bound to additional service for six weeks and three days.<sup>23</sup>

There are no records with which to delineate Randolph's plantation management. Certainly, like his planter contemporaries, tobacco was his principal crop, and it is probable, since he owned grist mills, that he also grew wheat and corn. Tobacco he sold in England. In 1721 he dealt with the London mercantile firm of Higginson & Bird and was indebted to it for more than £24.<sup>24</sup> Although there is no record of it, it is likely that he sold his tobacco to his brothers, Isham and Edward, London merchants, whose ships came regularly to the James River in Virginia. His wheat and corn probably were used on the plantations. One searches in vain to know how Randolph worked his slaves and indentured servants and whether or not he employed overseers on his farms.

The Virginia county records provide a glimpse of Randolph's financial position: they reveal him as plaintiff and creditor, never as defendant and debtor. Between 1711 and 1728 he instituted forty-three suits in the courts of Henrico and Goochland counties. Of these suits, two were cases of trespass, one was a case of complaint and the remainder, apparently, were for the recovery of money. Altogether, Randolph sued for about £200 Virginia money and 787 pounds of tobacco. The majority of the suits, thirty-three, were instituted between 1720 and 1724, and ranged in size from £65 sterling to forty shillings Virginia money, the average amount being £4; but these figures are only tentative because in eight of the cases no amount is specified. After

Randolph's death, his executors instituted twenty-two suits between 1730 and 1735 to recover a total of £134.2.8 due his estate. These suits ranged in size between £98 sterling and thirty-three shillings Virginia money, their average being £6.2. According to the records, Randolph and his executors brought a total of sixty-five suits against sixty-four persons, but apart from a single instance when Randolph held a mortgage of £123.10.10 Virginia money,<sup>25</sup> the records contain no information of why or how these people were in debt to Randolph. One can only surmise that they became obligated because Randolph not only had personal wealth, but he owned a large plantation with a grist mill, and he was a public official with family connections in the county, in Williamsburg, and in England.<sup>26</sup>

While Randolph, as the above cases indicate, was conscientious in his own business matters, he also attended to the interests of his family and neighbors. For example, in 1710 he brought his father's account against one John Unitt before the Henrico county court and swore to its validity and justness.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes, moreover, he was an executor of an estate and an assignee of local planters.<sup>28</sup> And, on occasion, he acted as guardian for orphans and other minors.<sup>29</sup>

Like his father and brothers, Thomas Randolph coupled his planter activities with public service. He served as under-sheriff of Henrico County between 1708 and 1711, a post he undoubtedly got because his father was the sheriff.<sup>30</sup> As the under-sheriff, Randolph assisted his father. In 1711 he received three hundred pounds of tobacco for "expenses and trouble" in looking after a mad man for four days and nights, for paying guards, and mending the prison.<sup>31</sup> Appointed a justice of the peace for Henrico County in 1713, he served until 1728 when he

became one of the justices of the newly created Goochland County.<sup>32</sup>

The court records indicate that during Randolph's justiceship, he performed many official duties. Routinely he sat with his colleagues as a court judge, but in 1720, when his brothers, William and Richard, were also Henrico justices, the Governor's Council warned that the "Brothers do not Set together on the Tryal of any Cause that shall come before the Court."<sup>33</sup> Individually he had minor powers and responsibilities which included appraising and administering estates,<sup>34</sup> collecting the tithables,<sup>35</sup> surveying roads, county lines, and grist mill sites,<sup>36</sup> certifying documents,<sup>37</sup> making inquests at deaths, and summoning for "wolf trials."<sup>38</sup>

In addition to these responsibilities, Randolph was a vestryman of the parish of St. James Northam. The parish was created by the 1721 division of Henrico Parish where Randolph had also been a vestryman. Living in the new parish, he was on the first vestry and served until his death in 1729.<sup>39</sup> He was a churchwarden in 1721 when the parish decided to erect a church "being 50 feet long and 24 wide" and costing 54,790 pounds of tobacco. He took charge of its construction, and on September 1, 1724, the vestry noted, "Mr. Randolph having finished the church according to Bargain, it was taken off his hands....[and he was] paid 7239 Lb. tobacco for church ornaments."<sup>40</sup> While he was churchwarden, Randolph also agreed with the Reverend Alexander Finny "for to preach once in the month at 500 lb. tobacco a sermon & cask."<sup>41</sup> His last recorded activity on the vestry came on May 20, 1729, when he and his ten colleagues paid £100 Virginia money for four hundred acres on the north bank of the James for use as a glebe.<sup>42</sup>

As were his father and brothers, Randolph was an officer in the

county militia. Nothing is known of his service except that he advanced in rank. In 1712 he was a captain; in 1720, a major; and in 1729, a colonel.<sup>43</sup>

He was elected to the House of Burgesses from Henrico County on August 30, 1720, to serve with his brother, William, who was also a burgess. William Byrd noted in his diary that on election day the Randolphs "had the great number of votes by their great industry."<sup>44</sup> Whether the brothers "swilled the voters with 'Bumbo'<sup>45</sup> is unknown, but John Bolling, the defeated candidate, petitioned the House of Burgesses charging "an undue Election."<sup>46</sup> The burgesses considered Bolling's petition, deciding, since he failed to prove his case, that his charges were "frivilous and Scandalous."<sup>47</sup>

Thomas Randolph's career as a burgess was short and undistinguished. Although his elder brother, William, was an increasingly important burgess and his younger brother, John, was clerk of the House, there is no record that he was given any important committee assignments. He merely served on ad hoc committees which were set up to proportion tobacco claims, resolve differences with the Council, examine petitions, carry bills to the Governor and Council, and lay the public levy.<sup>48</sup> His only notable activity came during his first days in the House when, on November 8, 1720, he and his brother prepared a bill to divide Henrico Parish, where they were both vestrymen.<sup>49</sup> His term ended in 1722, and he never again was a member of the House.

The existing records do not permit a definitive estimate of Randolph's public service. The fact that he belonged to a family well known and influential made it easier for him to obtain office. He became county under-sheriff probably because his father was the sheriff;

his elevation to justice of the peace and vestryman was no doubt the result of his connections in the county court and vestry where officials named their own members; and his election to the House of Burgesses came because he and his brother were good, if questionable, campaigners. Even though his talents and abilities are obscure, he was probably reliable and attractive, because he not only held public office for twenty years, he was among the leading men at the creation of St. James Northam parish in 1721 and Goochland County in 1728.

There are glimpses of the private life to Thomas Randolph in the diary of his friend, William Byrd, who always called him Tom. Since Randolph for a time was Byrd's general overseer, the two saw each other frequently, mostly on plantation business, but occasionally they enjoyed a game of billiards.<sup>50</sup> On September 10, 1711, Byrd found Tom sick at his mother's home at Turkey Island and noted the intimate details of the illness. "When we came," Byrd wrote, "he was out of the fainting fit which he had had and was grown easy with a stool which he had. I gave him some sage and snakeroot...and he found himself better. His distemper was a cholick and a fever caused by a violent cold."<sup>51</sup>

Randolph married Judith Fleming on October 16, 1712.<sup>52</sup> His bride, whom Byrd described as pretty,<sup>53</sup> was the daughter of Charles Fleming, a New Kent County planter. The marriage lasted seventeen years, until Randolph's death, and produced three children, William, Mary, and Judith.<sup>54</sup>

The family lived at Tuckahoe, the plantation which Randolph purchased in 1713. Here Randolph spent the rest of his life, except for a brief trip to England in 1718.<sup>55</sup> He died in 1729, sometime between September 16 and October 21.<sup>56</sup>

Thomas Randolph was primarily a planter. He spent his ambition in acquiring a vast amount of land, 57,000 acres, more than any other Randolph then owned. His home at Tuckahoe stood on the western edge of settlement, and his lands extended westward to the mountains in what was largely uncharted wilderness. Although he was a respected public servant, his ambition did not extend beyond the county and parish. He served a single term as burgess in Williamsburg and never returned to colony affairs. When he died at forty, he left his son a greater inheritance than he had received from his own father.

1. WILLIAM RANDOLPH of Tuckahoe (c. 1713--1745)

William Randolph was the son of Thomas and Judith Fleming Randolph. Born about 1713,<sup>57</sup> he grew up on his father's plantation at Tuckahoe above the falls of the James River in Goochland County. He attended the College of William and Mary,<sup>58</sup> and may have gone to school in England, but his schooling apparently was distasteful for he left explicit instructions that his son was not to be "Educated att the Colledge of William and Mary in Virginia nor sent to England on any account whatever."<sup>59</sup>

He was sixteen, or thereabouts, when his father died in 1729. Four years later, at the remarriage of his mother, he was the master of Tuckahoe. "He is a pretty young man," observed his father's friend, William Byrd of Westover, "but had the misfortune to become his own master too soon." According to Byrd, young men like Randolph "fancy themselves wiser than all their tutors and governors, which makes them headstrong to all advice and above all reproof and admonition."<sup>60</sup>

While Byrd's remarks reflect the perennial conflict between



generations, Randolph was indeed indulgent and carefree. Handsome, vigorous, and likeable, he was the heir of a wealthy father. As far as he was concerned, he needed no help in his affairs. By the time he was twenty he was managing a plantation with its slaves, cattle, and crops; and in his own right he owned more than 57,000 acres. An ample patrimony made him less avid in the pursuit of land than his father had been; in fact, he gave away two hundred acres to his friend, Peter Jefferson, "for and in Consideration of Henry Weatherburns biggest Bowl of Arrack Punch."<sup>61</sup> He was a public servant, rising to the office of burgess and aspiring to be a councillor, but he attained no particular distinction. Yet, Randolph was no wastrel; he added to his plantations, increased his fortune, looked after his sister, and made good provision for his children. He enjoyed the family fortune--a contrast to his father and grandfather who had labored mightily to accumulate it.

In 1734 he married Maria Judith Page, the nineteen-year-old daughter of Mann Page of Gloucester County.<sup>62</sup> Perhaps to impress his wife, whose brother was building Rosewell, the most splendid mansion in Virginia, he enlarged the modest Tuckahoe house by erecting an almost identical structure parallel to the existing building and connecting them so that the completed mansion took the form of the letter "H".<sup>63</sup> Long afterward, in 1779, when his son was the master of Tuckahoe, a British traveler described the place: "[It] has the appearance of two houses, joined by a large saloon," he wrote; "each wing has two stories, and four large rooms on a floor; in one the family reside, and the other is reserved solely for visitors."<sup>64</sup>

The Randolphs had three children. A daughter, named Maria Judith for her mother, was born on January 1, 1737/38. The Virginia Gazette

announced that the birth was a great joy to the parents who had been "marry'd 4 Years, and had no Child before."<sup>65</sup> Of the other two children, Mary was born about 1739 and Thomas Mann in 1741.<sup>66</sup>

Randolph increased the family lands. In 1735 he paid £12 Virginia money for a 2,400-acre patent on the north side of the Rivanna River adjacent to the mountains in what is now Albemarle County,<sup>67</sup> and the next year he bought three acres in Goochland for 10 shillings.<sup>68</sup> Between August, 1737, and May, 1744, he joined thirteen other men in eight patents in western lands totaling 173,400 acres,<sup>69</sup> of which Randolph's estimated share was 38,000 acres. Without any of Randolph's business records, it is impossible to know what purposes he had in accumulating these lands. Thomas Randolph bought land to use as plantations and to provide a patrimony for his son. Having come into that patrimony as a young man, William Randolph, inasmuch as he was involved in multiple partnerships, probably was speculating in western lands with an eye on future profits.

Occasionally Randolph sold land. He made eight sales between 1735 and 1745, disposing of 4,004 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres which included a four-acre grist mill site and a one-half acre lot in the town of Richmond.<sup>70</sup> He sold only the land that belonged to him outright, not the western land he jointly owned, and received about £1000 Virginia money. Although the terms of his land sales are obscure, he sold the greater part of his land to his relatives. In 1735 he deeded 400 acres to his uncle, Isham Randolph, for 10 shillings sterling; in 1736, 200 acres to his good friend and future cousin-in-law, Peter Jefferson; and in 1740, 2,000 acres to his cousin and brother-in-law, William Stith, for £500 Virginia money.<sup>71</sup>

As the owner of extensive plantations Randolph was naturally concerned with labor. He inherited slaves from his father, but, beyond the fact that he purchased a "negro man named Harry by trade a wine cooper,"<sup>72</sup> and mentioned seven blacks in his will, there is no census of his chattels. In one case at least he showed that he was a humane master, for he instructed the executors of his estate that "my Mulatto Coachman William Merchant [shall not be put] to any hard Service but that he shall be kept to wait in the house."<sup>73</sup> Like his father before him, he employed white indentured servants; his "faithfull man" Robert Harding received £50 Virginia money from his estate.<sup>74</sup>

Very little is known of the operations on Randolph's plantations. In company with most other Virginia planters of his time, he undoubtedly grew tobacco, but there is no record of it. He inherited a grist mill from his father which he allowed to fall into such disrepair that in 1735 he was under a grand jury's presentment until he agreed "to keep the...dam in good repair according to the law."<sup>75</sup> Unlike his father and other relatives, he seldom went to court to recover small debts; for example, in 1735 he obtained a judgment for £3.5.3, and in 1737, 37 shillings.<sup>76</sup> Either he made few obligations or did not trouble himself with their collection.

In keeping with the tradition of the Virginia gentry in general and his family in particular, William Randolph engaged in public service. Named a justice of the peace for Goochland County on November 1, 1734, probably at the instigation of Peter Jefferson who was already a justice, he served on the commission until his death eleven years later.<sup>77</sup> Although the local court records provide no explicit evaluation of Randolph's performance as justice, they at least imply that he

did not take his responsibilities too seriously. He was not present at court when the new justices took the oath of office on November 19, 1734, and when he was finally sworn on January 21, 1734/35, he came late to court.<sup>78</sup> Frequently throughout his tenure he was absent from the monthly sessions. For example, in 1739 he attended only once and on that occasion he was late.<sup>79</sup> In 1744 he obtained the appointment as clerk of the newly created Albemarle County, where he had property;<sup>80</sup> but as his name did not appear in the county records, it is doubtful that he filled the office. Instead, since he was permanently settled in Goochland County and had no intention of leaving Tuckahoe, it seems that he sold his clerical rights to a deputy who did the work and collected the fees for himself.

Besides the county court, Randolph held other local positions. A member of the Goochland County militia, he rose to the rank of colonel.<sup>81</sup> He was on the vestry of St. James Northam Parish and served as churchwarden.<sup>82</sup> Beyond the fact that he had to rid the parish of an unworthy minister, nothing further is known of his military or ecclesiastical service.

In 1742 he was elected to the House of Burgesses from Goochland County. Appointed to the important Committee of Privileges and Elections and to the Committee for Courts of Justice,<sup>83</sup> he was an active if not an outstanding burgess. He served on ad hoc committees which examined a bill to dock the entail on land belonging to his in-laws, the Pages, and a bill to divide Goochland County and St. James parish.<sup>84</sup> He presented two bills, one that surveyors in Albemarle, Louisa, and Augusta counties be required to reside in the said counties, which was passed; and another that £500 of the revenue be used for support of

forts and fortifications in Virginia, which was rejected.<sup>85</sup>

Once he had held office on the colony level, Randolph thought of advancement to a higher post. On November 7, 1744, his uncle, Edward Randolph, who was in London at the time, recommended to Colonel Martin Bladen, one of the most influential members of the Board of Trade, that "William Randolph Senr." be elevated to the Council in Virginia.<sup>86</sup>

Randolph, however, did not live to fulfill his ambitions. He died in the summer of 1745.<sup>87</sup> Death came unexpectedly and seems not to have been entirely the result of natural causes. When he made his will in March, 1745, he stated he was "in perfect health," but the following July 20, "by reason of some accidents which have since happened," he added a codicil making final arrangements for his family.<sup>88</sup>

"I give my Soul into the Hands of Almighty God who gave it, in hopes of a Joyfull and Blessed Resurrection," he wrote in the will before attending to more mundane matters. His main concern was his young children, motherless since his wife's death on August 20, 1742.<sup>89</sup>

To each of his daughters he bequeathed £1200 sterling, three female slaves, and their mother's jewelry; the residue of the estate, after all other claims were satisfied, went to his son. The boy was to be schooled at home by tutors, absolutely not in Williamsburg or in England; the girls were to be "Maintained and Educated Suitable to their Quallity and Circumstances."<sup>90</sup> With his death imminent, Randolph made specific provisions in his codicil for his children's welfare. "...my Will is," he wrote, "that my Dear and loving friend Mr. Peter Jefferson do move down from Albemarle with his family to my Tuckahoe house and remain there till my Son come of Age with whom my Dear Son & his Sisters shall live."<sup>91</sup>

William Randolph lived about thirty-two years. He was an only son and had not yet attained his majority when he came into his inheritance. He assumed the obligations of a planter and public servant but with a sense of joie de vivre. He performed his tasks without exceeding them. And yet, he had the respect of his friends and neighbors, for they made him justice of the peace, militia-colonel, vestryman, and burgess. He was a loving and responsible family man who attended to the needs of his wife, children, and sister. He lived well within his means, and when he died, his estate went to his son in as good a condition as he received it from his father.

## 2. MARY RANDOLPH KEITH (?--?)

The second child and eldest daughter of Thomas and Judith Fleming Randolph of Tuckahoe, Mary Isham Randolph was named for her paternal grandmother. Growing up on her father's plantation, she early exerted her independence. In 1732, three years after the death of her father, she enraged her family by running off and marrying an uncle's overseer. William Byrd II, arriving at Tuckahoe shortly afterwards, noted in his journal: "Besides the meanness of this mortal's aspect, the man has not one visible qualification except impudence...Had she run away with a gentleman or a pretty fellow there might have been some excuse for her, though he were of inferior fortune; but to stoop to a dirty plebian without any kind of merit is the lowest prostitution."<sup>92</sup> According to a family tradition, she was compelled by force to return to Tuckahoe.

The full story, as published over a century and a half later without anything to substantiate it, was that after a prolonged search Mary and her husband were discovered living on Elk Island in the James

River where her angry "brothers" surprised them in the night, killed her husband and their child, and brought her back home.<sup>93</sup> In all details the story cannot be true. In the first place, Mary had only one brother; any Randolph search-party consisted of uncles and cousins. Secondly, the crime of murder was too heinous even for the Randolphs to hide. Finally, supposing they killed the husband, it is hard to conceive that the Randolphs would also have murdered a child of their own flesh and blood. Reduced to its essentials, the story was probably something like this: Mary eloped with a man unacceptable to her family and lived with him without benefit of clergy; so the Randolph men went after her, got rid of the husband either by bribery or intimidation, and made her come home. There was no child.

How did the story originate? One can only surmise. Possibly it came from Mary herself in her old age when she was widowed and supposedly senile. Embroidering the truth with ghastly falsehoods may have been an old lady's way of obtaining sympathy and attention. From her the story passed through the family until it came to W. M. Paxton who published it in 1885.

If, indeed, Mary was taken from her plebian spouse, she was not permanently chastened. She again scandalized her family by taking the Reverend James Keith as her second husband. Keith was a Scotsman, born about 1696, who in 1719, because of his treasonous support of the Stuart Pretender, fled to Virginia. After a few years in the colony, he went to England where, despite an early reputation as a free thinker, he took Anglican orders. He returned to Virginia in 1729 and was assigned to Henrico Parish where many of Mary Randolph's relatives resided.<sup>94</sup>

Even though he was a minister, Keith was not a man of unsullied

reputation. He resigned his parish on October 12, 1733,<sup>95</sup> under duress of scandal. Commissary James Blair explained: "...Mr Keith has privately left this parish and Country, being guilty of fornication with a young Gentlewoman, whose friends did so dislike his character that they would not let her marry him."<sup>96</sup>

Keith left for Maryland. So hasty was his departure from Virginia that he neglected to obtain a letter of dismissal from the Governor and was unable to secure a parish. Returning to the Old Dominion, he served as the interim minister of Truro Parish in Northern Neck until he was appointed to nearby Hamilton Parish, Prince William County, in 1736.<sup>97</sup>

Just when Mary Randolph joined Keith is not recorded. But she married him, without her family's approval, about 1736. She and her brother, William, were never reconciled. When he died in 1745, he disinherited her completely.<sup>98</sup>

On April 28, 1737, she gave birth to a daughter named Mary Randolph.<sup>99</sup> Seven more children followed: five sons--James, John, Thomas, Alexander, and Isham; and two daughters--Elizabeth and Judith.<sup>100</sup>

Mary Keith's life was secure so long as her husband lived. In addition to the glebe house and lands that the parish provided for its minister, Keith managed to acquire for himself a tract containing 1,025 acres and to accumulate a little money besides.<sup>101</sup> The years following his death in 1753,<sup>102</sup> however, were difficult for his widow.

As one of her husband's executors, she kept his estate intact, but no longer entitled to reside on the glebe, she had to make a new home for her young children and herself.<sup>103</sup> She probably moved on the family land in Prince William County. She never remarried, and during the last years of her life, she had many financial troubles. In



August, 1768, she gave the sheriff of Fauquier County £18.2.5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in partial payment on two judgments against her; and in September, 1769, she paid two hundred pounds of tobacco and forty-two shillings on another judgment.<sup>104</sup> Finally, in August, 1772, she sold five slaves to her son, Thomas, signed over to him her rights in her mother's estate, and paid him £150 to cover her debts, for which he was to support her in a "Decent and Genteel Manner."<sup>105</sup>

Such an arrangement between mother and son was probably necessary, for it seems that Mary Keith was no longer entirely capable of managing her own affairs. She apparently suffered a mental illness. Certainly the vicissitudes of her life make it understandable. Tradition has it that her mind collapsed initially when she was separated from her first husband but that she had recovered to lead a more or less normal life. Her final collapse came after Keith's death when she supposedly received a letter from her first husband professing his everlasting love. Questionable as the tradition is, a Mrs. Colston, who lived with Mrs. Keith during her widowhood, asserted that she was a "lunatic."<sup>106</sup>

The date of her death is not recorded, but she had probably died by September, 1778, when her sons went to court for their rights to their father's estate.<sup>107</sup>

### 3. JUDITH RANDOLPH STITH (?--?)

The youngest child of Thomas and Judith Fleming Randolph, Judith Randolph was probably born at the family plantation at Tuckahoe. The date of her birth is unrecorded, but she was still a minor on May 16, 1738, when she appointed her brother, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, her guardian.<sup>108</sup> On July 13, 1738, she married her first cousin, the Reverend William Stith, and the Virginia Gazette described her as "an

agreeable Lady with a considerable Fortune."<sup>109</sup> From the time of her marriage until 1752, while her husband was minister of Henrico Parish, she lived in the Glebe House at Varina in Henrico County.<sup>110</sup> She was the mother of three daughters, Judith, Elizabeth, and Mary.<sup>111</sup> When Stith became President of the College of William and Mary in August, 1752, the family moved to Williamsburg. Presumably Mrs. Stith outlived her husband, who died in 1755, and spent the remainder of her life in Williamsburg with her daughters.<sup>112</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER X

<sup>1</sup>The birthdate is conjectural. Thomas was not mentioned in the October 10, 1686, will of his grandmother Isham, so it is certain that he was born after that date. He is listed as the fourth son in his father's will, Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1710-1714), 215-218 (VSLm).

<sup>2</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.

<sup>3</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 492, 496, 503, 504, 505, 506, 525, 528-530, 532, 544, 545, 562, 589, 576.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., 514.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., 525.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., 528.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., 532.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 544.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., 562

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., 569-570.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., 582.

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 586.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 580-581.

<sup>14</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 215-218, 223-225, 287-288; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 94, 150-151, 166, 168-169, 224 (VSLm); Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 34-35, 46, 47-48, 49-51, 53, 57, 105-107, 111-113, 115-117, 142 (VSLm); Virginia State Land Office, Patents #11 (1719-1724), 89-90, 91, 247, 302; Patents #12 (1724-1726), 3, 15, 328; Patents #13 (1725-1730), 228-229, 398-399 (VSLm); Colonial Papers, Folder 30, No. 22, Folder 32, No. 27, VSL; EJCCV, III, 548; IV, 58, 79, 93, 104, 123, 124, 143, 162, 163, 164.

<sup>15</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 288-291 (VSLm).

<sup>16</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 332; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 87, 159; Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 71-72; Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 97 (VSLm).

<sup>17</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 223-224, 287-288; Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 94, 150-151, 166, 168-169, 224; Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 34-35, 46, 47-48, 49-51, 105-107, 111-113, 115-117 (VSLm); Virginia State Land Office, Patents #11 (1719-1724),

89-90, 91, 247, 302; Patents #12 (1724-1726), 3, 15, 328; Patents #13 (1725-1730), 228-229, 398-399 (VSLm).

<sup>18</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 288-291; Deeds, Wills, 288-291; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 87, 159; Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 71-72 (VSLm).

<sup>19</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1710-1714), 288-292 (VSLm).

<sup>20</sup>Thomas Anburey, Travels Through the Interior Parts of America in a Series of Letters, 2 vols. (London, 1789; reprinted New York: Arno Press, 1969), II, 358.

<sup>21</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 217-218; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 39, 222 (VSLm).

<sup>22</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 250 (VSLm).

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., 222, 263.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., 125.

<sup>25</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 45-46 (VSLm).

<sup>26</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1710-1714), 51; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 11, 13, 20, 23, 26, 32, 37, 42, 71, 72, 81, 82, 104, 110, 112, 120, 121, 130, 136, 142, 149, 150, 151, 156, 157, 162, 163, 165, 169, 175, 177, 180, 183, 200, 202, 210, 212, 214, 229, 235, 247, 259, 276, 294, 300, 306, 307, 316, 329, 340, 348; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 51, 180; Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 80, 86, 90, 92, 113, 123, 132, 136, 151, 168; Order Book #2 (1730-1731), 64-65, 76, 96, 117, 123, 124, 125, 126, 135, 140, 168, 170, 171, 174, 189, 191; Order Book #3 (1731-1735), 21, 45, 48, 74, 95, 96, 174-175, 195, 196, 242, 356, 382-383 (VSLm).

<sup>27</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 17 (VSLm).

<sup>28</sup>Henrico County, Minute Book (1719-1724), 23, 202, 245; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 60 (VSLm).

<sup>29</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 275 (VSLm); Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 66 (VSLm).

<sup>30</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 4 (VSLm).

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., 38.

<sup>32</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 239, 253, 309; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 220; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 8, 159; Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 1, 5, 94 (VSLm); and EJCCV, IV, 172.

<sup>33</sup>EJCCV, III, 533.

<sup>34</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 275; Deeds, Wills, (1714-1718), 81-85; Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 5, 12, 245; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 59; Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1728-1730), 46, 63 (VSLm); and EJCV, IV, 4.

<sup>35</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 261 (VSLm).

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 31, 224, 360.

<sup>37</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 220 (VSLm).

<sup>38</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 55, 222 (VSLm).

<sup>39</sup>Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1734), 76 (VSLm).

<sup>40</sup>Elie Weeks, "1744 Vestry Book of St. James Northam," Goochland County Historical Society Magazine, II (1970), 1.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Goochland County, Deeds, Etc. (1728-1734), 76-78 (VSLm).

<sup>43</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 507; Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 31; and Goochland County, Deeds Etc. (1728-1730), 115 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 445.

<sup>45</sup>Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, 44-59.

<sup>46</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 252.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., 259, 275.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., 309, 311, 334, 337, 350.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 257, 287.

<sup>50</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 21.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., 403.

<sup>52</sup>C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1684-1786 (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1937), 415.

<sup>53</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 321, 484.

<sup>54</sup>See sketches below.

<sup>55</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 81.

<sup>56</sup> At the September meeting of the Goochland court Randolph's case against Wm. Waters was continued, but in October it was dismissed because the plaintiff was dead, Goochland County, Order Book #1 (1729-1730), 146, 164 (VSLm). Judith Fleming Randolph survived her husband. She married Nicholas Davies on December 19, 1733, and died before 1745.

<sup>57</sup> On May 21, 1734, Randolph was still a minor and chose his uncle, Richard Randolph, to be his guardian, Goochland County, Order Book #3, 252 (VSLm). He was probably of age when he was named justice of the peace on November 1, 1734, EJCCV, IV, 339.

<sup>58</sup> Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.

<sup>59</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 74 (VSLm).

<sup>60</sup> Louis B. Wright, ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1966), 343.

<sup>61</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 222 (VSLm).

<sup>62</sup> She was born January 25, 1714/15, Abingdon Parish Register, 32 VHS.

<sup>63</sup> Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 85.

<sup>64</sup> Anburey, Travels, II, 358-359. Also see Jessie Ball Thompson Krusen, Tuckahoe Plantation (Richmond, Va.: Whitlet & Shepperson, 1975) for modern photographs.

<sup>65</sup> Parks' Va. Gaz., February 10, 1737/38, 3:1.

<sup>66</sup> R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 51, 76.

<sup>67</sup> Virginia State Land Office Patents #16 (1735), 1-3 (VSLm).

<sup>68</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 217-218 (VSLm).

<sup>69</sup> EJCCV, IV, 402, 403, 419, 420, 435; V, 106, 111, 114, 115.

<sup>70</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 41-43, 222-223; Deed Book (1737-1742), 277-279, 316-317, 358-359, 403-405, 441-442, 527, 535-536; Henrico County, Deed Book (1744-1748), 84; Order Book (1737-1746), 337 (VSLm).

<sup>71</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1734-1736), 41-43, 222-223; Deed Book (1737-1742), 277-279 (VSLm).

<sup>72</sup> Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 112 (VSLm).

<sup>73</sup> Ibid., (1745-1749), 75 (VSLm).

<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

- <sup>75</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #3, 342 (VSLm).
- <sup>76</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #3, 383; Order Book #4, 11, 182 (VSLm).
- <sup>77</sup>EJCCV, IV, 339; Goochland County, Order Book #3, 298, 309, 315, 377; Order Book #4, 327 (VSLm).
- <sup>78</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #3, 309, 315 (VSLm).
- <sup>79</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #4, 369-453 passim. (VSLm).
- <sup>80</sup>Albemarle County, Order Book (1744-1748), 2 (VSLm).
- <sup>81</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1737-1742), 316 (VSLm).
- <sup>82</sup>Vestrybook of St. James Northam Parish 1744-1850, 1-3, photocopy VSL.
- <sup>83</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 5-6.
- <sup>84</sup>Ibid., 96, 103, 135.
- <sup>85</sup>Ibid., 128, 138, 145.
- <sup>86</sup>Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, PRO, CO 324/48, 20 (CWM).
- <sup>87</sup>The date of Randolph's death cannot be ascertained. He made the codicil to his will on July 20, 1745, and on September 25, 1745, the vestrybook of St. James Northam Parish noted "Col. William Randolph, Dec'd." Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 75 (VSLm); Vestrybook of St. James Northam Parish, 4.
- <sup>88</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 75 (VSLm).
- <sup>89</sup>George Green Shakelford, "Nanzatico, King George County, Virginia," VMHB, LXXIII (1965), 392.
- <sup>90</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 73-75 (VSLm).
- <sup>91</sup>Ibid., 76.
- <sup>92</sup>Louis B. Wright, ed., The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover, 342.
- <sup>93</sup>W. M. Paxton, The Marshall Family (Cincinnati, Ohio: Robert Clarke & Co., 1885), 25-26.
- <sup>94</sup>Treasury General Accounts, Quarterly, Lady Day 1729, PRO, T 31/111, 58 (CWM); Treasury-General Accounts, Declarations (Pells), Michaelmas 1728--Easter 1729, PRO, T 34/24, (CWM); Paxton, Marshall Family, 24-25, 30; Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, II, 216; Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 3-5, 7, 9-10, 13.

- <sup>95</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 16.
- <sup>96</sup>James Blair to Bishop of London, January 15, 1734/35, Correspondence of the Bishop of London with some miscellaneous papers, c. 1695-1776, Fulham Palace Papers 15, 122 (CWM).
- <sup>97</sup>On October 11, 1736, the vestry of Truro Parish voted "To the Revd: Mr. James Keith per account nett 105<sup>4</sup>/<sub>4</sub> pounds of tobacco," Truro Parish Vestry Book (1732-1802), 14, photocopy VSL. See also James Blair to Bishop of London, September 18, 1735, Fulham Palace Papers 15, 112 (CWM); and Philip Slaughter, The History of Truro Parish in Virginia, edited by Edward L. Goodwin (Philadelphia, 1907), 10, 12.
- <sup>98</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 73-76 (VSLm).
- <sup>99</sup>Paxton, Marshall Family, 19. Mary Randolph Keith married Thomas Marshall and became the mother of Chief Justice John Marshall.
- <sup>100</sup>The dates of birth have not been established; see Paxton, Marshall Family, 27. R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 101, gives 1745 as the birthdate of Elizabeth Keith.
- <sup>101</sup>Prince William County, Deed Book E (1740-1741), 133-135, 136-139, 140-141 (VSLm).
- <sup>102</sup>Prince William County, Minute Book (1752-1753), 163, 164 (VSLm).
- <sup>103</sup>Fauquier County, Deed Book 6 (1774-1778), 522-525 (VSLm).
- <sup>104</sup>Thomas Keith Execution and receipt book, 1767 October--1794 February, kept in his capacity as deputy-sheriff of Fauquier Co., Va., VHS.
- <sup>105</sup>Fauquier County, Deed Book 5 (1772-1774), 212, 213 (VSLm).
- <sup>106</sup>Paxton, Marshall Family, 25-26. Daniels, Randolphs, 51, believes Mrs. Coleston was a granddaughter, but cites nothing to support his belief.
- <sup>107</sup>Fauquier County, Deed Book 6 (1774-1778), 522-525 (VSLm).
- <sup>108</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #4 (1735-1741), 290 (VSLm).
- <sup>109</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., July 28, 1738, 4:1.
- <sup>110</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 34, 94.
- <sup>111</sup>Information concerning the Stith children is scant. Judith died unmarried in 1773, Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 17, 1773, 3:1; Elizabeth married Dr. William Pasteur of Williamsburg; there is no record of her death, Christopher Johnston, "The Stith Family," WMQ, series 1, XXI (January 1913), 185; Mary was born in 1742 and died in 1816, St. George Tucker to Jeremy Belknap, June 29, 1795, Massachusetts



Historical Society, Collections, series v, III (Boston: 1877), 410.

<sup>112</sup>W. A. R. Goodwin, The Record of Bruton Parish Church, edited by Mary Francis Goodwin (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1941), 158; Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 17, 1773, 3:1; also see Chapter IV, supra.

## CHAPTER XI

### THE FAMILY OF RICHARD RANDOLPH OF CURLLES

#### A. RICHARD RANDOLPH of Curles (c. 1691--17 December 1748)

Richard Randolph, named for his paternal grandfather, was born about 1691, the fifth son and eighth child of William and Mary Isham Randolph.<sup>1</sup> He spent his childhood on his father's plantation at Turkey Island and was educated at the College of William and Mary.<sup>2</sup>

Like his father and three of his elder brothers, Richard was a planter. Land, consequently, was a primary concern throughout his life. His first property came from his family. He inherited from his father, who died in 1711, about 1,100 acres on the upper James and along the swamp of the Chickahominy River.<sup>3</sup> In 1714 he purchased 700 acres on the north bank of the James "in the Forks of Tuckahoe Creek" from his brother, Thomas, and paid him £20 sterling.<sup>4</sup> About the same time he acquired through gift or purchase part of the Curles Neck tract belonging to his brother, Henry.<sup>5</sup> Shortly afterwards Henry, "[fo]r and in Consideration of the Love and affection which I have and do bear unto [my loving] Brother Richard Randolph," gave him a 147-acre tract called Newcombs including half of the Curles swamp, which was adjacent to Richard's other land at Curles.<sup>6</sup>

Curles Neck bordered Turkey Island on the west. Once the property of the rebel, Nathaniel Bacon, it was acquired by Randolph's father in 1700 and given to Henry in 1706. Richard made Curles his home plantation and lived there for the rest of his life.

Besides the land acquired from his family, Randolph bought land from friends and neighbors. Although in some cases the records of his purchases are incomplete, on at least twelve occasions between 1726 and 1747, he accumulated tracts which, with the exception of a tract south of the river, were located north of the James more or less contiguous to his other property.<sup>7</sup> Only six deeds, recorded in 1739, 1746, and 1747, specified the number of acres he bought: 1,630; and these same deeds, in addition to one recorded in 1729, listed the monetary cost: £405.<sup>8</sup> Sometimes Randolph traded land. In 1726 he gave his neighbor, James Cocke, two tracts on the Chickahominy Swamp in return for Cocke's land and two slaves;<sup>9</sup> he made a similar trade with William Ligon in 1730 for 200 acres;<sup>10</sup> and in 1739 he exchanged two tracts and £30 for a tract called Warwick south of the James.<sup>11</sup>

He also increased his holdings by patent. Between 1724 and 1746 he patented 52,532 acres. Most of his patents, aside from three he made in Henrico,<sup>12</sup> lay to the south and west along the Appomattox River and across the divide on the Little Roanoke and Staunton rivers, a wilderness area he had explored with Colonel Clement Read about 1730.<sup>13</sup> In 1730, 1733, and 1745 he took five patents for 23,594 acres in Goochland and Amelia counties; in 1736, 1740, 1742, and 1744 he patented 17,815 acres in the counties of Prince George and Brunswick; and he also patented 1,450 acres, but their location is not recorded.<sup>14</sup>

Occasionally Randolph joined others to acquire land. In 1726 he and his brother, William, purchased 10,000 acres below the Appomattox River in Henrico, Goochland, and Brunswick counties.<sup>15</sup> Seven years later, in company with John Bolling and William Kennon, relatives of his wife, he received the title to 10,000 acres on the Little Roanoke

River in Brunswick County.<sup>16</sup> In 1736 he joined with his brother, Sir John Randolph, William Beverley, his nephew by marriage, and John Robinson, soon to be Speaker of the House of Burgesses, to patent 118,491 acres in Orange County in northern Virginia "beyond the Great Mountains" on the Shenandoah River.<sup>17</sup> Finally, in 1740, with his brothers, Isham and Edward, he acquired 60,000 acres in Brunswick County along the branches of the Staunton River.<sup>18</sup> Randolph's share of all these patented tracts, assuming they were divided equally among all concerned, was an estimated 57,955 acres.

Altogether, as nearly as the sum can be tabulated from the extant records--and the sum is conservative--Randolph owned at least 114,264 acres, more than twice as many as his brother Thomas who, when he died in 1729, had been the largest landholder in the Randolph family with 57,000 acres.

An account of the uses to which Randolph put his land is hindered by lack of data. Since he was a planter, he undoubtedly planned some of his land for agricultural use; but in the absence of any of his business records, it is impossible to know exactly which tracts were employed as plantations. It is probable that he intended his land to be an inheritance for his sons. He sold land from time to time, however. Between 1718 and 1748 there is a record of ten sales, only seven of which list the acreage sold: 3,464 acres.<sup>19</sup> His purposes in disposing of land are a mystery. Perhaps he sold to accommodate neighboring planters as is suggested by his deed of four acres to five Charles City County planters in 1718,<sup>20</sup> and his sale of 50 acres to Tarleton Woodson which were adjacent to Woodson's property.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps he sold to turn a profit for himself as is suggested by his 1740 disposal of

782 acres in Amelia County for £50 Virginia money, which was part of a 1,782-acre tract he had patented five years earlier for £9.<sup>22</sup>

Certainly he and his partners intended their 118,491 acres in Orange County for speculation, subdivision, and sale. One of his schemes is better documented. On July 7, 1739, he purchased the Warwick tract, south of the James in what was later Chesterfield County, and the following January announced his intention of subdividing part of the tract for a new town. The town was to be laid out along the James in "One Hundred Lots, or Half Acres, with convenient Streets, after the Model of PHILADELPHIA..., at Ten Pistoles for each Lot."<sup>23</sup> He was experienced in town planning and development having served as a trustee of the town of Bermuda Hundred.<sup>24</sup> His experience was further evident when he advertised that in addition to the town lots "Thirty Acres of Low-ground between the Lots and the River, for a Common, which is very convenient for Pasture or Meadowland" would be available. He also pointed out that Warwick was a good location "it being attended with all the Conveniences necessary for Trading."<sup>25</sup> For all his plans, the scheme apparently failed, for there is no other record of it and the town site has disappeared completely.

Randolph's land was divided into individual plantations or quarters: Curles, Warwick, Fighting Creek, Mountain Creek, Bush River, Roanoke, and others unknown. Without any of his account books or personal records, one has a limited view of his plantation operations. Nevertheless, it is clear that he maintained his far-flung estates somewhat like a feudal lord. Residing at Curles in a mansion flanked by various outbuildings, he employed overseers on his distant land that he could not manage personally.<sup>26</sup>

Negro slaves were at the bottom of the plantation hierarchy. Their numbers cannot be determined precisely, for, while there are specific references to sixty of them--thirty-five males and twenty-five females--the records indicate that Randolph owned a larger number.<sup>27</sup> He acquired his slaves by inheritance, purchase, and the natural increase of the people living on his plantations. At least three blacks came to him after his mother's death in 1735.<sup>28</sup> He obtained four blacks from neighboring planters in two land-transactions,<sup>29</sup> and it is clear from his description of his slave Phebe as "a small Woman with Marks in her Face" and his reference to "Ebo Harry" that he bought slaves recently imported from Africa.<sup>30</sup> That his slave population increased by their birth is evident from his will where he mentioned the sons and daughters of his slaves.<sup>31</sup>

Occasionally there was trouble. On November 28, 1737, Macintosh, who had been jailed for stealing from his master's store, attempted to escape by setting fire to the Henrico County gaol and "was himself burnt to death."<sup>32</sup> The following February four slaves, two men and two women, ran away from a Randolph plantation in Amelia County.<sup>33</sup> In 1744 Toney was accused of stealing "forty weight of Bisquet" from a nearby plantation.<sup>34</sup>

In dealing with his slaves Randolph revealed a good deal about his attitude toward blacks. As far as he was concerned, they were property, and he was careful to protect his investment. When Macintosh perished in the jail fire, he petitioned the county court to put a value on the slave which was done at 40 Virginia money.<sup>35</sup> For his four runaways, he advertised in the Virginia Gazette that anyone capturing them should upon their return to him have "Five Pistoles Reward,

besides what the Law allows."<sup>36</sup> Incidentally, he was at least partially successful because Warwick, one of his runaways, was later listed in his estate.<sup>37</sup> Toney, the slave accused of stealing "Bisquet," came to trial before a special court of Oyer and Terminer on July 27, 1744, where four of his five judges were relatives of his master.<sup>38</sup> There is no evidence of the judges' partiality during the trial, but when they acquitted Toney they also released Randolph's property.

Not only was Randolph conscious of the monetary worth of his slaves, he also regarded them as property at his personal disposal. In his will he divided them among his wife, children, and grandchildren without regard to the slaves' own family relationships. For example, the woman Joan he willed to his wife, while Joan's daughter, Savery, became the property of his granddaughter.<sup>39</sup> After his death most of his slaves went to his sons with the stipulation that if it were more convenient for the sons, the slaves were to be sold for the highest possible price.<sup>40</sup>

Although the records of Randolph's personal attitudes toward blacks is very scant, he apparently shared the prejudices of his time regarding them suspiciously as thieves, insurrectionaries, and creatures of considerable sexual appetites.<sup>41</sup> Certainly his experiences with Macintosh and Toney underscored what many Virginia whites suspected: that blacks were robbers who would take advantage of any man in any situation. In advertising for the return of runaway slaves from his Amelia quarter, Randolph revealed his attitude toward blacks. Sancho he described as "a tall lusty Fellow" and Bella as "a lusty likely Woman." Warwick, he said, had a "thin Face, small Eyes, and a sneaking Look."<sup>42</sup>

There is little information concerning the work assignments of his slaves. Most of them probably were field hands; some certainly (those given to his daughters and granddaughters) were house servants. At least six of his blacks were "Tradesmen" at Curles, but with the exception of one who was possibly a cooper, their specific trades are unknown.<sup>43</sup> The fact that Randolph often served his county and parish as a building contractor suggests that some of his slaves were carpenters.

Not much is recorded of the operation of the plantations. There were stocks of animals: cows, hogs, sheep, horses.<sup>44</sup> Tobacco was grown, probably as the main cash crop, and it would have been unusual if corn were not raised at least to feed the cattle and the slaves.

Besides pursuits related directly to agriculture and animal husbandry, Richard Randolph, like his father before him, was involved in mercantile activities. He maintained a store at Curles and apparently received some of his merchandise from English and Scottish merchants. In 1745 he went before the Henrico court to sue Walter and Thomas Lutwidge, merchants in Whitehaven, and Yuille, Murdock, and Donald, Glasgow merchants; in each case the court ordered the Virginia factors of the firms to deliver their goods to the sheriff.<sup>45</sup> Moreover, Randolph was the Virginia attorney for John Hanbury, the influential London merchant.<sup>46</sup> He also had dealings with his brother, Edward, who after failing as a tobacco merchant in England in 1732, had resumed his career as a sea captain in the Virginia trade.<sup>47</sup>

Evidence of Randolph's mercantile activities is scant, but some data is suggestive. In May, 1740, he agreed to purchase the twenty-five thousand pounds of tobacco levied by Henrico Parish at a rate of ten shillings per hundred, Virginia money.<sup>48</sup> On another occasion, he purchased



skins. On February 26, 1744/45 he wrote to his nephew, Theodorick Bland, "If you can purchase Good trim'd [pelts] at three Shill[ings per] pound will Send you the money for any Quantity you can g[et] but care must be taken not to give this price for any under a pound & not to buy any that are much Damaged...."<sup>49</sup>

His financial affairs were complex. His resources were varied. Some of his wealth he had gained through inheritance and marriage. Much of his capital was tied up in land and slaves, but his assets were sufficiently fluid to enable him to engage in mercantile activities. Not surprisingly there is evidence, though limited, that he was a creditor. For example, in 1733 he loaned one Edward Bennet £68.16.2 Virginia money and held Bennet's mortgage of £100.<sup>50</sup> In 1739 Stephen Hughes was bound to him for £260 Virginia money.<sup>51</sup> Sometimes he went to court to recover his money. Between 1723 and 1742 there are seven cases of indebtedness ranging in amount from £1.7.3½ to £5. The court records provide no details, but the smallness of the debts suggests they were incurred at the Randolph store.<sup>52</sup> After Randolph's death in 1748 his executors were kept busy collecting debts ranging between £1.12.0 and £55.5.9, and which, in addition to 6,000 pounds of tobacco, totaled £91.1.4.<sup>53</sup> As in the earlier cases instituted while Randolph lived, the records provide no details about the debts owed to his estate.

Despite a more frequent reference to Randolph as a creditor, there are indications that he was at the same time a debtor. Most of his indebtedness, with the exception of 8 shillings listed against him by the estate of one Richard Blaws, a Henrico planter,<sup>54</sup> seems to have been incurred not in Virginia but in England. Like most Virginia planters, he consigned his tobacco to English and Scottish merchants. Tobacco

seldom brought a price high enough to cover the charges which the planters assumed for goods and services in England; consequently, the merchants credited the difference against future crop sales. The extent to which Randolph was entangled in the system is unknown, but his obligations to the merchants were more complex than the average planter because he had to deal with them as a storekeeper.

Not one to be intimidated, Randolph was careful to protect his interests in regard to the mercantile houses. He took his cases to the Virginia courts, because they were not only more convenient but they were also more likely to hand down favorable decisions. In 1721 he entered a suit in the Henrico court against the London firm of Higginson & Bird attesting that in 1718 he had consigned to the firm four hogsheads of tobacco valued at £24.2.0 sterling, and that on May 29, 1720, "he did draw a bill of Exchange for twenty pounds Sterl. on the said Higginson & Bird payable to Captn. Edward Randolph, which said Bill was protested by a Publick Notary for want of Payment by the said Higginson & Bird, who are failed in their credit and are absconded from their usual places of abode." When Randolph informed the court that his brother, Thomas, was indebted to Higginson & Bird for more than £24.2.0, the court ordered Thomas to pay him that amount.<sup>55</sup>

In August, 1745, Randolph instituted two suits against Yuille, Murdock & Donald of Glasgow and Walter and Thomas Lutwidge of Whitehaven. There are few details, but in both cases the Henrico court ordered the sheriff to seize the goods held by the firms' factors in Virginia. From the Lutwidges Randolph received £4.3s.8d sterling with interest from July 31, 1738, and his court costs; in the case of the Glasgow merchants, however, Randolph's suit "was stopt by his Majesties

Writ of Supersedeas."<sup>56</sup>

Possibly Randolph dealt with his brother's firm in London, but whatever dealings he had came to an end when the firm failed in 1732. He dealt with the Bristol firm of Farrell and Jones, whose Virginia agent, John Wayles, wrote in 1766, years after Randolph's death, that his account and that of his eldest son were settled for £1239.13s.4d. and three bills of exchange drawn on Sedgley and Company.<sup>57</sup> He had, moreover, a significant relationship with the Hanburys of London. Although he was in debt to the firm, neither party was immediately troubled by the case, for it dragged on more than a half century after Randolph's death, when, in 1810, it was finally settled. In the meantime, the planter and the merchant buttressed each other's interests.<sup>58</sup> In Virginia Randolph was Hanbury's attorney; in England Hanbury lobbied in Randolph's behalf before the Board of Trade.<sup>59</sup>

The precise size of Randolph's fortune is not known, because it is impossible to value all of his assets in terms of pounds and shillings. Nevertheless, his finances were essentially sound. In a colony where there was a shortage of capital, he expanded his land holdings until he owned more acres than any other member of his family. His plantations were well stocked with slaves, animals, tools, and crops. As a merchant he traded with local planters and English and Scottish merchants. Although he was in debt to the Hanburys, the debt seems not to have been in excess of his assets and apparently did not greatly worry him or the merchants. Furthermore, the fact that Randolph sued in court to recover his money, even though it was sometimes a small sum, leads to a conclusion that he was a careful manager of his fortune.

In keeping with the family tradition of public service established

by his father and carried on by his brothers, Randolph was a leading man in the county, vestry, and colony. His first service in Henrico County was noted on December 16, 1713, when he was paid 250 pounds of tobacco and 20 casks "for a Table for the Court House."<sup>60</sup> Appointed a justice of the peace for Henrico, he took the oath of office on February 2, 1719/20.<sup>61</sup> In becoming a justice he joined with his elder brother, Thomas, who had served since 1713. When his brother, William, resigned as county clerk to become a justice in November, 1720, the Governor's Council cautioned that the three brothers must not sit together as judges of any case before the county court.<sup>62</sup>

Richard Randolph's tenure as justice cannot be determined. The records exist only between 1719 and 1724, and between 1737 and 1746, but it is probable that he served continuously until his death in 1748. From all indications he was a valued member of the county court, a man who took his responsibilities seriously and performed his assigned tasks with authority and dispatch. He attended the monthly sessions of the court with admirable regularity. For example, between September 4, 1721, and November 2, 1724, the court met forty-nine times, and he was present all but five times; between December 5, 1737, and October 6, 1746, there were one hundred and six sessions, and he missed only ten.<sup>63</sup> As a justice he performed many routine duties. He sat as judge in court cases, appraised and administered estates, surveyed roads and bridges and contracted for their necessary repairs, collected tithables, served on inter-county committees, and acted as a guardian for a county minor.<sup>64</sup> Occasionally he served the county in special ways. In December, 1720, when the courthouse was considered neither safe nor convenient to keep the county records, he was given "fifteen hundred pounds of tobacco and

Cask for making presses, window Shutters, a table, and finding Locks to Secure the Same."<sup>65</sup> In 1722 he surveyed the county line and was paid two thousand pounds of tobacco.<sup>66</sup> Two years later he was given £119.8.7 for building a county jail (which his slave later burned).<sup>67</sup> In 1738 with Joseph Mayo he laid off and settled "the prison bounds for the county."<sup>68</sup> In 1742 he refereed by common consent a case of trespass between two Henrico residents.<sup>69</sup>

Randolph was also a member of the Henrico County militia. In 1720 he held the rank of captain; in 1732 he was a major; and by 1737 he had advanced to colonel.<sup>70</sup> Nothing else is known of his military service.

By 1730 he was a trustee of the town of Bermuda Hundred, a position also held by his father and brother, William. His responsibility was to oversee the sale of town lots and supervise their improvement.<sup>71</sup>

In addition to his activities within the county, Randolph held a leading position in Henrico Parish. The date of his election to the vestry is unknown because the parish records do not survive before 1730; but a notation in the county records indicates he was a churchwarden as early as 1722.<sup>72</sup> He was a reliable vestryman; the existing records reveal that between October 28, 1730, and January 18, 1747/48, the vestry held thirty-one meetings, and he was present at twenty-six of them.<sup>73</sup> As a vestryman, he assumed important responsibilities. Over the years he attended to the needs of several paupers who were charges of the parish.<sup>74</sup> Often when the parish required building improvements, he took charge. He oversaw repairs on the chapel and the glebe house, and in 1740 supervised the construction of a new parish church in Richmond.<sup>75</sup> Discussing improvements at the parish church at Curles, he wrote to his son in 1748, "Pray assist...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."<sup>76</sup> In addition to these responsibilities, he sometimes collected the tithes and disbursed the parish funds.

During the time that he served the county and parish, he was also a leader in provincial affairs. Elected to the House of Burgesses from Henrico County in 1727, succeeding his brother, William, he held his seat there to the end of his life. From the beginning he secured and sustained important committee assignments; in 1727/28 he was named to the Committee of Privileges and Elections; in 1734 he was named to the Committee of Propositions and Grievances; and in 1742 he was named to the Committee of Trade.<sup>77</sup> He was an active burgess. A recent quantification of his activities placed him in the first rank of the House during the 1734, 1742, 1746-47 sessions and in the second rank during the 1730, 1732, 1736, 1740, and 1744 sessions.<sup>78</sup> Unfortunately, the quality of his service is not as easily known as the quantity of it. Throughout his career, for example, he served on a committee to revise the laws of the colony, studied a bill to halt lumbering on glebe lands, prepared an amendment prohibiting unlawful game-hunting, worked on a bill for clearing rivers and creeks, brought in a bill to raise and arm troops during King George's War in 1746, conferred with the Council on building a Public Records Office in Williamsburg, audited the treasurer's accounts, and more.<sup>79</sup> In no instance is Randolph's motivation apparent. One cannot discern where he was merely carrying out routine assignments and where he was acting in behalf of his political or economic self-interest.

Yet it is safe to say that Randolph was an important man in colony affairs. In the first place he always had family connections in the Williamsburg government. His brother, William, was a councillor and his brother, Sir John, was Speaker of the House and Treasurer of Virginia. At various times his brother Isham and his nephews, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, William Randolph III, Beverley Randolph of Gloucester, Richard Bland, and John Stith were his colleagues in the House. Furthermore, his nephews, Peter and Peyton Randolph, were Clerk of the House and Attorney General, respectively. In the second place, Randolph had influential friends. Upon the death of his brother, John, in March 1736/37, Governor Gooch, with the concurrence of the Council, appointed him Treasurer until the next session of the General Assembly.<sup>80</sup> For a long time, moreover, his friends attempted to secure his appointment to the Council. Three times, in February 1738/39, December 1744, and June 1747, Gooch submitted his name to the Board of Trade as a person eligible for the Council.<sup>81</sup> For some reason he never got an appointment. Even though his friend, the merchant Hanbury, interceded for him in 1748, his name was stricken from the list.<sup>82</sup>

Randolph served the church, county, and colony nearly thirty years. During that time he proved himself a reliable public servant. He assumed responsibility and advanced in rank. His family was important, and he had influential friends in Williamsburg and London. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know how Randolph himself regarded his public service. Doubtless like other Virginians of his status, he sought and kept his offices out of a sense of noblesse oblige. It was part of a gentleman's code to attend to the welfare of his social inferiors. But high principle alone does not explain his public career. Although

positive proof is lacking, it seems likely that Randolph also used his position to advance his personal interests, which in no way implies corruption. As a county official and vestryman he received no salary, being paid only his expenses for special services; and as burgess in 1740, he received a per diem of 130 pounds of tobacco,<sup>83</sup> which was hardly a princely stipend. The actual money that accrued from his offices was probably not important to him, for he had other sources of revenue; but it was to his benefit to hold offices with other leading men where he was in a position to take advantage of situations and opportunities affecting his interests as a planter, slaveholder, land speculator, merchant, and politician. "You may depend upon it," Randolph wrote his nephew in 1745, "if I can by any means that are Just & H/onora/ble do you any Service....I Shall allways be ready to Serve you, but am afraid my conduct has not Entitled me to any Favour from Great men."<sup>84</sup> The structure of politics during Randolph's lifetime made it possible for him to serve public and private interest.

Much of the private life of Richard Randolph is obscure. Unlike his elder brothers, he appears only infrequently in the secret diaries of William Byrd of Westover. "Dick," as Byrd called him, was occasionally in the company of the great gentlemen, however. As a student at the College in Williamsburg he sometimes delivered Byrd's mail on his way home to Turkey Island and sometimes stayed the night. Once when Byrd was in the capital, he mentioned that Dick copied letters for him. But their relationship was not especially close, a contrast to his brothers, William, Isham, and Thomas, whose careers profited by their association with Byrd.<sup>85</sup>

About 1724, Randolph married Jane Bolling, the eldest daughter of



John Bolling, a Henrico planter. Born about 1703, she was a great-great granddaughter of Pocahontas, a pedigree of which later Randolphs were vastly proud.<sup>86</sup> She was no beauty,<sup>87</sup> but besides furnishing an ample dowry,<sup>88</sup> she bore seven children, four sons and three daughters, and was described by her husband as "Dutiful."<sup>89</sup>

Randolph maintained standards of a Virginia aristocrat at Curles. His plantation house no longer stands, but an 1806 insurance policy, made long after his death, at least gives an indication of the place. The house, built of wood, two stories high, and measuring 95 feet long and 25 feet wide, faced the James River. Behind it, connected by a long covered walkway, was a kitchen flanked by an ice-house, dairy, laundry, and stable.<sup>90</sup> Inside the main house the best furniture was mahogany and walnut; family portraits hung on the walls; there was a quantity of silverware together with more common implements of pewter and copper; there was an ample supply of bedding.<sup>91</sup> Also on the estate were a coach and chaise with the necessary harness and animals.<sup>92</sup>

Furthermore, Randolph and his family took advantage of their wealth. He and his wife had their portraits painted: he in a big wig and velvet suit; she in a cap and finery.<sup>93</sup> Two of his four sons were educated at the College of William and Mary; the other two were sent to school in England. His daughters each had a dowry of £1000 sterling and two slaves.<sup>94</sup> In 1748, moreover, Randolph made a trip to England to recover his health.

Richard Randolph of Curles possessed a strong sense of family solidarity. His middle sons, Brett and Ryland, were named, respectively, for his maternal and paternal ancestors.<sup>95</sup> He made careful provision for his heirs. To his wife, during her widowhood, he left, in lieu of

her dower rights, the use of the Curles plantation with its furniture, silver, household goods, carriages, slaves, stock and supplies, "trusting to her prudence and Justice in disposing & dividing the same amongst my four Sons...in such manner & at such times as [she] shall think fit."

In case the Curles plantation proved incapable of supporting her and the family, they were to be supplied without charge from his other plantations.<sup>96</sup> After setting aside money for his daughters' doweries and his sons' educations, he divided, more or less equally, his lands and slaves among his sons making provision that if any son died, the property went to another son. The management of his estate he left exclusively to his relatives. Nephews Peyton Randolph and William Stith were named guardians of his minor children. His wife and eldest son, Richard, together with his son-in-law, Archibald Cary, and his nephews, Peter Randolph and Richard Bland, were the executors of his will. Randolph requested that his children love one another and settle their disputes about their inheritance in friendship and brotherhood. If they were unable to resolve their differences, they were to seek the arbitration of their cousins, Peter and Peyton Randolph, Richard Bland, and William Stith, whose decisions bound them with the threat of disinheritance.<sup>97</sup>

Randolph left no statement of his philosophy of government, but the fact that he was so long a part of the structure of Virginia politics leads to the conclusion that he had few, if any, reservations regarding the system. As a planter, landowner, and merchant, he functioned within the limits of the Virginia economy without serious difficulty. Outwardly at least, Randolph was a man of religion. Throughout his life he attended church, he was a longtime vestryman, and, as a

public official, he subscribed to the oath denying transsubstantiation. Even so, one could do these things without revealing much personal conviction. Unlike his brothers, William and John, Richard Randolph made no theological statements in his will, but there is ambiguity in such reticence. Perhaps he kept silent about his religion because he had none, or he was unorthodox, or because his sentiments were too profound to express.

Although Randolph was esteemed by his contemporaries and praised for his character, patriotic spirit, and neighborliness, he was capable of provoking some of his peers to anger. For some unknown reason, he quarreled with his nephew, Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island, and then had the nephew stricken from his will as one of his executors and guardians of his children. "I believe him Beverley to be the very best friend I have in This World," Randolph wrote, "for which I heartily forgive him, & hope when he is Capable of reflection he will forgive me Some hastely Expression which are all the offences he can Justly make to my Conduct with respect to him...."<sup>98</sup> Randolph was a principal in another unpleasant episode involving Field Jefferson whose brother, Peter, was married to Randolph's niece. Early in March 1744/45 Jefferson appeared before the Henrico court, where Randolph sat as a justice, declared "that the words he spoke at August Court last, to Richard Randolph Gent. was not with any design to affront him or the Court," and paid a fine for his impudence.<sup>99</sup>

Randolph died in England on December 17, 1748.<sup>100</sup> He had gone to Bath for the recovery of his health, but he did not live long enough to derive benefit from the waters, "having", as the Virginia Gazette reported, "been much emaciated by his distemper & the fatigue of his voyage."<sup>101</sup>

"He had been," the newspaper continued, "a worthy member of Assembly for many years & first in the Commission of the Peace for his county. He left behind him not only a very plentiful estate, but a great character--was esteemed a true patriot to his country; a kin/d relation & a good neighbour. His death much lamented."<sup>102</sup>

1. RICHARD RANDOLPH II (c. 1725--6 Jun 3 1786)

Richard Randolph II was the eldest child of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph. Born about 1725,<sup>103</sup> he grew up on his father's plantation at Curles on the James River in Henrico County, Virginia. He attended the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.<sup>104</sup> His father was concerned that he and his brothers "not be Useless members of their Country, or...become Burthensome to it by taking Such courses as are Generally the Companions of Idleness."<sup>105</sup>

Following the tradition of his Virginia forebears, Richard Randolph was a planter. Land, consequently, was a primary concern, and he accumulated a vast estate amounting to at least 60,000 acres. His first tracts were his patrimony. When he was twenty-one, his father gave him land for his "better Advancement in the World."<sup>106</sup> The size of his inheritance was never recorded exactly, but since his father owned in excess of 114,000 acres which he presumably divided more or less equally among his four sons, Richard II inherited a maximum of 28,500 acres. In actuality, since the 118,491 acres the elder Randolph patented with four partners was sold in small parcels, his son's inheritance was probably about 21,000 acres. Specifically, he acquired the Curles plantation upon the death of his mother, all the family lands on the north side of the James River, 500 acres along the Staunton River in

Brunswick County, and a 2,250-acre tract on Tuckahoe Creek in Henrico and Goochland counties.<sup>107</sup>

He increased his land holdings by patent and purchase. Between 1747 and 1780 he patented 42,332 acres, 39,970 acres of which lay in Lunenburg County, 2,038 in Albemarle County, 300 in Hanover, and 34 in Cumberland.<sup>108</sup> By purchase he accumulated 4,740 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres,<sup>109</sup> but the sum is not definitive because the records are incomplete. For example, on November 4, 1751, he bought 175 acres in Chesterfield County without making it clear whether he was acting in his own interest or that of his brother who had inherited the tract from their father.<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, no acreage was recorded on May 2, 1777, when he bought a sixteenth part of Martin's Swamp in Chesterfield.<sup>111</sup> Finally, in his will,<sup>112</sup> dated 1786, he mentioned plantations in the counties of Cumberland and Prince Edward for which there is no purchase record.

From time to time he sold land. Between 1751 and 1777, the records indicate that he made twenty-one sales totaling 8,062- $\frac{2}{3}$  acres.<sup>113</sup>

The patterns of Randolph's land transactions are difficult to determine largely because none of his personal papers survives. Two aspects, however, are apparent in his dealings. First, as he acquired land, he tended to consolidate his holdings into several plantations. For example, at different times he bought nearly 500 acres in the vicinity of Curles; he patented 39,970 acres in Lunenburg County; he patented 2,038 acres in Albemarle and bought 2,626 more acres adjacent to them; and he purchased at least 1,500 acres in Dale Parish in Chesterfield County.<sup>114</sup> Second, he considered land an investment. He bought lots in the towns of Bermuda Hundred, Richmond, and Westham apparently to hold until their value increased.<sup>115</sup> In 1760 he subdivided his Windsor

Forest tract and received £578.17.6 Virginia money for land his father had patented for £5.15 Virginia money.<sup>116</sup> He probably recognized a profit from his sale of 4,400 acres in Albemarle, but even though he gained £3000 Virginia money, the extent of his profit cannot be determined because there is no complete record of his purchase price.<sup>117</sup>

In addition to land, labor was a necessary concern of Richard Randolph II. At the time of his death in 1786, he owned 133 Negroes, men, women and children.<sup>118</sup> The sources of his slaves are difficult to determine precisely. He inherited a fourth of his father's unnumbered blacks and, since Richard II was once a slavetrader, he certainly bought slaves himself. The majority of the Randolph slaves, probably, were farm laborers; some of them, however, had special skills. There is record of two blacksmiths, a carpenter, cook, gardner, valet, and waggoner.<sup>119</sup> The relationship between master and slave defies easy analysis. Certainly Randolph considered blacks as property to be bought and sold at his discretion. Although he displayed humane considerations in instructing his heirs to be mindful of the integrity of slave families, the fact that two slaves, one who had been his valet, twice ran away suggests that he may not have always been an easy master.<sup>120</sup>

Few records pertain to the operation of the Randolph plantations. Typically, they were stocked with cows, horses, and sheep.<sup>121</sup> Tobacco was the staple crop, and between 1775 and 1777 Randolph consigned 126 hogsheads of the leaf to the Bristol firm of Farrell and Jones.<sup>122</sup> Perhaps wheat was grown,<sup>123</sup> and it would have been unusual if no corn were raised to feed the stock and slaves. Furthermore, Thomas Jefferson mentioned that "Colo R. Randolph" supplied him with "Black eyed peas which

yield two crops."<sup>124</sup>

Randolph did not restrict his business solely to the plantation. His other pursuits, however, were complementary to planting. From about 1766 until 1770, when the firm dissolved, he was agent in charge of tobacco consignments to Sedgley, Hillhouse, and Randolph, Bristol merchants of which his cousin, William Randolph, was partner.<sup>125</sup> The fact that he imported "divers Goods Ware Merchandize" from Bristol suggests he continued to operate the family store at Curles.<sup>126</sup>

Early in the 1770's Randolph joined with John Wayles, a wealthy Charles City County lawyer and planter, to import and sell slaves in Virginia. Through the Bristol merchants Farrell and Jones, they procured a consignment of 280 Negroes from John Powell & Company, a Bristol firm engaged in the African trade.<sup>127</sup> When the slave ship, Prince of Wales, docked on the James River in September, 1772, Randolph and Wayles advertised with some exaggeration that they had from Africa "about four Hundred fine healthy SLAVES; the sale of which will begin at Bermuda Hundred on Thursday the 8th of October, and continue until they are sold."<sup>128</sup> Their venture, however, was not completely successful. The slave cargo was valued at £7,748.14 sterling, of which £6,664.9.10 was due to Farrell and Jones.<sup>129</sup> Randolph and Wayles failed to meet their obligation to the merchants. The reason for their failure can only be surmised. They sold some slaves on credit, and when Wayles died in May, 1773, Randolph was left to carry on their enterprise. Between 1773 and 1783 he recovered almost £900 sterling, but apparently paid nothing to Farrell and Jones.<sup>130</sup> The merchants took the case to court and, in 1797, after years of legal dispute, they won a judgment against the Randolph estate.<sup>131</sup>

As the above case suggests, Randolph's finances were troubled. "He was very unhappy towards the latter End of his life," wrote a friend; "his affairs being much embarrassed I believe kept his mind constantly anxious and unhappy."<sup>132</sup> He was sometimes a creditor whose claims, in the three identifiable cases between 1763 and 1773, ranged from £5 to £20.9d.3f. to £46.1s.3d.<sup>133</sup> Most often, however, he was a debtor. His obligations were large, amounting altogether to a minimum estimate of £14,500, and in marked contrast to the Randolph family in general who mostly kept their indebtedness out of the public record, his debts were the subject of litigation. The evidence available for uncovering the causes of his indebtedness is not all that one might wish; there are, however, some clues.

The largest of his debts were the result of his dealings with merchants in England and Virginia. Like many planters, he found himself in debt when his tobacco failed to bring a price sufficient to cover his expenses. Although the English firms with whom Randolph did business extended credit, they foreclosed when he did not meet their conditions. In January, 1770, the London firm of Capel and Osgood Hanbury sued him for £1039 sterling which, despite delaying tactics, he had to pay.<sup>134</sup> Perhaps because of his difficulties with the Hanburys, on July 29, 1771, he consigned some of his tobacco to the Bristol firm of Farrell and Jones, and continued to deal with them until 1777 when his debt outstripped his credit by £342.0.5 sterling. Farrell and Jones sued and finally in 1797 recovered their money.<sup>135</sup> During the 1780's Randolph was sued by Virginia merchants, Hunter Banks & Company, Robert Donald & Company, and Matthew Phripp & Company, but beyond his payment of £12.12.5.1 to Donald and £26.2.8 to Phripp



nothing is known.<sup>136</sup>

Not all his indebtedness to the merchants was concerned with the sale of his tobacco. On May 14, 1772, with Archibald Cary, his brother-in-law, and Thomas Mann Randolph, his second cousin, he borrowed £4700 sterling from Farrell and Jones and signed a bond for £9400.<sup>137</sup> The purpose of the loan is not recorded, but the Virginians defaulted on it, and Thomas Mann Randolph, as the surviving partner, was held to account for the entire amount of the bond.<sup>138</sup>

Richard Randolph's remaining debts belonged to private individuals. Although the nature of these obligations is obscure, one of them at least was part of the scandal which shook the colony in 1766 when it was discovered that Treasurer John Robinson had made loans to his friends from the public treasury. Randolph owed Robinson £52.4.5.<sup>139</sup> Moreover, he was in debt to William Byrd III.<sup>140</sup> The two men were long-time friends, and their business relationship was complex. In 1783 Randolph wrote Byrd's widow that he had already paid part of his indebtedness during her husband's lifetime.<sup>141</sup>

Finally, some of his debts involved his brothers. The cases are unclear; it is not known why the brothers joined in business, nor why they were unable to meet their obligations. In 1768 he and his brothers, John and Ryland, borrowed £4000 from the Hanburys. While the debt was primarily John's, the merchants, who sued the Randolphs in 1791, charged £960.13.6 against Richard's estate.<sup>142</sup> His dealings with Ryland were also problematic. In 1783 the two of them were sued in the Henrico court, but there is no specific information regarding the case.<sup>143</sup>

In addition to his private affairs, Richard Randolph II was a public man. Elected to the vestry of Henrico Parish on January 19,

1747/48, he remained a vestryman until 1773, after which there are no records.<sup>144</sup> Throughout his tenure he was regular in attendance and served three terms as churchwarden, 1751-1752, 1756-1761, and 1766-1770.<sup>145</sup>

His service to the county is better documented than his service to the parish. On May 9, 1749, he was named to the commission of the peace for Henrico County.<sup>146</sup> Apparently he was not seated at the time because in June, 1751, he was appointed sheriff of the county, and Virginia law forbade a justice from holding the sheriff's office.<sup>147</sup> He was sheriff until October, 1753, when he was sworn as a justice of the peace.<sup>148</sup> A justice until at least 1769, he may have served longer, but the local records are incomplete.<sup>149</sup> During his tenure, besides sitting as a judge of the county court, he performed special services such as investigating roads and bridges, reporting on the condition of tobacco warehouses, and meeting with committees from nearby counties.<sup>150</sup> The records provide no appraisal of Randolph's service. Apparently it was satisfactory, because he was continually reappointed to the commission. On the other hand, a sampling of his attendance record shows that he was frequently absent from the monthly meetings of the court. Between February, 1754, and December, 1762, the court met a total of 107 times; he was present at only 51 meetings.<sup>151</sup>

He was also a member of the Henrico County militia. Beyond his commission as Lieutenant Colonel in 1762, nothing is known of his military career.<sup>152</sup>

In addition to his church and county offices, Richard Randolph was a burgess from Henrico in the House of Burgesses in Williamsburg. Although he was listed among the burgesses in 1766, there is no record

of his attendance in the House before the Spring Session in 1767.<sup>153</sup> Reelected in 1772,<sup>154</sup> he was never a prominent leader among the burgesses. In 1767 he was appointed to a committee to settle public proportions<sup>155</sup> and not until 1769 was he assigned to the important standing Committee of Propositions and Grievances and to the Committee on Religion.<sup>156</sup> The only other record of his service in the House was membership on a special committee to prepare a bill for the town of Rocky Ridge in Chesterfield and for adding city lots to the city of Richmond.<sup>157</sup>

In 1772 Randolph stood for reelection and in a close race defeated Samuel Duval by two votes. Duval examined the poll and deciding that he had more votes than Randolph presented the House with a petition charging an "undue Election."<sup>158</sup> The charges were substantiated "whereupon," wrote Richard Adams, the duly elected Henrico burgess, "Col. Randolph not caring to enter into that dispute, broke through his engagm't & procured a pet'n to sett aside the whole Election for want of form, wch was done by the assembly and the Freeholders not approving of Col. Randolph's conduct has sent DuVal with me."<sup>159</sup>

As a public man Randolph participated in some of the controversies that shook the Virginia colony. In 1766 he defended Colonel John Chiswell, his cousin's husband, of killing Robert Routledge in a tavern brawl asserting, in effect, that Routledge had killed himself by falling on Chiswell's extended sword.<sup>160</sup> There was no substance in Randolph's defense because he had not witnessed the killing, and, besides, Chiswell openly admitted his guilt. Randolph's role in the scandal was peripheral and of no consequence, for Chiswell died before coming to trial. Nevertheless, in defending his relative, Randolph not only showed his family

loyalty, but he also aligned himself with Chiswell's lawyer, John Wayles, who was later to be his slave-trading partner, and indirectly with John Blair, William Byrd III, and Presley Thornton, the three General Court judges who, having admitted Chiswell to bail without examining his case, had come under public criticism. Randolph himself was scorned for his part in the Chiswell scandal. His cousin, Robert Bolling of Chellowe, calling Randolph "Collin", published a poem, "A Satire on the Times," in the Virginia Gazette, stating that it was Wayles "painting right as wrong" who "Loos'd, to obscene reproach, good COLLIN'S tongue (COLLIN, 'twas ill, howe'er to be so sway'd)." <sup>161</sup> In unpublished notes to the poem Bolling wrote, "Richard Randolph of Curles (the Authors Cousin German [?] a Man whom the Author conceived among his best Friends) while the Indictment was depending before the G[rand] Jury...gave a loose to all Manner of Invective against [him] in various public Houses in Williamsburgh. He woud have been treated with greater Severity in this Piece had not the Public been severe enough upon him for that Conduct. It may be of Use to Remark that Col Randolph arrived in Williamsburg in Col. Byrds Chariot & had the Poo[r]ness of Spirit to think himself honor'd by some of that Gentleman's Attentions...." <sup>162</sup>

Randolph was firm in his support of Virginia in the growing crisis between England and her North American colonies during the 1760's and 1770's. The Old Dominion protested the passage of the Stamp Act in 1765, but at that time Randolph did not hold a colony office, and there is no record of his position. On May 17, 1769, when Governor Botetourt, upon instructions from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dissolved the House of Burgesses because it refused to rescind its earlier support of the Massachusetts Circular Letter against the Townshend

duties and its insistence that Parliament had no right to levy taxes in the colony, Randolph was among the burgesses who walked down the street from the capitol in Williamsburg and reconvened at the Raleigh Tavern. There, the next day, he and eighty-seven other burgesses signed the Association promising not to import, and, after September 1, not to buy any goods taxed by Parliament for the purpose of raising revenue until the Townshend duties were repealed.<sup>163</sup>

The Association of 1769 was a disappointment, however. Randolph was among the burgesses and merchants in Williamsburg on June 22, 1770, who drew up and signed a new agreement barring British goods and establishing county committees to enforce it by publishing names of the violators.<sup>164</sup> With the repeal of the Townshend duties, support for the Association declined and in 1771 it disbanded.

Randolph's failure to win reelection to the House of Burgesses in 1772 removed him temporarily from active participation in the struggle with England. Colonial grievances continued to mount, nevertheless, and culminated in the calling of the Continental Congress in 1774. Among the resolves of Congress to force the British government to comply with American demands was the creation of the Continental Association prohibiting the importation of British goods after December 1, 1774, and the exportation of goods to Britain after September 1, 1775. To enforce the resolve Congress called for the creation of local committees within the colonies to punish violators. On November 17, 1774, therefore, the freeholders of Henrico County, meeting in Richmond to choose a committee, elected Richard Randolph and fourteen others "to see that the association is duly carried into execution within the said county."<sup>165</sup> Randolph served the committee in a routine manner; he was appointed to

a corresponding subcommittee to inform other county committees of any breach or violation of the Association; and on January 2, 1775, he and three colleagues were delegated to advertise the sale of a confiscated cargo.<sup>166</sup>

Besides his work in behalf of the Association, Randolph and Richard Adams were elected on May 5, 1775, to represent Henrico County at the third meeting of the Virginia Convention, the extra-legal assembly which gathered first in 1774 when Governor Dunmore refused to convene the General Assembly.<sup>167</sup> Later, on November 6, 1775, following an ordinance of the Convention seeking to protect Virginia in view of the war in New England, he and twenty other local men were elected to the Henrico Committee of Safety.<sup>168</sup>

The so-called Coercive Acts of 1774 directed against Boston made Randolph critical of Parliament and its ministers. "Diabolical" and "Hellish" he termed the acts of Parliament; the ministry, he said, was corrupt. The outbreak of hostilities in Massachusetts at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, made him defiant: "In short," he told his English creditors, "our whole study now is to acquire the use of fire Arms that we may be prepared to make a vigorous stand which you may rely on will take place as I verily believe there is not a Man amongst us that entertains the least Idea of giving up the Point in dispute between us & our Parent State which we all wish to be dutiful to & nothing will induce us to take other Steps but dire necessity so that she must abide by the Consequences which I am well assured will prove her ruin as well as a Disadvantage to us shou'd such unheard of Demands be insisted on by her corrupt Ministry whose Plans will never be yielded to by America so long as it pleases God to enable her to oppose them even to the

Destruction of themselves their Fortunes & their Families that are Inhabitants therein."<sup>169</sup>

The greatest hope of conciliation, Randolph thought, rested in the limitation of parliamentary supremacy as was advocated by William Pitt, Earl of Chatham. "Before I conclude," he wrote, "[I] must recommend it to you & others concerned in Trade to use your Influence to have Lord Chatham's plan adopted as none other will signify a farthing the Americans rely so much more on his Integrity than any other Statesman in the Kingdom. They idolize him to such a Degree that the general Cry in all Company's (I have been into lately) is nothing but the worthy L. C. can restore the Peace between Great Britain & her Colonys that has hitherto ('til lately) been experienced by both & why in the Name of Heaven does not the People of England insist on having it carryed into Execution so you may easily judge how miserably we are situated at present from the different Steps taken by L. North that blood thirsty Scoundrel."<sup>170</sup>

"...I don't know," Randolph continued, "how soon I may be call'd upon to defend my injur'd Country & may fall in the Attempt being determined to obey the Commands of my Leader as I think a Man that wou'd not risque every thing that is near & dear to him in so noble a struggle ought not to exist a Moment."<sup>171</sup>

Richard Randolph II was not only a public man; he also had a private life. About 1751 he married Anne Meade, the eldest daughter of David Meade, a Nansemond County planter, who was born about 1731.<sup>172</sup> The Meade pedigree contrasted strangely with that of the Randolphs. According to family tradition, Andrew Meade, Anne's grandfather, a prosperous merchant, was an Irish Catholic who settled on the Nansemond

River late in the seventeenth century having arrived there by way of London and New York City where he had stopped long enough to marry Quakeress Mary Latham. More conventional was the genealogy of Anne's mother, Susannah Everard; she was the daughter of Sir Richard Everard, Governor of North Carolina, and the granddaughter of Richard Kidder, Bishop of Bath and Wells. Her forebears notwithstanding, Anne Meade made a good wife. A portrait painted after her marriage showed that she was pleasant and pretty with dark hair and eyes.<sup>173</sup> A woman of remarkable stamina, she bore ten children in twenty-five years and lived on to the venerable age of eighty-three.<sup>174</sup> Little is known of the relationship between husband and wife; none of their correspondence has come to light, but after thirty-five years of marriage, Richard still referred to Anne as his "loving wife."<sup>175</sup>

They were parents of four sons and six daughters born between 1752 and about 1777. The children were Richard, David Meade, Brett, Ryland, Susannah, Jane, Anne, Elizabeth, Mary, and Sarah.<sup>176</sup> Randolph, like other Virginia fathers of the planter class, probably maintained a school and tutor on his plantation, for in 1765 he purchased William Lily's A Short Introduction of Grammar, Samuel Clarke's Introduction, Ovid's Metamorphoses, and Caesar's Commentaries, all standard Latin textbooks.<sup>177</sup> How much education the Randolph daughters received is unknown, but in the 1770's the three elder sons matriculated at the College of William and Mary.<sup>178</sup> Randolph provided an inheritance for his children although it was jeopardized by the indebtedness of his estate. He divided his land more or less equally among his sons, the Curles plantation going to Richard, his eldest. There is no record of the slaves he gave to his four elder children, but in his will Brett



and Ryland each received forty and his four unmarried daughters each twelve. In addition to their slaves, the daughters received a cash settlement of £20.<sup>179</sup>

The Randolphs at Curles lived in a style befitting their social position. Although Richard II inherited the plantation from his father, he did not actually become its master until 1750 when he purchased his mother's life interest.<sup>180</sup> The mansion house, which faced south toward the James River, was an imposing two-story frame structure measuring 95 feet by 26 feet.<sup>181</sup> When and by whom the house was built is not recorded, and since it is no longer standing there can be no estimation of its age, but it would be strange indeed if during the thirty-six years of his tenure Richard II made no alterations in his home. The house stood in the midst of a cluster of outbuildings essential to plantation life: a kitchen, ice-house, dairy, laundry, and stable.<sup>182</sup> The furnishings at Curles, so far as they are known, bespoke wealth. Richard made only a general reference to "Linnen, plate, china, household & kitchen furniture, pictures," and a chariot,<sup>183</sup> but other references reveal specifically that he owned a silver salver, four large silver salt cellars, silver milk pot, items of pewter and copper, a mahogany scritoire, portraits of himself and his wife, and a pair of counterpanes.<sup>184</sup> Randolph owned some books; in 1752 he purchased from the Williamsburg bookseller a set of the Journals of the House of Bur-gesses and in 1765 eight volumes of The Spectator by Addison and Steele;<sup>185</sup> if he had more, he sent to England for them.

What manner of man was Richard Randolph II? In several respects he was typical of the Virginia aristocrat who came to maturity prior to the War for American Independence. Descended from an important and

powerful family, he received the best education the colony had to offer and was heir to an ample fortune in land and slaves. While tobacco was his principal livelihood, he did not confine himself strictly to planting, but bought and sold land, and traded in slaves. His finances were troubled, he was heavily in debt to British merchants; nevertheless, he thought his assets sufficient to meet the charges against him. A man of public responsibility, he was a leader in his parish, county, and in Williamsburg. When it came to imperial relations with England, he did not actively seek independence from the mother country, but the actions of Parliament and the ministry during the 1760's and 1770's made him a patriot active in the revolutionary government of Virginia. He made an acceptable marriage and had a large family for whom he provided an adequate education and inheritance. His sense of family transcended his immediate circle, for he attended to the affairs for his brothers, sisters, and cousins. He lived in a large plantation house that was well appointed with necessities and not a few luxuries.

Nevertheless, Richard Randolph II had his foibles. A British observer reported in 1775 that Randolph was a man of "Fortune and Influence, very popular and a Man of Sense, but violent...too fickle to be much depended on."<sup>186</sup> While these observations pertain directly to Randolph's politics and his usefulness to the British on the eve of American independence, they are at the same time a reasonable estimate of his character in general. He was capable of violence to the point that twice he was hauled into court on charges of assault and battery.<sup>187</sup> The troubled state of his finances, his perplexed relations with various merchants, the multiplicity of court cases against him, his erratic attendance at the county court, and his fraudulent seating in the House

of Burgesses, all lend credence to the charge of fickleness.

Troubled and unhappy, he died at Curles on June 6, 1786, of a "tedious Gouty and Bilious disorder."<sup>188</sup>

2. MARY RANDOLPH CARY (17 November 1727--25 November 1781)

The second child and eldest daughter of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph, Mary Randolph was born November 17, 1727. She spent her early life on the family plantation at Curles. In 1744 she married Archibald Cary<sup>189</sup> and her father provided a dowry of £500 sterling and two slaves.<sup>190</sup>

The Cary family lived at Amptill, a plantation south and west across the James River from Curles, and, like the Randolphs, was long established in Virginia, having come from England during the latter half of the seventeenth century. By any standards Archibald Cary was a good husband. Born January 24, 1720/21, in Williamsburg, where his father and grandfather had distinguished themselves superintending the construction of the major public buildings, he was educated at the College of William and Mary. A planter, he inherited Amptill from his father in 1749, and acquired a minimum of 14,172 acres and 266 slaves. He was, moreover, an entrepreneur; to develop deposits of limonite iron ore located on his property, he built a furnace and foundry; he established flour mills and a ropery on his plantation, and he was a well known breeder of cattle and horses. A leader in local and colony government, he was vestryman of St. James Parish Southam, justice of the peace for Goochland, Cumberland, and Chesterfield counties, and member of the House of Burgesses for Goochland, 1748-1749, and Chesterfield, 1756-1776. He was a staunch patriot during the struggle for independence from England. He protested the Stamp Act, signed the

Associations of 1769, 1770, and 1774, served on the Committee of Correspondence in 1773, and attended all the Virginia Conventions of 1775 and 1776. Upon the creation of the independent state government, he was elected to the senate and served as Speaker for the rest of his life. During the war, he furnished money and credit for the raising and provisioning of troops to fight the British. He died February 26, 1787.<sup>191</sup>

In contrast to her husband, little is known of Mary Randolph Cary. Undoubtedly her life was typical of a Virginia woman married to a gentry planter and politician. Under her mother's tutelage she no doubt learned some of the skills of domestic management essential to her position as mistress of Ampthill. Sometime after moving to Ampthill in 1750, the Carys remodelled the brick mansion and built parallel to it flanking dependencies, a kitchen and ballroom.<sup>192</sup> How much Mrs. Cary was involved in these alterations is impossible to say, but as the lady of the house her role was probably important. By the standards of the time her home was well appointed. The main house was two stories with four rooms and a central passage on each floor. The rooms were panelled and displayed much furniture: tables, chairs, bookpresses, and bedsteads of mahogany and walnut; portraits, pictures and mirrors; carpets and curtains; andirons, tongs, shovels, and fenders for the fireplaces; china, glass, and silverware; trunks and chests; linen and bedding; and other common household items.<sup>193</sup>

Mrs. Cary knew something of cooking and sewing. In 1764 her husband bought a copy of Hannah Glasse's The Art of Cookery made plain and easy at the bookstore in Williamsburg;<sup>194</sup> and in 1775 she sent her brother's widow four pairs of coarse knitting needles.<sup>195</sup> As the wife of a slaveholder, she managed and directed the house servants. She

also served as hostess to her husband's friends. George Washington, once enamored of her sister-in-law, Sally Cary Fairfax, was a guest at Ampthill<sup>196</sup> and throughout her life Mrs. Cary sent him her greetings. In 1757 while Washington was fighting the French and Indians, she wished him "that sort of glory which will most Indear you to the Fair Sex";<sup>197</sup> and later, after he had married Mrs. Custis and was fighting for American independence, she continued to convey her compliments sending him word in 1777, for example, that she was "very devout in her Prayers for your Safety."<sup>198</sup> Besides Washington, General Nathanael Greene, Commander of the American Southern Army, was her guest in 1780, and after he was gone, she told him of her prayers for his success against the British.<sup>199</sup> There were undoubtedly other guests at Ampthill, but no record of their entertainment survives.

Much of Mrs. Cary's life was devoted to her family. She expressed her affection for her youngest brother, John Randolph, on May 26, 1765, after he had been inoculated for smallpox in Philadelphia. It is the only one of her letters that is known to survive.

Dear Brother,

I Reciv'd yours by Mr Sam pleasants to howm & the rest of his good Family I am much oblig'd for there great kindness to Dear Jack whos welfare I have allways been anxious & very uneasy ever since we parted. it will give me the greatest pleasure next to seeing you to hear you are recover'd of the smallpox. I am glad that anything that has been in my power or ever will, shou'd be serviceable to you as it allways gives me pleasure to contribute to your happiness.

I imagine by your letter to my Brother Ryland, you have some thoughts of Matrimony. if thats your plan, pray dont let the buty on the upper story prevale on you to live out of Virginia. refer you to our Sister E/lizabeth/ R for News. All happiness attend you in this and the next is the ardente wish of your ever Affectinate & Loveing Sister

Mary Cary<sup>200</sup>

She was the mother of eight children, seven daughters and a son, born between 1745 and 1770.<sup>201</sup> Three of the children, among them the family's only son, did not survive infancy; two other daughters died in early adulthood. Upon the death of her daughter, Jane Randolph, in 1774, Mrs. Cary took her infant granddaughter into her household until the child was old enough to return to her widowed father, Thomas Randolph of Dungeness.

Mrs. Cary's last years were difficult. War came close in April, 1781, as Benedict Arnold sailed up the James on his way to Richmond. Fleeing Ampthill on April 29 for their western plantation on Willis Creek in Cumberland County, she and the family escaped barely in time, for the next day Arnold burned the Cary flour mills.<sup>202</sup> In the midst of these hardships her health failed. To recover she went to the Warm Springs in Augusta County, but to no avail. In October her husband confessed that he was "under great uneasyness least She should not recover."<sup>203</sup> She died November 25, 1781.<sup>204</sup>

### 3. JANE RANDOLPH WALKE (c. 1729--?)

The third child and second daughter of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph, Jane Randolph was born about 1729.<sup>205</sup> She grew up on the family plantation at Curles on the James River in Henrico County. About 1750 she married Anthony Walke, a Norfolk merchant born January 3, 1726,<sup>206</sup> and received a dowry of £600 sterling and two female slaves.<sup>207</sup> She bore one son, Anthony Walke, Jr., and died before 1757.<sup>208</sup>

Beyond this scant outline there is little evidence to characterize Jane Randolph Walke. Her portrait, painted by Wollaston, shows a young woman--pleasant, plump, buxom--with dark hair and eyes strongly

resembling her father.<sup>209</sup> In his will, her husband bequeathed their son "my Suit of embroidered Curtains, in Remembrance of his Mother, who took great pains in working them, the two neat Trunks, Gold Studs and every other Article that belonged to my late wife...."<sup>210</sup>

#### 4. BRETT RANDOLPH (c. 1732--1759)

The second son and fourth child of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph, Brett Randolph was born about 1732,<sup>211</sup> and was named for Sir Edward Brett, great uncle of his grandmother Randolph, who had been knighted for service to King Charles I.<sup>212</sup> Unlike his elder brother, he did not attend the College of William and Mary in Virginia. Probably, since another brother went to England to school, and since Brett married an Englishwoman, he was educated in the mother country.

At the age of twenty-one he inherited from his father land, slaves and stock in Virginia. His land, located in the counties of Chesterfield, Goochland, Amelia, Lunenburg, and Bedford, was not defined quantitatively, but his share of his father's estate amounted to about 21,000 acres, and in 1754 he purchased an additional 317 acres. The number of his slaves and stocks cannot be determined.<sup>213</sup>

On July 13, 1753, he married Mary Scott in London. She was the daughter of a wigmaker in County Gloucester.<sup>214</sup> Soon after his marriage he came to Virginia and took up residence in Chesterfield County. By November, 1753, he was county surveyor of roads, a post recently held by his brother-in-law, Archibald Cary. But he did not remain long in Virginia. On December 24, 1755, he announced his intention to leave the colony.<sup>215</sup>

The reasons of his departure are uncertain. Perhaps his wife was

homesick. Certainly he had troubles of his own. He neglected his surveyor's duties so that he was subject to action by the Chesterfield court. In May, 1755, and November, 1756, he was summoned to answer charges for allowing the county roads to fall into disrepair. He appeared neither time and was fined respectively 15 shillings and made to "make his fine with our Lord the King."<sup>216</sup> Whatever his reasons, he put his affairs in order,<sup>217</sup> and early in 1757 he left for England to spend the rest of his life.

Nothing is known of his last years. He died in 1759, leaving three small children and his wife pregnant with their third son.<sup>218</sup>

##### 5. RYLAND RANDOLPH (c. 1734--1784)

The fifth of seven children, Ryland Randolph was the third son of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph. He was born about 1734,<sup>219</sup> and named for the family of his paternal great-grandmother, Elizabeth Ryland.<sup>220</sup> His early years were spent on his father's plantation at Curles in Henrico County. Although two of his brothers attended the College of William and Mary in Virginia, he did not; instead it appears that he and his brother, Brett, were taken to school when their father went to England in 1748. Probably, even though their parent died shortly after their arrival, the Randolph brothers, like other sons of the Virginia gentry, enrolled in an English grammar school. No record of their studies has been found, however. On December 2, 1752, after completing his preparatory courses, Ryland matriculated at the Middle Temple, the well-known law school in London.<sup>221</sup> Despite his great distance from home, he maintained family ties. In his earliest surviving letter, dated July 23, 1752, he informed a brother of his disappointment



at receiving no news from him. "I wrote to my mother," he continued, "for her consent to be inoculated for the small pox, but since see that she thinks it a piece of presumption; when you favour me with a line pray let me have your opinion of it. My love to my sister[-in-law], I am not so happy to know, and your little daughter...."<sup>222</sup> At the conclusion of his legal studies, about 1756, he returned to Virginia.

His education notwithstanding he became a planter. There is no evidence, except for the single instance when he drew up a will for his mother,<sup>223</sup> that he was ever a practicing lawyer. Sometime, probably late in the 1750's, he purchased from the estate of his late cousin, Beverley Randolph, their grandfather's old plantation at Turkey Island.<sup>224</sup> Even before buying the plantation, which comprised about 900 acres, Ryland was a large landholder. His share of his father's estate amounted to about 21,000 acres and extended into the counties of Chesterfield, Goochland, Amelia, Prince Edward, and Brunswick.<sup>225</sup> Content apparently with his inheritance and the Turkey Island plantation, he made no other sizeable land acquisitions. Between 1760 and 1773, in four purchases, he bought a total of 129 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres adjacent to Turkey Island.<sup>226</sup>

His sale of land was infrequent. He disposed of two parcels in Henrico County, one amounting to 41 $\frac{1}{2}$  acres in 1760, another in 1769 totaling 311-3/4 acres.<sup>227</sup> In 1772 he offered the 1,000-acre Bush River plantation in Prince Edward County.<sup>228</sup> There is no explanation in the records of his reasons for selling his land, but plausibly he needed the money, especially in the sale of the Bush River property where he also offered "thirty SLAVES, CORN, STOCKS, and PLANTATION IMPLEMENTS."<sup>229</sup>

Typical of Virginia plantations in the eighteenth century, the

Randolph land was divided into convenient acreages. Not all Ryland's plantations are known; other than his Turkey Island homeplace and the Bush River quarter, there is no specific record of his holdings.

He maintained stocks of animals on his plantations. Although there is no complete record of them, at the time of his death he had at Turkey Island 35 head of cattle, 6 mares, 1 colt, and 63 sheep.<sup>230</sup> He also had a good collection of tools and equipment on the plantation: "a lott of Whipps," a "Compleat Lock," a "Box of Screws brass," an "old Saddle and bridle," "Sheep shares &c," a "parcel of old harness," a "bunch of wire," a "parcel of Reap hooks," "4 barrs Iron," a "parcel of Old Iron," a "box of Spanish whiting," a "Saffe (wire)," a "garden spade," "The Mud Machine," a "fish gig and Trimmer," a "parcel of Sythes," a "old Farile," "old Tools," a "rolling Stone," a "Dragg," a "Waggon," 13 "ploughs," 3 "Wheat Mills," "Shovels &c," 3 pairs "Large Wheels," and a "fencing chain."<sup>231</sup>

Animals and implements were important to plantation operation, but labor was even more significant. As the plantation master, Randolph supervised a hierarchy of workers. He employed both whites and blacks. Whites he hired either by wages or indenture. Joshua Blanton, his long-time overseer on the Bush River plantation, was probably salaried.<sup>232</sup> On the other hand, John Hay, a Scot carpenter, was an "indented servant."<sup>233</sup> In contrast to the whites, the blacks were slaves. There is no census of Randolph's chattels; he and his three brothers inherited an unspecified number from their father, and over the years he undoubtedly purchased additional Negroes.<sup>234</sup>

There were problems in dealing with diverse kinds of labor. In 1769 his indentured carpenter, John Hay, ran away from Turkey Island,

and he offered a sizeable reward of £5 for his return.<sup>235</sup> His slaves were sometimes problematic. In August, 1784, Randolph sent his Negro man, John Braxton, to Richmond with provisions which he sold, but he did not return with the money to Turkey Island. Two months later Randolph heard that Braxton had been seen in the vicinity of St. George Tucker's plantation near Petersburg where his wife was the Tucker cook. Randolph sent to Tucker for Braxton's return. "I should hardly think any apology I could make, sufficient for troubling you on such an occasion as this," Randolph wrote, "if I was not persuaded, that you, & every intelligent Gentleman in the Country feels every day, the plague that these Creatures are as Domesticks to their Masters; & the occasional trouble they give others wherever they intrude...."<sup>236</sup>

Despite such vexations, Randolph was capable of generosity. In 1783 when a carpenter, presumably a white man, long in Randolph's employ, prepared to retire, Ryland urged his sister-in-law to pay her carpentry bill because the carpenter's situation was "that of an old Man of 70, who in a very little time will be unable to support himself by his labour, when every trifle he has earned in his better days, will be very essential to him."<sup>237</sup> Randolph also held some of his blacks in special regard. In his will he freed nine slaves and provided a £1000 bequest to two others. He had great affection for his house servant, Aggy, and her infant son and daughter. Besides granting them their freedom, he gave them, with a few exceptions, "All my Household furniture of every kind including Gold & Silver," provided for their passage to England, and established for them there a trust fund of £3000 sterling.<sup>238</sup> Not even the acknowledged members of his family were so generously treated as Aggy and her brood.

Agriculture was the primary enterprise on the Randolph plantations. Tobacco, wheat, and corn were the principal crops, but in the absence of farm records, it is impossible to know the schedule or proportions of their growth.<sup>239</sup>

An evaluation of Ryland Randolph the planter is tentative. The evidence is incomplete and often ambiguous, but there are indications that plantation management was not among his primary interests. During the midsummer of 1765, for example, he left his plantations at the height of the growing season to make a tour of New York and Canada and did not return until late October when the harvest was done.<sup>240</sup> Furthermore, the troubled state of his finances points to an indifference in business matters. While some of his money problems were tied to economic factors beyond his control, his personal extravagance undoubtedly contributed to his difficulties. Long after his death, his nephew, John Randolph of Roanoke, said bluntly that Ryland squandered his inheritance to the last shilling.<sup>241</sup>

Like most other Virginia planters of his generation, Ryland Randolph was in debt because the sale of his crops seldom covered his obligations. Consequently short of cash, he exercised the options of buying on credit, borrowing, or spending his savings. He owed nearly £6000 to English merchants,<sup>242</sup> and was obligated in Virginia as well. He borrowed £57.30.18 from Treasurer John Robinson who made illegal loans from the public treasury.<sup>243</sup> He repaid £30 to the Robinson estate, but was not so prompt in the discharge of his other debts. The surviving records reveal that he was sued in at least seven cases between 1768 and 1784.<sup>244</sup> One of his Virginia creditors recovered 20,000 pounds of tobacco at 5% interest,<sup>245</sup> but the resolution of the other

cases is not recorded.

Only two cases have been discovered in which Ryland Randolph was a creditor, and neither of them were to his advantage. The case involving his brother, John, is discussed below. The other was a debt case he brought against Isaac Sharp. Both parties presented their evidence in court on March 2, 1767. The judgment was awarded to Sharp, and Ryland was charged court costs.<sup>246</sup>

Financial dealings with his family brought trouble. The nature and extent of their involvement is unknown, but in 1783 his brother, Richard, and his brother-in-law, Richard Kidder Meade, each brought a case against him in the Henrico court. His brother's case was referred to arbitration and the Meade case to a jury, but Ryland died before either was concluded.<sup>247</sup> Later Richard asserted that Ryland owed him £6000 and had mortgaged the Turkey Island plantation as security.<sup>248</sup> Ryland himself instituted a suit against the estate of his younger brother, John, which resulted in a family quarrel. In 1769 Ryland loaned John £1000; John died in 1775 with his debt unpaid; and in 1784 Ryland took his case to court.<sup>249</sup> His action was unpopular; his cousin, Edmund Randolph, denied Ryland his legal services because he had "an earnest wish" to befriend John Randolph's three young sons.<sup>250</sup> Ryland pressed his charges anyway, claiming his brother's share of their father's estate. He died, however, before his case was decided.<sup>251</sup>

Although his will ordered the sale of his property and the payment of all his "legal & just debts," there were claims against his estate as late as 1804, twenty years after his death.<sup>252</sup>

In the tradition of his family, Ryland Randolph was a public officeholder in the county and parish. Appointed to the commission of

the peace for Henrico County on November 5, 1757, he took the oath of office on May 1, 1758.<sup>253</sup> He was a county justice until August 21, 1761, when he was appointed Henrico sheriff, a post he held until March, 1767, when he again became a justice.<sup>254</sup> Although he was listed among the Henrico justices in November, 1770,<sup>255</sup> the length of his tenure, because of the incompleteness of the records, is unknown. There is scant reference to his county service, either as justice or sheriff; in November, 1762, he was named among eleven trustees for clearing the Appomattox River;<sup>256</sup> and in 1767 he was among the justices appointed to make a list of the county tithables.<sup>257</sup>

Randolph seemed not to be burdened greatly by his responsibilities. For instance, between November 6, 1758, and August 8, 1761, the county court met thirty-one times; he was present at only seven meetings, and was late for five.<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, between June 1, 1767, and August 3, 1769, he was present at only three of thirty-one meetings of the court and was late twice.<sup>259</sup> Also, he was a member of the county militia with the rank of colonel, but there is no record of his service.

Concurrent with his county service, Randolph was a vestryman of Henrico Parish. Elected by the vestry on October 11, 1759, he registered with the county court on December 1, 1760, and attended his first meeting the next day.<sup>260</sup> Apparently he was more involved in the affairs of the church than of the county. Three times he served as churchwarden and attended all but four of fifteen vestry meetings between 1760 and 1773 when the records cease.<sup>261</sup>

In contrast to his numerous relatives who were officers in the colony government, Ryland never held office in Williamsburg. There was some talk in 1771 of his standing for burgess in Prince Edward County,<sup>262</sup>

but if he did, he was not elected. It is doubtful, given his indifferent record as justice of the peace, that he was very much interested in a colony office.

Ryland Randolph was hardly typical of the Virginia gentry. Seemingly unenthusiastic about planting and public service, he spent much of his time and a great deal of his fortune in self-indulgence. Although it is impossible to detail his interests and attitudes completely, he was described by a contemporary as "a fine classical scholar, master of the French and Italian languages, an eloquent speaker and most accomplished gentleman."<sup>263</sup>

Among his chief preoccupations was the mansion at Turkey Island, which was "generally considered one of the most beautiful buildings in all the lower country."<sup>264</sup> Ryland spent years remodelling the house, beginning his alterations perhaps in the midsummer of 1768, when the place was struck by lightning "by which part of the chimney was thrown down, the roof shattered, the windows broken, and other damage done...."<sup>265</sup> About 1770, a Williamsburg physician came to Turkey Island and found "an elegant building, but unfinished, occasioned by the owner's versatility of taste, and perpetual alterations."<sup>266</sup> Several carpenters were employed on the renovation, one of whom later recalled that he had served his apprenticeship "in a single room of that house, where he had learned more of his trade than one could now do in building...a hundred houses."<sup>267</sup> Completed, the brick mansion stood two stories high, flanked on either side by wings of one story, and capped with a large dome.<sup>268</sup> Unfortunately, the house with all that Ryland Randolph incorporated no longer stands; after surviving a fire in 1809, it was destroyed completely in the Civil War.

Turkey Island was pleasantly situated. The house, in the midst of a cluster of outbuildings, stood atop a slope that fell away gradually to the river on the south where the bank rose up sharply to meet it.<sup>269</sup> In the manner of an English gentleman, Ryland made a deer park in the surrounding woods.<sup>270</sup> In 1771 he cleared a vista through the trees to a "rising ground" about a half mile northeast of the house where he erected and inscribed a white stone obelisk, thirty feet high, to commemorate the 1771 flood "When all the great rivers of this country were swept by Inundations never before experienced." The monument was, according to one who saw it from "the north portico & principal rooms of the House," a "beautiful object."<sup>271</sup>

Appropriate to the proportions of the house and its landscape, the interior furnishings were well-made and elegant. Befitting Ryland's great interest in his background, family portraits covered the walls. Besides pictures of his parents, his brother Brett, and himself, he had portraits which he had specially sought in England in 1770 and mistakenly believed were likenesses of his Bolling ancestors, Pocahontas and John Rolfe.<sup>272</sup> The house also had furniture of the best hardwood, pieces of silver and gold, china, glassware, linen, and the mundane necessities for cooking and sleeping.<sup>273</sup>

Something of an intellect and dilettante, Ryland indulged his tastes in the arts and sciences. He bought books without regard to their cost. In 1764 he spent £8.4.6 with the bookseller in Williamsburg buying Jean Jacques Rousseau, Emilius and Sophia; or a New System of Education, 4 vols. (London, 1762); Daniel Defoe, Robinson Crusoe; Alexander Gerard, An Essay on Taste...To which are annexed three Dissertations on the same subject by...De Voltaire,...D'Alembert, and...De



Montesquieu (Edinburgh, 1764); A New and Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences; comprehending all the branches of useful knowledge, 4 vols. (London, 1763, 1764); Tobias Smollett, A Complete History of England, 7 vols. (London, 1758-1760); James Ferguson, Astronomy explained upon Sir Isaac Newton's principles and made easy to those who have not studied Mathematics (London, 1756); and Richard Mead, The Medical Works..., 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1763); and Fontaine, Fables.<sup>274</sup> It is probable that he had other books at Turkey Island, but they have vanished. His specific literary interests are difficult to define; in general they tended to be more theoretical than practical.

He befriended younger intellectuals like his second cousin, Thomas Jefferson, and Bishop James Madison, later President of the College of William and Mary. On one occasion Jefferson purchased a book in Williamsburg for Randolph, and over the years the two men exchanged agricultural information and equipment.<sup>275</sup> His correspondence with Bishop Madison is not so well documented, but Randolph once sent him a box of minerals.<sup>276</sup>

Randolph was well-traveled in a time when travel was slow and distance great. He spent nearly eight years in England from about 1748 to about 1756, attending school, and returned again to the mother country for a shorter visit in the late 1760's.<sup>277</sup> More is known of his trip to the northern colonies and Canada in 1765. In the company of his brother, John, and David Meade, whose sister was married to his brother, Richard, he toured Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New York, Montreal, and Quebec. Not only did he see new sections of the country, he was also introduced to important people as well. In New York he and his companions "were politely received and very handsomely entertained" by General Thomas Gage, the commander-in-chief. They met the Massachusetts

delegates to the Stamp Act Congress then convened in New York. In Quebec they met the Governor-General, James Murray; Captain Robert Stobo, a one-time Virginian; and Captain Daniel Claus, son-in-law of Sir William Johnson, deputy superintendent of Indian affairs. Claus invited the Virginians to an Indian congress and introduced them individually to the Indian chiefs "as brethren of the long knife, who had come from the south a thousand miles, to visit Canada."<sup>278</sup> Randolph returned to Turkey Island in late October, but like so much else in his life, there is no evidence that the trip stimulated anything more than amusement. In the summer of 1772 he and a friend trekked into the mountains of western Virginia. The details of the trip are unknown, but a cousin, referring to Ryland's "Passage of the Alps, Seige of Stanton, and precipitate retreat," hinted at an adventuresome excursion.<sup>279</sup>

Despite his lack of interest in local and colony government, Ryland Randolph supported the American cause in the War for Independence. Typically, he was not personally involved, but he provided slaves and supplies to the Virginia patriots.<sup>280</sup> During the last days of the war in 1781, American troops tramped through the deer park, and the Marquis de Lafayette had his headquarters in the Turkey Island mansion.<sup>281</sup>

Randolph was a life-long bachelor. Even though he never married, there are indications that his black house-servant, Aggy, took the place of a spouse. In his will he made greater provision for her and her two children than he did for his Randolph and Bolling relatives.<sup>282</sup> His brother, Richard, however, contrary to the will, and probably with the justification that he was one of Ryland's major creditors, kept the slaves in bondage and disallowed their trust-fund of £3000 sterling.

At his own death in 1786, Richard provided for the eventual emancipation of Aggy's children on the condition that they do not "claim or receive any Legacy from the Estate of my brother Ryland Randolph."<sup>283</sup> What happened to Aggy is not known.

Ryland died in December, 1784.<sup>284</sup> He was a strange man. He possessed many of the advantages of the Virginia gentry--family, education, leadership, and wealth, but he made very little of his opportunities. With an abiding interest in the history of his family, he purchased the ancestral home at Turkey Island and hung its walls with pictures of his relatives going back to Pocahontas. When it came to the members of his immediate family, however, there was an estrangement that resulted in court battles. Educated in a good English law school, he never served at the bar. He held positions of public responsibility in the county and parish, but his service was lackadaisical. He inherited an ample fortune in land and slaves and used it not so much to amplify his wealth as to indulge his personal interests in architecture, landscaping, literature, and travel. Eschewing many of the typical interests of his class in planting and politics, Ryland Randolph lived in a manner that was essentially self-centered.

#### 6. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH MEADE (c. 1736--December, 1773)

The sixth of seven children, Elizabeth Randolph was the third daughter of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph of Curles. There are few details of her life.

She was born about 1736 and spent most of her life on the family plantation. She was literate and when she came of age, she inherited from her father's estate £1000 sterling and two female slaves.<sup>285</sup> Unlike her sisters, however, she did not marry at an early age, but

remained at home with her mother until the old lady died in 1766. Under the terms of her mother's will, she received her "Gold Watch, Seal, Chain, and all appurtenances; the Mahogany Press...; The Chest...in the Store Room, & every thing in it, except a pr of Cotton cords, and the Post Charriot."<sup>286</sup>

In February, 1767, she married Richard Kidder Meade. The nuptials caused merriment among their friends because she was thirty-one and her groom twenty. Her cousin, Robert Bolling of Chellowe, commemorated the occasion in a verse published in the Virginia Gazette:<sup>287</sup>

Away with Hymen Betsy said  
I will no Man existing wed.  
To keep her Word yet taste the Joy  
She shunn'd the Devil & took a Boy.

Nevertheless, it was a good marriage. Meade came of an acceptable family, was educated in England, and owned a plantation at Coggin's Point in Prince George County. Furthermore, the two families were amiable and already related by the marriage of Meade's sister to Richard Randolph II.<sup>288</sup>

Elizabeth Randolph Meade lived only a few years after her marriage. She bore several children, but none of them survived.<sup>289</sup> She died in December, 1773.<sup>290</sup>

#### 7. JOHN RANDOLPH of Bizarre (29 June 1742--28 October 1775)

The youngest of seven children, John Randolph was the fourth son of Richard and Jane Bolling Randolph. Born on June 29, 1742,<sup>291</sup> he spent his early life on the family plantation at Curles. His father died when he was six; consequently, he was educated at the College of William and Mary in Virginia rather than in England as were his brothers, Brett and Ryland. He entered the College in 1754, and

instead of taking his meals with the other students, he apparently boarded with his cousin, President William Stith.<sup>292</sup>

At the age of twenty-one, he inherited his share of his father's estate which, divided equally with his three brothers, amounted to about 21,000 acres of land and one-fourth of the slaves, stock and farm implements. Aside from some holdings in Henrico County, most of his land lay in Lunenburg County, in what is now the counties of Charlotte and Halifax. Late in the 1760's he bought land on the forks of the Appomattox River in Cumberland and Prince Edward counties from his brother, Ryland,<sup>293</sup> where, on the Cumberland property, he made his home at a place called Bizarre. In 1773 he purchased a 1,305-acre tract in Chesterfield County, and calling it Matoax, established his home there.<sup>294</sup> The total acres he owned cannot be determined precisely because either the local records do not record his transactions, or where they do, it is impossible to distinguish John Randolph from a distant cousin of the same name.<sup>295</sup>

Little is known of the routine operation of Randolph's plantations. Typical of Virginia, tobacco was his major cash crop; and he grew wheat and corn. He owned a requisite number of animals without which no farm was complete: horses, cows, hogs, and sheep. Labor was performed by black slaves. There is no complete listing of his chattels, but he owned a substantial number, for in 1768 he put up seventy-eight of his people as security for one of his debts.<sup>296</sup>

Despite his land, cattle, and slaves, Randolph's financial condition was muddled. Like many another Virginia planter, he was in perpetual debt because the sale of his tobacco was not sufficient to maintain his standard of living without an advance on his credit. Among

his chief creditors were the great English mercantile firms. He owed £11,000 sterling to Capel and Osgood Hanbury,<sup>297</sup> and at least £1350.16.12 sterling to Farrell and Jones.<sup>298</sup> His dealings with the firm of John Morton Jordan & Company of London reveal some of his difficulties with the merchants. In 1770 Randolph went to Jordan for a loan of £1500, which the merchant preferred to advance personally rather than have Randolph borrow through the firm; but since Jordan did not have the cash immediately available, he promised Randolph that if he could not procure it by April, 1771, his firm would allow Randolph an advance of £15 on each of ninety hogsheads of tobacco. When the loan was not forthcoming, Randolph presented a bill of credit for £1500, which Jordan's agents refused to honor. "I thought I might depend on this contract," Randolph complained, "& intending to Ship 100 Hhds. instead of 90, Imagined I shou'd be safe in drawing for £1500, which Sum Mr Jordan first promised me, after which, being told by a Gentleman my Bills wou'd be protest'd if not Indorsed by Mr Jordan or Thomas Jett Jordan's agent. I was alarm'd, wrote hastily to desire him to prevent it, if a probability of such a thing. He writes me I had no right to draw for a Shilling, till my Tobo. was on board, he wou'd not recommend such advance, & it was certain my Bills wou'd not be paid without His, or Jetts indorsement, two things I can prove...were not mentioned...."<sup>299</sup>

In addition to his dealings with the merchants, Randolph was in debt to his brother, Ryland. As a result, the two were mutually estranged. John bought the Bizarre tract from Ryland late in the 1760's. He paid part of the price, and on June 12, 1769, signed a bond to pay Ryland £1000 Virginia money before April 1, 1770.<sup>300</sup> His failure to

secure the loan from Jordan was, he said, "a cruel stroke particularly as this Money was to make the last payment for the Land I gave my Brother £4000 for."<sup>301</sup> The bond was never paid, and, after John's death, Ryland sued the estate. The brothers had other dealings. In 1768, together with their elder brother, Richard, they joined in a venture which put them £4000 in debt to Capel and Osgood Hanbury.<sup>302</sup> The partnership resulted in further bitterness between Ryland and John. In his will, dated July 25, 1774, John wrote, "an unhappy difference in an account prevents my leaving my brother Ryland an executor of my estate<sup>7</sup>...."<sup>303</sup>

His indebtedness extended beyond English merchants and family; he also owed money to local storekeepers and planters. From them he bought land and supplies for his farms. For example, at various times he purchased on credit forty barrels of corn, three hogsheads of rum and four hundred pounds of sugar.<sup>304</sup> When he acquired the Matoax plantation in 1773, the bargain was "Closed at Ten years Credit."<sup>305</sup>

An exact account of Randolph's finances is impossible because of the fragmentary state of the evidence. In part, his indebtedness was the result of his failure to sell his crops at good prices and to collect from his debtors. On June 21, 1770, Theodorick Bland, his father-in-law, detailed a problem: "Your hogshead of Tobo. I had Inspected this day (which weighs 1169 Nt.) and applyed at Lambs Store for the Sale of it, but as he was in Williamsburg his Storekeepers could, or would, not take it. I then applyed to all the rest of the Merchants and the most I was offered was 22/ therefore would not Sell it. I shall endeavour to Sell it at the price you mention otherways shall decline the sale altogether."<sup>306</sup> A few days later, a brother-in-law apologized for his

inability to pay his debt to Randolph. "I wish, my dear Friend," he wrote, "I could accomodate you with the Balance of the wheat & fifty times that Sum, but believe me, at this time I make a most comtemptible figure in the pecuniary way. You cannot, ought not to doubt of my strongest Inclination to oblige you in any Instance within the Compass of my ability. I hope my Prospect as to money matters will brighten about Autumn, When I shall endeavour not only to pay you for last, but advance for the present Crop. But this horrid rain how it damps my spirits only yesterday elated with the hopes of a fine & plentiful Harvest, & to day depressed with the gloomy apprehension of sprouted wheat [ ] drowned Tobacco & foul Corn Fields."<sup>307</sup>

Despite such difficulties, Randolph seems to have been conscientious in settling his accounts. During his lifetime he attempted to borrow on his tobacco crop to meet his immediate debts, to mortgage his slaves, and to sell some of his land. When these efforts were only partially successful, he provided at his death in 1775 that the executors of his estate "settle my accounts [ ] collect and pay my Debts as soon as possible. I desire they may employ a proper person to keep my accounts pay him genteely and have all my accounts settled once every year."<sup>308</sup> Even so, it was more than a half century after Randolph's death before the debts were settled completely. In particular, the Randolph debts to the London merchants were subject to prolonged litigation. The firm of Farrell and Jones, claiming £954.14.4 sterling against the estate, sued in U.S. Circuit Court. When the case came to trial late in 1791, the executors claimed that since the debt was contracted before 1776, it was annulled by American independence. Their argument being disallowed, the case dragged on until 1797 when a



Virginia jury, on which two of Randolph's relatives sat, declared it a non-case.<sup>309</sup>

The Randolph debt of £4000 to the firm of Capel and Osgood Hanbury was more troublesome. During his lifetime Randolph had, as security to the Hanburys, mortgaged 3,000 acres of his land and 86 slaves belonging to him and Ryland, and consigned his tobacco to the firm. The sale of the tobacco proving insufficient, the Hanburys finally foreclosed on the mortgage in 1791. The executors fought the action for years. In November, 1799, Randolph's son, John of Roanoke, who had succeeded the original executors, demanded of the Hanburys a strict account of the Randolph tobacco shipments. Having checked the warehouse records in Suffolk and Smithfield in Virginia, he found that his father had shipped 225 hogsheads and received the highest price. When he charged that the Hanburys' Virginia agents were dishonest and implied that the London merchants themselves had not reported the true prices, the firm confessed in 1802 that Randolph's tobacco had been lost and that even though the estate owed \$9,437.35 at 5% interest from February, 1801, they could credit \$3,333.33-1/3 to the estate in lieu of the lost leaf. The suit, however, did not abate until December 31, 1829, when the Hanburys at last admitted full satisfaction.<sup>310</sup>

How great was Randolph's debt in proportion to his assets? Since most of the records have not survived, a definitive answer cannot be given. In 1788, St. George Tucker, who was managing the estate, wrote to Randolph's sons, "The recovery of British debts can no longer be postponed, & there now seems to be a moral certainty that your patrimony will all go to satisfy the unjust debt from your Papa to the Hanburys."<sup>311</sup> However, the impression is that since the estate remained essentially

intact throughout the lifetime of his children that his debts did not exhaust his resources.

As a planter, there was little to distinguish Randolph from his contemporaries; he shared with them the common concerns of land, slaves, crops, credit, and debts. When it came to public service, one of the major interests of the plantation gentry, he was, however, an exception. On October 22, 1766, he was elected to the vestry of Henrico Parish, and on August 3, 1768, he took the oath as justice of the peace for Henrico County, but his removal to Cumberland County about 1770 precluded his career.<sup>312</sup> Aside from scattered references to his rank of colonel in the local militia,<sup>313</sup> there is no other record of county or parish service, nor of service to the colony. Nevertheless, he displayed an interest in local affairs in 1775 when, after Governor Dunmore secretly removed the powder from the Williamsburg magazine, he and his father-in-law sold forty slaves to purchase another supply for the colony's defense.<sup>314</sup>

Aspects of Randolph's personal life are well documented. The youngest child in the family, he grew up in the loving household of his widowed mother. Perhaps it was she who kept him in Virginia rather than sending him to school in England. "My Dear Johnny," she wrote when he was almost twenty-three and traveling away from home. "When I wrote...I forgot to thank you for your obliging Letter...in which I was much pleas'd to find that Sam went with you, and shall always acknowledge with the greatest gratitude Mr Bakers goodness in sparing him to you....I pray God Bless you, & send you safe back to us again." She signed herself, "Dear Johnny, Your very affect. Mother."<sup>315</sup>

Other family members were devoted to him, in particular, his

eldest sister, Mary Randolph Cary. "I am extremely glad to hear you arrivd at Philadelphia and hope by this you are recoverd of the small-pox [inoculation]," Mrs. Cary's daughter wrote him on May 18, 1765. "my Mamma presents her love and takes it very much amis your not wrighting to her. the Family here Joins me in Love & Compliments and wishing you all the Happiness this world can afford."<sup>316</sup> A few days later Mrs. Cary herself wrote that she had "allways been anxious & very uneasy ever since we parted." She would be greatly pleased "to hear you are recover'd of the smallpox." "I imagine," she continued, "... you have some thoughts of Matrimony. if thats your plan, pray dont let the buty...prevale on you to live out of Virginia." She signed herself "your ever Affectinate & Loveing Sister."<sup>317</sup>

Although he came into his inheritance in 1763, he seemed in no particular hurry to assume the responsibilities of a Virginia gentleman, planting and public service. Instead in the spring of 1765, he went north to Philadelphia where, later in the summer, after first being inoculated for smallpox, he met his brother, Ryland, and their friend, David Meade, and embarked on an extended trip to New York and Canada. Before returning to Virginia in late October, his party explored the battle sites of the colonial wars and met many important people, including General Thomas Gage, the Massachusetts delegation to the Stamp Act Congress, and the Governor-General of Quebec.<sup>318</sup> Apparently not until his marriage four years later did he settle into the routine of plantation life.

On March 9, 1769, he married Frances Bland, his sixteen-year-old second cousin, who was noted for her "tawny" beauty.<sup>319</sup> They were parents of four children: Richard, born March 9, 1770; Theodorick

Bland, January 22, 1771; John, June 2, 1773; and Jane, November 10, 1775.<sup>320</sup>

The Randolphs were affectionate parents. When their eldest was six months old and came down with a childhood sickness, they sent for his uncle, Dr. Theodorick Bland, Jr. Unable to come himself, the doctor sent a package of medicinals and wrote reassuringly, "I imagine Dickes indisposition proceeds from teething chiefly and that the season of the year has given this the form of an intermittent to a fever which generally accompanies children when cutting the teeth."<sup>321</sup> The boy and his two brothers survived childhood, but their sister lived only sixteen days, dying November 26, 1775.<sup>322</sup> Randolph did not live to see the birth of his daughter (she was born two weeks after his death) or to attend his sons to maturity, but he made good provision for them in his will. He devised his land and slaves to them when they were of age, appointed their mother, grandfather Bland, and two maternal uncles their guardians with the stipulation that Dr. Bland oversee their education which was to be "in the best manner without regard to expense as far as their fortunes may allow even to the last shilling and that they chuse professions or trades agreeable to their inclination when they are old enough to make a choice and that neither of them be brought up without learning either Trade or profession."<sup>323</sup>

Randolph maintained his family on the Bizarre plantation. Whether a house was already on the property when he purchased it or whether he built a dwelling himself is impossible to determine, for the building long since has been destroyed. Nevertheless, when he occupied the house about 1770, his father-in-law helped furnish and maintain it. Repeatedly Bland sent furniture, kitchenware, household items, hardware,

farm implements, food, liquor, and slaves to Bizarre.<sup>324</sup> But he did not intend that the Randolphs should lounge in luxury at his expense. "I hope...to hear," Bland wrote to Randolph, "that yours and Fannys Industry (to wit) you in the Tobo, house &c and She in the Kitching and Dary by day light) has Contributed to your healths as it must (according to the old proverb) add to you welth, the wise man tells us that the hand of the deligent maketh Rich, which will be some Consolation to us in our malencoly moods."<sup>325</sup>

The Randolphs resided at Bizarre until 1774 when they moved to Matoax, the plantation situated on the north side of the Appomattox River about two miles above the town of Petersburg in Chesterfield County. The house sat "on a high bluff, commanding a wide prospect of the surrounding country," but a fire in the nineteenth century reduced it to ruins.<sup>326</sup> The reasons for their removal are unknown. Probably, since Matoax was about sixty miles to the east of Bizarre within easy distance of relatives, it was a more convenient place to rear a growing family.

John Randolph did not live long after moving to Matoax. He died October 28, 1775. He had, said Archibald Cary, "got Cold by rideing in the Night" to see his cousin, Thomas Mann Randolph of Tuckahoe "who was expected to die." The cousin recovered, but the visit cost Randolph his life.<sup>327</sup> His death at age thirty-three was not a complete surprise, for he had been periodically in poor health for a long time. Throughout his marriage he had complained of illness and sought the diagnosis and treatment of Dr. Bland. In 1771, Bland wrote, "I take Mr. Randolphs case to be bilious remittent something of the inflammatory kind which had he been bled once pretty plentifully in the beginning would have

intermitted perfectly...." In addition to bleeding, the doctor prescribed leeches and a series of purgatives.<sup>328</sup> Randolph suffered another sick spell in 1772, but this time the doctor could not attend his case because his horses were inadequate to the long trip to Bizarre.<sup>329</sup> He suffered from "blind piles" in 1774 and was unable to leave home for the funeral of his mother-in-law. The doctor assured him that even though piles were painful, they were not dangerous and "in a habit of body like yours is never attended with a fistula." For treatment the doctor ordered a bath of "mullain decoction," an ointment of "parsley & ream, or sweet oil," a "quantity of a Nutmeg...to produce one or two loose stools a day," and if there was much swelling or pain "a small puncture in the part with a Lancet so as to make it bleed will relieve the pain; but do not do this unless the piles are very Painfull and much swelld." The doctor concluded that Randolph "shd avoid riding walking or petting the part as much as possible and live on a low or rather mild diet...."<sup>330</sup>

The evidence suggests that Bland was sometimes impatient with Randolph's illnesses. Informed that Randolph had contacted an "Ague & fever" the doctor apparently responded in anger, for which he apologized in an undated letter. "...you know I never scold," Bland wrote, "a word to the wise is enough....I am sincerely sorry, that you are visited with that plague of Egypt....I thought to have joked you on the healthy air of Bizarre, but alas! was seized with a fit soon after reading the acct. of yrs. was it by Sympathy? or by the contagion convey'd in the letter?...my Sickness, avocations, interruptions, &c. &c. &c. oblige me to break off with our best love to you all beleive me to be yr ever affectionate & Sincere Friend &c."<sup>331</sup>

What manner of man was John Randolph? It is difficult to say. His contemporaries left differing estimates. David Meade described him as "a worthy man of good natural parts, not so much cultivated as those of his brother Ryland, and totally without application."<sup>332</sup> A neighborhood planter, an old man, said Randolph was a whimsical fellow.<sup>333</sup> His brother-in-law Bland was more generous. He wrote in December, 1774: "With what pleasure I shd. participate with you in the festivity and mirth which generally reigns at this happy [Christmas] season especially when Liberal Minds fire wit together. you need not be told. Nor shd. my exertions be wanting to add my Quota to the General stock of Good humor which always predominates at yr. Social Board. I have a large Ballance of Visits to Settle with my Formal Friends, but between you and me no books are kept on that score, But all is free and easy, which as it was, is now, and shall be evermore. Amen."<sup>334</sup>

Randolph was proud of his bluntness. His son wrote long after his death, "My father left, for some reason of his own, this old family adage [nil admirari], and adopted fari quae gentiat [say what you think] for his motto."<sup>335</sup> Coupled to bluntness was hatred. In his will he gave his land in Charlotte County to his second son on the provision "that he don't sell[, ] swap or part with in any manner any part or parcel thereof to one Paul Carrington...(who cheated my brother Ryland out of £570 in a bargain for 310 acres...) or any of his children any agent or attorney for him or them or any other person or persons that he has any suspision or information may want it for him or any of his Family under the penalty of five thousand pounds to be divided equally among my other children, my reason for giving this land on such a condition is that to this day I feel and my children

may feel the vilany of that Paul Carrington."<sup>336</sup>

Carrington, an eminent lawyer, was a man of probity and honor, hardly deserving Randolph's wrath. But Randolph, in addition to his belief that Carrington had swindled his brother (which was a belief not well taken in view of the coolness between the brothers themselves), bore Carrington a grudge for taking, and winning, a pair of law suits at his expense. In 1773 Randolph petitioned the General Court in Williamsburg for a change of venue in two cases in the Charlotte County court where he was being sued respectively for £200 and £30 Virginia money. Claiming innocence of the charges, he told the judges that he could not receive justice in the county court because it was too far from his home and because the plaintiffs, "with a view of taking an Advantage of him" had engaged "Sir Paul Carrington and Thomas Read a[s] practitioners in the Court of Charlotte, who have a remarkable influence on that Court."<sup>337</sup> The General Court referred the dispute to arbitration, but the arbiters decided against Randolph awarding the plaintiffs £47.16.10 and £19.17.6 Virginia money, respectively.<sup>338</sup>

Outspoken and spiteful though he was, when the evidence of his life and career is taken altogether, Meade's appraisal that Randolph was a man "totally without application" seems just. As the youngest of his family, he apparently grew accustomed to having others guide his affairs and tell him what to do. Furthermore, poor health may have limited his activities. In plantation and business affairs he was dependent upon his father-in-law and brothers. He assumed hardly any responsibilities for service to the church, county, or colony. He needed constant reassurance as to the state of his health. An affectionate husband, father, and friend, he was hateful when things did not



go his way. He has been largely forgotten; if he is remembered at all,  
it is as the father of the celebrated John Randolph of Roanoke.<sup>339</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER XI

<sup>1</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book 1806-1830, 58, Tucker-Coleman Papers, noted that Richard Randolph died on December 17, 1748, "in the 58th year of his age."

<sup>2</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33.

<sup>3</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 224 (VSLm).

<sup>4</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 290-292; Orders (1710-1714), 303 (VSLm).

<sup>5</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1706-1709), 3 (VSLm).

<sup>6</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 311; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 118 (VSLm).

<sup>7</sup>Virginia Original Correspondence--Board of Trade, PRO, CO 5/1320, 103-104, 149-150; Privy Council Office 1724-1727, PRO, PC 2/89, 336, 374; Privy Council Office, 1727-1729, PRO, PC 2/90, 21 (CWm); EJCCV, IV, 149; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1735), 249 (VSLm); Hening, Statutes At Large, IV, 181, 307; Privy Council Registers 1732-1734, PRO, PC 2/92, 251-252, 262 (CWm); Chesterfield County, Deed Book #4 (1759-1764), 261-263; Goochland County, Deed Book (1737-1742), 220-222; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 90, 173; Deed Book (1744-1748), 28, 29, 194, 222, 279 (VSLm).

<sup>8</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1735), 249; Deed Book (1744-1748), 28, 29, 194, 222, 279; Goochland County, Deed Book (1737-1742), 220-222 (VSLm).

<sup>9</sup>PRO, CO5/1320, 103-104.

<sup>10</sup>PRO, PC 2/92, 251-252 (CWm); Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1725-1737), 471 (VSLm).

<sup>11</sup>Chesterfield County, Deed Book #4 (1759-1764), 261-263 (VSLm).

<sup>12</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #12 (1724-1726), 142-144; Patents #15 (1732-1735), 185; Patents #25 (1745-1747), 118-119 (VSLm).

<sup>13</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 560.

<sup>14</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #13 (1725-1730), 491; Patents #14 (1732-1735), 99-101; Patents #17 (1735-1738), 9-10, 63-64, 161-163, 472, 473-475, 475-477; Patents #19 (1739-1741), 701; Patents #20 (1741-1743), 393-396; Patents #22 (1743-1745), 607-608; Patents #23 (1743-1745), 766-768, 1050-1053 (VSLm); EJCCV, IV, 163, 227; and Richard Randolph Patent, June 20, 1733, #26422, VSL.

- <sup>15</sup>EJCCV, IV, 118, 244; and Colonial Papers, Folder 32, No. 24, VSL.
- <sup>16</sup>EJCCV, IV, 304, 330.
- <sup>17</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #17 (1735-1738), 154-156 (VSLm).
- <sup>18</sup>EJCCV, V, 16, 195.
- <sup>19</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 250; Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 385; IV (1738-1746), 1311; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 471; Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 40; Goochland County, Deeds, Etc. (1728-1734), 394-396; Deed Book (1737-1742), 431-434; Amelia County, Deed Book (1734-1743), 44, 269-270; Deed Book (1743-1747), 416-417 (VSLm).
- <sup>20</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 385 (VSLm).
- <sup>21</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 471 (VSLm).
- <sup>22</sup>Amelia County, Deed Book (1737-1743), 269-270; and Virginia State Land Office, Patents #17 (1735-1738), 9-10 (VSLm).
- <sup>23</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., January 18, 1739/40, 3:2.
- <sup>24</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 277, 438, 485, 559 (VSLm).
- <sup>25</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., January 18, 1739/40, 3:2.
- <sup>26</sup>Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts CW.
- <sup>27</sup>Henrico County, Court Orders (1710-1714), 303; Order Book (1737-1746), 12, 275; Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 112ff; Goochland County, Order Book (1728-1730), 10 (VSLm); Parks' Va. Gaz., December 9, 1737, 4:1; May 5, 1738, 4:1; Francis Fane to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, January 10, 1726/27, PRO, CO 5/1320, 103-104; Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts CW.
- <sup>28</sup>Compare the will of William Randolph I, Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 225, and the will of Richard Randolph, Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 112 (VSLm).
- <sup>29</sup>EJCCV, IV, 149; PRO, PC 2/92, 251-252.
- <sup>30</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., May 5, 1738, 4:1; Henrico County, Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 112 (VSLm); Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972).
- <sup>31</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 112 (VSLm).

<sup>32</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 12, 15 (VSLm); Parks' Va. Gaz., December 9, 1737, 4:1.

<sup>33</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., May 5, 1738, 4:1.

<sup>34</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 275 (VSLm).

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 12, 15.

<sup>36</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., May 5, 1738, 4:1.

<sup>37</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 112 (VSLm).

<sup>38</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 275 (VSLm). Beverley Randolph and Peter Randolph were Richard's nephews; John Bolling, his brother-in-law; Richard Royall, a distant cousin; and John Archer, the fifth judge, was a member of a family who had been friends of the Randolphs since the days of Richard's father.

<sup>39</sup>Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 112ff. (VSLm).

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>See Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black (Baltimore: Pelican Books, 1969 [orig. ed., 1968]), 101-178.

<sup>42</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., May 5, 1738, 4:1. Italics mine.

<sup>43</sup>Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW.

<sup>44</sup>Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>45</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 316 (VSLm).

<sup>46</sup>Amelia County, Deed Book #3 (1747-1750), 41-42 (VSLm).

<sup>47</sup>See Richard Randolph to Thomas Jones, March 12, 1742/43, Jones Family Papers, IV, 650, LC (CWm); and Richard Randolph to Theodorick Bland, October [?] 20, 1741, Theodorick Bland Papers, Alderman Library, UVa. (CWm).

<sup>48</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 59.

<sup>49</sup>Richard Randolph to Theodorick Bland, February 26, 1744/45, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>50</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 471, 473-474 (VSLm).

<sup>51</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1737-1742), 222 (VSLm).

<sup>52</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 301; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 228; Order Book (1737-1746), 180; Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 227; Goochland County, Order

Book #3, 91, 103 (VSLm).

<sup>53</sup>Chesterfield County, Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 458, 461-462; Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 35, 132, 181, 197, 204, 238, 290, 311 (VSLm).

<sup>54</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1725-1737), 230 (VSLm).

<sup>55</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 99, 125 (VSLm).

<sup>56</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 316, 330 (VSLm).

<sup>57</sup>John Wayles to Farrell and Jones, August 30, 1766, PRO, T 79/10 (CWM).

<sup>58</sup>York County, Order Book (1765-1768), 477; Amelia County, Deed Book #3 (1747-1750), 41-42 (VSLm); and U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 360-373, VSL.

<sup>59</sup>Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, PRO, CO 324/48, 20 (CWM).

<sup>60</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 266 (VSLm).

<sup>61</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 8 (VSLm).

<sup>62</sup>EJCCV, III, 533.

<sup>63</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 125-367 passim; Order Book (1737-1746), 11-416 passim. (VSLm).

<sup>64</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 14, 24, 30, 35, 40, 102, 130, 193, 261; Order Book (1737-1746), 45, 71, 75, 77, 123, 133, 229, 230, 307, 410, 411 (VSLm).

<sup>65</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 55 (VSLm).

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., 224.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 367.

<sup>68</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 41-42 (VSLm).

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., 197.

<sup>70</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 24; Order Book 1737-1746, 90 (VSLm); Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 13; Parks' Va. Gaz., December 9, 1737, 4:1.

<sup>71</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1725-1737), 277, 438, 485, 559 (VSLm).

<sup>72</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 207 (VSLm).

- <sup>73</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 3-81 passim.
- <sup>74</sup>Ibid., 14, 68, 72, 74, 76, 81, 83; Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 207 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>75</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 20, 43, 61. The church is now known as St. John's.
- <sup>76</sup>Richard Randolph to Richard Randolph II, 1748, Meade, Old Churches, I, 138.
- <sup>77</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 5, 172, 393; JHB 1742-1749, 5, 6, 7, 77, 78, 156, 157, 236.
- <sup>78</sup>Greene, Quest For Power, 472.
- <sup>79</sup>For a complete listing of Randolph's activities see JHB 1727-1740, vii, ix, 393, 396, 398, 422, 440; JHB 1742-1749, xxiii, 13, 44, 46, 58, 63, 117, 122, 129, 140, 189, 191, 201, 214, 206, 207, 209, 212, 227, 228, 236, 243, 245, 247, 249.
- <sup>80</sup>EJCCV, IV, 389; Parks' Va. Gaz., March 18, 1736/37, 4:1; September 8, 1738, 4:2; Hening, Statutes at Large, V, 64. If Randolph had hopes to succeed his brother as Speaker and Treasurer, he was disappointed because the posts went to John Robinson who held them until 1766.
- <sup>81</sup>Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, 10, 20, PRO, CO 324/48 (CWM); Gooch to Board of Trade, December 21, 1744, June 10, 1747, PRO, CO 5/1326, 101-102, 245 (CWM).
- <sup>82</sup>PRO, CO 324/48, 20.
- <sup>83</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 128; Goochland County, Order Book (172801730), 34 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- <sup>84</sup>Richard Randolph to Theodorick Bland, February 26, 1744/45, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- <sup>85</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 50, 90, 122, 128, 131, 132, 211, 284, 289, 378.
- <sup>86</sup>Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, 3, 58. Randolph's nephew, William Stith in his History, 146, noting the Randolph-Bolling nuptials, wrote, "So...this Remnant of the Imperial Family of Virginia, which long ran in a single Person, is now encreased and branched into a very numerous Progeny."
- <sup>87</sup>Her portrait, painted by Wollaston, is preserved in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, William and Mary.
- <sup>88</sup>Although the actual amount is unrecorded, in 1729 her father settled on her sister a dowry of 1,207 acres, £115 sterling, and £10

Virginia money to buy a horse. See Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1725-1737), 243 (VSLm).

<sup>89</sup>Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts CW.

<sup>90</sup>Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, XXXIX, #1024 (VSLm). Compare with Ibid., XIII, #313.

<sup>91</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff; and Miscellaneous Court Records, VI (1758-1769), 1995-1998 (VSLm).

<sup>92</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>93</sup>The portraits are in the possession of the College of William and Mary.

<sup>94</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>95</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 18, 31; and Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 62-63.

<sup>96</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>97</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>98</sup>Will of Richard Randolph [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts CW.

<sup>99</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 301 (VSLm).

<sup>100</sup>Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, 58.

<sup>101</sup>Va. Gaz., April 13, 1749, as copied by Randolph of Roanoke, loose sheet in Commonplace Book.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>W. Miles Cary, Old Randolph Epitaphs, 11.

<sup>104</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33.

<sup>105</sup>Will of Richard Randolph I [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW.

<sup>106</sup>In 1742 Richard Randolph I listed the land Richard II would inherit, but in his will made in 1748, the father made no reference to his son's inheritance. One concluded, therefore, that the father had already given the land to the son. See Will of Richard Randolph I [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW; and Henrico County, Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 58, 112ff (VSLm).

<sup>107</sup>Will of Richard Randolph I [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW; Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 58; Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1750-1767), 31-32, 369 (VSLm); and EJCCV, V, 195.

108 EJCCV, V, 230; Virginia State Land Office, Patents #31 (1751-1756), 535-543; Patents #33 (1756-1761), 748, 859-860; Patents #34 (1756-1762), 912-913; Patents #38 (1768-1770), 487-488; Grants #A (1779-1780), 665-666 (VSLm).

109 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 77, 387; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 426; Deed Book #7 (1772-1774), 361; Deed Book #8 (1775-1778), 19, 200-201; Deed Book #9 (1779-1783), 135-141; Deed Book #10 (1781-1785), 448-454 (VSLm); Richard Randolph II to Robert Carter Nicholas, December 11, 1761, R. C. Nicholas Papers 1751-1778, UVa. (CWm).

110 Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 426 (VSLm).

111 Chesterfield County, Deed Book #8 (1775-1778), 200-201 (VSLm).

112 Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-308 (VSLm).

113 Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 245; Deed Book #8 (1775-1778), 207-208; Goochland County, Deed Book #8 (1759-1765), 84-86, 88, 90-91; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc., (1750-1767), 128, 369, 373, 452, 459, 492, 626, 628, 630, 632, 641, 704; Deeds (1767-1774), 277-278, 296, 366; Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 256; Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 14, 18, 43, 131, 533; Prince Edward County, Deed Book #6 (1778-1783), 131-133 (VSLm); R. C. Nicholas Papers 1751-1778, UVa (CWm).

114 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 387; Deeds (1767-1774), 277-278; Virginia State Land Office, Patents #31 (1751-1756), 535-543; Patents #33 (1756-1761), 748, 859-860; Patents #34 (1756-1762), 912-913; EJCCV, V, 230; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #7 (1772-1774), 361; Deed Book #8 (1775-1778), 19, 200-201; Deed Book #9 (1779-1783), 139, 141; Deed Book #10 (1781-1785), 448-454 (VSLm).

115 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 77, 373-374; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #9 (1779-1783), 135-138 (VSLm).

116 Goochland County, Deed Book #8 (1759-1765), 84-86, 88, 90-91; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 626, 628, 630, 632, 641, 704; Virginia State Land Office, Patents #13 (1725-1730), 491; Patents #15 (1732-1735), 185; Patents #25 (1745-1747), 118-119 (VSLm).

117 Deed, December 11, 1751, R. C. Nicholas Papers 1751-1778, UVa (CWm); Virginia State Land Office, Patents #33 (1756-1761), 748, 859-860; Patents #34 (1756-1762), 912-913 (VSLm); EJCCV, V, 230.

118 In his will he gave 40 slaves each to his two younger sons, 2 skilled slaves to his elder sons, 12 slaves each to four of his daughters, and he freed 3 slaves. He made no provision in his will for his sons Richard and David Meade; it is probable, therefore, that he had already given them each 40 slaves. See Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-308 (VSLm).

119 Ibid.; Rind's Va. Gaz., January 31, 1771, 3:2.



- <sup>120</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-308 (VSLm); Rind's Va. Gaz., January 31, 1771, 3:2.
- <sup>121</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-302 (VSLm).
- <sup>122</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 374 (Cwm).
- <sup>123</sup>Lightfoot Account Book, 50, CW; High Court of Admiralty: Prize Papers 1776-1778, Folder 9, No. 25, PRO, HCA 32/380 (Cwm).
- <sup>124</sup>Jefferson's Garden Book, 49.
- <sup>125</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1767-1769), 325 (VSLm); Rind's Va. Gaz., December 25, 1766, 3:2; April 5, 1770, 4:3; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 22, 1770, 4:3.
- <sup>126</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 361 (Cwm).
- <sup>127</sup>Ibid., Record Book #8, 37-40 (Cwm).
- <sup>128</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 24, 1772, 2:2.
- <sup>129</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #8, 40-41 (Cwm).
- <sup>130</sup>York County, Judgments and Orders (1772-1774), 391, 527; (1774-1784), 4; Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 192, 415-416 (VSLm); Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 26, 1773, 2:3; September 9, 1773, 3:1.
- <sup>131</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #8, 37-52 (Cwm); and Memorial of John Tyndale Warre [1798], PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).
- <sup>132</sup>James Currie to Thomas Jefferson, July 9, 1786, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, X, 109. Currie was a witness to Randolph's will, Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 308; Order Book (1784-1787), 507 (VSLm).
- <sup>133</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1763-1767), 117, 156, 197, 248-249, 680; Order Book (1767-1769), 57, 123; Chesterfield County, Order Book #5 (1771-1774), 353; York County, Judgments and Orders (1772-1774), 16, 461 (VLSm); Other cases are in Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 108; Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 111, 117; Order Book (1781-1784), 266, 292, 373, 600; Order Book (1784-1787), 32; Chesterfield County, Order Book #6 (1774-1784), 141; and York County, Order Book (1774-1784), 173 (VSLm).
- <sup>134</sup>York County, Judgments & Orders (1770-1772), 3 (VSLm).
- <sup>135</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 360-373 (Cwm). Also see John Wayles to Farrell and Jones, August 30, 1766, PRO, T 79/10 (Cwm).
- <sup>136</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 167, 341, 376 (VSLm).

- 137 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #6, 171 (CWM).
- 138 Ibid., 162.
- 139 Ibid., Record Book #20, 452 (CWM). Part of the debt was paid to Robinson's administrators.
- 140 Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784) (VSLm).
- 141 Richard Randolph II to Betty Carter Byrd, August 30, 1782, Byrd Papers, VHS. Randolph claimed he had overpaid the Byrd estate £30.18s.9d.
- 142 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #19, 17 (CWM).
- 143 Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 263, 266, 292 (VSLm).
- 144 Brock, ed., Vestry Book of Henrico Parish, 82-1148 passim.
- 145 Ibid.; and Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1757), 53, 72; Chesterfield County, Order Book #2 (1754-1759), 428 (VSLm).
- 146 EJCCV, V, 289. He may have been named to the commission on June 16, 1748, but the records do not make clear if it was he or his father, Ibid., 254.
- 147 EJCCV, V, 348; Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 84 (VSLm).
- 148 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 1, 85, 98, 144, 150 (VSLm); EJCCV, V, 391.
- 149 Henrico County, Court Orders (1755-1762), 523; Order Book (1763-1767), 646, 678 (VSLm).
- 150 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 178, 197, 218, 236, 325, 499, 586; Order Book (1763-1767), 221, 290, 577, 729; Order Book (1767-1769), 456 (VSLm).
- 151 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 1-688 passim (VSLm).
- 152 Ibid., 45, 619 (VSLm).
- 153 JHB 1766-1769, 3, 79.
- 154 Ibid., 135, 181, 221; Ibid., 1770-1772, 113, 143-144; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 8, 1768, 3:1; May 11, 1769, suppl., 4:1; September 21, 1769, 2:3; December 12, 1771; Rind's Va. Gaz., September 14, 1769, 2:2; November 9, 1769, 1:1.

- 155 JHB 1766-1769, 118.
- 156 Ibid., 191, 211.
- 157 Ibid. 1770-1772, 17.
- 158 Ibid., 143-144, 175, 179, 195, 246.
- 159 Richard Adams to Thomas Adams, March 24, 1772, VMHB, XXII (1914), 388.
- 160 Purdie's Va. Gaz., October 10, 1766, 2:2.
- 161 Ibid., January 8, 1767, 1:1-3.
- 162 Robert Bolling, Harodina, 59 n.3, privately owned.
- 163 JHB 1766-1769, xlii; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 11, 1769, 3:3.
- 164 JHB 1770-1772, xxix.
- 165 Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., February 11, 1775, suppl., 2:2.
- 166 Ibid.
- 167 Purdie's Va. Gaz., May 26, 1775, suppl., 3:2.
- 168 Ibid., November 24, 1775, 1:3.
- 169 Richard Randolph II to Messrs Farrell and Jones, May 15, 1775, American Loyalist Reports, PRO, T 79/30 (CWM).
- 170 Ibid.
- 171 Ibid. Also see Richard Randolph II to Thomas Smith, December 12, 1778, State Agents Loose Papers, Correspondence, Thomas Smith, June-December 1778, VSL (CWM).
- 172 The marriage date is based on the following evidence. On July 23, 1752, Ryland Randolph wrote to Richard II from England, "My love to my sister, I am not so happy to know, and your little daughter...", Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 5. Randolph's eldest daughter, Susannah, was born in 1752, Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 19, 1776 (postscript), 2:2; and W. Miles Cary, Old Randolph Epitaphs, 11. The fact that on April 3, 1750, Richard II assumed his mother's rights and interests in the Curles plantation indicates that he was probably anticipating marriage, Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 31-32 (VSLm). Also see "Autobiography of David Meade," WMQ, 1st series, XIII (1904), 73, 85.
- 173 "Autobiography of David Meade," 37-45. The portrait, by John Wollaston the younger, is in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.

- 174 Cary, Old Randolph Epitaphs, 11. She died December 9, 1814.
- 175 Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301 (VSLm).
- 176 R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 217, 218, 219, 221. The dates of birth have not been fully established. Susannah, the eldest child, was born in 1752. Jane was the second daughter. David Meade was born 1760, and Mary, 1775. See Ibid.; Slaughter, Bristol Parish, 217-218; Cary, Old Randolph Epitaphs, 11; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., February 17, 1774, 2:3; and Purdie's Va. Gaz., postscript, April 19, 1776, 2:2.
- 177 Va. Gaz. Daybook 1764-1766, 194, 196, 202, photostat CW.
- 178 Catalogue of the College of William and Mary (1859), 41, 42.
- 179 Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-308 (VSLm).
- 180 Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 31-32 (VSLm).
- 181 Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, XXXIX, #1024 (VSLm).
- 182 Ibid., XIII, #313 (VSLm).
- 183 Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301 (VSLm).
- 184 Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, VI (1758-1769), 1995-1998 (VSLm). The portraits are in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.
- 185 Va. Gaz. Daybook 1750-1752, 117; (1764-1766), 202, photostat, CW.
- 186 Peter Russell, "Character of Leading Men & Descriptions of Places in Virginia Given to the Commander in Chief," Peter Russell Collection, Baldwin Room Mss, Toronto Public Library, Typescript, CW. Russell was secretary to Sir Henry Clinton; later he was Receiver General of Canada.
- 187 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 568, 581, 593, 619, 646; Order Book (1763-1767), 696; Order Book (1767-1769), 68, 133, 195, 341 (VSLm). One case, brought by Samuel Duval who later took Randolph's seat in the House of Burgesses by proving a fraudulent election, was dismissed, but Randolph had to pay court costs. In the other case, Randolph had only to pay court costs when William Hogg failed to post the necessary bond for the trial.
- 188 James Currie to Thomas Jefferson, July 9, 1786, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, X, 109.
- 189 Family Bible of Archibald Cary, photostat, VHS.
- 190 Will of Richard Randolph I [1742], Miscellaneous Manuscripts, CW.

191 Fairfax Harrison, The Virginia Carys (New York: DeVinne Press, 1919), 91-93; Robert K. Brock, Archibald Cary of Amthill: Wheelhorse of the Revolution (Richmond, Va.: Garrett and Massie, 1937); Chesterfield County, Order Book #1 (1749-1754), 60, 134; Order Book #3 (1759-1767), 147; Cumberland County, Order Book (1749-1751), 23; Goochland County, Deed Book #4 (1742-1745), 95 (VSLm); JHB 1742-1749, ix; 1752-1758, ix; 1758-1761, vii; 1761-1765, 3; 1766-1769, 3; 1770-1772, 3; 1773-1776, 3; Archibald Cary to George Washington, June 28, 1757, July 25, 1777, Washington Papers, LC (microfilm ed.); Archibald Cary to Frances Bland Randolph, November 18, 1775, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M; Archibald Cary to Nathanael Greene, January 31, 1781, Nathanael Greene Papers, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, photostat, VHS; Palmer, ed., CVSP, I, 471; Family Bible of Archibald Cary, photostat, VHS.

192 Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 212-214; Waterman and Barrows, Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia, 38-48. In 1929 the Amthill mansion was removed from Chesterfield County and rebuilt, in somewhat altered form, in Richmond.

193 Inventory and appraisement of the estate of Archibald Cary, Chesterfield County, Will Book #4 (1785-1800), 63-66 (VSLm). Will, 20-29.

194 Va. Gaz., Day Book 1764-1766, 66, photostat, CW.

195 Archibald Cary to Frances Bland Randolph, November 18, 1775, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.

196 Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of George Washington, II, 189.

197 Archibald Cary to George Washington, June 28, 1757, Washington Papers, LC.

198 Archibald Cary to George Washington, July 25, 1777, Washington Papers, LC.

199 Archibald Cary to Nathanael Greene, January 31, 1781, Greene Papers, Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, photostat, VHS.

200 Mary Cary to John Randolph, May 26, 1765, Edgehill Randolph Papers, UVa. The letter is miscatalogued as having been sent to Richard Randolph II.

201 They were Anne, born February 7, 1745; Mary, July 12, 1747; Jane, February 12, 1751; Sarah, February 23, 1753; Eliza, April 9, 1755; Henry, 1758; Mary, December 4, 1766; Elizabeth, 1770, Family Bible of Archibald Cary, photostat, VHS; Fairfax Harrison, The Virginia Carys, 91-93.

202 Benedict Arnold to Sir Henry Clinton, May 12, 1781, in Tarleton, History of Campaigns, 337.

- 203 Archibald Cary to George Washington, October 22, 1781, Washington Papers, LC.
- 204 Archibald Cary to George Washington, May 25, 1782, Washington Papers, LC; George Washington to Archibald Cary, June 15, 1782, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXIV, 346; Family Bible of Archibald Cary, photostat, VHS.
- 205 Anderson, "Tuckahoe Randolphs," 83.
- 206 "Walke Family of Lower Norfolk County, Virginia," VMHB, V (1898), 143; Hunter's Va. Gaz., June 13, 1755, 2:2.
- 207 Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 112 ff. (VSLm).
- 208 Her husband remarried May 8, 1757, "Walke Family," VMHB, V (1898), 143.
- 209 The portrait is in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.
- 210 Princess Anne County, Deed Book #17 (1780-1782), 75 (VSLm). Walke lived until 1779, Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 13, 1779, 2:1.
- 211 W. G. Stanard, "The Randolph Family," WMQ, 1st series, IX (1900), 182; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 426 (VSLm).
- 212 Bruce, Social Life in Virginia, 62-63.
- 213 EJCCV, V, 195; Chesterfield County, Deed Book #1 (1749-1753), 426; Deed Book #2 (1753-1755), 189-192; Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112 ff (VSLm); Wirt Johnson Carrington, A History of Halifax County (Virginia), (Baltimore: Regional Publishing Co., 1969 /orig. ed., 1924/), 34. See also the sketch of Richard Randolph I supra.
- 214 Lothrop  
Lothrop Withington and H. F. Waters, "Virginia Gleanings in England," VMHB, XIX (1911), 399.
- 215 Item copied from the Va. Gaz.; John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book c. 1826, 12 VHS.
- 216 Chesterfield County, Order Book #2 (1754-1759), 90, 245 (VSLm).
- 217 Chesterfield County, Order Book #2 (1754-1759), 166, 230; Order Book #3 (1755-1759), 117-120, 128, 277 (VSLm). See also Hunter's Va. Gaz., July 19, 1754, 4:1; June 6, 1755, 4:1.
- 218 Withington and Waters, "Virginia Gleanings in England," 398. His will, written August 31, 1759, was probated October 25, 1759. The children were Richard born August 17, 1754; Susannah, c. 1756; Henry, October 7, 1758; and Brett, 1760. His widow long survived him and as late as 1772 had not remarried; her death is unknown, Chesterfield County, Deed Book #4 (1759-1764), 34-37; Deed Book #7 (1772-1774), 340-343 (VSLm).

<sup>219</sup>The birthdate is based on the 1752 date of his matriculation at the Middle Temple, C.E.A. Bedwell, "American Middle Templars," AHR, XXV (1920), 684.

<sup>220</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 18.

<sup>221</sup>Bedwell, "American Middle Templars," 684.

<sup>222</sup>Ryland Randolph to Richard Randolph II, July 23, 1752, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 5.

<sup>223</sup>The will of Jane Bolling Randolph, dated March 2, 1766, is in Ryland's handwriting, Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, VI (1758-1769), 1995-1998 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>224</sup>There is no record of purchase among the surviving deeds of Henrico County, but Mrs. Beverley Randolph had rights to Turkey Island during her widowhood and after her remarriage about 1754, the estate went to Peter Randolph of Chatsworth who sold it to Ryland. See also Slaughter, Bristol Parish, 219.

<sup>225</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112 ff (VSI<sub>m</sub>); EJCCV, V, 195; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 10, 1774, 4:1.

<sup>226</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 2; Deeds (1767-1774), 145, 288-289, 531; Miscellaneous Records, VII (1770-1807), 2121, 2191 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>227</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills Etc. (1750-1767), 644; Deeds (1767-1774), 160 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>228</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 30, 1772, 3:2; November 26, 1772, 2:3.

<sup>229</sup>Ibid., November 26, 1772, 2:3.

<sup>230</sup>Sale Catalogue itemizing personal property of Col. Ryland Randolph's Turkey Island estate sold to Theodorick Bland and others 14 March 1785, Alderman Library, UVa (CW<sub>m</sub>). Cited hereafter as Sale Catalogue of Ryland Randolph's estate.

<sup>231</sup>Ibid., and Jefferson's Farm Book, 40, 70.

<sup>232</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 18, 1766, 3:2; Rind's Va. Gaz., May 23, 1771, 3:2.

<sup>233</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., April 13, 1769, 3:2.

<sup>234</sup>CVSP, I, 569; Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 179 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #19, 17 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>235</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., April 13, 1769, 3:2.

- 236 Ryland Randolph to St. George Tucker, October 27, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers.
- 237 Ryland Randolph to St. George Tucker, October 30, 1783, Tucker-Coleman Papers.
- 238 Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 179 (VSLm).
- 239 Sale Catalogue of Ryland Randolph's estate.
- 240 "Autobiography of David Meade," 73-84.
- 241 Commonplace Book 1806-1834, 63, Tucker-Coleman Papers.
- 242 Harrell, Loyalism in Virginia, 28; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., April 28, 1774, 3:2; and PRO, T79/30 (Cwm).
- 243 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 452 (Cwm).
- 244 Henrico County, Order Book (1767-1769), 293, 353, 502; Order Book (1781-1784), 42, 117, 125, 263, 266 (VSLm).
- 245 Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 125 (VSLm).
- 246 Ibid., (1763-1767), 695.
- 247 Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 263, 266, 292, 350, 356, 373; Order Book (1784-1787), 32 (VSLm).
- 248 Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 301-308 (VSLm).
- 249 Henrico County, Deed Book (1781-1785), 100; Order Book (1781-1785), 285 (VSLm).
- 250 Edmund Randolph to St. George Tucker, September 26, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers.
- 251 Henrico County, Order Book (1781-1784), 698; Order Book (1784-1787), 36 (VSLm).
- 252 American Loyalist Reports, PRO, T 79/30.
- 253 EJCCV, VI, 71; Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 235 (VSLm).
- 254 Henrico County, Court Orders (1755-1762), 503, 523, 542; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 699-700, 787; and Order Book (1763-1767), 678 (VSLm).
- 255 CVSP, I, 265.
- 256 Hening, Statutes At Large, VII, 592.



- 257 Henrico County, Order Book (1763-1767), 729 (VSLm).
- 258 Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 282, 288, 290, 292, 295, 317, 320, 322, 345, 359, 362, 379, 381, 388, 405, 408, 420, 439, 440, 451, 454, 464, 478, 480, 489, 492, 495, 499, 509 (VSLm).
- 259 Henrico County, Order Book (1767-1769), 3, 26, 93, 113, 137, 149, 150, 153, 206, 236, 274, 284, 324, 335, 362, 370, 375, 377, 379, 456 passim (VSLm).
- 260 Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 110, 117; and Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1755-1762), 480 (VSLm).
- 261 Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 117-148.
- 262 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, September 20, 1771, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- 263 "Autobiography of David Meade," 73.
- 264 R. P., "Turkey Island," Virginia Historical Register, VI (1853), 105.
- 265 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 14, 1768, 3:1.
- 266 J. F. D. Smyth, A Tour in the United State of America, 2 vols. (London: 1784), I, 27.
- 267 R. P., "Turkey Island," Virginia Historical Register, 105.
- 268 Ibid., and Mutual Assurance Society of Virginia, XII, #188, XXXIX, #1026 (VSLm).
- 269 This description is based on the author's several visits to the Turkey Island site.
- 270 The Journal of Lieutenant William Feltman of the First Pennsylvania Regiment, 1781-82 (Philadelphia: Published for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, by Henry Carey Baird, 1853), 10-11.
- 271 John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book 1806-1834, 63, Tucker-Coleman Papers. The complete inscription of the monument, which is still standing, reads on the east face:

The foundation  
of this Pillar was laid  
in the Calamitous Year  
1771  
When all the great rivers  
of this country  
were swept by Inundations  
never before experienced  
which changed the face of Nature

and left traces of their violence  
that will remain for Ages

On the south face:

In the year 1772  
This monument was raised  
To the memory of the first Richard  
and Jane Randolph of Curles  
by their third son  
To whose parental affection  
Industry & Economy  
he was indebted  
for Tenderness in Infancy  
a good education in youth  
and ample fortune  
at mature age

<sup>272</sup>Statement of Richard Randolph, April 1, 1843, Brock Collection, Box IX, Henry E. Huntington Library (CWM). The English owner, according to family tradition, presented the portraits to Ryland upon learning of his descent from Pocahontas and Rolfe. After Ryland's death, some of his Bolling cousins who acquired the Pocahontas portrait denied it as an authentic likeness of the Indian, an opinion upheld by recent scholarship. See Linneaus Bolling to William Bolling, September 14, 1830, VHS; and Philip L. Barbour, Pocahontas and Her World (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, Co., 1970), 235.

<sup>273</sup>Sale Catalogue of Ryland Randolph's estate.

<sup>274</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book 1764-1766, 39, 128, 129, 133, photostat, CW.

<sup>275</sup>Ibid., 118; and Jefferson's Farm Book, 34, 40, 86.

<sup>276</sup>I am indebted for this information to Miss Barbara Coulter, editorial assistant on the Papers of Bishop Madison at the College of William and Mary.

<sup>277</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., February 8, 1770, 3:2, announced Randolph's imminent return to Virginia.

<sup>278</sup>"Autobiography of David Meade," 73-84.

<sup>279</sup>Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, September 16, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>280</sup>CVSP, I, 569; II, 373; and Public Service Claims, Henrico County, Court Booklet, 4, 19, 22; Commissioner's Book III, 105; IV, 323, VSL.

<sup>281</sup>Feltman's Journal, 10-11; David Meade Randolph, Deposition, September 10, 1830, Brock Collection, Box IX, Huntington Library (CWM). See also American Historical Record, I (January 1872), 31n, where Benson J. Lossing mistakenly asserts that Lafayette was headquartered at the home of William Randolph and confuses the Turkey Island mansion with the Cocke family dwelling at nearby Malvern Hill.

- <sup>282</sup>Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 179-180 (VSLm). See p. supra.
- <sup>283</sup>Henrico County, Deeds (1781-1787), 304 (VSLm).
- <sup>284</sup>The codicil of his will was dated December 15, 1784, Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 179-180 (VSLm). His nephew, in a deposition dated April 1, 1843, mentioned that his uncle died in 1784, Brock Collection, Vox IX, Huntington Library (CWm).
- <sup>285</sup>Chesterfield County, Deed Book (1772-1774), 362; Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff. (VSLm).
- <sup>286</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records (Deeds, Wills Etc.), VI (1758-1769), 1996-1997 (VSLm).
- <sup>287</sup>"On Miss El: Randolphe's Marriage with Rich: Mead Esqr. Feb. 1767 (she 31 he 20)," Hl:arodinea, 62 ms privately owned. Although the published version of the poem is no longer extant, Bolling noted that it was "Copied into ye Gazette."
- <sup>288</sup>"Autobiography of David Meade," WMQ, 1st series, XIII (1904), 85.
- <sup>289</sup>Bishop William Meade, Old Churches, I, 294.
- <sup>290</sup>Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., January 20, 1774, 2:3; "Autobiography of David Meade," 94, gives December as the date of death, but gives 1775 as the year.  
Richard Kidder Meade survived until 1805. He distinguished himself as a patriot during the War for Independence and served as aide to General Washington. By his second marriage he was the father of Bishop William Meade, see Edward E. Curtis, "Richard Kidder Meade," Dictionary of American Biography, XII, 476-477.
- <sup>291</sup>Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, 58.
- <sup>292</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary (1859), 34; and "Notes Relating to Some of the Students who Attended the College of William and Mary 1753-1770," WMQ, 2nd series, I (1920), 37.
- <sup>293</sup>John Randolph to Thomas Adams, June 17, 1771, VHS; and W. C. Bruce, John Randolph of Roanoke, I, 18.
- <sup>294</sup>Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 328; Deed Book #10 (1781-1785), 140 (VSLm).
- <sup>295</sup>In the Prince Edward County Land Book for 1782 (VSLm), 1,200 acres are listed belonging to his estate.
- <sup>296</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #19, 17 (CWm). In 1775 he and his father-in-law sold forty slaves to purchase gunpowder for the Virginia colony, Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 2. Three years later his widow listed 42 slaves, but in neither case is

it clear if these slaves were listed in 1768, see Chesterfield County, Deed Book #10 (1781-1785), 143 (VSLm).

<sup>297</sup>Harrell, Loyalism in Virginia, 27; U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #19, 17-28 (Cwm).

<sup>298</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 243-253; Tazewell Papers, 21619a (VSL).

<sup>299</sup>John Randolph to Thomas Adams, June 17, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>300</sup>Henrico County, Deed Book (1781-1785), 100 (VSLm).

<sup>301</sup>John Randolph to Thomas Adams, June 17, 1771, Adams Papers, VHS.

<sup>302</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Order Book #1, 94-95 (Vwm); and Record Book #19, 17 (Cwm).

<sup>303</sup>Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 330 (VSLm).

<sup>304</sup>Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 21, 1770, and May 8, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>305</sup>Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, December 6, 1773, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>306</sup>Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 21, 1770, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>307</sup>John Banister to John Randolph, June 27, 1770, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>308</sup>Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 330 (VSLm).

<sup>309</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 243-253 (Cwm).

<sup>310</sup>Ibid., #19, 17-28 (Cwm).

<sup>311</sup>St. George Tucker to Theodorick B. and John Randolph, June 29, 1788, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>312</sup>Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 128, 137, 141; Henrico County, Order Book (1767-1769), 290 (VSLm).

<sup>313</sup>Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, October 12, 1772, November 30, 1772, November 8, 1773, December 6, 1773, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>314</sup>Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 2. See sketch of Theodorick Bland, supra.

<sup>315</sup>Jane Bolling Randolph to John Randolph, April 26, 1765, VHS.

316 Jane Cary to John Randolph, May 18, 1765, Edgehill Randolph Papers, UVa.

317 Mary Cary to John Randolph, May 26, 1765, Edgehill Randolph Papers, UVa.

318 "Autobiography of David Meade," 73-84.

319 The date of the marriage, copied from Frances Bland Randolph's prayer book, is recorded in Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 405. The daughter of Theodorick Bland and Frances Bolling, she was born September 24, 1752, see Chamberlayne, ed., Vestry Book and Register of Bristol Parish, 292.

320 Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 4. The daughter Jane was not born in 1774, as noted in Mrs. Randolph's prayer book. In the codicil to his will, dated October 23, 1775, Randolph made provision for his unborn child. In the will itself, dated July 25, 1774, he makes no mention of his wife's pregnancy, Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 331-333 (VSLm).

321 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, September 14, 1770, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

322 Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 4; Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 331-333 (VSLm).

323 Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 333 (VSLm).

324 Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 21, 1770, February 18, 1771, March 21, 1771, July 19, 1771, November 5, 1771, June 12, 1772, April 16, 1774; and Memorandum of things sent to the Fork, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

325 Theodorick Bland to John Randolph, June 12, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

326 Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, I, 5.

327 Archibald Cary to Thomas Jefferson, October 31, 1775, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 250.

328 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to Frances Bland Randolph, August 29, 1771, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.

329 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, June 14, 1772, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

330 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, n.d. [post May, 1774], Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

331 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, n.d., Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

- 332 "Autobiography of David Meade," 73.
- 333 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, September 16, 1774, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- 334 Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph [c. December 1774], Bryan Family Papers, UVa.
- 335 John Randolph of Roanoke to Francis Scott Key, March 2, 1814, in Garland, Randolph of Roanoke, II, 33.
- 336 Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 329 (VSLm).
- 337 The petition was drawn up by Peyton Randolph, John's first cousin, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (CWM).
- 338 Charlotte County, Order Book (1771-1773), 268, 280-281 (VSLm).
- 339 After Randolph's death, his widow married St. George Tucker on September 23, 1778, and died January 18, 1788. She was buried at Matoax next to Randolph.

## CHAPTER XII

### THE FAMILY OF SIR JOHN RANDOLPH

#### A. SIR JOHN RANDOLPH (c. 1693--2 March 1736/37)

Sir John Randolph came naturally to wealth and position. His father, William Randolph of Turkey Island, founded the family fortune on land and public service. The elder Randolph amassed some 16,000 acres from the tidewater to the piedmont; he served as county clerk, sheriff, coroner, justice of the peace, burgess, militia-officer, and he was Speaker of the House and Attorney General. Not the least of his accomplishments was his marriage to Mary Isham, a woman of good family and uncommon stamina, who was mother of all ten of his children.

John Randolph was the ninth child, the sixth son. He was born about 1693 at Turkey Island, the family plantation on the north bank of the James River in Henrico County.<sup>1</sup> A precocious lad, he was first educated by a tutor, "a Protestant Clergyman, who came over among the French Refugees."<sup>2</sup> His father, who had close dealings with the Huguenots of Manakin Town, a village upriver from his plantation, had apparently secured a teacher from among his friends.<sup>3</sup> There is no record of John's studies, but at least some of his interest in books and history, his knowledge of French, his legible penmanship, and his religious ideas were possibly attributable to the Huguenot tutor.

Sometime after 1705, when he was twelve years old, like several of his brothers before him, he entered the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.<sup>4</sup> The little town lay some forty miles east of Turkey

Island, and was the capital of Virginia. The dates of his matriculation are unknown because the early records of the college have not survived, but President James Blair recalled that John Randolph "was one of the early Scholars...."<sup>5</sup>

He proved an excellent scholar, as William Byrd II attested on several occasions. On April 25, 1709, Byrd examined "Johnny" in his studies and noted that he was "well improved." Two years later, when Johnny was on his way home from school to see his ailing father and stopped at Westover with some mail, Byrd questioned him in Greek, finding "he had made a great progress." Later that same year, Byrd was in Williamsburg, and recorded in his diary on November 5:

The College presented their verses to the Governor by the hands of the Commissary Blair and the master....About 2 o'clock I went to the Governor's to dinner and found there Mr. Commissary and the master of the College and Johnny Randolph as being the first scholar, who sat on the Governor's right hand.

After considering the boy's abilities, on March 19, 1712, Byrd urged John "to present a petition to the Governor as rector of the College that he might be usher;" and when he came to Williamsburg later in the month, Byrd personally tried to secure the appointment; but his efforts were futile, not because John was disqualified, but "because there were but 22 boys which was not a number that required an usher."<sup>6</sup>

John Randolph had a lasting affection for his alma mater. He acted as her agent in England, served as her representative in the House of Burgesses, and was entombed within her walls.

Formal studies, however, provided only part of his education. From the world in which he lived he absorbed a code of conduct. He knew from childhood the coming and going of guests in his parents' house. Observing his elders, he learned like a gentleman to hold his tongue,



his cards, and his liquor. In the summer of 1720, he accompanied Governor Spotswood on a visit to Westover. There Byrd entertained them for five days, during which time he recorded their antics in his secret diary. There was much to eat and more to drink. The Governor, too full of wine, passed out at the dinner-table, and finally wandered off to bed. Colonel Hill's merrymaking was spoiled by a headache. Randolph beat his host out of ten shillings in a game of piquet. For his part, Byrd seduced the maid.<sup>7</sup>

According to the code, politics and public service were the gentleman's duty. Not only did John have the example of his father and his friends, but his school-days in the Virginia capital provided an opportunity to observe the government and its men in operation. He was about twelve years old when he witnessed a deed of gift from his father to his eldest brother.<sup>8</sup> In 1711 he appeared in county court as witness to a will and was paid for his services.<sup>9</sup>

By the time of his father's death in 1711, John stood on the threshold of a career. His education at the College was complete, or nearly so. He had excelled in his studies and knew the gentleman's code. Family connections and his own talents made him friends in high places. Moreover, he was a man of property having inherited from his father just over 1,100 acres.<sup>10</sup>

On October 1, 1712, Governor Spotswood appointed John Randolph Deputy Attorney General in the courts of Charles City, Henrico, and Prince George counties. The Attorney General, Stevens Thomson, had requested the appointment because he could not attend the courts himself. Randolph was to prosecute all offenders "unless her said Majestys Attorney Gen<sup>era</sup>ll. shall personally attend."<sup>11</sup> Spotswood chose

Randolph because he had already attended the courts as an observer.

Beyond observation, however, he had little legal training. He probably was first interested in the law at home. His father had extensive experience in the county courts and had served for a time as Attorney General of the colony. His elder brother, William, was a practising lawyer. Undoubtedly he read law on his own. His friend, Byrd, may have guided him through the stacks of his famous library at Westover. In 1710 Randolph bought books from the estate of Benjamin Harrison III of Berkeley, whose wife was compelled to sell them to discharge some debts. Among his purchases was a commonplace book bound up with a volume entitled A Brief Method of the Law.<sup>12</sup> He perused the book and, with all the confidence of a young man's learning, wrote inside:

These Common places did belong to Mr Benjamin Harrison and were bought of his Widow by me--There are some few things of his writing in them which are generally placed under wrong heads, as if he did not know to what Genus the particular species did belong. J. R.<sup>13</sup>

As Deputy Attorney General, he took his duties seriously. In December, 1713, he received from Henrico County 1000 pounds of tobacco for "Indicting & prosecuting two negros belonging to Capt. Thomas Jefferson condemn'd for the murder of John Jackson." The trial was held at Varina in a Court of Oyer and Terminer; the Negroes confessed and were executed.<sup>14</sup>

Perhaps Randolph's experience in the county courts confirmed his decision to become a lawyer. At any rate, in the autumn of 1714 he sold more than 500 acres along the upper James, about half of his patrimony, to his brothers, Thomas and William, for £95 sterling,<sup>15</sup> and went to London, where on May 17, 1715, he was admitted to the study of law at Gray's Inn.<sup>16</sup>

The British capital was an exciting place for a young Virginia gentleman on his first trip away from home. John was not alone in the city, however, for his brothers, Isham and Edward, captains in the Virginia trade, lived there. Perhaps they guided him on tours and introduced him to their friends. Undoubtedly he frequented the coffeehouses and browsed among the stalls of the booksellers. Whatever his pursuits, he did not neglect his studies.

He was thorough in reading law, making notes and summaries in the margins of his books; in some of his volumes he copied biographical sketches from Anthony á Wood's Athenae Oxoniensis.<sup>17</sup> Although no other record remains of his studies at Gray's Inn, he learned his lessons well as his later criticism of a fellow lawyer reveals:

He practiced with much Artifice and Cunning, being thoroughly skilled in Attorneyship; But when his Causes came to a Hearing, he reasoned little, was tedious in reading long Reports of some Cases, and little Abridgments of others, out of which he would collect short Aphorisms, and obiter sayings of Judges, and rely upon them, without regarding the main Point in Question; and arbitrarily affirm or deny a matter of Law, which had often too much Weight against the Reason and Difference of things....He was blamable for one singular Practice, in Drawing notes for special verdicts; he would state naked Circumstances of Facts only, and leave to the Court to collect the Matter of Fact out of them; so that upon such Verdicts we have had many tedious Debates about what the fact was....His greatest Excellence was his Diligence and Industry; but for Learning, I never thought he had any, nor could it be expected he should....<sup>18</sup>

Randolph left Gray's Inn in the autumn of 1717. On November 25, he was called to the bar "by favour of the Bench" which meant that he had been excused from the full course of study.<sup>19</sup> Undoubtedly he was a perceptive and diligent scholar, but he was also assisted by his friends. "Jack Randolph," William Byrd explained, "...we have got call'd to the Bar before his time."<sup>20</sup> John remained in London into the late winter of 1718. On February 18, Byrd noted, "About 9 o'clock came

John Randolph to take his leave and took two of my letters...."<sup>21</sup>

John had scarcely arrived back in Virginia when he embarked on a career of public service. In April, 1718, Governor Spotswood commissioned him Clerk of the House of Burgesses. Years later, Randolph recalled the circumstances:

A Brother of mine [William Randolph], had been Clerk of the House of Burgesses, during the Times of Two Governors, his [Spotswood's] immediate Predecessors, and he serv'd one Session under him. The Gentleman had a Scheme in his Head, to raise an Army and Twenty Thousand Pounds to pay 'em, and to march at the Head of 'em against the Indians. My Brother presum'd to utter some Dislike of the Project, in a private Conversation; which being carried to Court, he was dismissed, and another appointed. Then, he became a Member of the House of Burgesses [from Henrico]; and after several Sessions, having pleas'd him in some Vote, the Gentleman tells him, that he had done him great Wrong, in taking his Office from him; that his Successor did not please him, therefore he should be turn'd out; and desired him to accept of it again. He told him No, he did not want it; but that I was expected every Day from England, and if he would give it to me, he would look upon the Obligation to be the same: I arriv'd, and was appointed, and held the Office Four Sessions under him.<sup>22</sup>

John Randolph was clerk of the House for sixteen years. Receiving an annual salary of £100, he was expected to furnish copies of the journal and laws of the assembly to the Governor, Council, House of Burgesses, and justices of the peace throughout the colony; he was paid extra for any additional copies. During his long tenure as clerk, Randolph received about £1600 in salary and £629.10 in extra fees.<sup>23</sup> These sums were not all personal gain, for out of these funds he secured copyists and provided them with paper and other necessary supplies. A prudent man could profit as clerk of the House, but the monetary compensation of the post was less important to John Randolph's character and career than the opportunity it afforded for an intimate knowledge of the workings of the Assembly.

Apparently satisfied with Randolph's performance as clerk, Spotswood

next appointed him to the Vice-Admiralty Court as King's Advocate. The Vice-Admiralty Courts had been established in 1697 in an highly organized attempt to bring the American colonies under direct control of the Crown. The courts dealt almost exclusively with maritime cases and did so without a jury. Americans detested the courts, but they soon learned that staffing them with a sympathetic personnel could turn the courts to their own advantage.<sup>24</sup> Spotswood had appointed Randolph to the court in pursuance of his own interests. The experience was not a happy one for Randolph. "I went thro' many troublesome Prosecutions in that Court,"<sup>25</sup> he later recalled.

His troubles concerned the Governor's claims growing out of an expedition against the pirates of Captain Edward Teach, the notorious Blackbeard. In the fall of 1718, after the pirates had terrorized the Carolina coast for many months, Spotswood responded to a call for help from North Carolina. He informed no one, not even the Council, and proceeded to outfit an expedition at his own expense. Hiring two sloops, fifty-five men, and two British officers from nearby warships, he sent them, under the guidance of local pilots, against Teach and his men. With the expedition's success in removing the pirate menace, Spotswood believed that he was entitled to the booty and was prepared to fight his case in the Vice-Admiralty Court.<sup>26</sup>

Randolph presented the case and defended it against the counter-claims of the Carolina Proprietors and the two British officers, but before he could conclude his arguments, Spotswood, ignoring his lawyer's efforts, settled for a third of the booty. The Governor's behavior distressed Randolph but not nearly as much as Spotswood's failure to pay him adequately for his services. Randolph could not mask his bitterness

when, more than fifteen years later, he wrote of the affair:

For all this, and out of upwards of 3000 l. [he received in settlement] he gave me a little Negro Boy, which I could have bought for 12 l. Virginia Money; and if I don't mistake, he got Twenty odd Piratical Negroes for less. Now I thought, so generous a Benefactor ought to have given me 100 l. at least. Then, when several Courts were to be held for Trial of Pirates, upon which handsome Fees were allowed to the Registry, [the] whole Office properly and naturally belong'd to me as Advocate, [and] I was never thought of; but it was given to another, who deserv'd it very well, and whom I never envied.<sup>27</sup>

Despite his dissatisfaction in the pirate case, Randolph represented Spotswood before the Vice-Admiralty Court at least once more. This case involved a dispute with the Collector of the Port of Hampton who had seized a ship and got it condemned. According to the law, the Governor was entitled to one-third of the prize, but the matter was further complicated by the fact that Spotswood and the Collector had entered into partnership in order to purchase the captured ship. Before the affair was settled, however, the two partners had disagreed, and the Collector fled the country without paying Spotswood. When another man advertised that he would assume the Collector's debts, Spotswood asked Randolph if it were possible to sue for the debts due him. The lawyer took the case into court, received a judgment, and recovered the Governor's money. Spotswood paid him £20, "which," said Randolph, "I was very well satisfied with."<sup>28</sup>

On July 28, 1722, John Randolph set out for New York aboard the Enterprise, a British man-of-war. Governor Spotswood had personally chosen him clerk to accompany the two commissioners he was taking to Albany to treat with the Five Indian Nations. Although it had long been one of the Governor's primary objectives to secure the Virginia frontier against the Indians, he did not let the seriousness of his mission interfere with his pleasure. The House of Burgesses had appropriated £1000

for the trip to Albany, and the Governor was determined to enjoy it down to the last penny. "He said it was an handsome Allowance," Randolph recalled, "but he was very indifferent about it; he would spend it all; and if it had been but Half the Sum, he would have spent no more. What the Amount of the Expences was, indeed I cannot exactly remember, tho' I could guess very near; but I won't, because I was one of his officers."<sup>29</sup> The Governor exceeded the appropriation by £936. Despite the extravagance of the Governor, the Indian mission was successful. The Five Nations agreed to avoid the area of white settlement south of the Potomac and east of the Blue Ridge; the Virginians and their Indian allies in turn promised to refrain from going north of the Potomac and west of the mountains.<sup>30</sup> John Randolph did not play a significant role in the negotiations; in fact, for some unexplained reason, he departed eight days before their conclusion.<sup>31</sup>

Upon his return to Williamsburg, Randolph was without his patron. Spotswood, victim of his enemies in Virginia and England, was no longer Governor. Although Randolph would claim in later years that "Learning in my Profession, and my own Behaviour advanced me,"<sup>32</sup> his career benefitted nevertheless from the Governor's patronage. "I had," said Spotswood, "entrusted him with many of my Interests; and to him I had frequently unbosomed my self in private Concerns; imagining that a Man, who owed to me his first Promotion in the World, and for advancing whom I had had, during my Administration, some remarkable Contests, and created to my self not a few Enemies thereby, would have retained some grateful Sense of the good Offices, done by me, to him and his Relations."<sup>33</sup>

Obligated though he was to Spotswood for the favors of his

patronage, John Randolph was capable of advancement on his own merit. He had proven his abilities as clerk of the House of Burgesses and as advocate in the Vice-Admiralty Court. By October 16, 1722, he had sufficient legal reputation to be appointed one of the King's prosecutors by the Council in a case involving Negroes accused of "a design to rise and cutt off his Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Subjects of this Colony."<sup>34</sup> The Council consulted Randolph often after that.

On May 4, 1725, after studying the technicalities involved, Randolph and John Holloway advised the Council that the Protestant dissenters of Richmond County should, upon application to the county court and upon subscription to the Toleration Act of 1689, "have the free exercise of their religion at such place of publick worship in the said County as they shall desire."<sup>35</sup> The next year the Council assigned Randolph to settle some unexplained difficulties among the members of the vestry of Elizabeth City Parish.<sup>36</sup>

John Randolph assumed his first position of major responsibility in the Virginia government in 1726. Attorney General John Clayton had petitioned the Council for a year's leave of absence from his post in order to attend to some business in England and had recommended Randolph as his replacement in the interim. On April 22 the Council granted Clayton's petition and accepted his recommendation.<sup>37</sup> Perhaps, as John Randolph settled into the routine of his new office, he reflected that his father had once been the Attorney General of Virginia.

Two months after his appointment, the Council sent for him. A crisis in government occurred when Governor Drysdale announced he was returning to England for the recovery of his health. According to the Royal Instructions, during the absence of a governor, his responsibilities



were to be assumed by the President of the Council, who in this case was Edmund Jenings. One of the more venerable Virginians, Jenings was a man well in his late sixties. He had been a member of the Council for a quarter of a century, and had served as acting-governor between 1706 and 1710. More recently his age and his health had prevented his attendance at Council meetings, and his colleagues questioned his ability to act in Drysdale's behalf. On June 24, 1726, the Council summoned Randolph to go to Jenings, tell him he was considered unfit for service, and wait for his reply.<sup>38</sup>

Accordingly, the Attorney General rode the seven miles from Williamsburg to Ripon Hall, the Jenings plantation on the York River. He found the old man shaky and senile with an overprotective wife hovering about him. He explained his mission as tactfully as he could, but Jenings seemed not to understand and said nothing. Finally Mrs. Jenings spoke up announcing that her husband would respond in writing. Randolph agreed, but said he should have to witness anything that was written. Weakly Jenings protested that he was no forger. When Randolph assured him that no one thought to accuse him of that, the old man broke down and cried, muttering that he had never wanted to impede the government. At that point Mrs. Jenings produced a letter which she said her husband needed to revise before sending it to the Governor. Randolph read the letter and asked Jenings if it were indeed for Drysdale. He replied that it was. Gently, Randolph asked the old man if he would prefer him to come back in the morning for the revised letter rather than waiting for it now. Jenings said yes, and Randolph departed for Williamsburg.

On the morning of June 25, Randolph returned to Ripon Hall. Jenings

was in a better state than on the previous day, for when Randolph asked for the letter, he pretended not to know why the Attorney General should have a letter addressed to the Governor. Randolph repeated his instructions from the Council to the effect that he was to ascertain anything that Jenings wrote. With some petulance, the old man replied he was not obliged to write while Randolph watched him. Of course, he added coyly, he could dictate a letter, but he was slow at that and Randolph doubtless would run out of patience waiting for him to produce it. When Randolph stood firm, Jenings finally realized he could stall no longer. He asked his wife to fetch the letter from a table nearby. Attempting to check the letter's authenticity, Randolph asked Jenings to tell him its substance. The old man tried, but his lucidity left him in mid-sentence. Mrs. Jenings took over.

Her husband could not remember what was in the letter, she said, because he had written it several days ago. He did not understand why Randolph should ask so many questions; he was as capable now as when he had acted as Governor twenty years ago. Once again Randolph tried to explain that he was simply following the instructions of the Council, that he bore no malice. Mrs. Jenings retorted that the Council might do as it pleased, but Colonel Jenings would demand his rights. Yes, echoed the old man, he would demand his rights, either here or in England, he would write to his friends in England. At long last, with what must have been a sense of relief, Randolph took the letter and turned his horse toward town.<sup>39</sup>

That afternoon he submitted a written report to the Council describing the entire affair. He concluded that Jenings was incompetent.

And upon the matter it appears to me, he wrote that he is able to give a rational answer to a plain familiar question, provided it may be done in the Compass of four or five words, but if it requires more he seems confounded and to forget the Subject: And I am of the opinion that his understanding and memory are so impaired by his disease, which I take to be palsie, that he is not capable of forming any Judgement or collecting his thoughts, if he has any, upon any subject whatsoever; nor do I think he can be made to understand any question concerning the affairs of the Government.<sup>40</sup>

At the end of his report Randolph added Jenings' letter. "Altho," the old man wrote, "I have by Sickness & for some time bin disabled from attending the Gen'll Court att Councills yett I hope I am not soe much incapacitated either in body or Mind as to be shutt out of thatt post of Presid't of the Councill wherein his Ma<sup>j</sup>est<sup>y</sup>e has bin pleased to place mee."<sup>41</sup> But with Randolph's report and the added testimony of John Holloway and William Robertson, both of whom were acquainted with Jenings' condition, the Governor, upon the recommendation of the Council, "was pleased to declare the said Edmund Jenings suspended from acting as a member of his Majesties Council."<sup>42</sup>

Following the Jenings affair, the remainder of John Randolph's term as Attorney General was relatively uneventful. On June 15, 1727, after Randolph's prior investigation of the evidence, the Council ruled that the ship John and Betty out of Bristol had been anchored in the Rappahannock on June 10; therefore, the rum "in the said ship is not liable to any duty by virtue of the Act laying a duty on Liquors which commenced from and after that day."<sup>43</sup>

In the fall of 1727 Randolph took on more public duties in addition to those posts he already held. When William Robertson, the clerk of the Council, fell ill, Randolph was appointed to act in his place. On August 17, he took the "Oath for the faithful Execution thereof during the time of his acting therein."<sup>44</sup>

In addition to his offices in the provincial government, Randolph held posts in the lower eschelons of the Virginia establishment. While he still was in England in 1717 he was bound as a justice of the peace for Henrico County. The county commission was named by the Governor from a list submitted by the current justices. That Randolph should be appointed was no surprise. As a landholder in the county, he was qualified. Furthermore, his brother, Thomas, was a Henrico justice and his brother, William, county clerk. The brothers expected his imminent return from abroad and apparently assumed that he would reside in the county. Instead, John made his home in Williamsburg, so he never served on the Henrico commission.<sup>45</sup>

Property in York County made him eligible for the county commission, but he was never named. While he may have served in James City County, whose records were destroyed, he was certainly a justice in Gloucester County; but those records likewise were destroyed, so that nothing is known of his tenure in either place.<sup>46</sup>

When Williamsburg was incorporated as a city on July 28, 1722, he was named first among six other aldermen. His friends, John Holloway and John Clayton, were mayor and recorder, respectively.<sup>47</sup> The only other record of Randolph's municipal service was his appointment as recorder of the borough of Norfolk in 1736. By that time he had been knighted and was one of the most important men in Virginia. When he took the oath of office in Norfolk on November 18, 1736, the town "shew'd him all imaginable Respect, by displaying the Colours, and firing the Guns of the Vessels lying there, and entertaining him at the Houses, in the most elegant Manner, for several Days; amply signaling their great Respect, on this joyful Occasion."<sup>48</sup> He was not long in

the office, however. He died the following March.

Randolph was a member of the vestry of Bruton Parish which included Williamsburg. The vestry was an ecclesiastical body responsible for maintaining the local church and minister, but it also had influence in the secular community publishing proclamations, tending the poor, and processioning the tithables. The vestry was exclusive and self-perpetuating with the current members filling all vacancies. That Randolph was a vestryman was another indication of his growing prominence in the community. The records of Bruton Parish are incomplete. They indicate that Randolph was elected to the vestry in 1727 and took the oath of office on November 12, 1729, but they reveal nothing further.<sup>49</sup>

Even though he was a vestryman and a pew-holder in the parish, his religious principles were questioned. "I can't say he was a friend<sup>7</sup> to the Church," wrote the Reverend James Blair, President of the College, "for he had some wild, dissenting, and scarce Christian opinions."<sup>50</sup> Governor Gooch was probably referring to Randolph when he told the Bishop of London, "... 'tis a melancholly truth, the Church & Clergy have many Enemies in this Country, ffree thinkers multiply very fast having an eminent Layman for their Leader, and the Current runs almost wth. out opposition."<sup>51</sup>

Randolph, like many other intellectuals of his time, believed in the doctrine of free will as opposed to Calvinist tenets of necessity and predestinarianism. For that he was hardly a heretic. In his will, written in December, 1735, he left a detailed testimony to his faith because, as he said, he had been "reproached by many People, especially the Clergy, in the Article of Religion," and had been called "Names very familiar to blind Zealots, such as Deist, Heretic, and Schismatic,

and gain'd the Ill-will, or perhaps the Hatred of some few." He affirmed an orthodox belief in "the Supreme Being the first cause of all things;" a belief in Jesus the Messiah "who came into the world in a miraculous manner to give light to mankind and to persuade us to love one another;" and a belief in the resurrection of the dead, a final judgment, and everlasting life. What confounded Randolph's critics, apparently, was not his theology but his anti-clericalism.

This is the religion I have learned from the gospel Randolph concluded and do believe it to be truly christian as it is suited the weak capacities of men easy to be understood and needing none of the explanations and comments of learned Doctors whose labors seem to be in vain because while by their reasoning they confute the gross errors of others they have not sense or courage enough to establish a true uniform consistent system of their own but strive to make the religion of Christ a science of mighty difficulty and mystery against his own authority and by the weight of their great learning and abilities have made their adherents more fierce and obstinate fixing irreconcilable animosities among them about unintelligible propositions and senseless doctrines having no tendency to influence mens minds to amend their lives but weakening the eternal obligations of morality whereby the true christian unity is destroyed which cannot be founded but in a strict obedience to the precepts of the gospel.<sup>52</sup>

Randolph's testament of faith was widely circulated. That part of his will was published in May, 1737, in the Virginia Gazette, a treatment not usually accorded such documents.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, the will was reprinted in Philadelphia in 1741 by Benjamin Franklin.<sup>54</sup>

Public service, however, was only part of Randolph's career. He built at the same time a distinguished law practice. His credentials were impressive. According to an early report, "from his very first Appearance at the Bar, he was ranked among the Practitioners of the first Figure and Distinction."<sup>55</sup> A decade after his return from Gray's Inn, his friend, James Blair, wrote that he had "improved himself so well in his Studies, that he is now one of our most eminent Lawyers."<sup>56</sup> So great was his reputation that he conferred with the Attorney General,

passed on the qualifications of lawyers seeking licenses from the Council, reviewed an abridgement of the laws to see if it were fit to print, and advised on the boundaries of Northern Neck.<sup>57</sup>

Most of his practice, apparently, was in the General Court in Williamsburg. Certainly he practiced in the courts of the surrounding counties, but there is almost no supporting evidence.<sup>58</sup> Some of the reports Randolph made of cases before the General Court survive. They are typical of a lawyer's work: estate settlement, wills, breach of promise, debt, property and title search, theft, trespass, slander. The arguments are logically developed and supported by legal precedent, but it is not clear whether Randolph participated in these cases professionally or merely reported what he observed.<sup>59</sup>

He attracted an impressive clientele including such great Virginia families as Byrd, Carter, Custis, and Page. He also represented the poor "whom he served without fee."<sup>60</sup> While his wealthy clients trusted him with their interest, they were sometimes difficult. But Randolph was not intimidated. When, for example, Landon Carter charged him with negligence, Randolph sent a reply to chill his hot-headed client.

I find you are Still a passionate Man. But you know I am otherwise; therefore I will make a Cool Apology for not returning a Written answer to the Letter you Fancie I throw'd among my useless papers; For I dont know that I recd. more than one Letter. You directed me to concert my Measure with the Secretary about the Division of your Lands, and to move the General Court for an Order for the Division: I told him that was impracticable, there being so many persons and many of them Infants concerned: And desired him to tell you so, and to send me directions for bringing a Suit in Chancery which is the regular method of obtaining what you desire. He told me he had talked with you upon it and I thought that might have been taken for a Sufficient Answer. But for the future when ever you honour me with your Letters, I shall be very punctual returning written answers: And as an Instance of my Diligence, I write this the same Moment I recd. your Letter, to assure you that you may always command my assistance in the defence of your just Rights. For when you are in a Cool Temper, No body is more at your Service....<sup>61</sup>

Few regarded Randolph as Carter did. William Byrd's sentiments were more representative. When Randolph was temporarily out of the colony in 1728, Byrd wrote that "Justice may wish her Ears shut as well as her Eyes til he returns."<sup>62</sup>

Landon Carter's father, Robert "King" Carter, employed Randolph as his lawyer. In the beginning the elder Carter was critical because Randolph was a protege of Spotswood. "My acquaintance with him is very slender," Carter admitted in 1720, "only now and then casually at a dinner." Still Carter did not hesitate to brand Randolph "a rank Tory, a proud, humble parasite, a fawning sycophant to his patron, with all the other requisites to a servile courtier." But Carter was hardly dispassionate. He had retained Randolph soon after his return from England, and as Carter saw it, Randolph had been "in all causes that I have had, against me."<sup>63</sup> By 1729, however, Carter had changed his mind.

At that time the lawyer represented a Mr. Stallows who was selling some land Carter very much wanted. When Carter learned that Randolph was empowered to negotiate a sale, he wrote immediately: "If yo. think it Proper to give me the refusal of it and...if you are not too Stiff in your demands I shall be ready to Close the Bargain<sup>[in]</sup>." The dealing between Randolph and Carter is not recorded, but presumably Carter got the property since it was convenient to land already owned by his son who was "pritty fond of having it."<sup>64</sup>

Carter engaged Randolph's services in 1731. Several years before, Carter, two of his sons, and his son-in-law, Mann Page, had incorporated the Frying Pan Company to mine copper on land they owned near the mountains in northwestern Virginia. The venture had been costly and was not successful when Page died early in 1731. Carter wrote to Randolph:



"As you are concern'd in all colo Page's other affairs, so I think you are the properest person to be Consulted in the method necessary for the settling of the mine Adventure which hitherto lies in crude preparatory Articles only." The whole case was complex as the mine continued to operate and the miners to draw wages. The rights of Mrs. Page and her children had to be protected, Carter admitted, but the Page estate had to assume its fair share of the costs of the mine. Accordingly, he forwarded to Randolph all legal documents together with bills of exchange drawn on his English creditors. Undoubtedly Randolph did his best to straighten out the finances of the company, but there is no record of his arrangements. Carter died the next year. Eventually the mine was abandoned.<sup>65</sup>

John Randolph was also the lawyer of John Custis, who, like Carter, could be cantankerous. The fact that Custis considered Randolph a "very good friend" was in large measure due to the lawyer's tact.<sup>66</sup> Custis hired Randolph in a case involving the estate of Daniel Parke, his father-in-law. Parke, who was Governor of the Leeward Islands, died in 1710, willing his Virginia estate to his daughters, Frances and Lucy, who were married, respectively, to Custis and William Byrd. Mrs. Custis was charged with paying her father's legal debts and bequests. To his illegitimate daughter, Lucy Chester, Parke willed his estate in the West Indies--"£30000 to that bastard of his," as Custis put it. Lucy Chester married Thomas Dunbar, who, smelling money, changed his name to Dunbar Parke. That was the beginning of trouble for Custis. After years of litigation, he summarized the whole affair. Parke's will, he wrote, "says my Wife must pay his Debts; I have paid all his debts in England & Virga amounting to near £10000: wch was

severall thousand pounds more than that estate is worth; now Dunbar thinks by ye will I am bound to pay his debts in ye Leeward Islands amounting to 4 or 5 mm £. I think I am not and that is ye present dispute; I have paid severall thousand pounds more than I ever had of his estate allready, and it is very hard and cruell for me to pay ye Islands debts w<sup>n</sup> his base issue has all yt estate."<sup>67</sup>

In 1732 his lawyers told Custis that certainly his case was hopeless. But, Custis wrote, "I am satisfy'd they are very ignorant of the truth of ye Case." Custis put his hopes in Randolph who was going to England, where, Custis said, he "will get ye best advice and assistance [that] can be had."<sup>68</sup> Custis promised Randolph that if he could "make ye matter up so secure that I shall never have further trouble I will go as far as 500£."<sup>69</sup>

Randolph, also engaged in England on business for the House of Burgesses, worked hard on the case for Custis. He tried for a long time to meet with Thomas Dunbar, who was also in London. When he finally succeeded, he told Dunbar that his Virginia lawyers had misled him with optimistic reports. Dunbar replied that he knew he was at a disadvantage at not having Randolph on his side, but that he still held to the justice and equity of his case. Since Randolph returned to Virginia in the spring of 1733, he apparently hired Dudley Rider as the English consultant in the case. Rider, later Attorney General, appealed to Randolph "not only because he is not yet dignified with preferments, and is more accesible and diligent in business than the Generals of the Law, and those that are much more advanced in years."<sup>70</sup>

The Dunbar Suit, however, defied Randolph's efforts. He died working on it. Aware of the difficulties in the case, Custis did not

blame the lawyer. "I have a very great loss of him," said Custis after Randolph's death.<sup>71</sup> Custis himself did not live to see an end to the case; in fact, both of Randolph's lawyer sons labored on it in vain, first for Custis and then for George Washington who had married the widow of Custis' son.<sup>72</sup>

Also among Randolph's clients was his younger brother, Edward, a tobacco merchant in London. Edward Randolph owned his own company and a fleet of ships which he sailed to Virginia. He had expanded his business during the late 1720's, a time when the tobacco trade was depressed, and found himself in financial difficulty. Planters who had consigned their crops to Randolph and Company demanded payment. Edward turned over all of his debts in Virginia to John and, according to the elder brother, relied "a great deal upon my advice how he Shall govern himself in advancing money for the future."<sup>73</sup> John managed to forestall some of the creditors, but in 1732 Edward was bankrupt.<sup>74</sup>

While law remained his principal occupation, John was also engaged as a planter. He owned extensive plantations. He had inherited land from his father along the upper James River, but he sold it all. His brothers, William and Thomas, purchased more than 500 of his acres to finance his trip to England in 1715. When he returned determined to live in Williamsburg, he sold the remaining 436 acres of his patrimony in Henrico County in 1720 for £32.<sup>75</sup>

He acquired land elsewhere, but the local records are so fragmentary that not much is known about it. From Robert Porteous he bought a tract along the Chickahominy River in James City County where he also had land at College Landing, Archer's Hope Creek, and Martin's Hundred.<sup>76</sup> In York County, in addition to other property, he owned a

hundred acres on Queen's Creek above Capitol Landing which he sold in 1734 for £100 sterling.<sup>77</sup> He also had plantations in Gloucester and Hanover Counties.<sup>78</sup>

In 1736 he entered into partnership with his brother, Richard, William Beverley (who was married to a niece), and John Robinson (who was related to his wife) to patent 118,491 acres in Orange County in northwestern Virginia "beyond the Great Mountains on the River Shenando."<sup>79</sup> By the terms of the patent the partners were to establish "one Family for each thousand Acres within two Years."<sup>80</sup> The scheme was primarily Beverley's, and John Randolph's early death precluded whatever profit he anticipated.

Not all of Randolph's property was in plantations. He owned several lots in the city of Williamsburg. Where he lived during his first years in Williamsburg is unknown. He moved his family into the house on Nicholson Street sometime before July 20, 1724, when for £30 Virginia money he purchased of John Holloway "All that Messuage and Lot or half Acre of Land...in the City of Wmsburgh adjoining to the Lot whereon the said John Randolph now lives."<sup>81</sup> He owned another piece of property, the location of which is uncertain, but which was described as "contiguous to the gardens of Archibald Blair." He bought the half-acre lot from Alexander Spotswood for £36 on July 1, 1723, and sold it a year later to Archibald Blair for £30.<sup>82</sup> In 1732 he acquired from the estate of David Bray a tract of about 100 acres on the south side of town where his son, John, later built his home.<sup>83</sup>

There is little record of the operation of the Randolph plantations. What is known comes from the letters of John Custis who looked after things while Randolph was in England. On September 5, 1732, Custis

wrote to Randolph:

I have bin lately over all yor plantations, this side York River; and gave the needful directions; the rains has much injur'd your Tob: by makeing it come in to house to o soon; but it could not bee avoyded it fired so much, it is almost everybody's case; but hope you will make a tolerable crop still; if no other accident happens; I shall faithfully take all the care I can of your concerns in my reach; but have something to do to preserve your Corn at the Colledge landing the fence being so bad, I have given the Negros effectual orders, to keep out those forefooted pyrats, who must dy unless they reform.<sup>84</sup>

Toward the end of the year, Custis again wrote of the conditions on the plantations:

Your plantation business goes on tolerably well; only some of the Nigros, and particularly Simon at Chicohominy has bin a little illegible sullen and run away, haveing a notice he had no master; but upon complaint of the overseer, I went immediately up; and undeceived him to his cost; and since everybody is at present; in good order, at the overseers leave made a begining to strip Tob: some of it is much spotted but well qualify'd every other way: how it will set on the inspectors stomachs, I can not say but if they will not pass spotted Tob: they must burn half in the Colony.<sup>85</sup>

Even though Randolph was obviously wealthy, his financial condition is not known in detail. The local records yield virtually nothing, and the records of the General Court where he may have been involved in suits do not survive. Early in his law practice in 1722 he sued a client for non-payment.<sup>86</sup> In the autumn of 1733 there was a grand jury presentment against him in the York County court "for not Listing his Tythables." Doubtless an oversight, he presented the list in December, paid his taxes to the sheriff, and was excused with court costs.<sup>87</sup>

While Randolph was establishing himself as a politician, lawyer, and planter, he settled into family responsibilities. Shortly after his return to Virginia in 1718, he married Susanna Beverley. She was the youngest of the three daughters of Peter and Elizabeth Peyton Beverley of Gloucester County, and at the age of about twenty-five she

was older than most Virginia brides of the period. They had known each other for years, at least since 1709 when his brother, William, married her sister, Elizabeth. It was a good marriage for a young man of ambition. Her father owned extensive property in Gloucester which, because he had no male heirs, would pass to his daughters; Beverley was, moreover, an important man in the colony having served as county clerk, clerk and Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Treasurer of Virginia, and councillor.<sup>88</sup> In her own right Susanna was a good wife fully capable of attending to her own interests and those of her children, as she had to do during a long widowhood. She was, in her lifetime, described as beloved, faithful, and prudent.<sup>89</sup>

In due course four children were born: Beverley about 1719; Peyton about 1721; Mary about 1724; and John about 1727. The two elder sons were named for Susanna's family, her father and mother, respectively; the younger children were named for the Randolphs, Mary for her grandmother and John for his father.

A contemporary account described Randolph as "a kind and affectionate Husband, without Fondness or Ostentation; a tender and indulgent Parent, without Weakness or Folly."<sup>90</sup> Yet there is very little reference to his family relationships. John Custis gave a rare glimpse of the household when Randolph was in England in 1732. "Mrs Randolph," Custis informed her husband, "I suppose will write to you...and will give you a particular account of your immediate domestick affairs; she has bin sick but is tolerably well as to health at present."<sup>91</sup>

Randolph saw that his children were educated. When his boys were about twelve years old, they entered the College of William and Mary. Peyton and John liked books and had an early inclination to study law,

but Beverley apparently was not much of a scholar,<sup>92</sup> His daughter, who was known in the family as Molly, had enough formal education to enjoy novels and religious literature, and she doubtless learned from her mother to manage a house and servants.<sup>93</sup> Randolph provided her with a sizeable dowry of £1000 sterling.

Occasionally the Randolphs visited their family and friends up the James River. William Byrd mentioned their trip back to Williamsburg after they had called on him at his Westover plantation in mid-winter 1735:

I cant forbear Greeting you well, and Signifying our Joy at your arrival in your own Chimney Corner [Byrd wrote in a jocular vein]. We have had the good nature to be in pain for you ever since you left us, tho' in good truth your obstinacy in exposeing you Wife and Children to be starved with Cold, and buried in the Mire, hardly deserved it. No doubt you were obliged to have Pioneers to clear the way before you as far as Mr Custis's Plantation, and you needed Four Yokes of Oxen, as they do in the deep Roads of Sussex to dragg you thro' the Durt. I dare say notwithstanding your fine Horses, you were not able to go along faster than Mr Attorney walks.<sup>94</sup>

The Randolphs were well known in Williamsburg for their hospitality. "As he received a noble income...", the local newspaper reported, "so he, in some Measure, made a Return by a most generous, open, and elegant Table. But the Plenty, Conduct and Hospitality, which appeared there, reflect an equal Praise on himself and his Lady."<sup>95</sup> Friends, such as the Governor, councillors, burgesses, the President and faculty of the College, legal associates, and townspeople, were doubtless received in the Randolph home. In addition, members of the Randolph and Beverley clans trooped in and out of the house. John's widowed sister, Mrs. Stith, was housekeeper at the College where she lived with her young daughter. His brother, William, after the death of his wife, Susanna's sister, came often to town with his motherless brood. The

other Randolph brothers were frequently in Williamsburg on business or society. There was, moreover, a succession of nephews attending the College.

The family lived in a townhouse in Williamsburg which John purchased before 1724.<sup>96</sup> Situated on the corner of Nicholson and England Streets, the house was a square frame structure of two stories with a hipped roof and a single central chimney. Inside were eight rooms, four to a floor, most of which were panelled. The house, which was perhaps ten years old when Randolph bought it, remained in the family until 1783, and went through a series of alterations. Perhaps John began the remodelling. While he was in England in 1732, John Custis told Randolph that he and Mrs. Randolph "are now makeing all ye force wee can to carry on your buildings having met with some unavoydable disappointmts."<sup>97</sup> If Custis and Susanna were indeed making changes in the Randolph house, probably they covered the hollow place in the roof used to catch rain water for the laundry and was no longer problem-free; they may also have added the unique oak panels in the upstairs bedroom. Whatever changes they made, they did not alter the stairway which remained steep and irregular.<sup>98</sup>

Randolph laid out gardens behind his house. He had the advice of John Custis who boasted that the Custis garden was about the best in Virginia.<sup>99</sup> Not only did Custis give him plants and bulbs, he apparently also introduced him to Peter Collinson, an English botanist. Both Randolph and Custis sent Collinson specimens of Virginia flora and received from him a box of horse-chesnuds, which, Custis noted with some disgust, arrived "all dry rotten."<sup>100</sup> Besides Custis, John no doubt was aided in his gardening by his brother, Isham, who was much interested in



botanical curiosities and also had a correspondence with Collinson.<sup>101</sup>

Besides his interest in horticulture, John Randolph liked books. He began building a library by purchasing volumes from the estate of Benjamin Harrison III, and to the end of his life he continued buying books. According to one estimate, which seems exaggerated, his library was "as large, if not larger...than...William Byrd II who had 3,625 volumes."<sup>102</sup> The Randolph library has not survived intact. Randolph willed his books to his son, Peyton, after whose death in 1775 they went to Thomas Jefferson who later sold them to the Library of Congress where they were mostly burned in a fire in the mid-nineteenth century.

Twenty volumes from John Randolph's collection escaped destruction, however. Most of these are law books. A few are of more general interest: Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England (London, 1715); Sebastien Chateillon's Dialogorum Sacorum (London, 1722), a Latin abridgment of Bible stories for children; and, probably, Hakluyt's Voyages.<sup>103</sup> Not enough of Randolph's books survive to indicate the nature and extent of his library, but it seems safe to conclude that its character was typical of a lawyer and a gentleman of the time.

According to his nephew, the historian William Stith, John Randolph had for several years been building his library proposing to write a constitutional history of Virginia. Since many of the early colonial records had already perished through accident or neglect, Randolph used his influence to have the surviving manuscripts copied for his own use. He began his history by making notes on the Virginia Charter of 1606 to the effect that even though the charter was based on English law, the King added to his "despotic Authority" at the expense of the Assembly. He had not completed the manuscript, however, at the time of his death.<sup>104</sup>

It is a challenge to know John Randolph as his contemporaries did. In 1720 when "King" Carter's son, John, worried that he was being defamed and outdressed by Randolph, his father reassured John that he had never heard Randolph say anything damaging and, as "for his wearing finer linen or finer clothes than you, he never appeared in any such here that I have seen."<sup>105</sup> Randolph, as Carter implied, was in style with his time. His portrait, painted in the prime of his middle age, shows him in a velvet coat wearing a medium wig with white curls barely touching his shoulders.<sup>106</sup> From all that can be discovered, he was a man of dignity and reserve. William Byrd, who knew him well, gave some indication of his character and personality by poking fun at him for traveling on heavy winter roads. What, Byrd asked Randolph, "are such trifling Difficultys to a Philosopher of your Cold Blood, who would see the Wheels plunge up to the Axletrees without uttering the least Hasty word, or Suffering one peevish thought to Start up in your mind?" Byrd continued:

Had you Stuck fast, as once Bishop Trelawney did, you woud not like his Lordp have Sworn your Self out again, which is better than either Whip or Spur to some Horses. No doubt you contemplated on the deep and difficult Roads as an Emblem of the Ways of the world, which are too often I confess too dirty and troublesome. In short it was richly worth endureing all your Hardships and Fatigues to have been able to bear them so like a Primitive Christian.<sup>107</sup>

In the spring of 1728, the House of Burgesses appointed Randolph their agent on a mission to London. The Governor and the Council employed their own agent, so the burgesses hired one of their own. Three times William Byrd had been the agent of the burgesses.

This was an important appointment for Randolph. At thirty-five he was in full command of his faculties having established himself

professionally and politically and cultivated important clients and friends. The appointment as agent was another opportunity to distinguish himself.

The purpose of Randolph's mission was to secure the repeal of a clause of a 1723 act of Parliament prohibiting the importation of tobacco stripped from the stalk. The Virginia planters argued that shipping tobacco with the leaves still attached to the stalk increased the bulk which in turn increased freight rates and customs duties; they also argued that such plants were harder to keep and sell. They complained that English dealers mixed the stems with the leaf, thus making an inferior product and damaging the market and reputation of Virginia tobacco generally.<sup>108</sup>

For several years the House of Burgesses had attempted to improve the tobacco trade. To protect the crop from damage during shipment, they made it illegal to gouge hogsheads for samples.<sup>109</sup> This did little good, for sailors continued breaking open the barrels and smuggling the tobacco. The burgesses, in an effort to improve the quality of Virginia tobacco, limited production to 6,000 plants per tithable and prohibited the shipment of inferior North Carolina tobacco through Virginia ports.<sup>110</sup>

Governor Gooch called his first Assembly in February, 1728, expressly to work on the tobacco problem. The burgesses responded by passing a law extending the prohibition of production, preparing a petition to the Parliament requesting the repeal of the objectionable clause from the 1723 statute, and addressing the King on the same subject. On March 28 Randolph was chosen "the Agent to solicit the said Address & Petition in behalf of this Country."<sup>111</sup> At the close of the session,

two days later, Gooch told the assembled burgesses, "I shall use my best endeavours effectively to introduce your Address to His Majesty and Your Petition to the Parliament of Great Britain...& [I] agree with you, that you can't place the Affairs which relate to the Interest of this Colony, in better hands than Mr Randolph's, who will shortly go for England."<sup>112</sup>

Gooch indeed paved the way for Randolph, who was, said James Blair, one of Gooch's particular favorites.<sup>113</sup> The Governor sent letters to the Secretary of State and the Board of Trade. To the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State, he wrote:

Your Grace will be attended by a Gentleman of this Country, one Mr. Randolph appointed by the Assembly to bring over an Address to his Majesty and a Petition to the House of Commons for taking off the Prohibition laid by Act of Parliament on the importation of Stemm'd Tobacco, which is represented to be as greatly to the Prejudice of his Majesty's Customs, as it is injurious to the Planters here, a considerable part of whose labour is rend'ed useless by it. I am perswaded if nothing else stands in its way, I need use no arguments to induce Your Grace to favour this Representation, where the King's Interest concurs with the benefit of His People.<sup>114</sup>

To the Board of Trade Gooch explained that he was sending copies of the journals and laws of the last session of the Assembly, together with other public papers, in the custody of "John Randolph Esqr. the Clerk of the House of Burgesses, who, going to England for the recovery of his health, will be ready to satisfie you Lordships in any Point wherein you may desire to be further informed."<sup>115</sup> Gooch's arguments were calculated to impress the Board of Trade; he stressed the losses to the royal revenue under the present law. Many planters told him, Gooch reported, that much good tobacco, which would have been shipped to England if it had been stemmed, was thrown away by the owners whose servants and slaves then "made [it] up into bundles and sold [it] at a

small price to Sailors, who can have no other view of profit thereby, than the running of it without paying Duty."<sup>116</sup>

Randolph arrived in London sometime during the summer of 1728, but he was not called to appear before the Board of Trade to discuss the repeal of the prohibition against stemming tobacco until January 17, 1728/9.<sup>117</sup> He had already sent in a letter explaining the planter's position and his activities in their behalf:

Your Lordships will observe from the Journals of last Session of the General Assembly in Virginia, that the Council and Burgesses have drawn up an Address to His Majesty and a Petition to the House of Commons, Complaining of grievous burthen they labour under, in carrying on the tobacco trade, from a clause in a late Act of Parliament prohibiting the Importation of tobacco stript from the Stalk, and appointed me their Agent to Solicit the passing an Act, for their relief. But as I apprehended the greatest objection I should meet with, might be made in respect of the Revenue of Customs before I troubled your Lordships with the matter, I thought it necessary to lay before the Lords of the Treasury a true state of the case: which their Lordships were pleased to refer to the Commissioners of the Customs for their Consideration and Opinion: And I imagine that they after a very deliberate Enquiry, are satisfied that the Revenue has been no ways improved by this Prohibition, So that I flatter myself I shall obtain the consent of their Lordships of the steps I had taken, and at the same time to give you all the satisfaction I am able, as to the Expediency of removing from so beneficial a Trade, a Mischief, which is insupportable to the people who carry it on both in this Kingdom and Virginia....

The stript tobacco was by many years Experience found a very Vendible Commodity, as it was most fit for the consumption of this Kingdom and always sold for a higher price, and upon shorter credit, than any other sort, So that the Planters could subsist by their Industry, and the Merchants have transacted business with more ease and less hazard. But since they have been compelled by this Act of Parliament to import the Stalk, it is not possible for them to manufacture it properly for the market in Great Britain; They are loaded with the duty and Freight of that which is not only of no Value, but depreciates the pure tobacco at least 2<sup>d</sup> in every pound. The Tobacconists are under a temptation to manufacture the Stalk and mingle it with the leaf, whereby the whole commodity is adulterated and of course the consumption of it lessen'd. And The Merchants are obliged to keep great quantities in their Warehouses, and at last to sell upon long credit. In consequence of which the price of the Planters Labour, is fallen below what they are able to bear, And unless they can be relieved they must be driven to a Necessity of Employing

themselves more Usefully in Manufactures of Woollen and Linen, as they are not able under their present circumstances to buy what is Necessary for their clothing, in this Kingdom.<sup>118</sup>

After the letter was read, Randolph appeared before the Board, and the Lords informed him "That, if his Proposals were found to be of Advantage to the Tobacco Trade and no Diminution to the Revenue, the Board wou'd give him all the Assistance in their Power."<sup>119</sup>

Randolph returned to Virginia in the early summer of 1729. At the next session of the General Assembly, on May 26, 1730, the House of Burgesses resolved to pay him £1000 out of "the Publick Money" as "a Recompence for his faithful and Industrious Application in the service of this Colony....Whereby was obtained the Repeal of a Clause of an Act of Parliament...prohibiting the Importation of Tobacco stript from the Stalk or Stem into Great Britain."<sup>120</sup>

While Randolph was in England as special agent of the House of Burgesses, he was also acting for the College of William and Mary. When the college was chartered in 1693, James Blair and fourteen trustees were given control of all properties and revenues until the school was established and flourishing. By 1728 the condition of the college was sound enough that a transfer to the President and six masters and their successors could be made, so Randolph was chosen to conduct the negotiations and draft the deed of transfer. Blair explained to the chancellor of the college, the Bishop of London:

The Gentleman who is to deliver this [letter] to your Lordship Mr Randolph is one of the Governours of our College; he was one of the earliest Scholars in it, and has improved himself so well in his Studies, that he is now one of our most eminent Lawyers. By his Acquaintance & interest with General Nicholson he hopes that he can prevail with him to joine in the Transfer of the College. I hope your Lordship will favour him with your best advice and Assistance. He is furnished with Materials, and is very capable of transacting such an affair....<sup>121</sup>

Since Blair and one other were the only original trustees still alive, the transfer, executed on their authority, was easily accomplished. Randolph drafted the legal document.<sup>122</sup>

On June 30, 1729, Blair informed the Bishop: "Mr Randolph is just arrived, and I hear has brought the transfer."<sup>123</sup> The William and Mary faculty journal dated "16 August 1729 Being the Next day after the Transfer of the Said College was compleated," recorded that the Prosi- dent and Masters took oaths of allegiance and fidelity. It also re- corded:

Upon consideration of the great trouble Mr John Randolph has been at in drawing and negotiating the Transferr of the Col- lege, both in Virginia and in England It is agreed that over and above his Acct of Disbursements upon that Acct (which we expect) a Present be made him of Fifty Guineas. And the President is desired forthwith to pay the same to him with out thanks for his good Services to the College.<sup>124</sup>

Having proven a successful negotiator, Randolph again undertook business for the House and the College by going to England in 1732. The burgesses, with the concurrence of the Governor and Council, decided to send an agent to London because of the "miserable State of the Tobacco Trade." The General Assembly two years earlier had passed a tobacco act requiring all Virginia tobacco to be officially inspected before it was sent to England. Apparently the burgesses considered it necessary to send an agent to the mother country because they had done all they could in Virginia to improve the trade. They hoped to obtain a better method of collecting duty on tobacco and thus end fraudulent trading. Their proposal was to cause an excise tax to be laid on tobacco paid by the buyer in England which would end smuggling and be fairer to the planter. To handle this business, they made Randolph their agent with a stipend of £2200 and sent him to London with a petition

for the Parliament.<sup>125</sup>

The scheme had the blessing of Governor Gooch who had been influential in the enactment of the tobacco law of 1730. Accordingly, he wrote letters in behalf of Randolph's mission. To the Board of Trade he detailed the planters' complaints concluding with a plea for his friend: "I am...encouraged to hope your Lordships will be pleased to hear him with acceptance, since I am well assured he will make no progress in the Business, without your Lordships Participation...."<sup>126</sup> Gooch also recognized the importance of the King's ministers. To the Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, he wrote:

I am sensible great Opposition will be made to what is Proposed, not only by all who have made an unjust Gain by defrauding the Crown, but even by Men of better Characters whose private Interests is like to suffer by it; And if I may presume to ask one Favour more without Offence, it is that your Grace will be pleased to permit Mr. Randolph, at such time as your Grace shall Appoint, to explain the present way and management of the Tobacco Trade, and the Measures now proposed for its Amendment; And I am perswaded your Grace will then be at no loss to distinguish by what views the different Partys, that are like to be Opponents, are Acted, and whether they there, or We Here, are contending most for the Public Good.<sup>127</sup>

Gooch also sent a letter to Edmund Gibson, the Bishop of London, in which he mentioned, significantly, Sir Robert Walpole, the King's first minister, and Alderman Micajah Perry, the leading merchant in the Virginia trade and powerful member of the House of Commons. Gooch introduced Randolph to Gibson, explained the purpose of his mission, and then continued:

I shall hope for Pardon if I report to your Lordship the ill usage I have lately mett with from Mr. Perry, who I am told publicly declared at the Treasury...he would remove me from my Government; when just about the same time, he sends me Word himself, I had certainly been called Home, if he had not gone to Sir Robert and put a Stop to it...[I] never deceived Mr. Perry in a single Article, unless by being the Contriver of the Regulation the Trade is now in, by which, 'tis to be hoped, the Planters



will be rescued out of the Clutches of the Merchants, and freed from Artifices whereby the Produce of their Labour fell into Hucksters hands.<sup>128</sup>

With letters from Gooch and his other friends in Virginia, Randolph arrived in England probably in the early autumn of 1732.<sup>129</sup> Undoubtedly he made the rounds in London delivering the letters to Newcastle, Gibson, and Perry; but he did not present the petition to Parliament, at least not directly. The records of the Board of Trade, where he would have begun his business, have no reference to the tobacco petition. Significantly, Randolph directed his efforts through the Treasury Board.<sup>130</sup>

The First Lord of the Treasury was Sir Robert Walpole, Chancellor of the Exchequer and the King's first minister. At the time of Randolph's arrival in England, Walpole had successfully maneuvered a tax scheme through the Parliament and was preparing an additional excise to lay before that body when it reconvened in January, 1733. Whether Randolph came to Walpole, or whether the first minister sought out the Virginia agent is unknown, but each of them saw an advantage in the other as they faced difficult tasks. The merchants opposed them both. Walpole's tax policy had never been popular. He got an excise on salt through the Parliament in 1732 by threatening in its place a tax on land. Now the merchants had taken to the public press to stop any extension of the excise. Randolph was fully aware of his own problems. At the end of December he wrote to Custis:

Our business will I am told be one of the first of the Session, and if we succeed will soon be over....I say nothing to you about the price of tobo., as you will have better Intelligence from your Merchts.; only the Sweetscented is fallen a half penny a pound by the conduct of some who move in a lower Orb of Trade: Which will always be the case while the Merchts. are obliged to bond or pay the duty. And yet those who complain of this Mischief

and Openly avow it to be so, are raving at the Folly and Madness of the Virginians to desire a new regulation. I have a great deal to say upon this Subject, but as every day is bringing forth new matter, I will leave it for some other Opportunity....<sup>131</sup>

By January, 1733, Randolph's presence in England and the purpose of his mission were common knowledge. The Gentleman's Magazine announced that the Virginia General Assembly had advanced £2200 "to Jn. Randolph, Esq; their Agent at London, to get Tobacco Excised, and the Law for securing Payment of Debts in the Plantations, to the Merchants of England, repealed."<sup>132</sup> Randolph and Walpole continued their plans. They got on well together. According to a biographer, Walpole "spent long hours with Randolph, discussing every aspect of this excise scheme; indeed, he saw so much of him that some came to believe that Randolph and not Walpole drew the bill to excise tobacco."<sup>133</sup>

Parliament convened on January 17, but it was not until March that Walpole introduced his tax scheme. On March 14, he presented resolutions repealing import duties of 5 1/3 d per pound of tobacco and replacing them with an excise tax of 4d per pound.<sup>134</sup> Walpole's proposals were exactly the same as those drawn up by the Virginia General Assembly and printed as The Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia.

All but completed the previous summer, the tract was carried by Randolph to England where he published it early in March, 1733.<sup>135</sup> Bound with it was A Vindication of the said Representation which, almost certainly, was written by Randolph.<sup>136</sup>

The Case of the Planters began with a history of tobacco duties in Virginia. Over the years the duty had risen from 1d per pound to 6 1/3d, but by various rebates had been reduced to 1/2d. While these duties were paid by the merchants who imported the tobacco, the Virginians asserted that they themselves bore the burdens and risks. The

merchants charged excessive commissions, they held the planters in debt, they had special allowances for waste tobacco, they pilfered the hog-sheads while the contents were being tested, and they imposed various other petty charges.<sup>137</sup> Furthermore, the Virginians charged some merchants with smuggling and fraud.<sup>138</sup> The Virginians also protested a law enabling the merchants to collect their debts in the colony merely by swearing their validity before an English magistrate.<sup>139</sup> Accordingly, they made these proposals:

1. That merchants no longer have sole responsibility for tobacco but that it be deposited in public warehouses.
2. That the duty on tobacco be reduced to 4d 3f. per pound, the present net duty.
3. That no bonds be taken for securing duties on importation.
4. That tobacco should be weighed both when it is landed and sold.
5. That the retail purchaser pay duty according to the final weight and be answerable to the merchant only for the surplus of the price.
6. That tobacco be exported duty-free with the same allowance as at present.
7. That severe penalties be levied for relanding tobacco after it had been exported or for selling it illegally at home.<sup>140</sup>

The Vindication followed. In this supplement Randolph argued the necessity for reform in the tobacco trade. After all, the trade was important because it provided revenue, balanced foreign trade, employed ships and sailors, and enabled Virginians to buy English manufactures.<sup>141</sup>

The tobacco trade, however, had been in trouble for the past forty years; so great were the troubles that Randolph did not see how the Virginians, "who possess so fine a Country, could have Patience enough to carry it on, without turning their Industry to something else that might be more advantageous to them." But, he continued, they had

carried on despite abusive duties, smuggling, and their own occasional mismanagement in the hope that these evils might be corrected by "proper Regulation."<sup>142</sup>

There had been attempts to reform the trade. The planters had grown as good a leaf as possible and exported only the best. Parliament had passed laws regulating the trade and controlling fraud. These efforts were negligible. The Virginians demanded more sweeping reform. They petitioned Parliament, and Randolph published their petition to arouse the public.

As the Virginia agent, Randolph said, he had been ridiculed and abused by so-called friends and other narrow-minded folk. It mattered not how he was treated personally because the petition was good and contained allowances for discussion and compromise. But the House of Burgesses, Randolph continued--lest he give an impression of weakness--"are so strongly united, not only among themselves, which rarely happens," but with all those who "cry aloud for Proof of the Facts that are alledged against them...."<sup>143</sup>

With characteristic thoroughness, he detailed the abuses in the tobacco trade. From merchants, bookkeepers, and servants, he collected evidence of corruption. He learned that merchants and their sea-captains and sailors, customs officials and politicians were engaged in the fraud. They all went along with it "knowing they shall be well paid for their Civilities."<sup>144</sup> Randolph asserted that he could collect many witnesses who would testify to the widespread fraud in England if their names were withheld because their testimony would "betray Friendships, and perhaps ruin Families."<sup>145</sup>

One of the more glaring abuses Randolph uncovered involved

merchants in the re-export trade to Europe. Randolph claimed that the tobacco they were selling consisted of "Stalks flatted and some bad Leaves, the Refuse and Sweeping of their Warehouses, out of which they place the fairest and most sightly at the Top and Bottom of the Cask, the rest being Dust and Sand."<sup>146</sup> Such merchants, Randolph said, were more interested in the drawback such tobacco would bring from the government than in the satisfaction of their foreign customers. One merchant engaged in the trade told his sea-captain to throw the tobacco overboard if he could not sell it in Dunkirk. According to some local gossip Randolph picked up, such tobacco was not sold at all in foreign ports; instead it was smuggled back into England to be shipped out again and a drawback collected.<sup>147</sup>

A reformation of the tobacco trade was necessary, Randolph concluded; all the evidence pointed to it. The excise was the wisest and best policy. He ended his vindication with these words:

The Remedy now offered to the Wisdom of the Nation, is to substitute some other Security in the Room of Bonds, and to turn the Duties from the Factor, that is, the Planter, upon the Buyer. Bonds, we see, produce vast Frauds, and are complained of...as one of the greatest Difficulties the Factor lies under on Account of Securities. When they are deluded to become bound, what Destruction does it bring upon some of them, and how many Families do we see undone by it? It is plain from what has been said how much the Planter is concerned to get them removed....

It is hoped the Nation will not think themselves injured by giving a reasonable Relief to those Colonies; when they consider what Numbers of People they employ here; and that one Man there brings more Profit to this Kingdom than two Men in it. Which will not be the case if they should be driven to the Necessity of turning their Industry to Manufactures, which they are very capable of.<sup>148</sup>

Employing Randolph's information as the basis of his argument for the excise, Walpole did not acknowledge his debt directly. "It is certain," he told the House of Commons, "that there are daily very great frauds committed in the collecting of the public revenues, and if any

way can be fallen on to prevent these frauds and enable the public to receive what it is now justly and legally entitled to, such a project ought to be embrac'd, and the author, whoever he may be, would deserve the thanks of his country."<sup>149</sup> He went on, as Randolph had done, to detail the abuses of the tobacco trade and their ill effect on the planters. "They are," said Walpole referring to the planters, "reduced even almost to a state of despair by the many frauds..., by the heavy duties..., and by the ill usage...from their factors and correspondents here in England, who from being their servants are now become their lords and masters." He continued: "These poor people have sent home many representations of the bad state of their affairs, and have lately sent over a gentleman with a remonstrance setting forth their grievances and praying for some speedy relief. This they may obtain by means of the scheme I intend now to propose, and I believe that it is from this scheme only that they can expect any relief."<sup>150</sup>

The English merchants, however, were unmoved either by Walpole's eloquence or the plight of the poor planters. A debate ensued in Parliament. Leading the opposition to Walpole was Micajah Perry, most powerful of merchants. His firm, Perry and Lane, all but dominated the Virginia trade, was banker for the College of William and Mary, and did business with such men as William Byrd and John Custis. Perry's political connections were impressive. He had been Lord Mayor of London; currently he was city alderman and member of Parliament. He had no use for Walpole, nor was he likely to be impressed with Randolph whose relatives had kept him in court for decades until he recovered their debt of almost £2500.<sup>151</sup>

"I am sure, sir," said Perry in response to Walpole, "none of

them [the planters] ever thought of complaining till they were put upon it by letters and applications from home....As to the remonstrance mentioned by the honorable gentleman to have been lately sent over by the tobacco planters, I know it was obtained by letters sent from home...."<sup>152</sup>

By implication at least, Perry blamed Walpole for the discontent in the colonies. Although it cannot be proved, Perry may have intended his remarks also for Randolph whose brother, Edward, was a tobacco merchant in London and had close ties in Virginia notably with Governor Gooch.<sup>153</sup> So confident was Perry that no great irregularity existed in the trade that he offered to assume all outstanding bonds on the tobacco awaiting re-exportation.

Others joined Perry in opposition, but the excise bill passed its first reading. It got no further, however. Petitions against the excise came in to Parliament during April, so that Walpole postponed the second reading until June.<sup>154</sup>

In the meantime, Perry moved, in an attempt to embarrass Walpole, that a committee be elected to investigate the frauds in the customs. Walpole met the challenge with the election of his friend, Sir John Cope, as chairman of the committee and with an entire slate of his supporters. Cope's committee presented a voluminous report on June 7. Most of the report detailed individual cases of fraud, but it also contained appendices of the testimony of witnesses before the committee. Randolph testified on May 2 that if the excise on tobacco were adopted, all the fraud in weighing would forever be eliminated. Nevertheless, the report went against Walpole's scheme. The committee recommended correcting the abuses in bonding of duties and by closer official inspection to prevent fraud in weighing.<sup>155</sup> Whatever hope Walpole had of

passing the excise died with the report of the Cope committee; his bill did not reach its second reading.

Randolph's mission was a failure. Perhaps he had miscalculated by submerging the tobacco excise with Walpole's general scheme, but that is by no means certain. Even had he succeeded, it is doubtful that the plan would have solved all the planters' problems. At any rate, one scholar has noted that it was significant that the scheme to excise tobacco was never revived in colonial Virginia.<sup>156</sup>

From a personal standpoint, Randolph's efforts were not entirely fruitless. He was rewarded with knighthood, the only colonial Virginian to be so honored. The circumstances are vague. Knighthood was bestowed for service to the crown, sometimes at the suggestion of the ministry. Probably Walpole recommended Randolph's elevation because of his support of the excise bill. It is not clear when the ceremony took place. The records of the Imperial Society of Knights Bachelor, which are incomplete, list Randolph's name after September, 1732.<sup>157</sup> He had not received the honor in January, 1733, when his name appeared in The Gentleman's Magazine, but on May 7, 1733, Francis Fane, legal advisor to the Board of Trade, called him Sir John Randolph.<sup>158</sup>

Part of the time Randolph was in England during 1732 and 1733, he was attending to the business of the College of William and Mary. Upon leaving Virginia for London, the faculty presented him with a set of instructions. First, he was to acquaint the Lords of the Treasury and the Customs Commission that the tax of one penny on each pound of tobacco exported from the Chesapeake plantations which had been set aside for the support of the college in 1692 was now "very much sunk, and yields not half of what it yielded at that time." The reason the



revenue had declined was the fraud in the tobacco trade. Randolph was to recommend to the treasury and customs officials a more efficient duty collection, or, if that were not possible, apportionment of the Virginia quit-rents to support of the college. "But," the faculty concluded, "this must be all left to your discretion to manage as the circumstances of the affair will bear."<sup>159</sup>

The second part of Randolph's mission for the College concerned the procurement of books for the Brafferton--the Indian college built with money set aside by the late Sir Robert Boyle. Through careful economy during the building of the school, the faculty had managed to save £500 out of the Boyle fund. The faculty expressed the highest motives: "As we do not live in an age of miracles, it is not to be doubted that Indian scholars will want the help of many books to qualify them to become good Pastours and Teachers as well as others." In fact, the motives of the faculty seem less than altruistic: "If it be alleged that our College Library...should supply them, it may be truly answered, that at present our funds are so poor, and theirs so rich, that they can better supply us than we them." When Randolph arrived in England, he was instructed to consult with the Bishop of London, who was Chancellor of the college, about the books to be purchased for the Indians. The faculty further told Randolph to call on the Archbishop of Canterbury because he had once intended "giving or leaving something towards our Library." He should be discreet in dealing with the Archbishop so "that what you buy may not interfere with his Grace's intended donation."<sup>160</sup>

The outcome of Randolph's second mission for the college is uncertain. The faculty journal for that period is missing. He was

apparently unsuccessful in his dealings with the treasury and customs officials, for on September 21, 1734, after his return to Virginia, the President and the Masters of the College petitioned the House of Burgesses for financial assistance because "the Duty of a Penny per Pound has been for several Years declining; and is now so sunk, that it brings nothing at all."<sup>161</sup> Since the faculty provided a letter of credit to Micajah Perry when he went to England in 1732, he was probably successful in purchasing books for the Indian school.

Once he had returned to Williamsburg, John Randolph resumed his accustomed activities, but he resigned as clerk of the House of Burgesses just as that body convened in August, 1734. His motives were self-serving: he recognized an opportunity for advancement. Speaker John Holloway planned to resign his office claiming poor health, but the treasurer's accounts, which were in his keeping, were the real cause of his departure--they were in arrears £1850. On Thursday, August 22, the opening day of the General Assembly, the Governor issued a writ for filling the vacancy occasioned by the recent death of the Burgess for the College of William and Mary. The six or eight voting members of the college corporation held a quick election, and on Friday, August 23, John Randolph took his seat as the college burgess. On Saturday, after Holloway's resignation had been read to the House, John Clayton, the Attorney General, brought word from the Governor that they should elect a new Speaker, and recommended Sir John Randolph "as a Person equal to, and eminently qualified for, that Trust." Randolph was chosen unanimously and conducted to the Speaker's chair.<sup>162</sup>

Although the election was quickly and smoothly contrived, it was apparently without fraud and complaint. In the club-like intimacy of

the Virginia government during the eighteenth century, such activities were normal.<sup>163</sup>

As his contemporaries anticipated, John Randolph was an able and distinguished Speaker of the House. In the custom of his predecessors, he from time to time addressed the House. His speeches, polished and skillful, reveal the nature of the man: self-assured, modest, and thoughtful. In them he appeared as much a scholar as a politician. The burgesses considered his speeches of such quality that, contrary to usual custom, they included their complete texts in the House journals.

In his first speech after assuming office Randolph refused to stoop to false modesty often customary in such addresses.

I come now to experience all the Degrees of your Favour and Kindness to me; and it will not become me to pretend any unwillingness to accept what you think me worthy of: Tho' I know, after Gentlemen have employed all their Interest to be elected into this Office, they usually represent themselves absolutely incapable of discharging the Duties of it. But if this be done without a Consciousness of the Truth of what they say, or any Design to depart from the Right of their Election, it must either be a false Appearance of Modesty, or a blind Compliance with a Custom, that perhaps, in the beginning, was founded upon Truth and Reason, but by Time, like many others, becomes only an Abuse of Words; which I cannot follow: And I the rather avoid it, because I intend, upon no Occasion, to give you any Instance of the least Insincerity, which I think not only very useless, but the most vicious Thing in the World. Therefore, I must own, I do with a particular Pleasure embrace the Opportunity you have given me, of employing my small Talents, which appear to you in a much better Light than they deserve, still in your service; and I thank you for this additional Instance of your Confidence in me, in bestowing your greatest Trust upon me.<sup>164</sup>

In other speeches Randolph was adroit in applying political theory to political reality. For example, in remarks addressed to the Governor, he complimented Gooch by comparing him to an ideal ruler:

The Art of Governing Well, [said Randolph] is thought to be the most abstruse, as well as the usefulest Science in the World; and when It is learnt to some Degree of Perfection, it is very difficult to put it in Practice, being often opposed by the Pride

and Interest of the Person that governs. But You have shew'd how easy it is to give universal Satisfaction to the People under Your Government: You have met them, and heard their Grievances in frequent Assemblies, and have had the Pleasure of seeing none of them proceed from Your Administration: You have not been intoxicated with the Power committed to You by His Majesty; but have used it, like a faithful Trustee, for the Public Good, and with proper Cautions: Raised no Debates about what it might be able to do of itself; but on all important Occasions, have suffer'd it to unite with that of the other Parts of the Legislature: You never propose Matters, without supposing Your Opinion subject to the Examination of Others; nor strove to make other Mens Reason blindly and implicitly Yours; but have always calmly acquiesced in the Contrary Opinion: And Lastly, You have extirpated all Factions from among us, by discountenancing Public Animosities; and plainly prov'd, that none can arise, or be lasting, but from the Countenance and Encouragement of a Governor.<sup>165</sup>

The Speaker described the ideal elected representative:

We must consider ourselves chosen by all the People sent hither to represent them, to give their Consent in the weightiest of their Concerns; and to bind them by Laws which may advance their Common Good. Herein they trust you with all they have, place the greatest Confidence in your Wisdoms and Discretions, and testify the highest Opinion of your Virtue. And surely, a Desire of pleasing some, and the Fear of offending others; Views to little Advantages and Interests; adhering too fondly to ill-grounded Conceits; and Prejudices of Opinions too hastily taken up; and Affectation to Popularity; Private Animosities or Personal Resentments; which have often too much to do in Popular Assemblies, and sometimes put a Bias upon Mens Judgments, can upon no Occasion, turn us aside in the Prosecution of this important Duty, from what shall appear to be the true Interest of the People: Tho' it may be often impossible to conform to their Sentiments, since, when we come to consider and compare them, we shall find them so various and irreconcilable.<sup>166</sup>

During the opening of the 1736 session of the General Assembly, Randolph was again nominated for Speaker of the House. Since there was no apparent opposition to his reelection, his friends moved to conduct him to the Speaker's chair without calling for further nominations. At that point, Benjamin Harrison IV rose with a challenge to nominate John Robinson for Speaker. Charles Carter and Edmund Berkeley seconded the nomination. A crisis was averted when Robinson stood to say he was not worthy to compete with the esteemed Mr. Randolph and wished to withdraw

so he might be unanimously elected. Accordingly, Randolph was chosen by "all the rest of the Members," and conducted to the chair. Unruffled by the proceedings, he delivered a gracious speech of acceptance, referring obliquely to the abortive challenge: "My Willingness to continue in the Service of this House has been well known among you, tho' I have not endeavoured to anticipate any Man's Judgment, by soliciting his Vote: Therefore I shall not hesitate in owning the Satisfaction with which I accept the Honour you now bestow upon me; and I do it with the greater Pleasure, seeing many worthy Gentlemen, experienced Members of the House of Burgesses, who have been long Witnesses of my Behaviour, still retain a good Opinion of it."<sup>167</sup>

At the same time as he was first elected Speaker in August, 1734, Randolph was appointed Treasurer of Virginia by the General Assembly. Before entering upon his duties he was required to post a bond of £5000. The Treasurer had an annual salary of £50, but since Randolph had to settle the accounts which the previous Treasurer, John Holloway, had left in arrears, he was granted an additional £100.<sup>168</sup>

On November 5, 1736, the Virginia Gazette reprinted a letter from Alexander Spotswood which had earlier appeared in the Pennsylvania newspapers.<sup>169</sup> Accompanying the Spotswood letter was a rebuttal by John Randolph. The cause of this dispute occurred while Spotswood was still Governor of Virginia. In 1722 the House of Burgesses had appropriated £1000 to Spotswood for the purchase of military stores for Spotsylvania and Brunswick counties. Spotsylvania was well supplied, but Brunswick never received its arms. After years of seeking satisfaction from Spotswood, the House finally, on August 30, 1736, moved to take positive action against him "unless those Arms be sent in and delivered, before

the first of June next."<sup>170</sup>

Spotswood claimed that the action against him was hasty and ill-advised. Several times, he said, he had ordered the arms from his agents in London and each time his orders had been misplaced or distorted. The burgesses should be patient, especially since the Speaker, on his last trip to England, had announced that haste was unnecessary in the arms shipment. Mention of the Speaker brought immediate response from Randolph.

With all of his characteristic thoroughness, he examined Spotswood's case point by point. He cited the House journals to prove that the burgesses had been patient too long. Although Randolph's arguments were well reasoned, he could scarcely constrain himself as he wrote:

You were intrusted with Money, for the Good of a Body of poor People, with 500l. for the poor Inhabitants of Brunswick; which you had no Reason to take into your Hands, but to prevent your Successor from meddling with it. You go to England, and stay near 6 Years.--During your Stay there, you had an Opportunity of providing these Arms.--You take no Step towards it.--When your Agent was called upon, for the Accounts, you suffer'd a Year and 9 Months to pass....When he [the agent] is pressed, he produces a shameful Account, made up in direct Contradiction to the plain Words of the Law, and extremely to your Dishonour, containing Articles against the Opinion and Judgment of your best Friends, and made Use of only to serve other Views. When you return'd to Virginia, you insist upon this Account, which all the World would have judged against you....Two years afterwards, you vouchsafe to engage to pay it.--Four Years more pass, and Nothing done. And what is your Excuse?--Truly such a one, as I was sincerely sorry to read.<sup>171</sup>

The two men carried on their debate in subsequent issues of the Virginia Gazette, but it degenerated into a personal feud. Spotswood charged that Randolph was a false friend, especially since as Governor he had done so much to advance Randolph's career. Randolph replied that he was not indebted to Spotswood; if the Governor had provided him with appointments to office, he had kept them on his own merit. Eventually

Spotswood returned the money for Brunswick County to the Treasury,<sup>172</sup>  
but Randolph did not live to see it.

Randolph had suffered ill health off and on for years. Like others of his family, he was inclined to corpulence and may have shown the symptoms of such family maladies as hypertension and heart disease. Yet he maintained manifold activities working hard at whatever he did. He did not ignore his physical condition, however. One of the reasons for his trip to England in 1728 was to recover his strength. He thought the ocean voyage would do him good and before returning to Virginia he went to Bath to take the waters. Temporarily reinvigorated, he again sought health in England in 1732. Finally, in January, 1736/37, an abdominal disorder, perhaps ulcers or cancer, confined him to his home. His friends knew he was working too hard; "he failed in health," one of them later said, "due to his sleepless toil."<sup>173</sup> Dr. Thomas Wharton, a Williamsburg physician and apothecary, was called. On January 27, Wharton prescribed a narcotic containing poppy syrup and opium, but Randolph did not improve. On February 5, the doctor administered a large stomach plaster which he followed six days later with more narcotics.<sup>174</sup>

Randolph knew the gravity of his illness. On February 17, he sent for his will, which he had drawn in December, 1735, to add a codicil. He altered none of the provisions for Susanna and the children; he simply disposed of recent acquisitions, appointed a guardian for his children during their minority, and provided for the better preservation of his library.<sup>175</sup>

On February 26, Dr. Wharton prescribed a third dose of narcotic, but Randolph lingered without much change. There was a crisis

apparently on March 1, for the doctor applied another stomach plaster with some aromatic oil. His treatment was futile.<sup>176</sup> Between the hours of two and three on the morning of March 2, Randolph died at the age of forty-four.<sup>177</sup> By his own request he was entombed in the chapel of the College of William and Mary. He was the first to be so honored.

In death he was accorded the pomp of his high station. His corpse was borne from his house to the burial place according to his own instructions, "by Six honest, industrious, poor House-keepers of Bruton Parish," who were paid £20 between them. They were met at the college by the Reverend William Dawson, one of the professors and Randolph's nephew by marriage, who delivered a funeral oration in Latin before "a very numerous Assembly of Gentlemen and others who paid the last Honours...with great Solemnity, Decency, and Respect."<sup>178</sup> Afterwards the coffin was lowered to a vault beneath the floor in the northeast corner of the chapel.

Randolph was mourned. "My Neighbour Sr. J. Randolph is dead," wrote Governor Gooch, "a great loss to this Country, which has no other effect upon me than my concern for the Publick."<sup>179</sup> James Blair noted the loss of "a good friend to the College and Country," if not to the Church.<sup>180</sup> Both Gooch and Blair, still disturbed by Randolph's religious sentiments, were reserved in their expressions of sympathy, but scarcely a month following Randolph's death, the Virginia Gazette devoted its front page to an elegy, "On the Death of the Hon. Sir John Randolph, Knt." Written in Latin, probably by William Dawson, the poem was also printed in English translation. The poet mourned in couplets:

RANDOLPH is dead, --no more with graceful Ease  
His Eloquence our ravish'd Ears must please....  
Our wretched Seminary wails to find  
A Loss so great, as its departed Friend.



The Orphan City for its Parent grieves.  
 His Death the Public of its Weal bereaves.  
 The Speechless Chair does silently bemoan  
 Th' August ASSEMBLY's Speaker and its own.  
 His mournful Consort vainly with the rest  
 Wrings her sad Hands, and strikes her pensive Breast....  
 Had your Renown, or had our Hopes been less,  
 Our Grief we might less mournfully express....<sup>181</sup>

Two years later, in 1739, a marble tablet to Randolph's memory was placed in the college chapel. The Latin inscription, again probably the work of Dawson, noted that in public service "he had scarcely an equal, and surely no superior."<sup>182</sup>

Susanna Randolph survived her husband perhaps as much as three decades. She remained in Williamsburg in the family house to which she had life rights. Possibly after her son Peyton's marriage in 1745 she moved to the cottage to the east of the main house. She lived to see her children well established. An unsubstantiated account says she died in 1768, aged about seventy-five.<sup>183</sup> Doubtless she was buried next to her husband in the crypt of the college chapel.<sup>184</sup>

John Randolph died in the prime of his life, but in his forty-four years he became a most prominent Virginian. Positions of power and influence were his because of his family and connections, but he could not have kept his posts without real talent and hard work. He was confident and self-assured, thorough and well-prepared, yet neither boastful nor overbearing. Well educated, particularly in history and the law, he had a scholar's grasp of principle and theory coupled with a politicians' sense of practicality and application. He moved easily in society and knew many of the most influential men of his day. He was a man whose virtues were not lost on his contemporaries.

1. BEVERLEY RANDOLPH of Gloucester (c. 1719--1764)

Beverley Randolph was the eldest child of Sir John Randolph. His mother was Susanna Beverley, the daughter of Peter Beverley, an influential Gloucester County planter and public servant. He was born about 1719, probably in Williamsburg where his parents resided since their marriage about 1718. Graves Packe, a London sea-captain in the Virginia trade and a Randolph family friend, was his godfather.<sup>185</sup>

Almost nothing has survived concerning his early life. At the age of twelve or thereabout, he, like his father before him, attended the College of William and Mary, but he was apparently not scholastically inclined because, in contrast to his father and brothers, all of whom studied in England, his formal education ceased when he left the Williamsburg school.<sup>186</sup> His father died in 1737, and by the terms of his will, Beverley, after his twenty-fourth birthday, inherited the family plantations in Gloucester County where he eventually settled. Early in 1743 he married Agatha Wormeley of Rosegill in Middlesex County, a young woman of good family.<sup>187</sup> They were parents of two daughters, both of whom died in infancy.<sup>188</sup>

While his father and brothers were among the most eminent lawyers in Virginia, Beverley remained a planter. In the absence of local records there is little to distinguish him from other members of the planter class. Most of his plantations were in Gloucester County, whose archives do not survive, but he also owned land in Louisa County where in 1754 he sold 306 acres.<sup>189</sup> His home plantation was in Gloucester at a place called Eaton Hill, where his wife continued to live during her long widowhood.<sup>190</sup> He inherited slaves from his father and his account with a Williamsburg harnessmaker indicates that he kept saddle, coach,

and work horses;<sup>191</sup> but beyond these few facts nothing else is known.

As the son of Sir John Randolph, Beverley could scarcely escape public service. Governor Gooch, who had great respect for the father, in 1744 recommended the son as a gentleman fit to succeed to the Council. Although Gooch admitted that Randolph and some others on his list were "young Gentlemen," he justified himself saying that there were no other persons in the immediate vicinity of Williamsburg "qualified for that Station."<sup>192</sup> Gooch continued until 1747 to list Randolph for the Council.<sup>193</sup> But he was never appointed.

Whatever the Governor's motives in advancing his friend's son, it is hard to see that Beverley Randolph was qualified for high office; certainly he was not at the time of the first recommendation in 1744; but perhaps he had proven himself by 1747. In March, 1743, he appeared before the York County court as the administrator of the estate of one William Clarke.<sup>194</sup> The following May he was appointed to the Gloucester County commission of the peace, an appointment he held for at least nine years.<sup>195</sup> In 1756 he served as the county sheriff.<sup>196</sup> It is impossible to judge his county service for, aside from his attestation of the bond of the local tobacco inspector in 1749, there is absolutely no evidence of his activities.<sup>197</sup>

In September, 1744, he was elected to the House of Burgesses representing the College of William and Mary, the seat his father once held.<sup>198</sup> Immediately upon his election he was added to the important Committee of Propositions and Grievances and throughout the session fulfilled routine assignments.<sup>199</sup> During the 1745-1746 session, he was again appointed to Propositions and Grievances in addition to the Committee of Privileges and Elections, two significant appointments;<sup>200</sup>

but his activities were commonplace.<sup>201</sup>

The burning of the capitol building in March, 1747, and the consequent efforts of some burgesses from western counties to move the government from Williamsburg to a place more convenient to the colony's centers of population and commerce were the occasions of his most important service. Unofficially, for there is no mention of his appointment in the official documents, he went to England at the behest of those who wished the capital to remain where it was. On October 26, 1747, he presented a petition to the Board of Trade in London requesting their Lordships to confirm two outdated acts of the Virginia Assembly, passed in 1699 and 1705, providing for the establishment of the capital city in Williamsburg.<sup>202</sup> His efforts were successful; on January 13, 1747/48, the Board revived the 1705 law for the purpose of rebuilding the ruined capitol in Virginia.<sup>203</sup> While Randolph's efforts were a personal credit, the fact that he took the assignment showed his alliance with the influential faction of tidewater burgesses whose interest it was to keep the government in Williamsburg. Shortly after returning from England, for some unexplained reason, he ceased to be a burgess: after 1749 there is no mention of him in the records of the House. The quality of Randolph's service to the colony cannot be determined, but a quantitative study places him in the second rank of leadership in the 1746-47 session.<sup>204</sup>

He died in 1764.<sup>205</sup> With the exception of his serving as sheriff in 1756, there are no records during the final decade of his life. Perhaps he was in life as he appears in history--overshadowed by his father and brothers. His whole life failed to meet their accomplishments. His Virginia education was inferior to their English training. His public

service, even though he performed ably on his mission to England, was insignificant compared to the high offices of his relatives. Perhaps in comparison he was less talented, or thought himself to be. Interestingly, his career in the House of Burgesses ended just as his brothers were becoming leading men. Perhaps he suffered poor health, as death in his early forties suggests. Whatever, he remained a lesser member of a branch of the Randolph family which produced great men.

2. PEYTON RANDOLPH (c. 1721--22 October 1775). See Chapter XIII infra.
3. MARY RANDOLPH GRYMES (?--20 January 1768)

The only daughter of Sir John Randolph and his wife, Susanna Beverley, Mary Randolph Grymes was born probably in Williamsburg between 1723 and 1726, the interval between the births of her brothers, Peyton and John. She was called Molly. Her father died in 1737, and she continued to live with her mother until her marriage to Philip Grymes on December 18, 1742, at which time she received a dowry of £1000 sterling.<sup>206</sup>

Her husband was a leading man in colonial Virginia. He came of good stock. His father, John Grymes II, a third-generation Virginian in a family that had come to the colony before 1644, was a member of the Council and Receiver General; his mother was Lucy Ludwell of the influential clan who lived at Green Spring. Philip Grymes was born March 11, 1721/22,<sup>207</sup> the ninth of fifteen children, educated at the College of William and Mary,<sup>208</sup> and, upon his father's death in 1748, inherited not only the family plantation at Brandon in Middlesex County but also the elder Grymes' positions as councillor and Receiver General.<sup>209</sup>

The records contain little about Mary Grymes. A well-born and well-wed lady, her chief roles were wife, mother, and plantation mistress. Whatever influence she possessed was undoubtedly reflected through her family and home. Almost nothing is known of her conjugal relationship with her husband, but the fact that she sometimes accompanied him to Williamsburg to visit relatives and friends, and the fact that in his will he referred to her as "dear and welbeloved" and "dearly beloved" and named her among the trustees of his estate certainly hints at an affectionate union.<sup>210</sup> Between 1743 and 1757 she bore ten children, six boys and four girls, and brought eight of them to maturity.<sup>211</sup> With so many children born so close together, much of her time was of necessity devoted to their upbringing, but there is scant reference to the method of her motherhood. Perhaps she instructed them in the elements of Christianity, as is suggested by their father's 1751 purchase of several Bibles and prayer books,<sup>212</sup> but, for the boys at least, the more formal aspects of their education were entrusted to tutors on the plantation, to the faculty of William and Mary, and to schools in England, Eton and Balliol College, Oxford.<sup>213</sup>

As plantation-mistress, domestic affairs came under her supervision. During the early years of her marriage she lived at Grymesby, a Grymes family plantation on the Pianketanke River in Middlesex County, and, after the death of her husband's parents in 1748 and 1749, she and her family moved nearby to Brandon, their home for the next thirteen years. The Brandon mansion, which is no longer standing, was very much like other plantation houses of the period. Of brick it was two stories with five rooms and a central hallway to a floor. Downstairs were a dining room, parlor, parlor closet, and two bedrooms--the "Red Roome"

and the "Blue Roome"; upstairs were the "Chamber" and the "Chamber Closet" (probably the library and office), the nursery, and two more bedrooms. Throughout the house was ample furniture: 74 chairs, 21 tables, 12 beds, 7 trunks, 5 desks, 5 bookpresses, 3 dressing tables with mirrors, 2 chests, a couch, and a collection of fireplace equipment--shovels, tongs, screens, andirons, and a bed-warmer. The library, better than average size by Virginia standards, contained well over a hundred volumes of history, religion, philosophy, literature, law, and medicine. The family silver, glass, and dishware were among the things in the house that Mrs. Grymes probably found most appealing. The list was impressive. The silver included 2 "Rims & Casters," a waiter, 4 candlesticks, snuffers and stand, 2 "old casters," a butter boat, candle cup, a "large spoone," 28 tablespoons, a case of small table knives, 4 salt cellars with "shovells," 2 punch ladles, a pair of sugar tongs, a coffee pot, and a porringer; the glassware included 30 plain wine glasses, 13 flowered wine glasses, 4 beer blasses, 5 glass salvers, and 170 dessert glasses; the dishware included a large basin, a dozen "pewter Dishes" with 3 dozen plates, 27 earthenware plates, 6 china flower pots, 24 "China dishes," 92 china plates, a china tureen, 2 china "scoop dishes," 6 "red and white china dishes," 4 "blue and white" china dishes, 2 china mugs, 2 china teapots, 16 china "shells," 8 pie molds, and an earthen teapot. There was also a quantity of linen: 37 table cloths, 6 dozen napkins, 3 dozen towels, 20 pairs of sheets, 31 pillow cases, 24 counterpanes, and 7 quilts.<sup>214</sup>

In housekeeping she undoubtedly was dependent upon Negro slaves. There is no information about the house servants or how she employed them, but they probably did most of the cooking, serving, cleaning, and

maintenance, as well as minding the Grymes children and attending to the needs of the master and mistress.

How much the Brandon household reflected the tastes and dictates of Mary Grymes is difficult, if not impossible, to determine. Some things were already in the house when she became mistress; perhaps she brought a few things from her girlhood home in Williamsburg; and undoubtedly she added things of her own preference. However she ran her house and whatever she put in it, she had sufficient personnel and furnishings to make her family and guests comfortable.

Her husband died early in 1762.<sup>215</sup> He made good provision for her and the family. During her widowhood she had rights to the Brandon house and plantation and she was among the trustees appointed to manage the other Grymes property until her children were old enough to manage it themselves.<sup>216</sup> Apparently she was able to attend to affairs without her husband. Although he had named as his trustees, Peyton Randolph, Speaker John Robinson, and Benjamin Grymes, Mrs. Grymes took an active part in the sale of her tobacco, cattle, and land, and she also directed the clothing and feeding of her family and slaves.<sup>217</sup>

About 1763 she moved to Williamsburg in order to be near her two brothers and her sons who were attending the College. The location of her town-house is uncertain, but possibly she lived in "that Messuage or Brick dwelling House situate on the South side of Francis Street" which her son owned in 1774.<sup>218</sup> Little is known of Mrs. Grymes' later years in Williamsburg. She maintained an account with the local bookseller buying a large quantity of writing supplies and several books. In reading matter she apparently preferred religion and currently popular works of fiction and travel. Between 1764 and 1766 she purchased



Benjamin Bennet, The Christian Oratory: or the Devotion of the Closet Display'd, 2 vols. (London, 1760); Jeremy Taylor, The Rule and Exercises of Holy Living /and/...Holy Dying, a combined edition of two Anglican devotional tracts first published in 1651; The History of Lady Julia Mandeville (London, 1763), a novel; The Mother; or, the Happy Distress; a Novel, 2 vols. (London, 1766); and The Letters of the Right Honourable Lady M/ar/y W/ortle/y M/ontag/u. Also among her purchases was The Pen-man's Treasury Open'd, a new essay for the improvement of...writing in ye English, French & Italian Hands, a book first published in London about 1693, which she undoubtedly considered necessary for her children's education.<sup>219</sup> She was among the important Virginians who had borrowed money from Speaker John Robinson, but she paid back the £61.6.6 she owed.<sup>220</sup>

She died January 20, 1768. The following day the Virginia Gazette reported: "Yesterday morning died at her house in this city, after a tedious illness, Mrs. MARY GRYMES, relict of the Hon. PHILIP GRYMES, deceased. She was a lady remarkable for her benevolent and charitable disposition, as well as many other amiable qualities."<sup>221</sup>

4. JOHN RANDOLPH (c. 1727--31 January 1784). See Chapter XIV infra.

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER XII

<sup>1</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2 reported that he died "in the 44th Year of his Age."

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>EJCCV, III, 15, 16, 60, 61, 139, 225, 263, 311.

<sup>4</sup>Catalogue of the College of William and Mary (1859), 29.

<sup>5</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers 14, #134 (CWm).

<sup>6</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary 1709-1712, 26, 317, 433, 503, 508.

<sup>7</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 437-439.

<sup>8</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1697-1704), 439 (VSLm).

<sup>9</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 34 (VSLm).

<sup>10</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 223-226 (VSLm).

<sup>11</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 182-183, 193 (VSLm).

<sup>12</sup>Being an exact Alphabetical Disposition of all the Heads necessary for a perfect Common-place. Useful to all students and professors of the Law; much wanted, and earnestly desired. Printed in this volume for the conveniency of Binding with Common-Place-Books (London: Printed by the Assignees of Richard and Edward Atkins Esquires, for John Kidgell, 1680).

<sup>13</sup>E. Millicent Sowerby, Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, 5 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1952), II, 225. Cited hereinafter as Sowerby, Library of Jefferson. Jefferson purchased the Randolph library from the estate of Peyton Randolph.

<sup>14</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 225, 266-267 (VSLm).

<sup>15</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1710-1714), 287-288; Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1714-1718), 35 (VSLm).

<sup>16</sup>Isaac G. Bates to Miss Randolph, August 22, 1911, VHS. The record of Randolph's matriculation was copied by Bates from Gray's Inn Admission Register, f. 1401.

<sup>17</sup>An exact history of all the writers and bishops who have had their education in the most ancient and famous University of Oxford, from the fifteenth year of King Henry the Seventh, Dom. 1500, to the end of the year 1690... (London: Printed for Tho. Bennet, 1691). See also Sowerby, Library of Jefferson, II, 215, 227, 294, 324, 328-29, 332, 333, 334, 336.

<sup>18</sup>The lawyer was John Holloway. Sir John Randolph's Breviate Book, reprinted in Virginia Historical Register and Literary Advertiser, I (July, 1848), 121. See also R. T. Barton to Lyon G. Tyler, March 18, 1909, Tyler Papers, W&M.

<sup>19</sup>Isaac G. Bates to Miss Randolph, August 22, 1911, VHS; and Isaac G. Bates, "Randolph Family," WMQ, 1st series, XXI (1912), 25-28.

<sup>20</sup>William Byrd II to "Dear Sir", January 31, 1717/18, William Byrd Papers 1717/18, Duke University (CWM).

<sup>21</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 81.

<sup>22</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 2:2-3:1; JHB 1712-1726, 173-179.

<sup>23</sup>JHB 1712-1726, 307, 347, 392, 417, 420; and JHB 1727-1740, 50, 106, 158.

<sup>24</sup>Andrews, Colonial Period, IV, 222-230.

<sup>25</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 3:1. Also see Proceedings in Admiralty Courts outside Great Britain, High Court of Admiralty: Oyer and Terminer Records, 1722-1739, PRO, HCA 1/99 (CWM).

<sup>26</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 461-462.

<sup>27</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 3:1.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 479-481.

<sup>31</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 24, 1736, 2:1.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., December 17, 1736, 1:1.

<sup>34</sup>EJCCV, IV, 20.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., 86.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., 97.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid. See Hugh F. Rankin, Criminal Trial Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia (Charlottesville, Va., 1965), 54.

<sup>38</sup>EJCCV, IV, 107.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 107-113.

- <sup>40</sup>Ibid., 110.
- <sup>41</sup>EJCCV, IV, 111.
- <sup>42</sup>Ibid., 113.
- <sup>43</sup>Ibid., 140.
- <sup>44</sup>Ibid., 144, 148.
- <sup>45</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 317; and Court Minute Book (1719-1724), post 360 (VSLm).
- <sup>46</sup>EJCCV, IV, 330.
- <sup>47</sup>Williamsburg City Charter, reprinted in "The Building of Williamsburg," WMQ, 1st series, X (1901), 85.
- <sup>48</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., November 26, 1736, 4:1.
- <sup>49</sup>Goodwin, Record of Bruton Parish Church, 103, 139, 142.
- <sup>50</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, March 11, 1736/37, Fulham Palace Papers 15, #31 (CWm).
- <sup>51</sup>William Gooch to the Bishop of London, July 8, 1735, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #34 (CWm).
- <sup>52</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, December 23, 1737, in VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 376-377.
- <sup>53</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., May 6, 1737, 4:1-2.
- <sup>54</sup>"Copy of Part of Sir John Randolph's WILL," The General Magazine and Historical Chronicle For All the British Plantations in America, I, no. 14 (May, 1741), 342-348.
- <sup>55</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1736/37, 3:2.
- <sup>56</sup>James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers 14, #134 (CWm).
- <sup>57</sup>EJCCV, IV, 20, 86, 243, 343, 348, 372, 406; and Byrd, London Diary, 371.
- <sup>58</sup>The records of James City County do not survive; the York County records give little indication of his practice; he was justice of the peace in Gloucester County and may have handled cases there. See Parks' Va. Gaz., May 20, 1737, 4:2; York County, Orders, Wills, XVI (1720-1729), 96, 109, 240, 242, 459 (VSLm); Jones Family Papers, #177, #179 (CWm); John Mercer Ledgers 1725-1732, 13 (CWm); and EJCCV, IV, 330.

<sup>59</sup>R. T. Barton, ed., The Reports by Sir John Randolph, vol. I, Virginia Colonial Decisions, 2 vols. (Boston: The Boston Book Company, 1909).

<sup>60</sup>Leo M. Kaiser, "The Latin Epitaph of Sir John Randolph," VMHB, LXXVIII (1970), 201.

<sup>61</sup>John Randolph to Landon Carter, March 3, 1735, Ludwell Papers, VHS.

<sup>62</sup>William Byrd to Edward Randolph, July 27, 1728, Byrd Letterbook, VHS. Also see Byrd to "Cousin" Taylor, February 25, 1736, *Ibid.*; and Custis Letterbook (CWM).

<sup>63</sup>Robert Carter to John Carter, July 13, 1720, in Louis B. Wright, ed., Letters of Robert Carter 1720-1727: The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman (San Marino, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1940), 7.

<sup>64</sup>Robert Carter to John Randolph, November 24, 1729, Robert Carter Letter Book (1727-1732), 15, UVa (CWM).

<sup>65</sup>Robert Carter to John Randolph, June 23, July 28, 1731, Robert Carter Letter Book (1727-1732), 21, 24-25, UVa (CWM). Also see Robert Carter to John Carter, June 29, 1731, *Ibid.*, 26; and Clifford Dowdey, The Virginia Dynasties: The Emergence of King Carter and the Golden Age (Boston: Little, Brown, 1969), 353-356.

<sup>66</sup>John Custis to Micajah Perry, 1732, Custis Letterbook 1717-1741, (CWM).

<sup>67</sup>John Custis to Robert Cary, 1733, Custis Letterbook. See also D. S. Freeman, George Washington, 7 vols. (New York, 1948-1957), II, 281-291.

<sup>68</sup>John Custis to Micajah Perry, 1732, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>69</sup>John Custis to John Randolph, September 5, 1732, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>70</sup>John Randolph to John Custis, December 29, 1732, Custis Papers, VHS.

<sup>71</sup>John Custis to Peyton Randolph, c. 1741, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>72</sup>John Custis to Peyton Randolph, c. 1741, and 1741, Custis Letterbook; and John Randolph's receipt to George Washington, February 26, 1771, Custis Papers, VHS.

<sup>73</sup>John Randolph to Thomas Jones (?), October 11, 1729, Jones Family Papers, LC (CWM).

<sup>74</sup>See sketch of Edward Randolph, infra.

<sup>75</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, II (1718-1726), 502-503; and Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 36 (VSLm).

<sup>76</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378-379.

<sup>77</sup>York County, Deeds, IV (1729-1740), 288; and Orders, Wills, Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740/1), 112 (VSLm).

<sup>78</sup>VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378-379.

<sup>79</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #17 (1735-1738), 154-156 (VSLm).

<sup>80</sup>EJCCV, IV, 375-376.

<sup>81</sup>York County, Deeds and Bonds, III (1713-1729), 412, 423-424 (VSLm).

<sup>82</sup>Ibid., 404, 424-425; and Orders and Wills (1720-1729), 286 (VSLm).

<sup>83</sup>John Randolph to Francis Fane, April 12, 1733, and Francis Fane to the Board of Trade, May 7, 1733, PRO C05/1323, 72-74 (CWin); York County, Deeds IV (1729-1740), 288 (VSLm). The site is occupied currently by the Williamsburg Lodge and the Golden Horseshoe Golf Course.

<sup>84</sup>John Custis to John Randolph, September 5, 1732, Custis Letter-book.

<sup>85</sup>Ibid., December 4, 1732.

<sup>86</sup>York County, Orders and Wills XVI (1720-1729), 109 (VSLm).

<sup>87</sup>York County, Orders, Wills and Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740/1), 75, 82 (VSLm).

<sup>88</sup>McGill, Beverley Family, 7-9, 364; Horace Edwin Hayden, Virginia Genealogies (Wilkes-Barre, Pa.: n.p., 1891), 468; W. G. Stanard, "Major Robert Beverley and His Descendants," VMHB, III (1895), 169-176.

<sup>89</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., September 26, 1745, 3:1; JHB 1727-1740, 409-410; and Leo M. Kaiser, ed., "The Latin Epitaph of Sir John Randolph," VMHB, LXXVIII (1970), 201.

<sup>90</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1736/37, 3:2.

<sup>91</sup>John Custis to John Randolph, October 4, 1732, Custis Letter-book.

<sup>92</sup>See sketches of Beverley, Peyton, and John, infra.

<sup>93</sup>See sketch of Mary Randolph Grymes, infra.

<sup>94</sup>William Byrd to John Randolph, January 21, 1735, Byrd Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>95</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1736/7, 3:2.

<sup>96</sup>York County, Deeds and Bonds, III (1718-1729), 424-425 (VSIIm).

<sup>97</sup>John Custis to John Randolph, October 4, 1732, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>98</sup>The house is still standing as one of the major exhibition buildings in Colonial Williamsburg. See Marcus Whiffin, The Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1960), 96-100; Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 69-74. In part the above description is based on my many visits to the house.

<sup>99</sup>John Custis to Peter Collinson, 1734, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>100</sup>Peter Collinson to John Custis, October 20, 1734, in E. G. Swem, ed., Brothers of the Spade: Correspondence of Peter Collinson of London, and of John Custis of Williamsburg, Virginia (Barre, Mass.: Barre Gazette, 1957), 25; and Custis to Collinson, 1734, and Custis to Robert Cary, 1726, Custis Letterbook.

<sup>101</sup>Darlington, Memorials of Bartram, 89, 312, 317-318.

<sup>102</sup>R. A. Brock, ed., The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia, 1710-1722 (Richmond, Va.: Virginia Historical Society, 1885), I, xi.

<sup>103</sup>Sowerby, Library of Jefferson, I, 295, II, 130; and Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1736/37, 3:2.

<sup>104</sup>Stith, History, v-viii, 41.

<sup>105</sup>Robert Carter to Micajah Perry and John Carter, July 13, 1720, in Wright, ed., Letters of Robert Carter, 5, 7.

<sup>106</sup>The original of the portrait has not been found. Two nineteenth-century copies are located at Lower Brandon, Prince George County, Virginia, and the Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M. A convenient reproduction of the W&M portrait is in Eckenrode, Randolphs, opposite page 37.

<sup>107</sup>William Byrd to John Randolph, January 21, 1735, Byrd Letterbook, VHS. Also see Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1736/37, 3:2.

<sup>108</sup>Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 511.

<sup>109</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, III, 497, 499; IV, 57.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid., IV, 175-177.

<sup>111</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 39, 48-49.

<sup>112</sup>Ibid., 52.

- 113 James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers, 14, #134 (CWm).
- 114 William Gooch to the Duke of Newcastle, June 9, 1728, PRO, CO 5/1337, 123 (CWm).
- 115 William Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 8, 1728, PRO, CO/1321, 40-46 (CWm).
- 116 Ibid.
- 117 Board of Trade Journal, January 17, 1728/9, PRO, CO391/38, 18-19 (CWm).
- 118 John Randolph to the Board of Trade and Plantations, January 17, 1728/9, PRO, CO 5/1321, 92-93 (CWm); Letterbook, Lancaster, 1728-1732, Class 19, 10-11; Scottish Board Minutes, 1 July 1728-6 April 1732, Class 1482, 25; and Surveyors' Reports and Board's Orders thereon (London), 1728-1732, Class 1294, 13-15. H. M. Customs and Excise Library (CWm).
- 119 Board of Trade Journal, PRO, CO 391/38, f. 19 (CWm).
- 120 JHB 1727-1740, 63-64.
- 121 James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers, Box 14, No. 134 (CWm).
- 122 A copy of the transfer is in the Fulham Palace Papers, 15, #215 (CWm).
- 123 James Blair to the Bishop of London, June 30, 1729, Fulham Palace Papers, 15, #109 (CWm).
- 124 Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784, reprinted in WMQ, 1st series, I (1893), 132.
- 125 JHB 1727-1740, 152, 160; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 516-518; and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," unpublished report, CW, 42-43.
- 126 William Gooch to the Board of Trade, July 18, 1732, PRO, CO5/1323, 44-49 (CWm).
- 127 William Gooch to Newcastle, July 20, 1732, PRO, CO5/1337, 155-156 (CWm).
- 128 William Gooch to the Bishop of London, August 12, 1732, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #137 (CWm); and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 45-46.
- 129 He was still in Virginia on August 12 when Gooch wrote Bishop Gibson, but he had departed by September 5 when Custis wrote to him in England.



- <sup>130</sup> St. George L. Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System, 1730-1733," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1905, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1906), I, 84.
- <sup>131</sup> John Randolph to John Custis, December 29, 1732, Custis Papers, VHS.
- <sup>132</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, III (1733), 50.
- <sup>133</sup> John H. Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1956), I, 257.
- <sup>134</sup> Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 88.
- <sup>135</sup> The Gentleman's Magazine, III (1733), 163.
- <sup>136</sup> The Case of the Planters of Tobacco in Virginia, As represented by Themselves; signed by the President of the Council, and Speaker of the Burgesses. To which is added, A Vindication of the said Representation (London: Printed for J. Roberts in Warwick-Lane, 1733).
- <sup>137</sup> Case, 4-6.
- <sup>138</sup> Case, 7-9.
- <sup>139</sup> Case, 13.
- <sup>140</sup> Case, 14-15.
- <sup>141</sup> Vindication, 17.
- <sup>142</sup> Ibid., 18.
- <sup>143</sup> Ibid., 20-21.
- <sup>144</sup> Ibid., 27.
- <sup>145</sup> Ibid., 25.
- <sup>146</sup> Ibid., 31.
- <sup>147</sup> Ibid., 31-32.
- <sup>148</sup> Ibid., 61, 64.
- <sup>149</sup> Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 87-88.
- <sup>150</sup> Ibid., 88-89.
- <sup>151</sup> Privy Council Office (1722-1724), PRO, PC 2/88, 525, 541; Privy Council Office (1724-1727), PRO, PC 2/89, 15, 16, 90-91, 101-102 (Cwm). Also see sketch of William Randolph I of Turkey Island, supra.

- <sup>152</sup>Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 90.
- <sup>153</sup>See sketch of Edward Randolph, infra.
- <sup>154</sup>Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 90-91.
- <sup>155</sup>Ibid., 92.
- <sup>156</sup>Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 51.
- <sup>157</sup>Letter of Althea Rodney, clerk, The Imperial Society of Knights Bachelor, April 19, 1967, cited in Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 52.
- <sup>158</sup>The Gentleman's Magazine, III (1733), 50; Francis Fane to the Board of Trade, May 7, 1733, PRO, CO5/1323, 73 (CWM); and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 51-52.
- <sup>159</sup>Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729-1784, WMQ, 1st series, I (1893), 214-215.
- <sup>160</sup>Ibid., 216-218.
- <sup>161</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 211.
- <sup>162</sup>Ibid., xxiv, 171-175, 220.
- <sup>163</sup>Carson, "Peyton Randolph House."
- <sup>164</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 175.
- <sup>165</sup>Ibid., 242.
- <sup>166</sup>Ibid., 240.
- <sup>167</sup>Ibid., 239.
- <sup>168</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, IV, 433-436. Also see Bernard Bailyn, The Origins of American Politics (New York, 1969), 75-76.
- <sup>169</sup>Pa. Gaz., September 30, 1736, 2:1-2; and Parks' Va. Gaz., November 26, 1736, 1:1ff.
- <sup>170</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 278-279.
- <sup>171</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., November 5, 1736, 2:2-4:1.
- <sup>172</sup>Ibid., December 17, 1736, 1-3; December 24, 1736, 1-3:2; April 22, 1737, 2-3; June 17, 1737, 3:1; and JHB 1736-1740, 335, 377, 387.
- <sup>173</sup>This was probably the opinion of William Dawson, husband of Randolph's niece, Molly Stith. See Louis M. Kaiser, ed., "The Latin Epitaph of Sir John Randolph," VMHB, LXXVIII (1970), 201.

174 William Gooch to the Board of Trade, June 8, 1728, PRO, CO 5/1321, 40 (CWm); Robert Carter to John Randolph, November 24, 1729, Robert Carter Letterbook (1727-1732), 15 UVa. (CWm); and Thomas Wharton Account Book (1729-1751), 283, CW.

175 Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 379-380.

176 Thomas Wharton Account Book (1729-1751), 233, CW; and Parks' Va. Gaz., March 4, 1736/37, 4:2.

177 Parks' Va. Gaz., March 4, 1736/37, 4:2.

178 Ibid., March 11, 1736/37, 3:2.

179 William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, March 8, 1736/37, typescript, CW.

180 James Blair to the Bishop of London, March 11, 1736/37, Fulham Palace Papers, 15, #51 (CWm).

181 Parks' Va. Gaz., April 8, 1737, 1:1-2. Also see Parks' Va. Gaz., April 1, 1737, 4:1.

182 Ibid., April 20, 1739, 3:1-2; and Louis M. Kaiser, ed., "The Latin Epitaph of Sir John Randolph," VMHB, LXXVIII (1970), 199-201. The original tablet, destroyed in a fire in 1859, was replaced in 1903.

183 McGill, Beverley Family, 364. The latest contemporary reference to Lady Randolph is a letter from Edmund Jenings II to Ariana Randolph, October 23, 1755, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

184 There is controversy at this point. During repairs of the college chapel in 1858, the Randolph tombs were opened. At the time two coffins were found in the vault of Sir John Randolph, both in advanced stages of decomposition. One contained only skull fragments and three iron handles; the other held a more or less complete male skeleton and "several large pieces of the plank, especially of the lid around the edge of which were strips of cloth with double rows of brass tacks." The skull fragments were assumed to be the remains of Sir John whose corpse was the first to be entombed, but the identity of the skeleton was a mystery. My own conclusion, after conferring with Fred B. Devitt, M. D., who noted that skull fragments are insufficient to determine the sex of the deceased, is that the skeleton is that of Sir John himself because, as a prominent man who died in the prime of his life, his coffin was undoubtedly of such quality that his body would be better preserved. On the other hand, Lady Randolph died long after her husband; her funeral was not so expensive and her corpse, consequently, was subject to more rapid decay. See Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The Dead of the Chapel of William and Mary," Southern Argus (Norfolk), July 31, 1858, 2:1.

185 In his will, signed December 16, 1728, Packe gave "to my Godson Beverly Randolph the ...Sum of ffifty pounds Sterling...." See Will of Graves Packe, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London (CW photostat).

- 186 Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33. Sir John willed all his library to the second son, Peyton, with the provision that it should go to the third son, John, if Peyton died. There was no provision at all for Beverley. See The Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 376-380.
- 187 Marriage bond, dated January 21, 1742/43, is in Middlesex County, Register of Marriages 1740-1854, 1 (VSI<sub>m</sub>). Agatha Wormeley was born September 14, 1721, Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex, 108. See also the will of Elizabeth Wormeley, dated March 3, 1743, Middlesex County, Wills etc. (1675-1798), 305 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 188 Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book (1806-1830), 61.
- 189 Louisa County, Deed Book A (1742-1754), 545-546; Deed Book B (1754-1759), 405 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 190 VMHB, XXVI (1928), 379; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 21, 1773, 3:1.
- 191 Alexander Craig Account Book, 42, CW.
- 192 Correspondence from Col. William Gooch...to the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, PRO, CO 5/1326, 101-102 (CW<sub>m</sub>).
- 193 Ibid., 245.
- 194 York County, Orders, Wills, Inventories (1740-1746), 175, 185 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).
- 195 EJCCV, V, 121, 391.
- 196 Polly Cary Mason, ed., Records of Colonial Gloucester County, Virginia, 2 vols. (Newport News, Va., 1946), I, 122.
- 197 Virginia Colonial Papers, #429 (VSL).
- 198 JHB 1742-1749, x, 77.
- 199 Ibid., 79, 117, 140, 146.
- 200 Ibid., 156, 157.
- 201 Ibid., 173, 206, 209.
- 202 Governors' Correspondence with the Board of Trade, 1735-1747, PRO, CO 5/1326, 274-275 (CW<sub>m</sub>).
- 203 Journal of the Board of Trade, 1747/48-1748, PRO, CO 391/56, 8 (CW<sub>m</sub>).
- 204 Greene, Quest for Power, 472.

<sup>205</sup>Royle's Va. Gaz., March 16, 1764, 4:1; see also Va. Gaz. Day Book 1764-1766, 21, 40, CW photostat.

<sup>206</sup>Family Bible of Philip Ludwell Grymes, photostat, VHS; and Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 379; Thomas Wharton Account Book (1729-1751), 302, CW.

<sup>207</sup>Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Va., from 1653 to 1812 (Richmond, Va.: Wm. Ellis Jones, 1897), 110.

<sup>208</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 20.

<sup>209</sup>"Grymes of Brandon," VMHB, XXVII (1919), 184-187, 403-413.

<sup>210</sup>Middlesex County, Will Book E (1760-1762), 134-136 (VSIIm). See also "The Diary of John Blair," WMQ, 1st series, VII (1899), 142.

<sup>211</sup>The children were Lucy, born August 24, 1743; John, born March 28, 1745, died June 29, 1746; Philip Ludwell, born April 5, 1746; John Randolph, born June 7, 1747; Charles, born January 17, 1748/49; Benjamin, born August 18, 1750; Susanna, born March 4, 1752; Mary, born February 12, 1754; Peyton, born April 4, 1756, died June 28, 1756; and Betty, born August 3, 1757. See Family Bible of Philip Ludwell Grymes, photostat, VHS.

<sup>212</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 31, 38, 45.

<sup>213</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., September 26, 1755, 3:2; Provisional List... of the College of William and Mary, 19, 20; Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 123; VMHB, XVIII (1910), 375; and Willard Connely, "List of Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge," The American Oxonian, XXIX (1942), 75.

<sup>214</sup>Inventory of the Estate of Philip Grymes Esqr. decea'd, c. 1762, LC (Cwm).

<sup>215</sup>His will, with a codicil added August 5, 1761, was probated on March 2, 1762, Middlesex County, Will Book E (1760-1762), 136 (VSIIm).

<sup>216</sup>Ibid.

<sup>217</sup>See Mary Randolph Grymes Accounts, 1761-1765, in Harrison Family Papers, 1662-1915, VHS; and accounts in the Picot Family Papers, 1753-1907, VHS.

<sup>218</sup>The site of the house is on the west of the Chiswell house in Williamsburg. See Memorandum of Patricia Gibbs to I. Noel Hume, June 9, 1970, CW Research Library. Dr. Edward M. Riley kindly called this information to my attention.

<sup>219</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1764-1766, 7, 11, 22, 66, 73, 81, 110, 125, 132, 139, 142, 146, 151, 225, CW photostat.

220 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 450,  
VSL.

221 Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., January 21, 1768, 3:2.

## CHAPTER XIII

### PEYTON RANDOLPH: THE GOOD OLD SPEAKER

PEYTON RANDOLPH (c. 1721--22 October 1775)

Late in May, 1775, Peyton Randolph withdrew as President of the Continental Congress meeting in Philadelphia to return to his native Virginia for the convening of the House of Burgesses of which he was the Speaker. When he neared Williamsburg, he was greeted by a troop of volunteer soldiers who escorted him into town where he was met by the townspeople and the next day saluted with an address "praying Heaven to lengthen the life of the Father of their Country."<sup>1</sup>

That was not the first time that his countrymen had declared their confidence and affection for Peyton Randolph. For more than thirty years he had been a public servant--vestryman, justice of the peace, burgess, Visitor of the College of William and Mary, Attorney General, Speaker, and delegate to Congress. Time and again, in his wisdom and moderation, he had proven worthy of the public trust. Now, in their dispute with England, Virginians looked once more to Randolph to uphold and protect their interests.

By Virginia standards Peyton Randolph came of good stock. On both sides he was descended from families who had immigrated to the colony in the latter part of the seventeenth century. His paternal grandfather, William Randolph of Turkey Island, settled on a plantation on the James River in Henrico County and established claims in land and politics. His father, Sir John Randolph, was a leading lawyer and public servant,

and the only colonial Virginian to be knighted. His mother was Susanna Beverley, a competent woman whose grandfather had come from England and whose father, Peter Beverley, was a wealthy planter and politician.

Born in Williamsburg about 1721,<sup>2</sup> Peyton Randolph was the second son and named for his maternal grandmother, Elizabeth Peyton. Little is known of his early life. About two years after his birth his father purchased the house on Nicholson Street which now bears Peyton's name. There he and his brother, Beverley, were joined by a younger sister and brother, Mary and John. His father died in 1737, and he was then reared by his widowed mother who carefully guarded his inheritance.

Among the best educated men in Virginia, Randolph entered the College of William and Mary about 1733, when he was twelve years old.<sup>3</sup> On October 13, 1739, he was admitted to the Middle Temple in London, where he undertook to study law. He was called to the bar on February 10, 1743.<sup>4</sup>

He had shown an early interest in the law which his lawyer father had fostered by bequeathing him all of his books "hoping he will betake himself to the study of the law."<sup>5</sup> Moreover, his father's erstwhile client, John Custis, wanted to engage his services while he was still at the Temple. "Never," Custis wrote from Williamsburg, "was there more room for a good Lawer here than at present....I have bin troubled for more than 20 years wth a troublesome suit in Chancery from ye West Indies...; and would beg ye favor of your assistance in that cause; if you think fit to come to Virga. Sr Jno Randolph was my lawer and I have a very great loss of him; but flatter myself my misfortune will be made up if you will please to supply his place; I have 2 Lawers, but have a great opinion of your capacity to assist ym...."<sup>6</sup>



The years in England were a broadening experience for young Randolph. He browsed the stalls of the London booksellers and had a set of his own bookplates engraved with the Randolph coat of arms. Not limited solely to academics, he kept abreast of British politics. Much of his information undoubtedly came from the newspapers, but he also had access to other sources of political knowledge. Chief among his friends were the merchants Hanbury who moved in high government circles. Although there is no proof, he may have met the King's First Minister, Sir Robert Walpole, who had befriended his father and recommended him for knighthood. When Walpole, unable to sustain a majority in Parliament because of reverses in the war with Spain and the outbreak of hostilities between France, Prussia, and Austria, resigned early in 1742, Randolph reported the news to Virginia. "The Year 1741 has been as memorable as that just a Century ago," he wrote. "We see all the Courts of Europe in an Uproar, & grand Revolutions in many of them. Here has been a very great one, as little expected before the Sitting of the Parliament, as that I shall come to be Grand Signor. Sr Robert being no longer able to keep a Majority in the House, was obliged voluntarily to give up all his Places; which was the most honorable Way of parting with them. He has taken the Title of Lord Oxford, by which he will be entitled to a Trial by his Peers in Case of Impeachment; where it is said he has a great Majority."<sup>7</sup> As an Englishman, albeit a colonial, Randolph noted the difficulties of the French in the war against Austria after their Prussian ally had made a separate peace in the summer of 1742. "The French," he wrote, "who were very near making themselves Masters of all Europe, have been baffled & beat in a most glorious Manner. They are now, what remains of them, shut up within the Walls of

Prague. We daily expect to hear of the Destruction of every Man of them either by Sword, or Famine; the Austrians exasperated resolving to give no Quarter. Horse Flesh has been their Food for some time."<sup>8</sup>

After being called to the bar in February, 1743, he left London for Virginia to establish a law practice. Although as a lawyer he was known for his integrity and attained a reputation "at least equall, if not Superiour to" anyone in the colony,<sup>9</sup> there are few records of his legal career. In part the dearth of information resulted from the loss of his legal papers and the records of the courts where he practiced. Thomas Jefferson, who knew him well, also explained: "With a sound and logical head, he was well read in the law; and his opinions when consulted were highly regarded, presenting always a learned and sound view of the subject, but generally too, a listlessness to go into its thorough development; for being heavy and inert in body, he was rather too indolent and careless for business, which occasioned him to get a smaller proportion of it at the bar than his abilities would otherwise have commanded."<sup>10</sup> On July 21, 1746, he qualified for private practice in the courts of York County,<sup>11</sup> and undoubtedly qualified at about the same time to practice before the courts of James City County and the Virginia General Court whose records are destroyed. As pieced together from disparate sources, his practice was routine. He drew up deeds, administered estates, acted as trustee in business deals, offered legal advice, and handled court cases. He attracted a distinguished clientele including Governor Francis Fauquier, George Washington, William Byrd III, Landon Carter, Philip Grymes, and John Randolph of Bizarre. He took aspiring young lawyers into his office where they served as clerks while they learned from him and his books. According to Jefferson, after

Randolph became Attorney General he lost interest in the law and retired from the bar altogether upon becoming speaker in 1766.<sup>12</sup>

If, as Jefferson said, Randolph was less than avid in the practice of law, an explanation may lie in the fact that he had another source of income from his land and plantations. Under the terms of his father's will he inherited at the age of twenty-four several houses and lots in Williamsburg and at the College Landing south of town, and plantations in James City County at Archer's Hope Creek and Martin's Hundred.<sup>13</sup> Although his mother, who lived at least until the late 1750's, had life rights in the property and took an active interest in it,<sup>14</sup> he probably managed his inheritance after returning from England. So far as can be determined, he inherited the family dwelling house on Nicholson Street, one hundred acres on the southern edge of Williamsburg which he conveyed to his brother, John, in 1758, and 1,671 acres in James City County.<sup>15</sup> In addition to his patrimony he acquired property in his own right. Like many other Virginians in 1749, he and a group of associates formed a company to receive a grant from the Council for land in the trans-Allegheny west. On July 12, they were granted 400,000 acres on the New River with four years allowed for surveying and paying for the rights.<sup>16</sup> In 1753 he and another company assumed another grant of 100,000 acres on the New River.<sup>17</sup> With still another company in 1753 and 1754, he received grants east of the Mississippi (meaning probably the Allegheny and Ohio rivers) totaling 120,000 acres.<sup>18</sup> Assuming that the total acreage was divided equally among the company members, Randolph's share was 37,022 acres. Obviously he invested in cheap western land as a speculative venture, but whether or not he recognized a profit in unknown. In 1760 he patented 400 acres in Lunenburg, later Charlotte,

County which he apparently cultivated as a plantation.<sup>19</sup>

The Randolph estate was well supplied with slaves, livestock, farm tools and implements. An inventory of his estate made after his death in 1775 listed 109 slaves--men, women, and children--valued at £5152. His livestock, including horses, cows, sheep, and hogs, was appraised at £524.1s.9d. His farm tools and implements, comprising hoes, axes, spades, saws, trowels, knives, wedges, carts, wagons, plows, harrows, pots, pans, churns, hogsheads, spoons, grindstones, and more, were worth £63.15s.17d.<sup>20</sup>

There is little evidence bearing directly on the management of the Randolph plantations. Nevertheless, since he was mainly occupied with the law and public service in Williamsburg, Randolph, while retaining the final decision in the affairs of his plantations, left their routine operation to resident overseers. Tobacco and indigo were his chief cash crops,<sup>21</sup> and he sold them to merchants in England.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, records indicate that he had on his plantations wheat, corn, flax, and cotton, some of which may have gone to market while the remainder was used for the welfare of his people and animals.<sup>23</sup>

The profitability of Randolph's plantations cannot be gauged precisely. At his death the assets on his plantations in James City and Charlotte counties including slaves, farm implements, and crops were appraised at £4718.0s.9d.<sup>24</sup> Like other Virginia planters, however, Randolph was indebted to British merchants for manufactured goods which sometimes cost more than his crops earned. In the total absence of his personal financial records it cannot be determined if his spending stripped his assets, but the impression is that during his lifetime at least his plantations supplied him with an income sufficient to enable

him to pursue a career in public service. According to Thomas Jefferson, Randolph "was liberal in his expenses, but correct also, so as not to be involved in pecuniary embarrassments."<sup>25</sup>

For a man with political aspirations, Peyton Randolph married well. On March 13, 1745/46, the Virginia Gazette announced "Last Saturday March 8 Peyton Randolph his majestys atto. Genl. of this colony was marry'd to Bettie Harrison, daughter of the late Col. Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley in Charles City County, deceased."<sup>26</sup> Elizabeth Harrison was born about 1723,<sup>27</sup> the eldest child of Benjamin Harrison IV and his wife, Anne Carter Harrison. Her paternal grandfather had been speaker of the House of Burgesses and Attorney General; her maternal grandfather was Robert "King" Carter. Her father, who was a burgess for Charles City County, died tragically in the midsummer of 1745 when lightning struck the family house.<sup>28</sup> Under the terms of his will she was to receive £500 "within Twelve months after she shall arrive at the Age of twenty-one years, or be married, and...Five hundred Pounds within three years after, and...three female Slaves...."<sup>29</sup>

The Randolphs may have moved into the Randolph house on Nicholson Street in Williamsburg immediately after their marriage, but if they did they shared the home with Peyton's mother who had life rights to it. The house, one of Williamsburg's largest, was built in three sections with two stories and twelve rooms and could easily accommodate Lady Randolph and her new daughter-in-law.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, the house was less grand than the mansion which Peyton's brother, John, built in Williamsburg.

Betty Randolph became mistress of the house late in the 1750's. Her house was elegantly equipped. There were, in addition to spoons and

ladles, 492 ounces of silver valued at £184, which included chafing dishes, serving trays, a table trivet called "a cross," and four candlesticks inherited from her grandmother Harrison. She had much china and glassware: eight dozen plates and twenty-two serving dishes of one pattern; two tea sets of India china and Chelsea; a set of ornamental china; salvers to form a pyramid of desserts; there were nine decanters, and different glasses for wine, beer, and water. Moreover, she had forty-eight tablecloths. Her furniture was of the best kind: forty chairs, seven bookpresses, tables of various sizes--all mahogany; there were tables, chairs, and bedsteads; a Wilton carpet was on the floor; and damask curtains at the window.<sup>31</sup> To aid in housekeeping she had a large staff of servants.

As mistress of the household she often entertained her husband's friends and political colleagues. For example, Governor Dinwiddie was a dinner guest shortly after assuming office in the fall of 1751;<sup>32</sup> frequently when he was in Williamsburg on business George Washington dined with the Randolphs.<sup>33</sup> They were often in the company of their numerous relatives. In July, 1751, Peyton's sister, Mary Grymes, and her husband were house guests.<sup>34</sup> From time to time they visited Betty's brother and his family at Berkeley and her sister, Anne, who was married to Peyton's cousin, William Randolph of Wilton.<sup>35</sup> Since they had no children of their own, the Randolph's surrounded themselves with their nieces and nephews. They were especially fond of young Edmund Randolph, son of Peyton's brother, John, whom they saw often as he was growing up in Williamsburg.<sup>36</sup> Edmund looked on his aunt as "a second mother" who had "equal affection and partiality for me as if she had been connected with me by the nearest ties of blood."<sup>37</sup> Affectionate to all children,

Mrs. Randolph was known in Williamsburg as "Aunt Betty" even to those who were not, strictly speaking, so related to her. She was a widow during the American war for independence when British troops came to Williamsburg bringing with them smallpox which spread throughout the town until scarcely anyone could be found well enough to nurse the afflicted. "Your old friend Aunt Betty, is in that situation," St. George Tucker reported to his wife. "A Child of Sir Peyton Skipwiths who is with her was deserted by its nurses and the good old Lady was left without a human being to assist her in any respect for some days."<sup>38</sup> Later in the summer Tucker told his wife to tell his eight-year-old step-son, John Randolph of Roanoke, "that little Peyton Skipwith has quite supplanted him in Aunt Betty's Affections tho' She will not acknowledge it."<sup>39</sup>

She was a woman capable of attending to her own interests. In a rare letter to her uncle, Landon Carter, she wrote on September 16, 1776,

I have taken the liberty to send some boilers down to Rippon [a plantation on the York River] to make salt. nothing should have induce [sic] me to take such [a ste]p without first applying to You but the little probability in my situation I had of providing that necessary article, and Valentines telling me he would place us where there was wood he should be glad to have removed. if I have done amiss be so kind as to let me know it by a line and we will desist.<sup>40</sup>

The Randolphs were married almost thirty years. During that time they were seldom separated. He took her with him in 1754 when, as agent of the House of Burgesses, he went to London on business.<sup>41</sup> She accompanied him to Richmond in the summer of 1775 while he presided at the Virginia Convention, and she was with him in Philadelphia the following October when he died.<sup>42</sup> Their marriage was happy; in public documents he referred to her as "my beloved wife," and she to him as "my

dear and blessed husband."<sup>43</sup> "They were," the Virginia Gazette reported, "when united a perfect pattern of friendship, complacency, and love."<sup>44</sup> Mrs. Randolph survived her husband by more than seven years. She died in Williamsburg on January 31, 1783, and was buried beside him in the Randolph family vault at the College.<sup>45</sup>

Peyton Randolph's principal occupation was public service and the politics that went with it. He had already embarked on his career by the time of his marriage. On May 7, 1744, he was appointed Attorney General of Virginia<sup>46</sup> in the place of Edward Barradall who died June 19, 1743.<sup>47</sup> His appointment was a result of his family's reputation and connections in Virginia and London rather than his personal qualifications. Admittedly he had an excellent education and showed great promise as a lawyer, but still in his early twenties he was without extensive legal experience. Governor Gooch, despite his high regard for Randolph's father, recommended that Thomas Nelson, Jr., be named Attorney General.<sup>48</sup> But Randolph had a more influential solicitor in London, John Hanbury, the wealthy tobacco merchant. Hanbury had Lord Albemarle, the absentee governor of Virginia, send a letter in Randolph's behalf to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, the minister in charge of colonial appointments.<sup>49</sup> The merchant also pressed Randolph's claims to the Secretary in person. Finally, on Hanbury's promise that he would not solicit again, Newcastle agreed to appoint Randolph saying "there had been so many things done Contrary to Mr. Goochs: recommendations, that they must now think of him."<sup>50</sup>

As Attorney General Peyton Randolph was one of the most important men in Virginia. The chief legal officer of the General Court, he gave



opinions and ruled on the letter of the law, drew indictments, prosecuted criminals, and presented the government's case against those who disobeyed the statutes of the colony. More than any officer in Virginia he was independent of the Governor, and, although he was not officially a member of the body, he usually attended meetings of the Council.<sup>51</sup> There is little evidence by which to evaluate Randolph as Attorney General because of the total destruction of the General Court records.

Some of Randolph's opinions regarding religious dissenters, in particular the Presbyterian Samuel Davies, have survived. Davies, a member of New Castle Presbytery in Pennsylvania, came to Virginia in 1747. Since Anglicanism was established in the Old Dominion, he was compelled to obtain a license from the General Court qualifying him to preach to four dissenting congregations in Louisa, Goochland, and Caroline counties. Two years later the New Kent County court gave him permission to establish a preaching place within the county, but the General Court ruled that the county had gone beyond its jurisdiction.<sup>52</sup> "I am of Opinion," Randolph wrote Thomas Lee, the acting governor and chief justice of the General Court, "that the Justices in the Counties have no Power to license such Houses. It is lodged entirely in the Governor, or Commander in Chief, for the Time being, by his Majesty's Instructions, & 'till they receive an Authority f~~ro~~m him, they act illegally."<sup>53</sup> The fact that Davies was preaching in five counties raised a question whether "one Preacher may have License for more than one House licensed for one Preacher, for the People within the Bounds of a County, will sufficiently employ a Preacher, and it will give great Encouragement to fall off f~~ro~~m the established Church if they are permitted to range and raise Contributions over the whole Country,

when our Anglican Clergy are confined to a single Parish, wch ought to be avoided; besides it tends to sow Dissention & Confusion among the People, & can only be calculated to put money into the Pocket of the Teacher, whose Interest does not deserve so much Respect."<sup>54</sup>

Davies, however, did not let Randolph's opinions go uncontested. He claimed that the English Toleration Act exempting dissenters from attendance at the established churches and allowing dissenting ministers to officiate in duly certified and registered meeting houses was law in Virginia. On one occasion he argued the point personally before the Attorney General. Randolph supported his own position with great legal learning. The eloquent Davies, who also had an intimate acquaintance with the law on the subject, replied that if the Toleration Act did not extend to the colony neither did the Act of Uniformity establishing the Church of England, for the one was intended to mitigate the other. According to the later recollection of one who was present, Davies' performance so impressed the lawyers that they whispered "the Attorney General has met his match to-day, at any rate" and "there is a most excellent lawyer spoiled."<sup>55</sup>

The debate did not end in the Virginia General Court, for in 1754, Davies took his case to London where, somewhat to his surprise, he found his "old Adversary" Peyton Randolph who was in the capital on other business for the House of Burgesses. Despite Randolph, Davies drew up a petition for the "Dissenters in Virginia" which was eventually upheld with an opinion from the Attorney General, Sir Dudley Rider, giving legal status to dissenters under the Toleration Act.<sup>56</sup>

From a legal standpoint Randolph's interpretation of the law regarding religious dissenters was narrow. He did not derive his decision

from the English Toleration Act of 1689, or the supplementary act of 1711, both of which granted broad privileges to dissenters and their ministers. Instead he based his ruling on a 1699 Virginia law which exempted dissenters from penalties so long as they attended their worship once in two months but made no specific mention of dissenting ministers.<sup>57</sup> Since religious dissenters under the law had freedom of worship, Randolph directed his opinions to their clergy. "Itinerant Preachers," he wrote, "who have no settled Place of Abode, and no other Way of getting their Living than by preaching without Orders of License, and that against the Peace and Unity of the Established Church, are liable to be bound to their good Behaviours, and treated as Vagabonds by a Justice of the Peace."<sup>58</sup> Furthermore, Randolph said, a clergyman "speaking any Thing in the Derogation, or depraving the Book of Common Prayer" faced imprisonment without bail, and the loss of his salary and spiritual promotions.<sup>59</sup> Randolph's opinion was fundamentally weak, because it ignored the English laws and for that reason was overruled on appeal, but his opinion nevertheless reflected the situation in Virginia where leaders of the government and the church were disturbed by the inroads dissenters were making in the established Anglicanism. Governor Dinwiddie expressed his concern to the Bishop of London,<sup>60</sup> and William Dawson, the Bishop's Commissary in Virginia, told his superior that it was high time for the English government to check and restrain the Presbyterians "lest their insolence should grow to a dangerous height." Until the authorities could control the dissenters' activities, Dawson continued, "let the people go to the Established Church, whither they contentedly would have gone, if Mr. Davies had never come among them."<sup>61</sup>

The Attorney General dealt with cases other than religion. During

the summer of 1762, Governor Fauquier received evidence of a counterfeiting ring in Bedford County and gave the bogus money to Randolph to hold until the culprits could be tried in the General Court.<sup>62</sup> The following February, Richard Corbin, the Receiver-General, informed the Attorney that recently no money had been paid into the Receiver's office and begged Randolph's favor "to take out Execution upon the Judgments obtain'd last Court against such Sherriffs as have not settled their Accounts [in the payment of the quitrents]; and...to forward the necessary Notice to the other deficient Sherriffs...that Judgments may be obtain'd against them next Ap[ri]l Court."<sup>63</sup> Undoubtedly, Randolph followed the instructions to the best of his ability, but the outcomes of the cases are unknown.

In addition to his duties as Attorney General, Randolph was judge of the court of Vice Admiralty. He was named to the court by the Governor subject to the approval of the Admiralty in England; he had assumed office by the mid-1750's, but the precise date of his nomination has not been found.<sup>64</sup> Doubtless a variety of maritime cases came before the court during his tenure, but only four cases involving the capture of supposed French vessels in the Seven Years' War have survived because they were appealed to the High Court of Admiralty in London. These prize cases were typical; they were neither picturesque nor dramatic, and they did not vary much in general outline. Basically Randolph had to determine if the captured ship were an enemy vessel and if prize money were to be awarded.<sup>65</sup> The first of his decisions involved the snow Rotterdam seized by the privateer Everton on the charge that it was a French vessel carrying contraband under the guise of the Dutch flag. Even though the captain of the Rotterdam asserted that adverse winds had

blown him off course and then low provisions had compelled him to put in at Hispaniola where the French had forced him to take on gunpowder before he could clear their port, witnesses testified to the contrary that the captain had in fact been trading with the enemy, and Randolph decided in favor of the Everton.<sup>66</sup>

His second decision concerned the sloop Katrina captured by the privateer Wolfe commanded by one Enoch Doughty who claimed the Katrina was laden with contraband destined for the French West Indies. When the case came to court in the fall of 1760, the Katrina's captain, Rollof Hamerbergh, was represented by George Wythe, and Doughty by Benjamin Waller. Hamerbergh gave evidence that his ship was owned, commanded, and manned by Dutchmen, and carried a cargo of wine, hoes, butter, dry goods, cheese, bacon, and such weapons as were necessary for the defense of the ship and crew. Furthermore, Hamerbergh stated to the court that the Wolfe "under French Colours chased" the Katrina "and fir[e]d twice at the said Sloop." The court ordered an examination of the cargo of the Katrina, which was docked at Norfolk. The examiners reported only a small cache of arms and ammunition and when the Katrina's papers were found to support Hamerbergh's statement, Randolph decided in his favor and charged Doughty with court costs.<sup>67</sup>

Doughty appeared again before Randolph in 1761 in a case in which he had seized a Spanish vessel, the Animos, laden with molasses which she had taken on in the French port of Port au Prince. Doughty, whose seizure violated a 1667 treaty between England and Spain, was brought to court because he had not immediately applied for condemnation of the prize. "I have considered this case," Randolph wrote, "and am of Opinion that Enoch Dou[gh]ty and his Securities are liable to an Action...&

shall...order proper writs to issue thereupon."<sup>68</sup>

The last of the surviving admiralty cases which Randolph judged concerned the Greyhound, a snow out of New York, captured by the privateer Industry on the claim that she was carrying contraband. Appearing before Randolph's court, the Greyhound's captain testified that he was proceeding, under a flag of truce, to St. Louis in Hispaniola where he was commissioned to receive English prisoners of war, and that his cargo was not contraband. On the weight of the evidence produced, Randolph found for the Greyhound.<sup>69</sup>

Randolph's decisions in all four cases were appealed to the High Court of Admiralty, but so far no records of their ultimate resolution have been found. Whether his decisions were upheld or not, the available documents reveal that as a Vice Admiralty judge he was conversant with international and admiralty law, thorough in collecting and interpreting evidence and testimony, and reasonable in judgment.

With the exception of a year in the mid-1750's, when he was suspended in a dispute with the Governor, Randolph was Attorney General from 1744 until he resigned in 1766 to become Speaker of the House of Burgesses.<sup>70</sup> There were advantages in the office. Having become the King's Attorney at a very young age without extensive experience at the bar, Randolph proved not only that he was quick to learn on the job but that he had both the tact and professionalism to keep it longer than any of his predecessors. Furthermore, he received a salary of £150 per annum from the King with an allowance from the Virginia Governor and Council of £50 for each pardon; and the Admiralty judgeship brought £5 for every decision.<sup>71</sup> His office also placed him high in Virginia society in the company of the Governor and other prominent men in the government.

The fact that he held an office in the colony government did not prevent Randolph from holding office on inferior levels. On July 17, 1749, he was "recommended...to be placed first in the Commission of the Peace" for York County.<sup>72</sup> The appointment of the justices of the peace was made by the Governor on the recommendation of the justices who were already members of the county court. It was a sign of Randolph's reputation that they recommended him first on the commission, a place he continued to hold until his death in 1775.<sup>73</sup> As a justice of the peace, Randolph was required to attend the monthly sessions of the county court and the less frequent courts of oyer and terminer. Even though it meant a ride of thirteen miles or so from Williamsburg to attend the courts at Yorktown, he was regular in attendance.

In August, 1749, at the same time as he became justice of the peace, Randolph was also chosen vestryman of Bruton Parish. His term on the vestry is unknown due to the fragmentary condition of the records, but in 1755 he was among the vestrymen appointed to find a person to build an organ loft in the Williamsburg church; and in 1768 he served on a committee "for building a belfry to the Church."<sup>74</sup>

His public service extended beyond the vicinity of Williamsburg and York County. On August 22, 1748, he was unanimously chosen recorder of the borough of Norfolk, a post first held by his father. He assumed his duties on August 29, and apparently came to Norfolk personally to attend the meetings of the common council until July, 1766, when, in anticipation of becoming Speaker of the House, he appointed a deputy recorder. He held the office until his death in 1775.<sup>75</sup>

In the summer of 1748, he began his long career in the House of Burgesses, having been elected to represent the city of Williamsburg.

When the House convened in October he was named to the two most important standing committees, Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances. The session continued until May, 1749, during which time he served on various special assignments: a committee sent to the Council demanding the reprimand of John Blair for defaming the Speaker, among burgesses sent with the bill for rebuilding the capitol in Williamsburg, and a committee for examining enrolled bills for council concurrence. These assignments were appropriate to his position as Attorney General; most of them, however, were routine.<sup>76</sup>

The General Assembly did not meet again until late February, 1752. During this session Randolph represented the College of William and Mary, his father's old constituency.<sup>77</sup> Once more named to the Committee Privileges and Elections, he carried out special assignments befitting his legal talents, drafting reports, addresses and bills, conferring with the Governor and Council. Although among the busiest of burgesses, he occasionally showed lapses of languor. "Our Committee for drawing up our address to the King met and did nothing," the burgess Landon Carter noted in his diary for April 17, 1752. "'Twas then Agreed that Mr. Attorney Randolph and I should prepare something against next morning, but he is a Gentleman too Lazy. And therefore I sent to Mr. Richard Corbin, and he came over and Assisted...a little."<sup>78</sup>

Randolph's colleagues, Carter included, overlooked his spells of lassitude, and, in the new session, which convened on November 1, 1753, they not only renewed his old assignments, but also made him their agent in London specifically to present the official protest of the House against the Governor's pistole fee.

The controversy over the pistole fee resulted when Governor



Dinwiddie began to collect a pistole (a Spanish coin worth about 16 shillings) for affixing the official seal to patents of new land. The fee was clearly his prerequisite, for every royal governor in British North America, except Virginia, was permitted a charge on land patents. Furthermore, Dinwiddie's action was sanctioned by the Board of Trade and the Virginia Council. However, as the controversy developed, it raised constitutional questions that were to be revived again during the American Revolution, chiefly whether the pistole was a fee like others in the provenance of the Governor or whether it was a land tax unjustly imposed on Virginians without their consent.<sup>79</sup>

The Governor's action stirred the wrath of many influential Virginians, including members of the House of Burgesses, who hitherto had been able to secure large grants of land at little expense and hold them until westward settlement enhanced their value. These landholders and speculators had been required only to have their grants surveyed and so had avoided paying quitrents. In itself a pistole was no hardship to them, but having paid it, they were thereafter subject to quitrent charges.

Among the chief agitators against the pistole fee was Randolph's first cousin, the Reverend William Stith, who was minister of Henrico Parish some fifty miles up the James River from Williamsburg. Stith, convinced, as he said, that the pistole fee was an "Attempt to lay Taxes upon the People WITHOUT Law," was free with his criticism offering to raise money to defeat the fee and popularizing the slogan, "Liberty and Property and no Pistole."<sup>80</sup> Elected President of the College of William and Mary in August, 1752, he came to Williamsburg where, as chaplain of the House of Burgesses, he continued to oppose the pistole fee.

When the House of Burgesses convened in November, 1753, there were petitions from six counties complaining of the fee and begging relief from it. A committee, of which Richard Bland, first cousin of both Randolph and Stith, was a principal member, was appointed to draft a letter to the Governor to withdraw the fee. Dinwiddie, certain of the rectitude of his position, refused declaring the matter beyond the concern of the legislature. The defiant burgesses unanimously condemned the Governor's actions as "illegal and arbitrary, and tending to subvert the laws and constitution of this government." They also appointed a committee, which included Randolph and Bland, to prepare an address over the Governor's head to the King for redress of their grievances. The address was accepted on December 5, and still another committee, of which Randolph was also a member, was charged to present evidence in support of it. The documents were accepted ten days later at which time "Mr. Attorney General" was "appointed Agent to negotiate the Affairs of this Colony, in Great Britain." To defray his expenses and to recompense "his Trouble in taking so long a Voyage," they appropriated £2500. The appointment of Randolph as the agent of the House antagonized Dinwiddie who refused him permission to leave the colony. If Randolph went to England in defiance of the Governor, he stood to lose his post as Attorney General. To protect him, the House prepared an address to the King stating its reasons for making the Attorney its agent "and praying that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to continue him in his Office."<sup>81</sup> They also promised Randolph a pension of £300 for life if he were dismissed.<sup>82</sup>

Randolph was fully aware of the precariousness of his situation. He later told the Board of Trade that in the beginning he had refused

the invitation of the burgesses to be their agent "considering it as inconsistent with his Office as Attorney General." The burgesses, however, had insisted and he had applied to Dinwiddie to leave Virginia; but permission was denied. By that time, Randolph said, he was "so far engaged in the thing that he could not recede" and "did not apprehend he was acting contrary to the Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown."<sup>83</sup> Yet the inconsistency remained, as Dinwiddie himself informed the Board of Trade: on the one hand Randolph was a Crown officer and on the other he was an agent attempting to undermine the royal prerogative. Furthermore, the Governor pointed out, leaving the colony without permission was unprecedented and made the Attorney General liable to a court judgment.<sup>84</sup>

Nevertheless, expecting vindication in England,<sup>85</sup> Randolph left Virginia early in 1754. Shortly afterwards Dinwiddie appointed George Wythe Attorney General. In London, Randolph publicized his mission in the public press much to the Governor's annoyance when he learned of it. To his friend, James Abercromby, in London Dinwiddie wrote: "...I am sorry the Affair makes so much Noise in Coffeeshouses &c.; that must be owing to the unjust Advertis'mt of the Att'o. Gen'ls that was in the News Paper...."<sup>86</sup> To the London merchant Capel Hanbury he wrote: "The Atto'y (I presume) has taken a great deal of Pains in inserting in the Publick Papers many reflections and unjust Insinuations ag'st me, Saying I have laid a Tax on the People of a Pistole for Patents. Surely every thinking Man will make a distinction between a Fee and a Tax."<sup>87</sup>

When the Board of Trade began hearings on the pistole fee early in April, 1754, they did not go easily for Randolph. Unable to present the arguments of the burgesses against the fee because the Board

disallowed his credentials as agent, he was instead summoned on April 3, to state whether or not he had permission to be absent from Virginia. He explained the circumstances that had made him the agent and why, without sanction, he had come to England. The Board responded by reading the warrant of his appointment as Attorney General of Virginia which stated specifically that he held office only during his residence in the colony and then asked him if he still considered himself the Attorney General. He answered "that he did understand that during his absence he was not Attorney General, and that any other person might be appointed to the Office." He was then ordered to withdraw.<sup>88</sup>

Two months later he was again summoned before the Board. Lord Halifax informed him that his coming to England without "the Governor's Leave" could establish a precedent "attended with very bad Consequences" to the royal service; therefore, the King considered his office "vacated by such Proceedings." In response, Randolph said "he hoped if the Nature of his Case would admit of it, his Conduct since he had been here would recommend him to His Majesty's Favour." He withdrew.<sup>89</sup>

In spite of his humiliation before the Board of Trade, Randolph continued to represent the interests of the burgesses. He engaged two lawyers, Robert Henley and Arthur Forrester, to make a case against the pistole fee. On June 18, 1754, they appeared before the Privy Council and argued that the fee was an arbitrary tax in clear violation of the Virginia constitution. Their arguments were countered by Dinwiddie's lawyers, William Murray, later Lord Mansfield, and Alexander Hume Campbell, both of whom were leaders in the House of Commons and had served as King's counsel. Murray and Campbell outmaneuvered Henley and Forrester on the points of legal knowledge and shrewdly appealed to the

prejudices of the members of the Privy Council asserting that opposition to the pistole fee was led by land speculators who controlled the burgesses. Peyton Randolph himself, Murray charged, had patented 400,000 acres of western land without paying a penny for them. Furthermore, the Governor's lawyers pointed out, since all ungranted land belonged to the Crown, the King could allow the Governor to charge a fee. A pistole was not exorbitant, and Dinwiddie, moreover, was willing to scale the fee according to the size of the land grant. The burgesses had charged that precedent was against the fee, for it had been denied to Lord Howard of Effingham, later Governor of Virginia in the seventeenth century. Murray and Campbell dismissed the precedent pointing out that Effingham had been refused by the government because, in contrast to Dinwiddie, he had neglected to consult the Council. Regardless of what the burgesses said or did, the granting of western land was absolutely a Crown prerogative. In particular Campbell was irritated that the "puny House of Burgesses" should challenge the prerogative daring "what the House of Commons never presumed to attempt." In a final blast, the lawyers charged that the burgesses themselves were usurpers of power, for they had authorized the expenditure of Virginia money to Randolph without the consent of the Council.<sup>90</sup>

Henley and Forrester made what seemed a lame rebuttal. They replied that Dinwiddie was avaricious; that the Effingham incident was a sound precedent; that the contentions of the burgesses were confirmed by long practice; that Virginians did not reap large profits in their land grants; and that the pistole fee was an unaffordable charge.<sup>91</sup>

The Privy Council handed down a balanced decision. It upheld Dinwiddie in his right to collect the fee, but criticised his procedure;

and, in accord with instructions from the King, ordered him in the future to moderate his conduct in charging the fee and in the method of granting land.<sup>92</sup> In regard to Randolph, Dinwiddie was informed that the Attorney General had vacated his post "by having left the Colony without His Majesty's leave of Absence," but their Lordships urged the Governor to reinstate him in the post if "upon his return to Virginia, he shall behave in a decent and proper manner." "This Measure," the Board continued, "We think will tend to quiet the Minds of the People, and to stop the unjust Clamour that has been raised;...it appears to Us to be at this time particularly necessary for His Majesty's Service, that Harmony and Mutual Confidence should be established between the Governors & the People in all His Majesty's Colonies, but especially in that of Virginia, on the Frontiers of which the French are carrying on such unjustifiable Encroachments."<sup>93</sup>

The recommendation of the Privy Council to reinstate him was undoubtedly the result of Randolph's efforts. Details are lacking, but before his return to Virginia he collected many letters urging his reappointment as Attorney General.

Understandably Dinwiddie was reluctant to see Randolph again in the office; in fact, he said it was "very disagreeable." In the end he yielded to his instructions but not before he had extracted from Randolph a written statement admitting negligence. Randolph apologized for the "unjust Reflections" against the Governor in the English newspapers and promised to "conduct himself more regularly for the Future."<sup>94</sup> To the Board of Trade, Dinwiddie wrote on February 10, 1755, that he had done his duty:

...I beg leave to acquaint you he Randolph has strongly acknowledged his Errors in leaving his Office without His Majesty's Leave; & has assured me by his Letter that he will for the Future be very diligent in his Office for His Majesty's Service, behave with all due Respect & Regard to me; I have there upon reinstated him in his Office as Attorney General & pray your Lordships Warrant to be laid before His Majesty for His Royal Signature....<sup>95</sup>

Accordingly, on April 22, 1755, the Board of Trade recommended "Mr. Peyton Randolph for appointment as Attorney General of Virginia." On May 13, the Lords Justices in Council directed that a warrant be prepared and the same it was approved by the Board of Trade and sent to the King for his signature.<sup>96</sup>

There was one final matter to be settled--the £2500 that the burgesses had appropriated for Randolph's mission to England. The Council rejected the initial appropriation, so early in September, 1754, the burgesses tried again for Council approval by tacking the sum as a rider to an appropriation bill for the war against the French and the Indians. The Council refused the bill altogether asserting that it was unconstitutional not to send up the Randolph appropriation separately. The burgesses replied that there was English precedent for their rider and blamed the councillors' refusal to pass the entire bill for leaving the colony defenseless. Finally, an angry Dinwiddie prorogued the House.<sup>97</sup>

The war, however, compelled him to recall the burgesses in October. The Randolph appropriation was still an issue, as the burgess London Carter recorded in his diary for October 17, 1754. Discussing recent developments in the pistole fee controversy, Carter noted that the government "at home" had sustained the Governor in charging fees on land patents, and that Randolph had been turned out of his office "for presuming to go home as an Agent" but that "if the Attorney asked for his Place, he was to have it again, And also that the Treasurer's

Accounts should be passed with the Article of £2500, the bone of contention, in it."<sup>98</sup> The agreement to pass the account with the appropriation was a compromise between Dinwiddie and the Council on the one hand, and the burgesses on the other. In return for the support of the Governor and the councillors in granting the appropriation, the burgesses agreed to stop contesting the pistole fee.<sup>99</sup>

A special election returned Randolph to the House of Burgesses in May, 1755. On May 12, he delivered "a Report of his Negotiations of the several Matters given him in Charge." Unanimously, his colleagues voted him their thanks "for his faithful Discharge of the Trust reposed in him by this House."<sup>100</sup>

There is little evidence of the matters Randolph negotiated in England in addition to the pistole fee. He attended to business in the offices of the Board of Trade, and the Board twice called him to testify in matters relating to Virginia: the petition for an extension of the land grants of the Ohio Company and the proposal to exempt new settlers on the frontier from quitrents for ten years.<sup>101</sup> He may also have testified against Samuel Davies who was in England seeking favor for religious dissenters.<sup>102</sup>

The pistole fee controversy was important in the life of Peyton Randolph because he sided with the burgesses against the Governor. His decision was a conscious one, for as a crown appointee he stood to lose office by his support of the colonists, a fact he fully recognized. Undoubtedly, his cousins, William Stith, with whom he was intimate,<sup>103</sup> and Richard Bland, both of whom viewed the pistole fee as an unjust tax, influenced him. Dinwiddie himself said that Virginians had been content until the Reverend Mr. Stith and his cohorts had inflamed them.



According to the Governor "an Evil Spirit enter'd into a High Priest, who was supported by the Family of the Randolph's, and few more, who, by unjust Methods, fir'd the Ho. of Burgesses to act very inconsistently.<sup>104</sup> Even though he considered the pistole an unjust tax and criticised the Governor for imposing it, he did not press his claims when they were opposed by the home government. When he was removed from office, rejected as agent, and accused of self-interest, he yielded and was sufficiently penitent to regain his post. Nevertheless, he was a popular man in Virginia, and his ties among the burgesses were strong-- facts which the crown officials recognized in their instructing Dinwiddie to reinstate him as Attorney General. He had gone to England confident of the support of the government against the pistole fee; instead he had been humiliated, and he consequently never set foot again in the mother country. Furthermore, his relationship with Dinwiddie was never again on an easy basis. The Governor was a stubborn Scotsman who could never forget that his authority had been defied, and the Attorney General doubtless remembered that Dinwiddie compelled him to beg for his office.<sup>105</sup>

Randolph returned to the House of Burgesses in May, 1755. Although he had been absent during two sessions, he was immediately placed on the three great standing committees: Propositions and Grievances, Privileges and Elections, and Courts of Justice. During the 1756 session he served as chairman of Propositions and Grievances. There were routine assignments to occupy him and especially the matters relating to the French and Indian war.

He did not limit himself to legislating supplies and men, but on May 2, 1756, accepted the command of the Associators, a volunteer company

of gentlemen and lawyers who at their own expense proposed to march to the "Frontier" in order to relieve "their distressed Fellow Subjects" and to chastise the "Insolence" and revenge the "Cruelties of the French and their barbarous Allies."<sup>106</sup> On May 3, 1756, George Gilmer, a Williamsburg resident noted, "An Association was formed by the Lawyers yesterday, the Attorney at their head, regimental'd to go, with what Gentlemen would join them, immediately to their country's relief...."<sup>107</sup> The military company was formed in response to reports of "shocking Act[s] of...cruel Butcheries & horrid Murders" on the frontier of the colony, and because it was also thought that the example of the "Gentleman Volunteers" will have "this good Effect at least that it will encourage the Common People, who have hitherto been very backward to follow their Example."<sup>108</sup> Randolph was made commander as a mark of the affection and respect in which the members of the company held him; his military experience, if any (there is no record), was limited to the militia. The Associators undertook to maintain themselves "dressed in short plain blue Frocks, with cross Pockets, short white Nankeen, or brown Holland Waistcoats, and Breeches of the same, and plain Hats; armed each with a Firelock, a Brace of Pistols, and a cutting Sword, and furnished with one Pound of Powder, and four pounds of Ball." Furthermore, "each Associator who goes paying immediately to the commanding Officer Three Pounds, and the same Sum for every Man he carries with him; and those who do not go, Ten Pounds for every man they send."<sup>109</sup>

The Associators, numbering about 130 men,<sup>110</sup> planned to go north from Williamsburg to Winchester in the Shenandoah Valley to join forces with George Washington, colonel of the Virginia Regiment and commander in chief of all forces defending the colony. Washington, plagued with

raising, outfitting, and disciplining an army, had mixed feelings about the volunteer company of the gentlemen Associators. They had no instructions from Dinwiddie, and the Governor suggested they consult with the commander. "I could wish," wrote Washington, "to see every thing in good order, when the Associators come up...."<sup>111</sup> They were, he acknowledged, "the best Gentlemen in the Country," but even though most of them were on horseback, they moved too slowly to fight the Indians. They planned to serve as his advisors, to ride along the frontier and scout "the places for Forts."<sup>112</sup>

On May 20, the "Gentlemen of the Association, under Col. Peyton Randolph," met in Fredericksburg where the following day they chose subordinate officers, heard a sermon on the text from II Samuel 10:12, "Be of good Courage, and let us play the Men for our People, and for the Cities of our God: And the Lord do that which seemeth him good," and subscribed "to certain Articles for their good Government."<sup>113</sup> They remained in Fredericksburg three or four days<sup>114</sup> before riding on. A correspondent from Dumfries noted their march "with the Honourable Peyton Randolph, Esq; at their Head." "They may be supposed to be at Winchester by this time," he wrote on May 26, "and propose to remain on the Frontiers all the Summer. It is imagined they will soon be joined by many other Gentlemen, some of whom have obliged themselves to act with them, and others from a Zeal for their Country's Service."<sup>115</sup>

The Associators arrived in Winchester, but almost nothing is known of their activities there. Thomas Jefferson later said that they "had more the will than the power of becoming effective soldiers." Washington, Jefferson added, "was more embarrassed with their care, than reinforced by their service."<sup>116</sup> They did not trouble Washington, however,

for he left Winchester for Williamsburg on June 4 to discuss plans for new forts. It was reported that Washington said the Associators all were in good health and planned to march "very soon for Fort Cumberland."<sup>117</sup> Instead of marching to the frontier, a recent scholar noted, it "is more likely that they quietly returned to their homes from Winchester, having served their purpose as builders of morale."<sup>118</sup> Writing to Washington on August 19, 1756, Dinwiddie implied that the Associators had gone home. The colonel needed drums and the Governor told him that "the Associators had 2, which were left at Winchester or Fredericksburg, which you should call for."<sup>119</sup>

At some unspecified time during the 1750's, Peyton Randolph became a member of the Board of Visitors, the governing body of the College of William and Mary. His grandfather, William Randolph of Turkey Island, was among the first visitors named in the college charter of 1693; his father and uncle, William Randolph II, were visitors in the 1720's; and with him on the board were his cousins, Peter Randolph, Richard Randolph, and Richard Bland, and his brother-in-law, Philip Grymes.<sup>120</sup> Late in 1757, Randolph became rector of the board, chosen by his colleagues to preside for a year over their meetings.<sup>121</sup>

There was trouble at the college during his tenure as visitor, but in most cases the college records do not spell out what role he played in the several matters. The first issue occurred in 1752 with the death of President William Dawson. Among the candidates for the presidency was Randolph's cousin, the Reverend William Stith. While Stith was indisputably qualified for the post, he had made a powerful enemy of Governor Dinwiddie who supported for president the Reverend Thomas Dawson, a longtime professor at the college. Much politicking went on to

persuade the Board of Visitors to vote for one man or the other, but it was Stith who was elected. With incredible naivete, Dawson had expected Randolph to vote for him against Stith. According to Dawson, Randolph had agreed to support him and had solicited others in his behalf. "But," Dawson wrote, "afterwards being warmly beset by the Randolph's & all the Relations of that Family, he voted against me, tho' I cd. not beleive he wd. till the Day of Election: For to his Vote I thought I had a sort of natural Right, as I was a great Means under God, in saving his Life in the small Pox, and as I had this very last Winter at a general Election been the Cheif Instrument of his going [as wo]rthy Burgess for the College."<sup>122</sup>

The second issue began in the spring of 1757 when Thomas Robinson, master of the grammar school, dismissed James Hubard, the usher.<sup>123</sup> A struggle ensued between the faculty who supported Robinson and the visitors who supported Hubard. When the visitors dismissed Robinson because of physical infirmities that prevented him from carrying out his duties, Robinson appealed to the Bishop of London. The charges against him increased, however, when Dinwiddie wrote that Robinson and the professor of philosophy, William Preston, contrary to the college rules, had wives and families, and, as bad examples to their students, neglected their duties and appeared drunk in public. The visitors began an investigation of the lives and morals of the faculty. The faculty was united in opposition, so the visitors dismissed them all. Upon appeal to the Privy Council, two faculty members were reinstated, and three new teachers were sent to Virginia.

The third issue concerned the so-called Two Penny Acts passed in 1755 and 1758 allowing Virginians to discharge their debts at the

monetary rate of two pence per pound of tobacco. The Virginia clergy, who were paid in tobacco, protested the acts because the market value of tobacco was worth more per pound than the legislated price. Among the protesting clergy were members of the college faculty. Several members of the board of visitors, who, as councillors and burgesses, were responsible for the Two Penny Acts, did not look favorably on such faculty activities. In fact, Peyton Randolph was a member of the Committee of Correspondence of the House of Burgesses who instructed Edward Montagu, the Virginia agent in London, to lobby for the acts.

Two faculty members, Jacob Rowe and Goronwy Owens, who were among the replacements sent to the college after the wholesale dismissal of the faculty, proved to be troublemakers. Rowe had criticised the Two Penny Act of 1758, but backed down when challenged by the House of Burgesses. In 1760 Rowe and Owen were accused of drunkenness, profanity, and neglect of their college duties. Governor Fauquier, then rector of the Board of Visitors, sent Owen off to a parish church in Brunswick County. Rowe was penitent, but he soon returned to his old ways, and the visitors met several times to discuss his case. Finally, on August 14, 1760, Fauquier reported that despite Rowe's pledge of good behavior he "did lately lead the Boys out against the Town Apprentices to a pitched Battle with Pistols and other Weapons, instead of restricting or keeping them in, as was the Duty of his Office to have done: That at the same Time he also insulted Mr. John Campbell by presenting a Pistol to his Breast, and also Peyton Randolph, Esqr. one of the Visitors, who was interposing as a Magistrate and endeavouring to disperse the Combatents: That the next day he also insulted the President for enquiring of the Boys the Particulars of the Affair without a Convention

of the Masters: And upon the Rector's sending to him to take Care to keep the Boys in that Night without Apprehension of a second Affray, he also most grossly insulted him. The Board of Visitors ordered Rowe's removal."<sup>124</sup>

Randolph's other activities in behalf of the college were calmer. During the late summer of 1772, he served on a special committee appointed by the visitors to receive bids for the construction of a new college building.<sup>125</sup>

At the same time as he was occupied with the affairs of the college, Randolph was appointed to the Committee of Correspondence. As a result of his mission to England in 1754, the General Assembly had finally, on April 14, 1759, passed an act appointing a permanent agent to represent the colony in London. The agent was Edward Montagu of the Middle Temple. To instruct him in his duties a committee was established composed of four councillors and eight burgesses. Included were Peyton's brother-in-law, Philip Grymes, and his cousins, Peter Randolph and Richard Bland. The records of the committee make little specific reference to the contributions of Peyton Randolph except that he was regular in attendance and occasionally was a member of a subcommittee to compose the letter to the agent. Membership on the committee was further evidence of Randolph's prestige as one of the leading men in the General Assembly and since the primary function of the committee was to represent the colony's interests in England, it bound Randolph more firmly to his native country.<sup>126</sup> "At present I do not believe you a Rebel," Montagu wrote Randolph in 1775, "though I understand your Patriotism is not below Proof."<sup>127</sup>

The 1760's were an important time for Peyton Randolph. He not

only became Speaker of the House of Burgesses, but also one of the leaders in Virginia's protests against the mother country. During the session of the General Assembly which sat between November, 1761, and June, 1765, he represented the city of Williamsburg. He continued as chairman of the Committee of Privileges and Elections and also served on Propositions and Grievances. As in previous sessions, he was busy in special committees and routine legislative assignments.

During 1764 he was present when discussions on the proposed Stamp Tax took place in the Committee of Correspondence. At their meeting on June 15, the committee resolved to inform Montagu that "the Colony is much alarmed" at "the proposal for a Stamp Duty," and that Montagu "be desired to oppose this with all his Influence, & as far as he may venture insist on the Injustice of laying any Duties on us & particularly taxing the internal Trade of the Colony without their Consent."<sup>128</sup> When the committee met again on July 28, a letter to the agent composed by committeemen George Wythe and Robert Carter Nicholas was read. The letter forecast trouble. The stamp tax would not only be a heavy burden because the people were "already laden with Debts, contracted chiefly in Defence of the Common Cause," but also "what makes the approaching Storm appear still more gloomy & dismal is, that, if it should be suffer'd to break upon our Heads, not only we & our Children, but our latest Posterity may & will probably be involved in its fatal Consequences." Randolph signed the letter. However, letters from Montagu detailing the determination of the Parliament to tax the colonies had arrived since the committee last met, so that the Virginians added a strong postscript of protest to their letter. They informed Montagu that they would postpone further instructions until after the General



Assembly convened in October.<sup>129</sup>

As soon as the burgesses had organized in the fall, they addressed themselves to the proposed stamp tax. On October 30, they assembled as a committee of the whole house with Randolph presiding to discuss Montagu's letters. Next day they met in regular session and resolved to send an address to the King, a memorial to the House of Lords, and a remonstrance to the Commons. To prepare the documents, Randolph was appointed chairman of a committee which included Landon Carter, Richard Henry Lee, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, Benjamin Harrison, Archibald Cary, John Fleming, and Richard Bland. According to the later recollection of Thomas Jefferson, Randolph wrote the address to the King and Wythe the remonstrance to the Commons. The memorial to the Lords was possibly the work of Pendleton or Bland.<sup>130</sup> The three petitions asserted "it to be a fundamental principle of the British constitution...that the people are not subject to any taxes but such as are laid on them by their own consent or by those who are legally appointed to represent them."<sup>131</sup> The petitions all were respectful and restrained in their protest. Later Wythe told Jefferson that he had addressed the Commons with "much freedom," but that "his colleagues of the committee shrunk from it as wearing the aspect of treason, and smoothed its features...."<sup>132</sup> In final form the documents were approved by the General Assembly on December 18.

Two days later the Committee of Correspondence sent five copies of each document to Montagu with instructions to deliver them to the proper authorities and to "use your utmost Influence in supporting them." Anticipating that their petitions would be ignored because the Commons had refused "Petitions from the Colonies in former similar Instances," the

committee recommended that Montagu "have them printed and dispersed over the Nation...in such a manner...that the People of England may be acquainted with the Privileges & Liberties we claim as British Subjects; as their Brethren and the dreadful apprehensions we are under of being deprived of them in the unconstitutional method proposed."<sup>133</sup>

Having entered their petitions, the General Assembly awaited the decision of Parliament. They were already assembled and, having handled routine matters, were anticipating adjournment, when in May, 1765, they learned that their petitions and those of the other colonies had not received a hearing and that in January the Stamp Act passed to take effect in November. The only constitutional procedure left to them was to urge the act's repeal. On May 29, therefore, a motion was moved and carried "that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House, immediately to consider the Steps necessary to be taken in Consequence of the Resolutions of the House of Commons of Great Britain relative to the charging certain Stamp Duties in the Colonies."<sup>134</sup> Randolph was presiding, but only thirty-nine burgesses were present; the others, thinking that most routine business before the House was accomplished, had gone home. The debates of the committee were not recorded in the official journals, but Governor Fauquier wrote afterwards that "five resolutions were proposed and agreed to, all by very small majorities."<sup>135</sup> The resolutions were the work of Patrick Henry, John Fleming, and George Johnston. The next day, May 30, the resolutions were introduced to a formal session of the House and a heated debate ensued in which Patrick Henry, the freshman burgess of Louisa County, said, according to an unknown French traveler who heard him, "that in former times tarquin and Julus had their Brutus, Charles had his Cromwell, and

he Did not Doubt but some good american would stand up, in favour of his Country, but...." At this point, the Frenchman said, Henry was interrupted by Speaker Robinson who said Henry spoke treason and was sorry there was no member "loyal Enough to stop him, before he had gone so far." Henry apologized, and professed his loyalty to the King; he had, he said, only "his Countrys Dying liberty...at heart, and the heat of passion might have led him to have said something more than he intended."<sup>136</sup> Henry delivered his famous address in support of the resolutions, five of which apparently were adopted by the House on close votes. The resolutions were basically a restatement of the protests sent to England the previous winter, but as an old man Thomas Jefferson recalled that after the votes were counted on the fifth resolution, Peyton Randolph brushed by him on his way out of the chamber exclaiming, "By God, I would have given five hundred guineas for a single vote."<sup>137</sup> A single vote, Jefferson explained, "would have divided the House, and [Speaker] Robinson was in the chair...[and] would have negatived the resolution."<sup>138</sup>

When the House reconvened on May 31, Patrick Henry had already left Williamsburg. That morning, Jefferson remembered, in the House chamber Peter Randolph leafed through the journals seeking a precedent for removing a resolution from the record which he recalled from his tenure as clerk twenty years earlier. Jefferson did not know if Randolph found the erasure. When the House convened at 11 o'clock, there were not enough "young hot and giddy members" present to prevent the fifth resolution being expunged from the record.

Peyton Randolph's opposition to the Stamp Act resolutions is not easily explained. According to Jefferson's statement in 1816, Randolph

believed "that the principles of these resolutions had been asserted and maintained in the address and memorials of the year before, to which an answer was yet to be expected."<sup>139</sup> But, Jefferson cannot have been correct, for Randolph already knew that the petitions had received no hearing. Probably politics was a reason. Henry was an upstart from the backcountry who posed a threat to the established leadership of the House of Burgesses of which Randolph was a prominent member.<sup>140</sup>

The General Assembly adjourned in June, 1765, and was scheduled to convene again in May, 1766, but it did not meet until fall because on May 10, the longtime Treasurer and Speaker, John Robinson, died. During the twenty-eight years of his tenure in the House, Robinson had used his position to build a political clique composed of the gentry of the lower tidewater region. Among his principal lieutenants was Peyton Randolph who had ambitions to succeed his mentor as Speaker and Treasurer. Randolph was opposed by Richard Henry Lee and Richard Bland but did have the support of Governor Fauquier who, upon Robinson's death, immediately wrote to the Board of Trade:

I have heard of two Candidates for his offices, viz. His Majestys Attorney General Mr. Randolph, and Mr. Richard Henry Lee. The first is of all men in this Colony in my Judgment the best qualified to repair the Loss, as he possesses the good Qualities of his late most intimate Friend, and has always been one of the foremost to promote his Majestys Service in all the Requisitions of the Crown and has always used his Endeavors to induce the Assembly to concur with me in all Measures which were conducive to the Honor and Dignity of the Crown, and the peace and advantage of the Colony. On these accounts my wishes for Success attend him.<sup>141</sup>

The Governor also supported Randolph for Treasurer, but there were constitutional restrictions. "I should most certainly have cast my Eyes on Mr. Attorney General," Fauquier informed the Board of Trade, "but such an appointment would have vacated his Seat in the Assembly, and so

would have defeated his Schemes of being Speaker...."<sup>142</sup> In all probability, the Governor feared that if he immediately appointed Randolph Treasurer, the burgesses, when they assembled in the fall, might not wait until a special election returned Randolph to the House and would elect Lee their Speaker instead.<sup>143</sup> Consequently, Fauquier appointed Robert Carter Nicholas acting treasurer until a regular appointment was made by the General Assembly. There was talk, however, that Nicholas wanted the post permanently. "It now begins to be whispered about," reported Fauquier, "that Mr. Nicholas's friends who are pretty numerous will endeavour to divide the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer to secure the last to their Friend."<sup>144</sup>

Randolph lost no time soliciting support for his advancement to the speakership and the treasury. On May 11, 1766, he wrote to Landon Carter:

Our good old friend the Speaker died Yesterday, after suffering a great deal of Misery from a Stone in the Bladder....You are not unacquainted that I have long intended, whenever this Melancholy event should happen to endeavor to succeed him in the high Offices, which he enjoyed. My anxiety prompts me to ask your friendly hand to assist me on this critical trial. A state of uncertainty is always a disagreeable one, and as a letter of approbation from my friend Colo. Carter would contribute in a great measure to relieve me from it, I am in hopes I shall not be long without such a one....<sup>145</sup>

Randolph's friend, Archibald Cary, who was married to his first cousin, Mary Randolph of Curles, wrote to Colonel William Preston, burgess for Augusta County:

I Am now Sir Beging your Interest In behalf of a Worthy Man, whose Character you Must have heard, if you do not personally Know him, it is for Payton Randolph Esqr. who is offering him Self to Succeed that Worthy Man our late Speaker who died last Sattarday.

I Assure you Sir I would not Aske Such a Favour of Any Gentleman unless I Could put my Hand to my Heart and Say I thought the person I was Soliciting for was the properest person

for the Chair. I have long been Intimately Acquainted with the Attorney, his Conduct on all Occasions is Uniformly Just, And his Behaviour in the House has allways prov'd him to be a firm friend to his Country Void of Passion and Prejudice: Such is the Man I Aske a Favour of You for; it will be a particular Satisfaction to me to receive a line from you Informing me of your Intents to Serve him. As the first Business will be to Chuse a Speaker You will not have it in your Power to Vote, on that Occasion Un<sup>1</sup>less you be in Town the first day the House meets....<sup>146</sup>

In spite of their early efforts, Randolph and his supporters soon encountered political opposition. Their cause was not helped by two major scandals which broke in mid-1766.

The first scandal came to light soon after the death of John Robinson. It was discovered that while Robinson was Treasurer, he had embezzled £100,000 from the public treasury and loaned most of it to his friends. Randolph was not directly involved in the scandal; he had borrowed only £10.11s.8d. and the Robinson estate owed him £330.18s.3d.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless, Randolph realized that his political hopes were in jeopardy. Robinson had intended for Randolph to act as an executor of his estate, but Randolph refused "as it may probably prejudice his future views with respect to the Treasury."<sup>148</sup>

The second scandal came when John Chiswell, Robinson's father-in-law and Randolph's cousin-in-law, was released by three judges of the General Court after having been refused bail by the Cumberland County court in an indictment for the murder of one Robert Routledge on June 3, 1766. The incident led to charges of preferential treatment. Again, Randolph was not directly involved in the scandal itself and apparently took care to sidestep it altogether. Later Randolph's critics charged that he left Cumberland County deliberately on the day Chiswell came to court so that he avoided the Attorney General's responsibility of deciding whether or not Chiswell was bailable.<sup>149</sup>

The Robinson and Chiswell scandals were exploited fully by Randolph's political opponents, chiefly Richard Henry Lee, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Richard Bland. Even though he was Randolph's cousin, Bland wished to be Speaker as did Lee. Nicholas, of course, wanted the treasury. They took to the newspapers demanding the separation of the speakership and the treasury, charging political favoritism in Chiswell's bailment. In no piece did they attack Randolph specifically, but the implications were apparent. Randolph himself, so far as is known, wrote nothing for the newspapers. Instead he remained aloof while his supporters, notably his brother, John, and Landon Carter, debated the opposition.<sup>150</sup> The political disputes aired in the press were, one Virginian thought "numerous & too scurrilous to Merit much... Attention." Nevertheless, he forecast the separation of the "Treasury &...the Speakers Chair."<sup>151</sup>

Finally, the General Assembly convened on November 6. Archibald Cary, burgess from Chesterfield County, nominated Peyton Randolph for Speaker of the House. Richard Henry Lee, having withdrawn from the race for Speaker, nominated Richard Bland. Randolph was elected "by a great Majority."<sup>152</sup> But, on November 12, he was "mortified by a Vote that the Treasury should be separated from the Chair...occasion'd by some e Misapplications of the late Treasurer who was thought by some had thereby gain'd an undue Influence, which place him above their Reach...."<sup>153</sup> Even though the burgesses nominated Nicholas to the treasury, they resolved, one of Randolph's friends wrote, "to pay yearly to Peyton Randolph Esqr ye sum of 500<sup>l</sup> Sterlg. for his care & trouble, to discharge ye Speakers office. The Burgesses believe yt ye Salary, wch they have annexed to yt chair will induce the Speaker to

vacate ye office of King's Attorney...."<sup>154</sup>

Accepting the loss of the treasury, Randolph took the increase in the Speaker's salary, and resigned as Attorney General. That office, despite the support of Governor Fauquier and Councillor Robert Carter for George Wythe, went to John Randolph who had campaigned assiduously for it both in Virginia and in England.<sup>155</sup>

Peyton Randolph was Speaker for nine years, until his death in 1775. These were the busiest and most important years in his life. Even though he entered the office under the cloud of the Robinson scandal, his reputation was unimpaired. During his speakership, "Peyton Randolph was" according to St. George Tucker who came to Williamsburg in 1772, "...the most popular character in Virginia...."<sup>156</sup>

In order to qualify for election as Speaker, Randolph had to be a burgess. Without interruption from 1761 to 1775 he was the burgess for Williamsburg. He had a powerful and affectionate hold on his constituency. Time and again the voters chose him "unanimously to represent Williamsburg in Assembly."<sup>157</sup> It was not necessary for him always to be in town at election time. In 1769, for example, he was in New York on official business when the following notice appeared in the local newspaper: "The necessary absence of the Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq; our late worthy Representative, we are well assured will not prevent his fellow citizens from unanimously returning him, again, The Man of their Choice."<sup>158</sup> On September 7, 1769, he was "with the free voice and hearty approbation of all his former constituents again proclaimed their Representative...." Even though Randolph himself was absent, his constituents dined at the Raleigh Tavern, where, it was reported, "no doubt many a cordial toast will be drunk to his health,



prosperity, and happy return."<sup>159</sup> When he finally returned to Williamsburg, Randolph, ever the sage politician, "gave a genteel dinner, at the RALEIGH tavern, to the electors of this city, after which many loyal and patriotic toasts were drunk, and afternoon spent with cheerfulness and decorum."<sup>160</sup> His popularity was such that the newspapers reported not only his official activities but aspects of his personal life as well. In the midsummer of 1767, the Virginia Gazette had "the satisfaction" to inform its readers that "the SPEAKER, who had lately the misfortune to have his leg much bruised by the oversetting of his carriage up James river, and has been at Wilton [home of his sister-in-law, Anne Harrison Randolph] some time for his recovery, is looked for daily, having got perfectly well."<sup>161</sup>

A popular and responsible burgess, Randolph brought the same qualities to the speakership. "The good old Speaker" he was called--"worthy and beloved." Even though in the strictest sense he was speaker only until the House adjourned and faced an election each time it reconvened, there was never a doubt that he had the office so long as he wanted it.<sup>162</sup> As Speaker, Randolph was the most important officer in the House, presiding at all regular sessions, signing official bills and papers, and acting as the chief spokesman of the burgesses. He was, moreover, the chief politician in the House. With tact and amiability he assumed control of the Robinson faction. His political leadership is difficult to describe, because it was subtle and behind the scene. When his friend, Landon Carter, burgess for Richmond County, hinted that his health would not permit him to stand for reelection, Randolph pressured him to reconsider:

I am sorry to find by your letter...that you have determined not to let us see your pretty face this spring. I am no Physician, unless my medical skill in Horses will intitle me to that appellation, yet as the air of Williamsburg is so much more wholesome, & agrees so much better with your constitution, than the air of Sabine hall [Carter's plantation]; & as health & vigour are greatly to be preferd to the acquisition of wealth, I think I may safely pronounce that you are wrong to stay home to take care of your farm...But my reasons of a public nature are still stronger. A Gentleman who attempts a trust of so great importance to his country, & of so interesting a nature to his constituents, cannot withdraw himself from his duty, especially at a time when matters of the greatest consequence are to be decided, without being justly liable to the censure of both. You find Physic, Philosophy & morality are against you....<sup>163</sup>

When in 1768 Carter failed to be elected to the House, Randolph, for some unexplained reason, felt responsible. "...I was particularly mortified," he wrote, "when I understood that your friendship for me had been, in great measure, the cause of this change [in burgesses]: we never, I think, feel more disagreeably to ourselves, than when a virtuous friendship occasions any misfortune to those we have esteem for.... Let me not lose the advantage of your advice in all matters of moment; I expect you will serve me with your pen, tho' you can't do it with your voice; and as you can't come & joke with me, I will go & joke with you."<sup>164</sup>

Randolph made it the Speaker's concern to know the personality and inclination of individual burgesses; for example, he considered Nathaniel Scott, the burgess from Cumberland County, "a very cunning observer, reserved as to his own sentiments, & very inquisitive...[seemingly] a fine spirited Man, [who] gives his opinion to ministers without reserve...."<sup>165</sup> Occasionally he encountered opposition. "...my situation is not a very pleasant one," he wrote Carter late in the 1760's, concerning some unspecified troubles with two men he identified only as "Mr. W." and "G", whom he hoped had calmed before they reached Williamsburg. "You may thank your Stars that you have made your escape into the calm shades of philosophy, where the envy or ill nature of such men can neither injure

or perplex you."<sup>166</sup>

The most persistent issue confronting Virginia during Randolph's tenure as Speaker was the relationship between England and the American colonies, which, since the end of the French and Indian War in 1763, had become increasingly strained. While he was still a burgess, Randolph had drafted a protest to the Stamp Act, and as Speaker in 1767, he signed the official letter of the House to King George III thanking him for his "gracious assent to the ever memorable act of Parliament declaring the repeal of the late oppressive Stamp Act."<sup>167</sup> The British Parliament, however, yielded none of its authority, and in 1767 passed the so-called Townshend Acts to which Massachusetts responded by sending letters to the colonial legislatures urging protest. Randolph signed the burgesses' response informing the New Englanders that Virginia had already sent her protests to her agents in England with instructions to present them to the King, the Lords, and the Commons.<sup>168</sup>

During the May, 1769, session the House of Burgesses, in response to a new British law threatening colonials accused of treason with transportation to England for their trial and in response to another circular letter from Massachusetts, "took into their serious consideration the State of this Colony, and in the course of their deliberations, being alarmed at the Distress in which all America is likely to be involved, came to several necessary Resolutions...."<sup>169</sup> The resolutions, which were adopted on May 16, affirmed that Virginians could be taxed only by the House of Burgesses, that the colonies had the right to consult each other "in dutiful addresses, praying the royal interposition in favour of the violated rights of America," and that Virginians had the right to be tried in their own colony. The Speaker was thereupon given "particular directions" to send copies of the resolutions without

delay "to the Speakers of the several Houses of Assembly on this Continent, and to request their concurrence therein." Randolph sent the resolutions even though the Governor dissolved the House on May 17. "However discouraging this Reprehension may be," he wrote to the New Hampshire Speaker on May 19, "Yet We hope, that our loyalty and affection to his Majesty, our Regard to the true Interest of our Mother Country, and our inclination to terminate this unhappy Dispute will be made manifest, and will, in the end, dispose our gracious Sovereign to interpose in our favour and to procure for his injured People the Redress that they most humbly ask for."<sup>170</sup>

Upon the dissolution of the House, many of the burgesses reconvened in an informal session at the Raleigh Tavern where they elected Randolph moderator and created the Non-importation Association. Randolph placed his name first among the eighty-seven on the document establishing the Association. Afterwards, he joined his colleagues in a round of toasts celebrating their action.<sup>171</sup> The associators pledged not to import and, after September 1, not to buy, any goods taxed by Parliament for the purpose of raising revenue until the Townshend duties were repealed.

The Association of 1769 proved ineffectual. Accordingly, Randolph was present in Williamsburg on June 22, 1770, when a group of burgesses and merchants formed a stronger association to boycott British goods. This time they established local committees in each county to enforce the ban on imports and exports.<sup>172</sup> Randolph again served as moderator. He was kept busy corresponding with the local committees and with other colonies until the Townshend duties were repealed in 1771.<sup>173</sup> In spite of Randolph's diligence, the Association of 1770 could hardly be termed a success.

Not all of Randolph's energies, however, were directed in protesting British colonial policy. During the summer of 1769, he went to New York as one of thirteen commissioners under royal warrant to settle a boundary dispute between New York and New Jersey.<sup>174</sup> It was not the first time he had worked on the dispute; in 1764 he and his cousin, Peter Randolph, were among the commissioners appointed by New Jersey.<sup>175</sup> The Virginia newspapers followed his progress through Philadelphia to New York and printed some hearsay that "the patriotick Speaker of the House of Burgesses of Virginia" would visit Boston.<sup>176</sup> The commissioners considered the conflicting claims of the two colonies. New Jersey asserted the boundary should be drawn from  $41^{\circ}$  on the Hudson River to  $41^{\circ} 40'$  on the Delaware River, while New York claimed a boundary from New York City to Easton, Pennsylvania. The commissioners, before adjourning in early October, compromised on a boundary substantially closer to New Jersey's claims than to New York's.<sup>177</sup> Randolph, however, left before the last deliberations, called home "by the necessary avocations of a public nature."<sup>178</sup>

In 1770, upon passage of a bill by the General Assembly establishing a public hospital for the insane, Randolph and his brother were among the fifteen laymen appointed to its Court of Directors. On July 10, 1770, he was a member of a subcommittee, which included John Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, John Blair, Jr., and Thomas Everard, named "to agree on a Plan for the Hospital, and to advertise the building thereof." The committee purchased eight city lots in Williamsburg and employed Robert Smith, architect of Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, to erect "a large, commodious Brick Building."<sup>179</sup> Peyton Randolph was a director of the hospital until his death in 1775. He and his

colleagues were responsible for the welfare of the hospital, they administered its funds, oversaw the building, and considered admission of patients. It is impossible to discover Randolph's activities apart from his colleagues, but his regular attendance at the directors' meetings indicated that he took his responsibilities seriously.<sup>180</sup>

In the summer of 1771, he was appointed to a committee of six to carry out the unanimous resolution of the House to erect an "elegant Statue" of Governor Botetourt.<sup>181</sup> The Assembly employed London merchant John Norton to engage a sculptor and submit his plans for the statue to the committee in Virginia. On March 10, 1772, Norton wrote to his son, "I have fixed on an Artist to execute the Statue of L. Botetourt...his name is Havard...he's to be finished in 12 months completely with Iron Rails packages &ca & to be put on ship for £700 I shall send the Design to Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas framed pr. Capt. Robertson, also 4 Medallions done by Gossette an exceeding good likeness of L. Bottetourt wch I have bought and send as presents, one for Mr. President Nelson, I for the Treasurer, I for the Speaker, and I for yourSelf."<sup>182</sup> When the drawings arrived in Virginia, there was some discussion of the inscription, as Nicholas reported to Norton: "I have only an Opportunity at present of consulting with the Speaker; we are both willing to give up the Word Peace, as it seems to be exceptionable & I dare say the rest of the Gentlemen will concur in Opinion, so that it may be struck out." Why he and Randolph disapproved the word peace Nicholas did not say, but he said that the committee "highly approve" of either of two designs for the pedestal, especially "that which has the Vine or Branch runing up the inner Edge as we think it fills up better & makes the figure more compleat."<sup>183</sup> The finished statue arrived in Virginia

in May, 1773, and by early June was set up in the piazza of the capitol in Williamsburg. It was, said Nicholas, "universally admired."<sup>184</sup>

In January, 1772, Randolph contributed £200 toward a proposed canal to be dug between Archer's Hope Creek and Queen's Creek connecting the James and York rivers. Randolph was among the largest contributors to the scheme that was considered a great economic benefit to Williamsburg; only Governor Dunmore contributed more, £500.<sup>185</sup> The canal, however, was never completed.

Early in 1773, Randolph was summoned by the Governor. Dunmore, having learned of a counterfeiting ring in the colony, sent not only for Randolph, but his brother, the Attorney General, and the Treasurer, Robert Carter Nicholas, "whose abilities as Lawyers and men of integrity, are at least equally, if not Superiour to any three in the Colony." The lawyers advised the Governor to act in his capacity as Chief Justice of Virginia by issuing a warrant for the arrest of the counterfeiters and instructing the county authorities to apprehend the criminals and bring them to Williamsburg under strong guard.<sup>186</sup> Accordingly, six counterfeiters were seized in Pittsylvania County at work in their shop with all their engraving and casting equipment. Upon their arrival in Williamsburg, the men were taken immediately to the Governor's Palace, where Dunmore, Peyton Randolph, his brother, and several other gentlemen examined them. One of those arrested was released "nothing criminal appearing against him;" the others were committed to jail to await further examination and trial.<sup>187</sup> Randolph had more than a casual interest in counterfeiting, for some of the Virginia currency bore his signature.<sup>188</sup>

In the midst of his official duties Randolph pursued interests of

a personal nature. He was, for instance, a member of the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge. There was a lodge in town before 1751, but the records are fragmentary. Randolph was first mentioned in 1762, by which time he had been a member long enough to become the Grand Master of the local lodge. He continued in the post until his death. In addition, he also served as the Grand Master of Virginia. He was probably instrumental in bringing his nephews, Harrison and Edmund Randolph, into membership. In 1774 and 1775 he frequently missed meetings and was fined accordingly, even when he was gone to Congress in Philadelphia. The Williamsburg Masons were proud of their Grand Master. His portrait hung in the lodge hall. The members mourned his death, walked in his funeral procession, and afterwards kept his sash and apron as relics.<sup>189</sup>

Randolph also took time to write a letter of recommendation for an English physician who had come to Virginia. He wrote on December 3, 1773:

The Bearer, Doctor J. F. D. Smyth, practiced Physic in an near Williamsburg with very much Approbation: His personal Merits and private Virtues entitle him to the warmest Recommendation of any of his Friends as well as myself, and to the Esteem of all who may be acquainted with him, as well as his Skill in his Profession. I have heard his late Excellency Lord Boteourt say, That Dr. Smyth was one of the best Families, and was very nearly related to many of the first Nobility of Great-Britain; and his Excellency always took particular Notice of him.<sup>190</sup>

Smyth had the letter printed for public distribution under the title "COPY of a RECOMMENDATION from the Hon. PEYTON RANDOLPH, Esq. then Speaker of the Assembly of Virginia, and afterwards the First President of the Congress at Philadelphia."<sup>191</sup>

The conflict that led to American independence continued to dominate Randolph's activities. As Speaker, he represented the burgesses when he wrote in 1768 that even though the colonies had derived



happiness and security from their connection with Great Britain, "the several late Acts of the British Parliament...tend to deprive the Colonies of their essential Rights and Privileges." It was, he continued, the duty of the burgesses, "as Representatives of a free People," to take "every regular Step" to prevent the destruction of "constitutional Liberty."<sup>192</sup> Randolph's position was essentially moderate. Loyal to Great Britain, to the King, and the traditional liberties of Englishmen, he did not seek American independence. He insisted, however, that the British Parliament had no right to tax the colonies without their consent, and he urged the mother country to restore the harmony that had long existed with the colonies.<sup>193</sup> As Speaker, associator, President of the Virginia Convention and the Continental Congress, he made his protest in the major meetings of opposition.

The General Assembly convened in Williamsburg on March 4, 1773. Eight days later the House of Burgesses created the standing Committee of Correspondence and Inquiry. The purpose of the committee was to communicate with other colonial legislatures on matters of common concern, specifically the British Court of Inquiry looking into the Gaspee Affair in Rhode Island. Randolph was chairman of the committee which included Robert Carter Nicholas, Richard Bland, Richard Henry Lee, Benjamin Harrison, Edmund Pendleton, Patrick Henry, Dudley Digges, Dabney Carr, Archibald Cary, and Thomas Jefferson. A select committee--Randolph, Nicholas, and Digges--could act for the larger group. Committees of correspondence were not new: colonial legislatures had long employed them to instruct their agents in England, and Massachusetts had local committees of this kind. The Virginia committee, however, was the first to represent an entire colony and the first to be intercolonial.<sup>194</sup>

On March 19, 1773, in a letter to the Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Peyton Randolph explained the purpose of the committee:

I have received the Commands of the House of Burgesses of this Colony to transmit to you a Copy of the resolves enter'd into by them on the 12th Instant which they hope will prove of general utility if the other Colonies shall think fit to adopt them. They have expressed themselves so fully as to the motives that led to these resolutions, that I need not say anything in that point, and shall only beg you will lay them before your assembly as early as possible, and request them to appoint some of their body to communicate from time to time with the Corresponding Committee of Virginia.<sup>195</sup>

The select committee of correspondence, Randolph, Nicholas, and Digges, sent letters regularly to other colonies informing them of events in Virginia,<sup>196</sup> and by March, 1774, they were in correspondence with every American colony.<sup>197</sup>

The situation in the colonies became increasingly tense when, in response to the Boston Tea Party, Parliament passed the Boston Port Act on March 31, 1774. The Virginia General Assembly convening on May 5, heard rumors of the act, but it was two weeks until they knew that it had passed to take effect on June 1. In response to the bill, the House passed a resolution setting aside the day on which the port of Boston was closed as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. The burgesses were ordered to "attend in their Places, at the hour of Ten in the forenoon, on the said first day of June next, in order to proceed with the Speaker, and the Mace, to the Church in this City."<sup>198</sup> Convinced that such a resolution reflected negatively on the King and Parliament, Governor Dunmore summoned Speaker Randolph and the rest of the burgesses to the council chamber on May 26, and dissolved them.<sup>199</sup>

The next day eighty-nine of the "dissolved" burgesses assembled at the Raleigh Tavern and, in protest to the Tea Act and the Boston

Port Act, formed another association for boycotting tea and all other commodities imported by the East India Company except saltpeter and spices. They declared "that an attack, made on one of our sister colonies, to compel submission to arbitrary taxes, is an attack made on all British America." They called for the colonies "to meet in general congress, at such place annually as shall be thought most convenient; there to deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may from time to time require."<sup>200</sup> Randolph was the first to sign the document.

On May 28, in accordance with instructions of the previous day, Randolph and seven other members of the Committee of Correspondence met and sent the associators' resolutions to the other colonies.<sup>201</sup>

The next afternoon Randolph received letters protesting the closing of the port of Boston from Boston, Philadelphia, and Annapolis, all "recommending an Union of Measures to their Southern Brethren, to induce the Ministry to abate in their rigorous and unconstitutional Designs against American Freedom." The "Union of Measures" called for a ban on all trade with Britain, imports and exports. Upon receipt of the letters, Randolph "thought it proper" immediately to convene all the burgesses still in Williamsburg to consider the course of action. These men called in their colleagues from the nearby vicinity. Accordingly, the following morning, May 30, twenty-five burgesses unanimously proposed extending the ban trade, but deferred further consideration until August 1, at which time they invited a general attendance "of the late Members of the House of Burgesses." At four o'clock the same afternoon, Randolph's constituents, the citizens of Williamsburg, met at the courthouse and approved unanimously the action taken by the

burgesses in the morning.<sup>202</sup>

On Wednesday, June 1, Randolph, in his capacity as Speaker, met at the courthouse an assembled group of Williamsburg citizens and burgesses who were still in town. Together they went in procession to the parish church where they heard "an excellent Sermon, well adapted to the present unhappy Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies...agreeable to the late Order of that patriotick and very respectable Body the House of Burgesses." <sup>203</sup>

The General Assembly was scheduled to convene on August 11, but since the Governor had dissolved it in May, a new election was necessary. On July 8, the citizens of Williamsburg held a general meeting at the courthouse where a special committee presented the town's "late worthy Representative," Peyton Randolph, an address of which the citizens unanimously approved:

SIR,

We the Citizens of Williamsburg, reflecting with Pleasure on the assiduous Attention which you, as our Representative in the General Assembly, have ever paid to our Interests, as well as those of the Community at large; greatly scandalized at the Practice which has too much prevailed throughout the Country of entertaining the Electors, a Practice which even its Antiquity cannot sanctify; and being desirous of setting a worthy Example to our Fellow Subjects, in general, for abolishing every Appearance of Venality (that only Poison which can infect our happy Constitution) and to give the fullest Proof that it is to your singular Merit alone you are indebted for the unbought Suffrage of a free People; moved Sir, by these important Considerations, we earnestly request that you will not think of incurring any Expense or Trouble at the approaching Election of a Citizen, but that you will do us the Honour to partake of an Entertainment which we shall direct to be provided for the Occasion.<sup>204</sup>

The election was held at the courthouse in Williamsburg about 11 o'clock on the morning of July 13. Randolph was quickly and unanimously returned to his office. When the routine paper-work was complete, the freeholders, moved by "a tender regard for their speaker, claimed by

their determination, contrary to common practice, to entertain their representative, conducted Randolph to the Raleigh Tavern where almost all the townspeople had gathered at the freeholders' invitation. "Notwithstanding the festivity, and the pleasing, social intercourse, which here prevailed," the Virginia Gazette reported, "harmony, decency, and decorum prevailed. After partaking of a most splendid dinner, and the afternoon entirely spent, they reconducted the Speaker to his own house, where they gave him three cheers, and then departed, wishing him long to live to enjoy those honours which have been so justly conferred upon him by his countrymen."<sup>205</sup>

The Virginia Convention, called by the burgesses in May, met as scheduled in Williamsburg on August 1. Randolph was the moderator of the meeting. The convention formed a new association banning the importation of British goods and slaves and the exportation to Great Britain. The convention also elected in order, Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edmund Pendleton delegates to a general congress of the colonies meeting in Philadelphia in September. The delegates were granted £1000 to be raised from the Virginia counties.<sup>206</sup> The convention adjourned on August 6.

Thomas Jefferson, one of the convention delegates from Albemarle County, was overcome by dysentery and could not attend the meeting in Williamsburg. He had written a series of resolutions indicting British policy for claiming that Parliament had authority over the colonies when, as a matter of fact, the colonies' only loyalty was to the King. Copies of these resolutions the enfeebled Jefferson forwarded to Peyton Randolph and Patrick Henry, intending them to be adopted as instructions to Virginia's congressional delegation and, hopefully, to be employed

by the Congress in an address to the King.<sup>207</sup> Randolph presented the resolutions to his colleagues. Later, Edmund Randolph wrote: "I distinctly recollect the applause bestowed on the most of them when they were read to a large company in the house of Peyton Randolph....Of all, the approbation was not equal....The young ascended with Mr. Jefferson to the source of those rights; the old required time for consideration before they could tread this lofty ground, which, if it had not been abandoned, at least had not been fully occupied throughout America."<sup>208</sup>

The resolutions were not adopted by the convention, probably because the intemperance of Jefferson's language made them unacceptable as the official statement.<sup>209</sup> Nevertheless, several of Jefferson's admirers paid to have them published as A Summary View of the Rights of British America. Its popularity was such that it was reprinted in Philadelphia and twice in England.

Randolph made certain that his constituents were informed of recent developments. On August 10, he called them together at the courthouse. They "generally approved" of the action taken by the convention "and at the same Time, contributed most generously for the Relief of our distressed Fellow Subjects at Boston, both in Cash and Provisions."<sup>210</sup>

The General Assembly, in the absence of Governor Dunmore, who was waging war against the Indians on the frontier, did not convene in August. Instead it was rescheduled for November which left the Virginia delegates to the Congress free to pursue their responsibilities. Randolph arrived in Philadelphia on September 2, having come in apparently in the company of Harrison, Lee, and Bland. John Adams of Massachusetts, who observed the delegates from all the colonies with much interest,

described his meeting with the Virginians on the day of their arrival: "Randolph is a large, well looking Man. Lee is a tall, spare Man. Bland is a learned, bookish Man. These Gentlemen from Virginia appear to be the most spirited and consistent, of any. Harrison said he would have come on foot rather than not come. Bland said he would have gone, upon this Occasion, if it had been to Jericho."<sup>211</sup> Washington, Pendleton, and Henry rode into Philadelphia on September 4.

The next morning the Congress assembled at Carpenters' Hall where Thomas Lynch, delegate from South Carolina stood to say "there was a Gentleman present who had presided with great Dignity over a very respectable Society, greatly to the Advantage of America," and "proposed that the Hon. Peytoun Randolph Esqr.,...should be appointed Chairman." He was certain, Lynch added, that Randolph would be the unanimous choice. The question was put, and Randolph was indeed chosen without dissent.<sup>212</sup>

The reasons behind making Randolph presiding officer of Congress were never recorded. The fact that he was chosen unanimously suggests prior consideration. In order for Congress to be effective, it had to command the allegiance of the united colonies and its resolutions had to appear reasonable. As a Virginian, Randolph came from the largest and most populous colony. He was, moreover, the best known member of the Virginia delegation. His service as Speaker, commissioner in settling the boundary dispute between New York and New Jersey, member of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, and as moderator of the Virginia Convention contributed to his intercolonial reputation. He was, finally, as his colleagues could testify, a man with more friends than enemies. "Mr. Randolph, our worthy President, may be rising of

sixty, of noble appearance, and presides with dignity," wrote the Connecticut delegate, Silas Deane. Randolph was, said Deane, "designed by nature for the business. Of an affable, open, and majestic deportment, large in size, though not of proportion, he commands respect and esteem by his very aspect, independent of the high character he sustains."<sup>213</sup>

With Randolph presiding the delegates got down to business. They decided that their assembly should officially be called the Congress, their presiding officer the president, that each colony had one vote, and that their proceedings be kept secret. On September 17, the Congress endorsed the Suffolk Resolves submitted by the Massachusetts delegation, resolves condemning the so-called intolerable acts and urging the people of Massachusetts to resist British authority. To offset these resolves, Joseph Galloway presented a "Plan for a Proposed Union between Great Britain and the Colonies" which called for appointment of a President-General for the colonies and the creation of a Grand Council to constitute a separate branch of the British Parliament. Galloway's plan, however, was defeated. On October 14, the delegates adopted a Declaration and Resolves denouncing British colonial policy since 1763 and asserting that the colonial legislatures had exclusive power in all cases of taxation and internal policy. Four days later the Continental Association, modelled on the Virginia Association framed in August, was created to stop all trade with Britain on an inter-colony basis. There were also petitions to Great Britain. What contribution Randolph made to the debates in Congress is, for the most part, unknown, but on October 10, in behalf of the Congress he wrote to General Thomas Gage, Governor of Massachusetts, urging him to discontinue the fortifications in and about Boston, to prevent the invasion of private property, to



restrain the irregularities of the soldiers, and to open communication between town and country.<sup>214</sup> Ten days later Gage sent a reply to Randolph, saying that "Nothing can be further from the True Situation of this Place than the above State." The General continued that he was pleased "that you are endeavoring at a Cordial Reconciliation with the mother Country....No Body wishes better success to such measures than myself."<sup>215</sup>

Randolph presided at all of the sessions of the Congress until October 22, when he was absent due to illness.<sup>216</sup> On Monday, October 24, anticipating an imminent adjournment, he left Philadelphia with Harrison and Bland.<sup>217</sup> Before leaving town, however, the three Virginia delegates authorized George Washington "to sign our Names to any of the Proceedings of the Congress."<sup>218</sup> Accordingly, Washington appended the signatures of Harrison and Bland on a petition to the King, but for some unexplained reason Randolph's signature did not appear.<sup>219</sup> Congress adjourned on October 26, resolving to meet again in May, 1775, if by that time American grievances were still unresolved.

Randolph arrived in Williamsburg on October 30.<sup>220</sup> He had departed the Congress early in order to arrive home in time for the convening of the General Assembly on November 3. But when the Governor had not returned from the frontier, the date was moved forward to the 10th; and then, when he was further delayed, the Assembly was postponed until February. Actually, Dunmore was probably afraid to call the burgesses into session. Randolph was busy nevertheless.

General Gage's letter reached him in Williamsburg. The General, who had first come to America with General Braddock during the French and Indian War, was an acquaintance of Randolph's. "I wrote to him as

such," Gage explained, "without taking Notice of the Congress, and answered him in a Stile as conciliatory as I could."<sup>221</sup> Uncertain of what he should do with the letter since the Congress was adjourned, Randolph had it published in the local newspaper and sent a copy to Charles Thomson, Secretary of Congress, so that it could be quickly dispatched to other congressmen. "It wou'd not be remiss," Randolph wrote to Thomson, "to give it a page in our Journals, but I am afraid this can't be done with conveniency. The original I mean for the Archives of the Congress, when a good opportunity shall offer for placing it there."<sup>222</sup>

In the meantime, on November 10, a body of merchants, supposed by the newspaper to number between "4 and 500", present in Williamsburg to subscribe to the Continental Association, presented their pledges to Randolph and the burgesses who were awaiting the opening of the Assembly. Someone, perhaps Randolph, spoke for the burgesses thanking the merchants for their confidence and sacrifice "in the great Struggle for Liberty" which, it was hoped, would "convince an inimical Administration of the Imprudence of their Measures, and produce Effects so salutary as to make us reflect with Pleasure on the Part we have taken in support of American Freedom."<sup>223</sup>

According to congressional resolution, the Continental Association was to be enforced by local committees. On December 23, 1774, Randolph was elected chairman of the Williamsburg committee.<sup>224</sup> Since he also served as spokesman for the committee for the colony, county associations frequently sought his advice in dealing with recalcitrant merchants and traders.<sup>225</sup>

In January, 1775, Randolph, who had been moderator of the Virginia

Convention the previous August, issued a request to the counties and corporations throughout the colony to elect delegates to a second convention scheduled to meet in Richmond on March 20.<sup>226</sup> The Williamsburg voters unanimously chose Randolph their delegate on February 3.<sup>227</sup> When the second convention convened at St. John's Church in Richmond, it took on special significance because the General Assembly, whose meeting had been postponed from November to February, was again put off until May. Randolph served as President of the convention. On March 23, Patrick Henry moved that the "colony be immediately put into a posture of defence; and that...a plan [be prepared] for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."<sup>228</sup> In support of his motion Henry delivered his famous "Give me liberty or give me death" speech. The motion passed, but not without the opposition of Richard Bland, Robert Carter Nicholas, Edmund Pendleton, and Benjamin Harrison who considered it premature.<sup>229</sup> Perhaps these men, who were close to Randolph, expressed his sentiments, but since Randolph was presiding officer and did not engage in the debate, his precise views are unknown. The convention adjourned on March 27, but not until it approved the proceedings of the Continental Congress, commended the congressional delegation for their work, and reappointed them with Randolph at their head.<sup>230</sup>

Before adjourning the convention recommended that the Virginia counties and corporations elect a delegate to represent them in the coming year. On April 19, therefore, the Williamsburg voters assembled at the courthouse where they unanimously elected Randolph. At the same time they took up a cash donation for "our suffering fellow subjects at Boston" which they entrusted to Randolph to deliver to the Massachusetts

congressional delegation.<sup>231</sup>

The situation in Virginia grew tense when Governor Dunmore, alarmed by the military preparations of the Virginians, ordered royal marines secretly to remove the gunpowder from the magazine in Williamsburg during the early morning hours of April 21, and to secure it aboard an armed ship in the James River. An alarm awoke the sleeping town, and the angry citizens converged on the courthouse where Peyton Randolph, Robert Carter Nicholas, and Mayor John Dixon persuaded them to turn from violence to a peaceful protest to the Governor.

The town council petitioned the Governor to return the colony's property. Dunmore replied that he had taken the powder for fear of a slave uprising and would send it back later. "The Inhabitants," Peyton Randolph observed, "were so much exasperated that they flew to Arms; This incensed the Governor a good deal and from every thing we can learn was the principal reason why his Answer was not more explicit and favourable." Privately Dunmore said that his only motive in removing the powder was to secure it "as there had been an alarm from the County of Surry." The alarm had been without foundation, and Dunmore had given "private assurances to several Gentlemen, that the Powder shall be Return'd to the Magazine." Even though the Governor did not set the date for its return, Randolph used the information to calm his fellow townspeople.<sup>232</sup>

The news of the gunpowder episode spread quickly throughout the colony. In Fredericksburg about six hundred volunteers mustered in preparation for marching to Williamsburg's defense. Similar mustering also took place in Prince William and Albemarle counties. In the midst of these activities came news of the battles of Lexington and Concord

in Massachusetts. Leaders in Fredericksburg sent for advice to Williamsburg. On April 29, they returned with a letter from Peyton Randolph written in behalf of the Corporation of Williamsburg counselling moderation:

The Governor Randolph wrote considers his Honor as at Stake; he thinks that he acts for the best and will not be compell'd to what we have abundant Reason to believe he would Cheerfully do, were he left to himself--Frequent Messages have been sent from the Neighbouring Counties to enquire into the State of this unfortunate affair with the most friendly and Spirited offers of assistance and Protection. The City could not but hold themselves exceedingly obliged to those Gentlemen as they do to you Gentlemen, and the rest of our Worthy Country Men..., We hope that you...can have no doubt of our paying the utmost attention to the Country's Interest as well as to our own Security in particular. If We then may be permitted to advise, it is our opinion and most earnest request that Matters may be quieted for the present at least; we are firmly persuaded that perfect Tranquility will be Speedily Restored; by pursuing this Course we foresee no Hazard or even inconvenience that can ensue; whereas we are apprehensive, and this we think upon good Grounds that violent measures may produce effects, which God only knows the consequences of.<sup>233</sup>

In addition to Randolph's letter came appeals from congressional delegates Edmund Pendleton, Richard Henry Lee, and George Washington advising the men to return to their homes.<sup>234</sup> Reluctantly, after a lengthy debate by their officers, the men disbanded from Fredericksburg. They were followed by most of the other county militias.

In Hanover County, however, Patrick Henry refused moderate counsel. On May 2, he led troops on a march to Williamsburg. To prevent his entry into town, Carter Braxton presented Henry on May 4 with a bill of exchange for £330 to pay for the powder. Henry then offered to have his men guard the treasury in Williamsburg, but was rebuffed by Treasurer Nicholas. Dismissing his troops, he rode off to the Congress in Philadelphia.

While Randolph undoubtedly disapproved of such radicalism as

Henry's, he was himself considered a rebel by the King. The Virginia Gazette reported that General Gage had received a royal proclamation "declaring the inhabitants of Massachusetts Bay, and some others in the different colonies, actual rebels." With the proclamation came "a blank commission to try and execute such of them" as Gage could capture. Among the more prominent names to be inserted in the commission were Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, and John Hancock, all of Massachusetts; John Dickinson of Pennsylvania; Peyton Randolph of Virginia; and Henry Middleton of South Carolina.<sup>235</sup>

There was no blacklist in reality, but Virginians were convinced that Randolph was in danger. When he left for Congress early in May, therefore, he was given a special guard. A letter, dated May 9, from an unnamed correspondent in Fredericksburg, reported his itinerary:

I am just returned from escorting the good old Speaker to Maryland, where we delivered him into the independent company of Port Tobacco. He passed the Bowling Green last Tuesday, where the independent company of Caroline, with the militia of the county, and a detachment from Fredericksburg independents, were drawn out to receive him, and the two other Delegates, Col. Harrison, and Col. Pendleton. The whole went with them to Port Royal, where they dined; after which they crossed the river Rappahannock, and were received on the other side by the independents of King George and Westmoreland, who joined the escort. They lodged that night at Col. Thornton's, on Potowmack, and crossed the river early the next morning. When we got to the Maryland side, the first thing we saw was the company from Port Tobacco drawn up on the beach to receive the Delegates; to whom we delivered them, in perfect health. The companies at Piscataway and upper Marlborough were ready to receive them, as they passed. Our escort amounted to about 250 of the first Gentlemen in this part of the country, who, after taking leave of the Delegates at Hooe's ferry, on their going into boats gave them three cheers, and returned; except the guards who crossed the river with them.<sup>236</sup>

The second Congress convened in Philadelphia on May 10. Randolph was again chosen president.<sup>237</sup> He did not preside long, however. On May 24, he departed for Virginia in order to be present for the opening

of the General Assembly. During most of the time he was present, Congress asserted that the recent acts of the British government had reduced the colonies to a dangerous situation so that they must immediately put themselves into a state of defense. The delegates also expressed the hope that harmonious relations could be restored with the mother country and decided once more to petition the King.<sup>238</sup> When Randolph left, Thomas Jefferson took his place in the Virginia delegation, and John Hancock succeeded as president of Congress.

As Randolph headed home from Philadelphia, a detachment of cavalry from the Williamsburg Volunteers set out to escort him. About noon on Tuesday, May 30, they met him at Ruffin's ferry in New Kent County, and brought him by evening within two miles of Williamsburg where they were joined by a company of infantry. They all arrived in town by sunset, and Randolph was escorted to his house by the entire cavalry and infantry. "The bells began to ring as our worthy Delegate entered the City," reported the Virginia Gazette, "and the unfeigned joy of the inhabitants ...was visible in every countenance; there were illuminations in the evening, and the volunteers, with many other respectable Gentlemen, assembled at the Raleigh, spent an hour or two in harmony and cheerfulness, and drank several patriotick toasts."<sup>239</sup>

The next morning, May 31, the troops delivered an address to Randolph. The soldiers were alarmed that Randolph had been "selected, as a proper victim, to be sacrificed to the malice of the present administration," and urged him "to be particularly attentive to your own safety, as you regard the interests of this country." They were prepared accordingly "most chearfully [to] hazard" their lives to protect "one who has so often encountered every danger and difficulty in the service

of his countrymen." The address concluded with these words: "MAY HEAVEN GRANT YOU LONG TO LIVE THE FATHER OF YOUR COUNTRY, AND THE FRIEND OF FREEDOM AND HUMANITY!"<sup>240</sup>

Randolph acknowledged the address with a few words of his own:

GENTLEMEN,

The affection you have expressed for me demands the warmest returns of gratitude. I feel very sensibly the happiness resulting from the kind attention of my worthy fellow citizens to my security and welfare. Your apprehensions for my personal safety arise from reports, which I hope have no foundation. Such unjust and arbitrary proceedings would bring on the authors of them the resentment and indignation of every honest man in the British empire. I shall endeavour to deserve the esteem you have expressed on this occasion, and shall think it the greatest misfortune that can attend me if ever my future conduct should give you any reason to be displeased with the testimony you have now offered of your approbation.<sup>241</sup>

The General Assembly met on June 1, 1775, for the first time in over a year. The Governor had finally called it into session to consider a proposal from Lord North that instead of taxation by the Parliament of Great Britain, the colonies should raise taxes by their own legislatures according to quotas sent from London. Randolph, who to no one's surprise had been elected Speaker,<sup>242</sup> was concerned about the response to the North proposal because, since Virginia was the first colony to consider it, the Old Dominion's answer would undoubtedly influence her sister colonies. According to Thomas Jefferson, who had not yet gone to Philadelphia, Randolph requested him to draft a reply because Randolph supposed "that a younger pen would be more likely to come up to the feelings of the [Congress]." Jefferson's response to Lord North was polite and firm. In short, the proposal was rejected because Parliament had no right to meddle in the civil government of the colonies; Virginians were unwilling to raise taxes to be spent by Parliament; the mode of raising money was objectionable; and only the



colonies had the right to grant money. Furthermore, the British government was asking for funds from America at the same time as it was preparing to invade the colonies. It was inconsistent to ask the colonies to imperial defense while denying them free trade with the rest of the world. Finally, the Virginians were honor bound to the other colonies and "would hold ourselves base deserters of that union to which we have acceded, were we to agree on any measures distinct and apart from them." Jefferson set out for Congress before the response was finally approved, but, according to his much later recollection, Randolph "steadily supported and carried it through the House, with a few softenings only from the more timid members."<sup>243</sup>

In the meantime, several young men broke into the Williamsburg magazine where they were shotgunned by a booby trap. On June 5, an angry mob condemning the Governor as a would-be assassin stormed the magazine. The burgesses also expressed anger over the incident. Dunmore seemed ready to apologize to the Assembly, but in the early morning hours of June 8, he and his family sneaked out of Williamsburg to take refuge on a ship anchored in the York River. The House began an investigation of the recent developments in the colony. Among those who presented depositions concerning the gunpowder episode was John Randolph who said that he had known nothing of Dunmore's plans, but that the Governor's fears were exaggerated. John informed Peyton that Dunmore was prepared to take up arms "in defence of his Person," but the younger Randolph left it "to the Speaker to pursue such Measures as he should think advisable to prevent it."<sup>244</sup> The General Assembly adjourned, however, on June 24, without resolving the trouble with Dunmore.

Concerned for the public safety, Peyton Randolph met his constituents at the courthouse in Williamsburg on Friday, June 23. They

agreed unanimously to invite volunteers from the nearby counties, and, in the meantime, until the men in the units arrived, men from the counties of James City and New Kent would guard the town.<sup>245</sup>

As President of the Virginia Convention, Randolph reminded the delegates from the counties and corporations of the meeting in Richmond on July 17.<sup>246</sup> The convention met as scheduled and created a committee of safety composed of eleven members headed by Edmund Pendleton. In an official letter to George Washington thanking him for his service in the Congress and commending his appointment as General of the Continental Army, Randolph wrote of other business taken up by the delegates:

The convention appointed Mr. Henry Col. & Commander in Chief of the army of observation to be raised which is to consist of 1000 men to be divided into two regiments....Besides these, the colony being divided into sixteen districts, each district is to raise 500 Men who are to be paid trained and disciplined, and are to be paid during the time of training and whilst in actual service. Mr. Henry is excluded from the Congress, the convention having resolved that no officer concerned in the Military shall be a member of the Congress convention or committee of safety. Mr. Pendleton & Bland both resigned, and in their room Col. Thomas Nelson, and Mr. Wythe, and Col. Frank Lee are appointed delegates to the Congress.<sup>247</sup>

Randolph presided at the convention until he became seriously ill early in August. Finally on August 19, eight days before adjournment, he came home to Williamsburg with his wife, "the gentlemen of the Convention having recommended it to him to retire for the present from the fatigue of business, on account of his being much indisposed, and as the time for his departure for the General Continental Congress was nearly approaching." A unit of the Williamsburg volunteers escorted the Randolphs into town where they were greeted at the College by all of the volunteer companies and many of the townspeople. The crowd accompanied them to their house "where they gave him three cheers, wishing him and his lady an uninterrupted enjoyment of every felicity."<sup>248</sup>

All was not felicitous for the Randolphs, however. During the summer his brother, John, decided in the face of events that life for him in Virginia was untenable and that he should depart immediately for England. A personal friend of Dunmore, John Randolph had consistently sided with the mother country ever since the Stamp Act Crisis and had antagonized such Virginia patriots as Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. He considered himself a rational man and moderate, but threats of violence against his family were more than he could stand. Despite their political differences, Peyton had remained on good terms with his brother, so it was understandable that he was named a trustee for the disposal of his brother's property in Williamsburg. John Randolph left for good on September 8.

But Peyton had said an early farewell. Having recovered from his recent illness, he set out for Philadelphia with his wife on August 27.<sup>249</sup> In their party were Thomas Nelson who, with his wife, was also on his way to the Congress. The volunteers as usual formed an honor guard. When they had crossed into Maryland, the Nelson carriage broke down. They procured another from a local gentleman, but the driver accidentally ran it into a tree, demolishing it completely. Randolph was thereupon "obliged" to leave Nelson and somehow he and his wife reached Philadelphia on September 5.<sup>250</sup>

Congress was scheduled to convene the day of Randolph's arrival, but other members were so slow in coming that an entire week passed before a quorum was present. John Hancock, the president, delayed with an attack of gout, did not come until September 13. John Adams noted that "Mr. Randolph our former President is here and sits very humbly in his Seat, while our new one continues in the Chair."<sup>251</sup>

During the first weeks of the session Congress made efforts to consolidate the colonial forces into an efficient army, authorized the creation of a navy, and attempted to enlist Canada against the mother country. Randolph probably did not feel well enough to participate much in the debates.

On Sunday evening, October 22, he went to supper at the home of Henry Hill, a merchant, who lived several miles<sup>252</sup> outside Philadelphia. During the course of the meal, or soon afterward, he was seized with "an Apoplectick Fit" which caused him to choke and distorted one side of his face. He collapsed in the fit and "died without a groan."<sup>253</sup>

Carried back to town to the house of Benjamin Randolph, a local cabinetmaker and no relative, with whom he and his wife had been staying, his corpse was laid out for burial. Mrs. Randolph was not alone in Philadelphia. With her was her brother, Benjamin Harrison, a Virginia congressman who also lodged with Benjamin Randolph. There, too, were Jefferson and Nelson.<sup>254</sup>

On Monday, October 23, Congress declared itself in mourning and appointed a committee to superintend the funeral in concert with the widow and personal friends. The committee, no doubt with Mrs. Randolph's approval, requested the Reverend Jacob Duche, assistant rector of Christ Church and St. Peter's in Philadelphia, and chaplain of Congress, to deliver the funeral sermon.

Tuesday afternoon Randolph's corpse was taken to Christ Church to the toll of muffled bells. Duche preached "an excellent sermon." At the end of the service a procession formed to conduct the coffin to the burial ground where it was to be deposited in a vault until it could be taken to Virginia. At the head of the procession came three

battalions, artillery company, and riflemen of Philadelphia, their standards and colors furled with black gauze. Next were the clergy who proceeded the coffin and its six pall bearers. John Hancock followed leading the members of Congress, all wearing crape on their arms. Local physicians, members of the Pennsylvania assembly and committee of safety, the mayor and corporation, the committee of city and liberties, the vestrymen of Christ Church and St. Peter's, and a crowd of Philadelphians, some of whom surprisingly behaving as if they were on a frolic, completed the parade.<sup>255</sup>

News of Randolph's demise did not reach Williamsburg for almost two weeks. Letters arrived from Philadelphia on the evening of November 3, and the following day Alexander Purdie's Virginia Gazette announced "the melancholy intelligence" in a black-bordered column.<sup>256</sup> The next week when Purdie brought out his newspaper with the details of Randolph's death and funeral, the entire edition was bordered in black.<sup>257</sup>

Honors came to Randolph from his friends and associates. On November 6, 1775, the Masonic Lodge of Williamsburg resolved to "go into mourning for our Late Worthy Grand Master and continue till his corps shall Arrive...."<sup>258</sup> Eleven days later "a child of Mr. William Rose" of Williamsburg was baptised Peyton Randolph Rose.<sup>259</sup> In June, 1776, Norfolk officials, despite British bombardment of their town, commemorated "our late worthy Recorder, and friend to America" by drinking patriotic toasts in his honor.<sup>260</sup>

The body of Peyton Randolph remained in the vault in Philadelphia for more than a year. Finally, at the request of his aunt, Edmund Randolph brought home his uncle's remains. On Tuesday, November 26, 1776, the coffin, sealed in a lead container bearing a plate inscribed simply

"Peyton Randolph, Esq.," was taken in a hearse to the chapel of the College. There was a procession of the Masonic Lodge, the members of the General Assembly, various other gentlemen, and the people of Williamsburg. At the chapel the coffin was carried inside by six gentlemen of the House of Delegates. A memorial service was held in which the Reverend Thomas Davis recommended that the congregation imitate the virtues of Peyton Randolph. At the end of the sermon the coffin was lowered to the Randolph family crypt and "every spectator paid their last tribute of tears to the memory of their departed and much honored friend...to whom he was a father, an able counsellor, and one of their firmest patriots."<sup>261</sup>

Peyton Randolph was among the most popular men in Virginia. His leadership was notable: Attorney General, Admiralty judge, justice of the peace, college visitor, masonic Grand Master, burgess, Speaker, moderator of the Virginia Conventions, and President of the Continental Congress. Time after time by unanimous voice his constituents made him their leader. The townspeople of Williamsburg cheered him and entertained him. Even political rivals called him virtuous.

In Virginia it was taken for granted that a man of Randolph's class and character would be a public servant. The Randolphs had a long record of office holding. Furthermore, friends such as Speaker Robinson in Virginia and the merchants Hanbury in London were conveniently situated to advance his interest.

Randolph's own talents and credentials were considerable. "He was indeed a most excellent man," recalled Thomas Jefferson; "and none was ever more beloved and respected by his friends. Somewhat cold and coy towards strangers, but of the sweetest affability when ripened into

acquaintance. Of attic pleasantry in conversation, always good humored and conciliatory. With a sound and logical head, he was well read in the law: and his opinions when consulted were highly regarded, presenting always a learned and sound view of the subject."<sup>262</sup>

He did not, however, employ his talent to the limit. He wrote nothing for publication, nor did his personal papers contain philosophical or theoretical musing. Close friends like Jefferson and Landon Carter thought him inclined toward listlessness. Randolph probably knew his own fault. He wrote: "...I don't like the business of writing, not from Idleness neither, but because I had rather read the productions of any man's brain than those of my own."<sup>263</sup>

Throughout his public career, Randolph was a moderate. More than anything his moderation contributed to his political longevity. He deviated from the middle course only once in 1754 by siding with the burgesses against Governor Dinwiddie in the pistole fee controversy. The experience was humiliating and nearly cost him his post as Attorney General. But he learned his lesson well, for in every subsequent crisis from the Stamp Act to the Gunpowder Incident he counselled restraint. His position came not because he lacked principle; he consistently sided with Virginia and other colonies in protesting British policy. Jefferson explained Randolph's position: "...although sound in his principles, and going steadily with us in opposition to the British usurpations, he, with the other older members, yielded the lead to the younger, only tempering their ardor, and so far moderating their pace as to prevent their going too far in advance of the public sentiment."<sup>264</sup>

It was Randolph's sense of the public sentiment that distinguished him from his brother, John. Both brothers were critical of the British

colonial policy (John even announced in 1774 that independence could not be forestalled), and both were moderate in their hope that a compromise could be worked out with the mother country. John, in contrast to Peyton, spent little of his career in elective office and was openly contemptuous of Virginians who were his social and intellectual inferiors. At the same time as Peyton was hailed as the father of his country, John was compelled for his own safety to flee to England.

Peyton Randolph was essentially a private person who did not reveal his thoughts for the record. Yet among his friends and in his long association with the Virginia government he was well known for his principles and honor. Certain of what he believed, he inspired confidence; avoiding extremes, he sought moderation. The test of his character came during the American Revolution. Loyal to the King and the Constitution, he upheld the rights of Virginians as British Americans. When those rights were threatened, he protested through officially acceptable channels, but when the protests were ineffectual, he supported extra-legal measures: the associations, Virginia conventions, and the Continental Congress. It is unlikely that he was in the beginning an advocate of American independence, but had he lived longer, he undoubtedly would have concluded that there was no other course. He made an indelible mark on his generation. When he was President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson said that Randolph had been a guide of his youth, a man by whom to measure one's behavior.<sup>265</sup>



## END NOTES -- CHAPTER XIII

- <sup>1</sup>The Gentleman's Magazine, XLV (July, 1775), 345.
- <sup>2</sup>At his death in 1775, he was reported to be in "the 54th Year of his Age." See Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., November 11, 1775, 3:1.
- <sup>3</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.
- <sup>4</sup>Typescript of Randolph's Middle Temple matriculation, VHS. Also see Isaac G. Bates to Miss Randolph, August 25, 1911, VHS.
- <sup>5</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378.
- <sup>6</sup>John Custis to Peyton Randolph, c. 1741, Custis Letterbook, Library of Congress, 221. Also see Custis to Randolph, 1751, *Ibid.*, 286 (Cwm).
- <sup>7</sup>Peyton Randolph to John Custis, c. February, 1742, New York Historical Society, photocopy VHS.
- <sup>8</sup>Peyton Randolph to John Custis, September 18, 1742, VSL.
- <sup>9</sup>Lord Dunmore to Lord Dartmouth, March 31, 1773, PRO, CO 5/1351, 27-28 (Cwm).
- <sup>10</sup>Paul Leicester Ford, ed., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, 12 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904-1905), XII, 31.
- <sup>11</sup>York County, Wills and Inventories, XIX (1740-1746), 444 (VSLm).
- <sup>12</sup>For Randolph's law practice see: Robert Munford to Theodorick Bland, Sr., August 23, 1756, in Rodney M. Baine, Robert Munford America's First Comic Dramatist (Athens, Ga.: University of Georgia Press, 1967), 8-9; George Washington to Richard Washington, April 5, 1758, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., The Writings of George Washington, 39 vols. (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1931-1944), II, 171; Maria Taylor Byrd to William Byrd III, September 23, 1759, VHS; Richard Corbin to Landon Carter, April 15, 1763, Sabine Hall Papers, UVA.; Peyton Randolph to William Byrd III, August 9, 1763, Randolph Family Papers, VHS; Peyton Randolph to [?], December 18, 1765, and Receipt due on Charles Neilson's bond signed by Peyton Randolph, August 13, 1768, Morristown National Historical Park, Morristown, N.J. (Cwm); Robert Carter to Mrs. Tasker, November 18, 1772, and Robert Carter to Peyton Randolph, January 23, 1773, Carter Letterbook, Duke University (Cwm); Petition of John Randolph to the Virginia General Court drawn by Peyton Randolph, February 12, 1773, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Cwm); Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, VII (1770-1807), 2097 (VSLm); York County, Judgments & Orders, I (1768-1770), 446, 505; III (1772-1774), 379 (VSLm); Royle's Va. Gaz., March 16, 1764, 4:1; Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 31, 1768, 2:3; November 10, 1768, 2:2; April 15, 1773, 3:2; Rind's Va. Gaz., July 23, 1767, 3:2; April 14, 1768, suppl., 2:1; October 17, 1771, 4:1; November 21, 1771, 3:1; and Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 30.

- <sup>13</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXVI (1928), 378-379.
- <sup>14</sup>JHB 1717-1740, 409-410.
- <sup>15</sup>Ibid.; Title to Tazewell Hall Tract "Prepared for Joshua Walker Esq. by Geo. W. Southall, Williamsburg, 27th January 1848," Southall Papers, Folder 181, Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M; and Sheriff's Tax Book 1768, Williamsburg-James City County, 3, CW.
- <sup>16</sup>EJCCV, V, 297; VI, 691.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., V, 436.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., 436-437, 470.
- <sup>19</sup>Virginia State Land Office, Patents #34, 532-533 (VSLm); and York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308-310 (VSLm).
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid.; and Peyton Randolph Estate Papers, Library of Congress (CWm).
- <sup>21</sup>York County, Judgments and Orders, III (1759-1763), 188; and Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 291 (VSLm).
- <sup>22</sup>Peyton Randolph to John Norton, September 23, 1770, and August 5, 1772, Norton Papers, CW.
- <sup>23</sup>York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308-310 (VSLm); and Peyton Randolph Estate Papers, Library of Congress (CWm).
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup>Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 32. In 1790, £146 was listed against Peyton Randolph's estate by the merchants Farrell and Jones of Bristol; see Memorial of John Tyndale Warre, PRO, T 79/30 (CWm). Also see Peyton Randolph to John Norton, September 23, 1770, and August 5, 1772, Norton Papers, CW.
- <sup>26</sup>As copied by John Randolph of Roanoke on a loose sheet in his Commonplace Book, Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.
- <sup>27</sup>She was not yet 21 when her father made his will on October 17, 1743, but had probably attained her majority by August, 1745, when she presented the will for probate, VMHB, III (1895), 129-131.
- <sup>28</sup>Maryland Gazette, August 16, 1745, 3-4.
- <sup>29</sup>Will of Benjamin Harrison, VMHB, III (1895), 129.
- <sup>30</sup>Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 69-73; Whiffen, Eighteenth Century Houses of Williamsburg, 96-100.
- <sup>31</sup>See the inventory of Peyton Randolph's household, York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308-310 (VSLm); Hayes' Va. Gaz., or American

Advertiser (Richmond), February 15, 1783, 4:3; and Jane Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 143.

<sup>32</sup>"Diary of John Blair," WMQ, 1st series, VIII (1899), 148.

<sup>33</sup>Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of Washington, I, 268, 298, 352, 353; II, 39, 56, 57, 85, 86, 104, 128, 131, 151, 152, 159.

<sup>34</sup>"Diary of John Blair," 142.

<sup>35</sup>Maria Taylor Byrd to William Byrd III, September 23, 1759, VHS; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:2.

<sup>36</sup>Edmund Randolph ultimately was the major heir to his uncle's estate, York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308 (VSLm). Also see Autobiographical Sketch of Edmund J. Randolph in form of a letter to his children, photostat, UVa.

<sup>37</sup>Edmund Randolph to James Madison, August 16, 1782, Papers of Madison, III, 60. Also see V, 338, and VI, 184-185.

<sup>38</sup>St. George Tucker to Frances Bland (Randolph) Tucker, July 11, 1781, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.

<sup>39</sup>St. George Tucker to Frances Bland (Randolph) Tucker, September 14, 1781, W&M.

<sup>40</sup>Betty Randolph to Landon Carter, September 16, 1776, Sabine Hall Papers, UVa. Also see Public Service Claims, James City County, Charlotte County, VSL.

<sup>41</sup>After their return home, Edmund Jenings II, father of Mrs. John Randolph, wrote from England that he had no doubt that Betty Randolph "thinks Virga Even under all ye present alarming Troubles /of the French and Indian War/ more agreeable than London in all its show & Hurry." Edmund Jenings II to Peyton Randolph, September 30, 1754, and April 17, 1755, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>42</sup>Pinkney's Va. Gaz., August 25, 1775, 6:3; August 31, 1775, 3:2; September 1, 1775, 2:2; September 14, 1775, 2:2.

<sup>43</sup>York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308; XXIII, 4-5 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., November 29, 1776, 2:2.

<sup>45</sup>Papers of Madison, VI, 185n; and Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The dead of the Chapel of William and Mary," Southern Argus (Norfolk), July 31, 1858, 2:2-3.

<sup>46</sup>Warrant appointing Randolph attorney, May 7, 1744, signed by Hollis Newcastle, Grants and Warrants, 1736-1749, 256-257, PRO, CO 324/37 (Cwm). Also see Lists of Places in the West Indies in the Disposal of a Secretary of State, dated November 20, 1747, and February, 1747/48, in Correspondence of the Secretary of State, PRO, CO 5/5, 270-272, 288-291 (Cwm).

<sup>47</sup>William Gooch to Newcastle, June 27, 1743, Governors Correspondence with the Secretary of State, 1694-1753, 279, PRO, CO 5/1337 (Cwm). William G. Stanard, The Colonial Virginia Register (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1902), 25, listed William Bowden as Attorney General from 1743 to 1748, but Bowden was not identified nor the source of information cited. Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 87n, found no mention of Bowden in the private correspondence of Virginians of the period. The warrant of Randolph's appointment, May 7, 1744, noted that he replaced "Edwd. Barradal, Esqr: deceased," PRO, CO 324/37, 256 (Cwm).

<sup>48</sup>Gooch to Newcastle, June 27, 1743, PRO, CO 5/1337, 279 (Cwm). Nelson, born 1715, was a graduate of the Middle Temple.

<sup>49</sup>Lord Albemarle to the Earl of Newcastle, November 29, 1743, Newcastle Papers, Home Correspondence, XVI, 265-266, British Museum, Additional Manuscripts 32701 (Cwm).

<sup>50</sup>Walter King to Thomas Jones, January 23, 1743/44, Jones Family Papers, IV #658, Library of Congress (Cwm).

<sup>51</sup>Hugh F. Rankin, Criminal Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 53-56.

<sup>52</sup>Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1965 [orig. ed., 1932/]), 68-72.

<sup>53</sup>Peyton Randolph to Thomas Lee, n.d. [1750], Virginia Miscellaneous, Box 1 (1606-1772), Miscellaneous Manuscripts, LC (Cwm).

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>William Henry Foote, Sketches of Virginia, Historical and Biographical, 1st series (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1966 [orig. ed., 1850/]), 293-294; Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 75; and Clifton E. Olmstead, History of Religion in the United States (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1961), 161.

<sup>56</sup>George William Pilcher, ed., The Reverend Samuel Davies Abroad, The Diary of a Journey to England and Scotland, 1753-55 (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1967), 79, 82; and Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 74.

<sup>57</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, III, 171; and Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 74.

<sup>58</sup>The manuscript is unsigned, but is in Randolph's handwriting. Virginia Miscellaneous Box #1 (1606-1772), Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Library of Congress, (Cwm).

<sup>59</sup>Ibid. Specifically Randolph's opinion read: "A beneficed Clergyman, speaking any Thing in the Derogation, or depraving the Book of Common Prayer, forfeits to the King, for his first Offense, a Years Salary, and suffers half a Years Imprisonment without Bail or Mainprise:

For his 2d Offence, a Years Impt. and also shall therefore be deprived ipso Facto of all his Spiritual Promotions, and Imprt. during life:

Not Beneficed, for the 1st. offence, a Years Impr. without Bail or Mainprise: for his 2d of. Impr. during Life.

Any Person, &c. shall forfeit to the King, for the 1st. Of. 100 Marks: of,  $\frac{1}{2}$  yrs Impt. without B or M. for the 2d. Of. 400 Marks: or, a Yrs Impt without B or M. for the 3d Of. all his Goods and Chattels, and shall suffer Imprt. during his Life."

<sup>60</sup>Gewchr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 73; and John R. Alden, Robert Dinwiddie Servant of the Crown (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 21-23.

<sup>61</sup>Dawson to the Bishop of London, June 17, 1752, quoted in Gewehr, Great Awakening in Virginia, 77.

<sup>62</sup>Francis Fauquier to Col. Henry Bouquet, August 10, 1762, Add. Ms. 21648, British Museum (CWM).

<sup>63</sup>Richard Corbin to Peyton Randolph, February 6, 1763, Corbin Letterbook, 1758-1768, 115, UVa.

<sup>64</sup>High Court of Admiralty: Prize Appeal Records 1759, PRO, HCA 42/91 (CWM); and Admiralty Muniment Book 1745-1761, PRO, HCA 50/11, 152 (CWM). Also see C. M. Andrews, Colonial Period of American History, IV, 226.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., 236-237.

<sup>66</sup>High Court of Admiralty: Prize Appeals Records 1759, PRO, HCA 42/91, and PRO, HCA 42/22 (CWM).

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., 1760, PRO, HCA 42/22 (CWM).

<sup>68</sup>Opinion of the Attorney General of Virginia on the Case of the Capt. of a Privateer & the Spanish Vessel brought in by Her, September 6, 1761, in Fauquier Correspondence with the Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1760-1764, PRO, CO 5/1330, 79-82 (CWM).

<sup>69</sup>High Court of Admiralty: Prize Appeal Records, 1761, PRO, HCA 42/22 and 42/68 (CWM).

<sup>70</sup>Original Correspondence--Secretary of State, 1760-1765. Orders in Council, PRO, CO 5/23, 44 (CWM); Journal of the Board of Trade, 1760-1761, PRO, CO 391/68, 135, 165-166 (CWM); and EJCCV, 180.

<sup>71</sup>See John Randolph to Lord Botetourt, December 20, 1768, Virginia--Original Correspondence--Secretary of State, 1768-1769, PRO, CO 5/1347, 52 (CWM).

<sup>72</sup>York County, Judgments & Orders, I (1746-1752), 221 (VSLm).

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., 378; II (1752-1754), 38; III (1759-1763), 112; Order Book (1765-1768), 351 (VSLm).

<sup>74</sup>W. A. R. Goodwin, The Record of Bruton Parish Church, ed. by Mary Frances Goodwin (Richmond, Va.: The Dietz Press, 1941), 140-141.

<sup>75</sup>"Peyton Randolph Norfolk Recorder," The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, I (1895-1896), 137-139.

<sup>76</sup>JHB 1742-1749, 258, 290, 301, 303-304, 323; and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 89. From 1748 to 1752, Randolph represented Williamsburg; from 1752 to 1761, the College of William and Mary; and from 1761 to 1775, Williamsburg again.

<sup>77</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 24, 1752, 3:3; and February 27, 1752, 3:2.

<sup>78</sup>Greene, ed., Diary of Landon Carter, I, 104-105.

<sup>79</sup>Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 90; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 622; and Alden, Dinwiddie, 26.

<sup>80</sup>William Stith to the Bishop of London, April 21, 1753, Fulham Palace Papers, 13, #43 (CWm). Also see John Blair to the Bishop of London, August 15, 1752, and January 25, 1754, *Ibid.*, #183 and #238 (CWm).

<sup>81</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 121, 129, 154, 156, 167-169; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 626-629; and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 90-91.

<sup>82</sup>Dinwiddie to James Abercromby, February 9, 1754, in Robert A. Brock, ed., The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie, 2 vols. (Richmond, Va.: The Virginia Historical Society, 1884), I, 72.

<sup>83</sup>Journal of the Board of Trade, 1753-1754, PRO, CO 391/61, 85 (CWm).

<sup>84</sup>Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade, December 29, 1753, cited in Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 92.

<sup>85</sup>Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 92.

<sup>86</sup>Dinwiddie to James Abercromby, April 26, 1754, in Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, I, 139.

<sup>87</sup>Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, 1754, *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>88</sup>Journal of the Board of Trade, PRO, CO 391/61, 83, 85 (CWm).

<sup>89</sup>*Ibid.*, 166-167.

<sup>90</sup>Jack P. Greene, ed., "The Case of the Pistole Fee," VMHB, LXVI (1958), 399-422. The specific charge against Randolph is found on p. 407. Also see Alden, Dinwiddie, 31.

<sup>91</sup>*Ibid.*, 31-32.

<sup>92</sup>Board of Trade to Dinwiddie, July 3, 1754, Board of Trade Entry Book, PRO, CO 5/1367, 94 (CWm).

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.

<sup>94</sup>Dinwiddie to James Abercromby, February 18, 1755, Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, I, 506.

<sup>95</sup>Dinwiddie to the Board of Trade, February 10, 1755, PRO, CO 5/1328, 140-141 (CWM).

<sup>96</sup>Journal of the Board of Trade, 1755, PRO, CO 391/62, 156, 195 (CWM). Also see Privy Council Registers, 1754-1755, PRO, PC 2/104, 376-377, 410 (CWM).

<sup>97</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 202-203.

<sup>98</sup>Greene, ed., Diary of Landon Carter, I, 114.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 114n; and Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 632. Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 99, notes that after all Randolph may never have been compensated "for there is no record of Council approval of the £2500 allowance."

<sup>100</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 250-251.

<sup>101</sup>Journal of the Board of Trade, 1754, PRO, CO 391/61, 85, 146 (CWM); and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 99.

<sup>102</sup>Pilcher, ed., Samuel Davies Abroad, 79, 82.

<sup>103</sup>Randolph served as an executor of Stith's estate, see Henrico County, Order Book (1763-1767), 482 (VSIIm).

<sup>104</sup>Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, 1754, Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, I, 153.

<sup>105</sup>Edmund Randolph, History of Virginia, edited by Arthur H. Schaffer (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1970), 161-162.

<sup>106</sup>Item dated Williamsburg, May 7, 1756, in Pa. Gaz., May 20, 1756, 2:2; and Maryland Gazette, May 20, 1756, 2:2.

<sup>107</sup>Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, II, 411n.

<sup>108</sup>Thomas Dawson to ?, n.d., Dawson Papers, #152, LC (CWM).

<sup>109</sup>Pa. Gaz., May 20, 1756, 2:2.

<sup>110</sup>A precise figure is impossible. Dinwiddie said there were about 100, see his letter to James Abercromby, and the Messrs. Hanbury, May 10, 1756, Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, II, 411. The Pa. Gaz., June 3, 1756, 2:3, reported 120; and the My. Gaz., June 17, 1756, 2:2, reported a Williamsburg item dated May 28, in which 130 were reported.

- 111 George Washington to Adam Stephen, May 18, 1756, Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, I, 382.
- 112 George Washington to Dinwiddie, May 23, 1756, *Ibid.*, 386.
- 113 Item dated Williamsburg May 28, reprinted in the My. Gaz., June 17, 1756, 2:2.
- 114 The My. Gaz., *ibid.*, reported that they left on Sunday, May 23, but the Pa. Gaz., June 3, 1756, 2:3, said they departed the following Monday.
- 115 Extract of a Letter from Dumfries in Virginia, May 26, 1756, Pa. Gaz., June 3, 1756, 2:3.
- 116 Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 30.
- 117 My. Gaz., July 1, 1756, 3:1; and Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, II, 439.
- 118 Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 104.
- 119 Dinwiddie to Washington, Brock, ed., Records of Dinwiddie, II, 481.
- 120 Catalogue of the College of William and Mary, 1859, 20.
- 121 Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 104.
- 122 Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers #128, LC (Cwm).
- 123 The following account of college matters is based on Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 105-108.
- 124 Minutes of the Visitors and Governors of William and Mary College, 31 March--14 August 1760, Fulham Palace Ms., 15, #36 (Cwm).
- 125 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 3, 1772, 2:2; and September 17, 1772, 3:2.
- 126 "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence, 1759-1767," VMHB, X (1902-1903), 337-360; XI (1903-1904), 1-25; 131-143; 345-355; XII (1904-1905), 1-14 passim.
- 127 Edward Montagu to Peyton Randolph, October 2, 1775, Dartmouth Ms., #1543, William Salt Library, Stafford, England. The letter did not reach Randolph who died on October 22, 1775.
- 128 "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence," VMHB, XII (1904-1905), 5.
- 129 *Ibid.*, 9, 13-14.



- 130 Jefferson to William Wirt, August 14, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 405; William Wirt, The Life of Patrick Henry, rev. ed. (Hartford, Conn.: S. Andrews & Sons, 1854), 447, 448, 451-452.
- 131 Wirt, Henry, 449-450. JHB 1761-1765, 302-304.
- 132 Jefferson to Wirt, August 14, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 406; and Wirt, Henry, 451-452.
- 133 "Proceedings of the Virginia Committee of Correspondence," VMHB, IX (1901-1902), 354-355.
- 134 JHB 1761-1765, 359-360.
- 135 Fauquier to the Board of Trade, June 5, 1765, PRO, CO 5/1331, 29 (Cwm).
- 136 "Journal of a French Traveller in the Colonies, 1765," AHR, XXVI (1920-21), 745.
- 137 Nine years later Jefferson recalled it as 100 guineas, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 404; Jefferson to William Wirt, August 4, 1805, Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 389.
- 138 Jefferson to William Wirt, August 14, 1814, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 31.
- 139 Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 30.
- 140 Carl Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth Century Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1950), 55-71.
- 141 Fauquier to the Board of Trade, May 11, 1766, Fauquier Correspondence with Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, 1764-1767, PRO, CO 5/1331, 83 (Cwm).
- 142 Ibid.
- 143 Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 113.
- 144 Fauquier to the Board of Trade, May 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/1331, 85 (Cwm).
- 145 Peyton Randolph to Landon Carter, May 11, 1766, Collection of Langbourne M. Williams, Rappahan, Va. (photocopy CW).
- 146 Archibald Cary to William Preston, May 14, 1766, Preston Papers, Draper Mss., 2QQ95, Wisconsin State Historical Society (Cwm).
- 147 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 452, VSL.
- 148 Peter Randolph to Edmund Pendleton, May 25, 1766, Ibid., 462.

149 Richard Hartwell to the Printer, in Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 19, 1766, 2:2; and Robert Bolling in Ibid., September 12, 1766, 1:1-3.

150 For a fuller discussion of the newspaper war as it related to the Randolph brothers, see the account of John Randolph the Loyalist, infra.

151 William Nelson to John Norton, November 12, 1766, William Nelson Letterbook, VSL.

152 William Nelson to Edward and Samuel Athaws, November 13, 1766, Ibid. JHB 1766-1769, 11; Purdie & Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 6, 1766, 2:1.

153 Nelson to the Athaws, November 13, 1766, Nelson Letterbook.

154 Robert Carter to Edward Hunter [?] & Son, November 28, 1766, Robert Carter Letterbook II, CW.

155 Ibid.; Fauquier to the Lords of Trade, November 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/1331, 155-156 (CWm); and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 11, 1767, 2:2. See further the account of John Randolph the Loyalist, infra.

156 St. George Tucker to William Wirt, September 25, 1815, WMQ, 1st series, XXII (1913), 255-256.

157 Item from a missing Va. Gaz., July 5, 1765, as copied by John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, c. 1826, 10 VHS; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 10, 1769, 3:2; September 7, 1769, 2:3; July 7, 1774, 2:1; and Rind's Va. Gaz., July 14, 1774, 3:1.

158 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 10, 1769, 3:2.

159 Ibid., September 7, 1769, 2:3; and Rind's Va. Gaz., September 7, 1769, 3:1.

160 Ibid., October 5, 1769, 2:2.

161 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:2.

162 Rind's Va. Gaz., May 11, 1769, 2:2; November 9, 1769, 2:1.

163 Peyton Randolph to Landon Carter, March 7, 1767, Emmet Collection, #5721, New York Public Library (CWm).

164 Peyton Randolph to Landon Carter, December 11, 1768, photocopy CW.

165 Peyton Randolph to Landon Carter, c. 1768-1769, Sabine Hall Papers, UVa.

166 Ibid.

- <sup>167</sup> Peyton Randolph "To the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty," in Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 9, 1767, 1:1; JHB 1766-1769, 28, 33-34, 53.
- <sup>168</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 21, 1768, 1:1; JHB 1766-1769, 149-171.
- <sup>169</sup> Peyton Randolph to the Speaker of the House of Assembly of New Hampshire, May 19, 1769, Virginia Miscellany Box 1 (1606-1772), LC (CWM); JHB 1766-1769, 214-218.
- <sup>170</sup> Ibid.; Rind's Va. Gaz., July 13, 1769, 2:2; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 21, 1769, 2:1.
- <sup>171</sup> JHB 1766-1769, xlii; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 18, 1769, 2:2; and Rind's Va. Gaz., May 25, 1769, 2:2.
- <sup>172</sup> JHB 1770-1772, xxix; and Rind's Va. Gaz., May 3, 1770, 3:1.
- <sup>173</sup> Rind's Va. Gaz., September 20, 1770, 3:1; September 27, 1770, 2:1-2; November 15, 1770, 2:2; January 17, 1771, 2:2; January 31, 1771, 2:2; February 7, 1771, 3:1-2; February 21, 1771, 3:2; June 20, 1771, 3:2; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 8, 1770, 2:3.
- <sup>174</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 6, 1769, 3:2.
- <sup>175</sup> Harry M. Ward, Unite or Die: Intercolony Relations 1690-1763 (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971), 214, 224n.
- <sup>176</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 10, 1769, 2:1.
- <sup>177</sup> Richard B. Morris, ed., John Jay: The Making of a Revolutionary (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 118-121. John Jay was secretary of the commission.
- <sup>178</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 28, 1769, 2:1; and Rind's Va. Gaz., October 26, 1769, 1:2.
- <sup>179</sup> Rind's Va. Gaz., August 2, 1770, 2:3; September 6, 1770, 1:1; and Norman Dain, Disordered Minds: The First Century of Eastern State Hospital in Williamsburg, Virginia, 1766-1866 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 10-11. Cited hereinafter as Dain, Disordered Minds.
- <sup>180</sup> Eastern State Hospital Court of Directors Minutes, December 10, 1770--July 23, 1801, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39. CW photostat.
- <sup>181</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 25, 1771, 2:2.
- <sup>182</sup> John Norton to John Hatley Norton, March 10, 1772, in Frances Norton Mason, ed., John Norton & Sons Merchants of London and Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1937), 225-226. Also see Peyton Randolph to John Norton, August 5, 1772, Norton Papers, CW.

- 183 Robert Carter Nicholas to John Norton, June 16, 1772, in Mason, ed., Norton & Sons, 245.
- 184 Robert Carter Nicholas to John Norton, June 21, 1773, Ibid., 332. For a fuller discussion of the Botetourt statue see Marcus Whiffen, The Public Buildings of Williamsburg (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958), 166-171. The statue itself, much abused by weather and vandals, stands in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- 185 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., January 16, 1772, 3:2.
- 186 Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, March 31, 1773, PRO, CO 5/1351, 27-29 (CWM).
- 187 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., February 25, 1773, 3:1.
- 188 Rind's Va. Gaz., August 1, 1771, 2:1.
- 189 Manuscript Minutes of Williamsburg Masonic Lodge, 1773-1779, and Treasurers Book, 1773-1774, in possession of the Williamsburg Lodge (CW photostat); George Eldridge Kidd, Early Freemasonry in Williamsburg, Virginia (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1957), 1-31; and Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., November 11, 1775, 3:1.
- 190 Broadside, Gunther Collection, Chicago Historical Society (CWM).
- 191 Ibid. Smyth, who was acquainted with Randolph's cousin, Ryland Randolph, eventually returned to England where he published A Tour in the United States of America, 2 vols. (London: Printed for G. Robinson..., J. Robson, ...J. Sewall, 1784).
- 192 Peyton Randolph to the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, May 9, 1768, Pennsylvania Archives, 8th series, VII, 6189.
- 193 Ibid., 6189-6192.
- 194 JHB 1773-1776, 28; Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., March 18, 1773, 2:3; and Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 118.
- 195 Peyton Randolph to Thomas Cushing [?], March 19, 1773, Massachusetts Historical Society (CWM). Also see Peyton Randolph to the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the Province of Pennsylvania, March 19, 1773, in Pennsylvania Archives, 8th series, VIII, 6969.
- 196 See Randolph, Nicholas, and Digges to the Speaker of the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, April 6, 1773, and to the Committee of Correspondence for Pennsylvania, May 28, 1774, Ibid., 6970-6971, 7091.
- 197 JHB 1773-1776, 41-64, 144.
- 198 Ibid., 124.

- 199 Ibid., 132.
- 200 Ibid., xiv-xv.
- 201 Ibid., 138; and Colonial Office Correspondence, Original, Secretary of State, Proprietaries, Miscellaneous, PRO, CO 5/1285, 51 (Cwm).
- 202 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 2, 1774, 2:2; and Peyton Randolph et al., May 30-31, 1774, Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., 99-102.
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 7, 1774, 2:1.
- 205 Rind's Va. Gaz., July 14, 1774, 3:1.
- 206 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 4, 1774, 2:3. See the Resolutions of the Convention, August 6, 1774, in Van Schreeven and Scribner, eds., Revolutionary Va., I, 231-235.
- 207 Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 181.
- 208 Randolph, History of Virginia, 205.
- 209 Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 182.
- 210 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 11, 1774, 3:2.
- 211 Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, edited by L. H. Butterfield et al., 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of the Harvard University Press, 1962), II, 120.
- 212 Ibid., 123; also Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 15, 1774, 3:1; and Rind's Va. Gaz., 3:2.
- 213 Silas Deane to Mrs. Deane, September 10, 1774, in Edmund C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress (Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Institution, 1921), I, 28.
- 214 Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress (Philadelphia: Printed by William and Thomas Bradford, 1774), 54-56.
- 215 Thomas Gage to Peyton Randolph, October 20, 1774, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, Item #71, Virginia State Papers 1775-88, II, 229-230, National Archives CC51 Roll 85. Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, 133-134.
- 216 Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 28, 1775, 1:2; Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress, 114; and Edmund Cody Burnett, The Continental Congress (New York: Norton & Co., 1964), 58.

- 217Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 27, 1774, 2:3; November 3, 1774, 1:1.
- 218Power from Messrs. Harrison, Randolph, Bland, October 24, 1774, Washington Papers, Series 4, LC.
- 219Burnett, Continental Congress, 58.
- 220Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 3, 1774, 1:1.
- 221Thomas Gage to Lord Dartmouth, October 30, 1774, Dartmouth Ms. #989, William Salt Library, Stafford, England.
- 222Peyton Randolph to the Secretary of Congress, November 18, 1774, Papers of the Continental Congress, 1774-1789, Item #71, Virginia State Papers, 1775-88, II, 225-226, National Archives.
- 223Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 10, 1774, 1:1.
- 224Ibid., December 22, 1774, 2:3.
- 225Carson, "Peyton Randolph House," 128.
- 226Pinkney's Va. Gaz., January 19, 1775, 3:3; March 9, 1775, 3:3; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., January 21, 1775, 2:1; February 11, 1775, 4:1; February 18, 1775, 4:1; February 25, 1775, 4:1; March 4, 1775, 4:1; and March 11, 1775, 4:1.
- 227Pinkney's Va. Gaz., February 3, 1775, postscript, 1:2; and Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., February 4, 1775, 3:1.
- 228Tyler, Patrick Henry, 119.
- 229Ibid., 120-122.
- 230Pinkney's Va. Gaz., March 30, 1775, 2:2. See Peyton Randolph et al., to Thomas Lewis and Samuel McDowell, n.d., in Purdie's Va. Gaz., April 4, 1775, 3:1.
- 231Ibid., April 21, 1775, 2:1-2.
- 232Peyton Randolph for the Corporation of Williamsburg to Mann Page, Jr., Lewis Willis, and Benjamin Grymes, Jr., April 27, 1775, Lee Papers, UVa.; reprinted in "Selections and Excerpts from the Lee Papers," Southern Literary Messenger, XXVII (1858), 26-27.
- 233Ibid.
- 234James Madison to William Bradford, May 9, 1775, Papers of Madison, I, 144. See also Edward Miles Riley, ed., The Journal of John Harrower (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963), 94.
- 235Pinkney's Va. Gaz., April 28, 1775, suppl. 1:1-2.

- 236 Purdie's Va. Gaz., May 12, 1775, suppl. 1:3-2:1.
- 237 Ibid., May 26, 1775, suppl. 3:1.
- 238 Burnett, Continental Congress, 70-71.
- 239 Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., June 3, 1775, 3:1.
- 240 Pinkney's Va. Gaz., June 1, 1775, 3:1; and Purdie's Va. Gaz., June 2, 1775, suppl. 3:3.
- 241 Ibid., italics removed.
- 242 Ibid., 2:3.
- 243 Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XI, 414; XII, 31; and Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 198-201, esp. 200.
- 244 The Deposition of John Randolph Esqr., Convention Papers, Misc. Box, July 1775, VSL; "Virginia Legislative Papers," VMHB, XV (1907-08), 149-150; and JHB 1773-1776, 208, 232-233.
- 245 Purdie's Va. Gaz., June 30, 1775, suppl. 1:2.
- 246 Ibid., 3:1. Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., August 26, 1775, 3:1.
- 247 Peyton Randolph to George Washington, September 6, 1775, Washington Papers, Library of Congress, Series IV.
- 248 Purdie's Va. Gaz., August 25, 1775, 6:3.
- 249 Purdie's Va. Gaz., August 25, 1775, 6:3; September 1, 1775, 2:2; Pinkney's Va. Gaz., August 31, 1775, 3:2.
- 250 Purdie's Va. Gaz., September 1, 1775, 2:2; September 22, 1775, 2:3.
- 251 John Adams to James Warren, September 19, 1775, in Burnett, ed., Letters, I, 200.
- 252 John Adams said six miles, and Samuel Ward said three. See Adams, Diary and Autobiography, II, 136, and Burnett, ed., Letters, I, I, 240.
- 253 See Pa. Gaz., October 25, 1775, 3:1; Diary of Robert Treat Paine, October 22, 1775, cited in Adams, Diary and Autobiography, II, 218n; Richard Henry Lee to George Washington, /October 23, 1775/, in James Curtis Ballagh, ed., The Letters of Richard Henry Lee, 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1911-1914), I, 153-154; Samuel Adams to Elbridge Gerry, October 23, 1775, Pierpont Morgan Library; and Samuel Ward to Henry Ward, October 24, 1775, in Burnett, ed., Letters, I, 240. My good friend, Fred B. Devitt, M.D., had concluded upon surveying the evidence cited here that Randolph undoubtedly died of a cerebral hemorrhage.

254 Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 211. Jefferson was at supper with Randolph when he died.

255 Purdie's Va. Gaz., November 10, 1775, 2:1; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., November 11, 1775, 2:1; Samuel Ward to Henry Ward, October 24, 1775, in Burnett, ed., Letters, I, 240; Adams, Diary and Autobiography, II, 217-218; Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 211; and Solomon Drowne to Sally Drowne, November 12, 1775, PMHB, XLVII (1924), 243.

256 Purdie's Va. Gaz., November 3, 1775, 2:1.

257 Ibid., November 10, 1775, 2:1-2.

258 Records of the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge, II, 31 (CW photostat); and Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., November 11, 1775, 2:3.

259 Pinkney's Va. Gaz., November 16, 1775, 3:3.

260 Purdie's Va. Gaz., July 12, 1776, 1:3.

261 Purdie's Va. Gaz., November 29, 1776, 2:2; Records of the Williamsburg Masonic Lodge, II, 51; and Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The dead of the Chapel of William and Mary," Southern Argus (Norfolk), July 31, 1858, 2:2-3.

262 Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 31.

263 Peyton Randolph to Landon Carter, January 13, 1773, Charles F. Jenkins Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Cwm).

264 Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 30-31.

265 Thomas Jefferson to Thomas Jefferson Randolph, November 24, 1808, Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, IX, 231.



## CHAPTER XIV

### JOHN RANDOLPH: KING'S ATTORNEY

JOHN RANDOLPH, the Loyalist (c. 1727--31 January 1784)

On September 8, 1775, John Randolph, the King's attorney in Virginia, with his wife and two daughters, left his home in Williamsburg to board an England-bound ship at Norfolk.<sup>1</sup> He had announced publicly that he would be gone a few months.<sup>2</sup> There was plausibility in the announcement. After all, Randolph was a prominent Virginian whose family had been in the colony for more than a century. He was an outstanding lawyer with a distinguished practice. Long active in city, county, and provincial government, he had been mayor, justice of the peace, clerk of the House, burgess, and Attorney General. His connections were important. His brother, Peyton, was Speaker of the House of Burgesses and President of the Continental Congress; Richard Bland and Thomas Jefferson were his cousins; and George Washington was among his friends. He was, moreover, a social leader. Married to a lady of fashion, he owned an elegant townhouse where he lived and entertained in style.

Most Virginians knew, however, that Randolph's promise of an early return was face-saving, that his stay in England, if not permanent, would at least be indefinite. By 1775 he was a most unpopular man. A member of the Virginia gentry, he had always taken for granted his position in politics and society. He was contemptuous of his inferiors and refused to court public favor. In principle he was

opposed to careless innovations in government and accordingly, ever since the Stamp Act Crisis in 1765, had supported England against her American colonies. Furthermore, his reputation suffered because of his animosity for such patriots as Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee and because of his friendship for the hated Governor Dunmore. In 1774 he published a treatise entitled Considerations on the Present State of Virginia, urging his countrymen to recognize their dependence on the mother country and forecasting war if they did not do so. He held to his principles, despite public criticism. When the war came, he went to England confident that his loyalism would be rewarded until the American rebellion was crushed. But he never returned to Virginia.

The highest ranking Virginia loyalist, John Randolph was born in Williamsburg about 1727.<sup>3</sup> He was the third son and youngest child of Sir John Randolph who, in addition to his distinction as a leading lawyer and Speaker of the House of Burgesses, was the only colonial Virginian to be knighted. His mother was Susanna Beverley, a member of a distinguished family, and a capable woman. He grew up with his brothers, Beverley and Peyton, and their sister, Mary, in the family home on Nicholson Street in Williamsburg. His father died in 1737, and his mother never remarried. Like his father and brothers, he matriculated at the College of William and Mary.<sup>4</sup> No record of his schooling remains, but it is probable that he entered the grammar school when he was about ten years old and advanced through the curriculum until he left the college about 1744. He developed during boyhood a lasting fondness for books, and perhaps also an interest in the law, for his father's will gave him second choice after Peyton of the family library which was heavily freighted with legal volumes.<sup>5</sup> He studied classical

languages and literature. He knew music and played the violin. During this period he may have begun his investigation of theology and philosophy which eventually made him a Deist. In later life he wrote a treatise on gardening and showed a knowledge of birds. Whatever the course of his studies, he learned his lessons well, for as a man he was known for his "great erudition, just reasoning," and elegant expression.<sup>6</sup>

There are few glimpses of him during his youth. An accountbook of a Williamsburg apothecary reveals that he occasionally ran errands for his mother to purchase medicine.<sup>7</sup> In the summer of 1740 his mother sent him to their neighbor, Elizabeth Holloway, to retrieve a slave. "I was told by some of my People," Mrs. Holloway informed Lady Randolph, "that your Son Johnny stopt at my fence and inquired for him [the slave] and sayd he had no busines [s] heer & that he must goe back to your Qu[arte]r." The slave had indeed come to her house, Mrs. Holloway confessed, but was gone now; she thought he had returned to the Randolphs; apparently, she added, he had run away instead.<sup>8</sup>

As Johnny Randolph grew to adolescence, the family household became smaller until he alone remained at home with his mother. In 1739 Peyton went to England to study law at the Middle Temple in London; Mary became the wife of Philip Grymes of Middlesex County in 1742; and Beverley married in 1743 and moved to a Gloucester County plantation. There is no mention of Johnny during these years, but he doubtless continued his studies at the College, outgrowing his boyish nickname and from then on was called Jack by his friends.

Upon completion of his education in Williamsburg, he determined to become a lawyer, and to that end he followed the example of his father and brother and trained in England. On April 8, 1745, he was

admitted to the Middle Temple.<sup>9</sup> The curriculum required almost four years. Although no record of Randolph's courses has been found, it is apparent from his later reputation as one of Virginia's foremost lawyers that his legal training was thorough and that he pursued it diligently. He was called to the English bar on February 9, 1749.<sup>10</sup>

In England he certainly did not devote himself exclusively to the study of law. Undoubtedly he browsed in the London bookshops, for he had a set of bookplates with his family coat of arms engraved: "John Randolph Esqr of the Middle Temple London."<sup>11</sup> He had influential connections in the city like the merchants Hanbury and his uncle, Edward Randolph, who were able to introduce him to important people and places. Furthermore, he may also have traveled on the Continent and gone as far as Italy.<sup>12</sup> Exactly how much he was influenced by his years abroad is difficult to assess; he could scarcely have failed to note the contrast between the society and politics of the mother country on one hand and the colonies on the other; and probably his experiences underscored his preconceptions of the privileges and responsibilities of a Virginia aristocrat.

His studies concluded, the new lawyer returned home. On May 28, 1749, the Virginia Gazette reported, "John Randolph Esq: is to come in the man of war that is ordered on this station & may soon be expected."<sup>13</sup> Perhaps he was delayed in England or did not come directly to Virginia, for apparently he did not set up practice in Williamsburg until the autumn of 1750. In October he purchased three account books and a quire of paper from the local printing office;<sup>14</sup> on December 17, he took the oath qualifying to practice law in the nearby York County court;<sup>15</sup> and it is probable, in the absence of the pertinent records, that about

the same time he also qualified before the James City County court and the General Court, both of which were located in Williamsburg.

The nature and extent of Randolph's law practice are not fully known because, in addition to the loss of the records of the courts where he did the majority of his work, his personal papers have disappeared. What is known must be pieced together from disparate sources. His cases were routine: debt-collection, land patents, estates and wills, murder.<sup>16</sup> George Washington was one of his clients. Washington retained him in the suit, *Dunbar vs. Custis' Executors*, a case concerning the inheritance of Washington's step-children, which had been in the courts for more than sixty years to the dismay of various lawyers, Sir John Randolph among them, and was a case the younger Randolph did not resolve.<sup>17</sup> In another case in 1773, Washington submitted the will of his long-dead brother to Randolph to determine whether the widow could be held accountable for any part of her late husband's debts, and the attorney's opinion was negative.<sup>18</sup> Although there was a growing difference in their political positions, Washington continued to employ Randolph's counsel even as England and the colonies went to war. From Massachusetts, where he was in command of the American army, Washington, late in 1775, wrote to John Tayloe, his colleague in settling an estate: "I am inform'd that the Attorney General has left the Colony, in other words given it up, query whether some other Attorney ought not to be Employed...."<sup>19</sup>

Randolph was respected in his profession by his contemporaries. "He is," said Governor Dunmore, "Confessedly the best Lawyer in the Colony."<sup>20</sup> His talent was appreciated even by his opponents. In 1758 he defended a man named Rigley charged with murdering a slave belonging

to John Tayloe. According to Tayloe, Rigley "ought to have been hanged but J. Randolph saved him...."<sup>21</sup> Long afterward Patrick Henry recounted for Judge John Tyler how in 1760 Randolph examined him before signing his license to practise law; still later Tyler relayed the account to Henry's biographer, William Wirt. At first, Wirt wrote, Randolph, "a gentleman of the most courtly elegance of person and manner, a polished wit, and a profound lawyer," was reluctant to examine Henry because of his uncouth appearance and presumed ignorance, but soon changed his opinion and continued his questioning for "several hours."

During the very short portion of the examination which was devoted to the common law, Mr. Randolph dissented, or affected to dissent, from one of Mr. Henry's answers, and called upon him to assign the reasons of his opinion. This produced an argument; and Mr. Randolph now played off on him, the same arts which he himself, had so often practised on his country customers; drawing him out by questions, endeavouring to puzzle him by subtleties, assailing him with declamation, and watching continually, the defensive operations of his mind. After a considerable discussion, he said, "you defend your opinions well, sir; but now to the law and to the testimony." Hereupon he carried him to his office, and opening the authorities, said to him, "behold the force of natural reason; you have never seen these books, nor this principle of law; yet you are right and I am wrong; and from the lesson which you have given me (you must excuse me for saying it) I will never trust to appearances again. Mr. Henry, if your industry be only half equal to your genius, I augur that you will do well, and become an ornament and an honour to your profession."

According to Wirt, Henry believed "that Mr. Randolph had affected this difference of opinion, merely to afford him the pleasure of triumph, and make some atonement for the wound which his first repulse had inflicted." Consequently, Henry was forever grateful to the eminent lawyer.<sup>22</sup> However, in view of Randolph's later antagonism for Henry, Wirt's account seems exaggerated.

Outstanding lawyer that Randolph was, he was appointed by the General Court with William Nelson, Robert Carter Nicholas, George Wythe, and John Blair, Jr., to administer the estate of Governor Botetourt who

died on October 15, 1770. Within hours of the Governor's demise, Randolph assured the principal heir in England, the Duke of Beaufort, that he and his colleagues would hold the estate inviolate until they were informed otherwise. The administrators were hampered by Botetourt's failure to detail the disposal of his property, but they arranged for an appropriate funeral, made an inventory of all the Governor's effects, and, with instructions from the Duke, dispersed some things in the colony and shipped the rest to England. All of their effort met with the Duke's grateful approval.<sup>23</sup>

While building his law practice, Randolph entered the public service, which was the bastion of the gentry of Virginia. Unlike some others of the rank who started their service as vestrymen and officers of the county court, his first post was the clerkship of the House of Burgesses, a post only less important than House Speaker. Appointed by Governor Dinwiddie, undoubtedly with the approval of the powerful Speaker, John Robinson, Randolph assumed his duties on February 27, 1752.<sup>24</sup> He was, as a lawyer, certainly qualified to be the clerk, but in securing the office his qualifications were probably a lesser consideration than his connections. The clerkship was practically a Randolph sinecure, for John's grandfather, father, uncle, and two cousins all preceded him in the post. It is possible that the Randolphs, and their ally Robinson, created the vacancy expressly for him by persuading the incumbent, William Randolph III of Wilton, to resign with a promise of aid in becoming a burgess for Henrico County.<sup>25</sup> But John Randolph was not merely a pawn; he was personally ambitious and knew from the experience of his relatives that the clerkship could lead to more powerful positions in the law and government. Moreover, the salary

provided by the burgesses and the extra fees for special services were important to him.

He held the clerkship for fifteen years. His prescribed duties were to keep the official journal of the proceedings of the House and other contingent records. From time to time there were additional tasks such as signing treasury notes, serving on a commission to sell "the useless military stores in the Magazine of Williamsburg," and inspecting the treasurer's accounts.<sup>26</sup> He also performed services, such as entering orders, searching and copying deeds, and attending trials and special courts, for the counties and private persons. The burgesses paid a salary of £200 per annum<sup>27</sup> while others paid according to the specific service rendered; but the money did not belong entirely to the clerk, for he was required to maintain whatever supplies and secretaries were necessary to his duties. Officially, the clerk remained at the periphery of the House, the observer and recorder of its action, but on one occasion at least Randolph was at the center of a political controversy. The House Journal recorded it in detail.<sup>28</sup>

In November, 1758, Thomas Johnson, burgess from Louisa County, told several men gathered in his own home that the House of Burgesses was corrupt. "You know little of the Plots, Schemes, and Contrivances that are carried on there," he said; "in short, one holds the Lamb while the other skins; many of the Members are in Places of Trust and Profit, and others want to get in, and they are willing to assist one another in passing their Accounts; and it would surprize any Man to see how the Country's Money is squandered away, which I have used my utmost Endeavour to prevent, in which I could never succeed but once, and that to a trifling Amount."<sup>29</sup> As a case in point, Johnson cited the recent



increase of the clerk's salary from £100 to £200.

That when the Clerk's Salary was proposed, he [the Clerk] walked through the Burgesses, and nodded to his Creatures or Partizans on each Side, who followed him out of the House: That he, Mr Johnson, also received a Nod, which he disregarded, but being afterwards particularly backoned to went out, and was solicited by Mr Randolph, the Clerk, and many of the Members, to be for the largest Sum which was proposed for the Clerk's Salary, which he refused, but most of the other Members went in and voted for the largest Sum, which was carried.

When the Burgesses were informed of Johnson's charges on March 13, 1759, they referred them to the Committee on Privileges and Elections. Three weeks later, Peyton Randolph, burgess for Williamsburg, presented the committee-report which found that Johnson's words were "false, scandalous, and malicious, and reflect[ed] highly on the Honour of the House." The burgesses voted, thirty-seven to thirty-two, to reprimand their colleague from Louisa. The House thus maintained its honor, and John Randolph retained his post and salary.

The affair was not soon forgotten, however. In 1766, Robert Bolling of Chellowe charged that Randolph "As Clerk of the House of Burgesses...depended on their Benevolence for his Salary. He Contrived so well," Bolling continued, "by keeping an elegant Table & making them very welcome to it--as also to his Coach upon Occasion--that they gave him vastly more than any former Clerk had ever received."<sup>30</sup>

As an officer of the House, John Randolph was present during the debates on the Stamp Act. The burgesses, in 1764, submitted memorials of protest to the King and Parliament, but the Act became law in March, 1765. The following May, Patrick Henry presented the burgesses with his famous resolves against the Stamp Act. For a variety of reasons, involving both principle and politics, the House leadership, headed by Speaker Robinson and consisting of, among others, the Randolph brothers,

opposed Henry. In principle they were opposed, not in support of the stamp duties, but because they considered it treasonous to resist the law. Politically, they recognized that Henry and his supporters, who were not part of their faction, were employing the resolves as a challenge to established authority. Despite the maneuvers of the House leaders, the resolves passed by a narrow majority.<sup>31</sup>

The extent of John Randolph's participation in the Stamp Act affair is imperfectly known. Later, as a loyalist in England, he claimed he alone had opposed the repeal. His close friend, Governor Dunmore, who was not in Virginia during the debate, reported in 1775 that Randolph "Singly opposed in the House of Burgesses the Resolutions at that time."<sup>32</sup> There is little doubt that Randolph was indeed opposed to the resolves because a Virginia patriot, writing in 1775, criticized his activity "in the year 1765 respecting the stamp act."<sup>33</sup> The reasons for his opposition can only be surmised. Like most Virginians, including his brother, he probably disapproved of the Stamp Act; in 1766, at any rate, he was present at a gathering where its repeal was celebrated.<sup>34</sup> His opposition to the Henry resolves came, most likely, because of his life-long belief that the law, even a disagreeable law, could not be overturned without due process. Undoubtedly, opposition also came because of his alignment with the established leadership in the House of Burgesses.

Randolph did not confine his service only to the House of Burgesses; he also participated in town and county government. Elected to the Williamsburg Common Council in 1751, he served two one-year terms as mayor in 1756 and 1771.<sup>35</sup> He was a justice of the peace for James City County<sup>36</sup> and attained the rank of colonel in the county

militia.<sup>37</sup> Beyond these listings, however, there is no further record of his activities.

The loss of the early vestry books makes his service to Bruton Parish uncertain. Although he was a free thinker, and brought up his son to think the same way,<sup>38</sup> his beliefs did not necessarily preclude his affiliation with the Williamsburg church. As a matter of fact, he was a pew holder and had some of his slaves baptised there in 1763.<sup>39</sup> He may never have been elected to the vestry, however, because, on moral and religious grounds, he was once barred from political office.<sup>40</sup>

Randolph was ambitious for an imperial post, an office bestowed by a minister of the Crown in England. He sought the commission of Attorney General as early as 1753 when Governor Dinwiddie, in a dispute with the House over his charging a fee of a pistole for affixing the seal on land patents, removed Attorney General Peyton Randolph from office because Randolph had gone to England as agent of the burgesses representing their claims against the Governor. John urged his father-in-law, Edmund Jenings II, who was living in London, to exert his influence in his behalf. But Jenings was not encouraging. On February 28, 1754, he wrote:

I am Sorry for your Publick differences & much more for what may possibly befall your Bro: I Hope for ye best, nor shall my...Earnestness be wanted to ward off from Him any [of] The Effects of the present Odd appearance His Ingagmt agst ye Govr makes in ye eyes of Some people. Besides if any recon-[ci]/li/atio/n should take place Here, I am not without strong Apprehensions, that the Same Motives would probably bar your Expectations of Succeeding Him.<sup>41</sup>

Randolph's expectations proved to be premature, for there was a reconciliation between the Governor and the burgesses, and, in 1755, Peyton was reappointed Attorney General.

Even though he did not then attain the office, John continued to press his father-in-law to advance his interests. Jenings called on the merchants Hanbury, who were well acquainted in government circles and had earlier secured a commission for Peyton, but Jenings was not optimistic. "I am not without Apprehensions you Do not stand so fair in Mr Hanbury's Opinion as I could wish," he wrote to Randolph. "I am Sure his Good Will is to be Courted by Every Expectant that Has Views to Ministerial Commissions in your Colony. This Hint may be sufficient for you to judge & Act as you think proper w<sup>i</sup>t<sup>h</sup>out taking any Notice of my information."<sup>42</sup> Undoubtedly Randolph took the hint, for in 1759 he was commissioned a deputy judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty.<sup>43</sup>

In 1767 John Randolph succeeded his brother as Attorney General. His commission was a result of a series of complex maneuvers that followed the death in 1766 of Speaker Robinson. During the twenty-eight years of his tenure as Speaker and Treasurer, Robinson had built a political clique among the burgesses that was almost unrivalled in its power. As one of Robinson's closest advisers, Peyton Randolph stood to become the next Speaker and Treasurer. His selection, however, was not certain, for even during Robinson's lifetime his clique had been challenged. Opposition to Randolph was strengthened by the discovery that Robinson had embezzled over £100,000 from the public treasury and lent much of it to his friends and supporters. Furthermore, the Randolphs were embarrassed by charges of political favoritism that followed the murder of one Robert Routledge on June 3, 1766, by Colonel John Chiswell, who was their cousin's husband and Robinson's father-in-law. Chiswell was refused bail by the Cumberland County court, but three

judges of the Virginia General Court intervened to reverse the decision.

Since the House did not reconvene until November, the Randolphs spent the summer mending their political fences. Peyton, wise in the ways of politics, adroitly sidestepped the scandals by declining to be an executor of Robinson's estate, avoiding a judgment on Chiswell, and remaining generally silent.<sup>44</sup> The situation was more difficult for John because, unlike his brother, his connections with Robinson and Chiswell were damaging: he was in debt to Robinson for £996.19.4,<sup>45</sup> and had offered positive advice on Chiswell's bailment.<sup>46</sup> He made no apology; instead he arranged to discharge his debt to the Speaker's estate, and engaged to debate his critics. He stood firm for the status quo of the Virginia government and defended Chiswell's bailment. Under a Greek pseudonym, Metriotes, meaning significantly, "The Moderate,"<sup>47</sup> he joined a newspaper war that raged throughout the summer and into the autumn. During August, 1766, he wrote two articles for Rind's Virginia Gazette, but neither has survived, and they can be only partially reconstructed from the polemics of his political rivals.

His first piece, a response to an article by Robert Carter Nicholas urging the separation of the Speaker's and Treasurer's offices, appeared on August 1.<sup>48</sup> The argument for separation did not originate with Nicholas; for years the Governor's instructions were to divide the offices, but the Governor had too much respect for Robinson and his power to obey them.<sup>49</sup> Robinson's death and the exposure of his abuse of the public trust made Nicholas's argument compelling. But Nicholas was no disinterested observer. An antagonist of the Randolphs, he had resigned his seat in the House to become interim treasurer, a post he intended to make permanent.<sup>50</sup>

Randolph's second newspaper piece was published on August 29. Addressed to "Honest Buckskin," his friend Landon Carter, its purpose was to buttress Carter's earlier article, which was directed to Nicholas and argued for the continued union of the speakership and the treasury. It was important for Randolph to support Carter publicly because in private both he and his brother were soliciting Carter's aid in obtaining their respective offices.

In his articles Randolph made several points. The facts of the Robinson scandal were too much in evidence to deny. Accordingly, he asked compassion for the unfortunate man. One ought always to speak "well of the dead," he wrote, adding that there is such a thing as doing a "private act of justice to the memory even of a Prince at the expense of publick justice."<sup>51</sup> His main contention, of course, was that the two offices were indivisible. He had, he wrote, "ever since he looked with attention into the political system, been an enemy to innovations in Government, in which light the scheme for separating the Chair from the Treasury must undoubtedly be considered."<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, he argued that the speakership would be weakened because the two offices had been joined in the first place by the "frugality and parsimony of our ancestors" to provide a salary sufficient to attract worthy men.<sup>53</sup> "A salary," he asserted, "and a handsome one, must at all events, be given [because] dignity is to be supported in every office but particularly in one which constitutes the possessor the first among the people."<sup>54</sup> Mindful of charges that Robinson had used public monies to maintain his influence among the burgesses, Randolph endeavored to show that the late Speaker's influence came from his superior "powers of reason and good sense" and that such influence was "undoubtedly

praiseworthy."<sup>55</sup> To prove his point, he said that Robinson employed funds from the treasury not for political gain, but only for the public good. "The Speaker," Randolph wrote, "knew the circulating cash was deficient, and that it was not in the power of the Assembly to satisfy the general want of the publick by a new emission of the paper currency; he knew that the publick could sustain no loss, as his estate, and those of his securities, were a sufficient indemnification; and that before the money advances could be called for, it would be replaced in the Treasury."<sup>56</sup> Moreover, it was a high reproach upon the honor of the House to suppose that the Burgesses were susceptible to influence-peddling.<sup>57</sup> Finally, Randolph said, the majority of the people did not wish to have the offices separated. Pointing his remarks indirectly at Nicholas, he told the story of Charondas of Thuria, a lawgiver of the sixth century B. C., who made a law forbidding an armed person's coming into the popular assembly, for which the penalty was death. One day, after pursuing a band of robbers, Charondas returned to the city and unthinking walked into the assembly wearing his sword. "You are violating your own law," the people shouted. "On the contrary," said Charondas drawing his sword, "I am establishing it." Whereupon he killed himself.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, Randolph concluded, any man seeking to change the constitution should be "strangled on the spot" if he propose a law which is disapproved by a "majority."<sup>59</sup>

As Metriotes, Randolph also published his opinions on the Chiswell bailment. His remarks appeared on August 1, and possibly on August 29, as part of his articles for the union of the two offices. He addressed himself to Dikephilos, Friend of Justice, who was actually James Milner, a backcountry lawyer; and to Robert Bolling of Chellowe, both sharp

critics of the bailment.<sup>60</sup> Lacking his articles, it is not possible to reconstruct his point of view exactly. Nevertheless, he defended Chiswell's bailment asserting that the Judges of the General Court have "an indisputable right of bailing in all cases."<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Chiswell, as one of the colony's leading men who could be trusted to appear for trial, was entitled to the right.<sup>62</sup> In support of his contentions, Randolph cited the 1693 case of Charles Lord Mohun, an English nobleman, who had been charged with murder by a grand jury, admitted to bail, and subsequently acquitted by his peers in the House of Lords.<sup>63</sup> Bailment was, Randolph argued, an established part of the nation's legal system, therefore, anyone questioning or denying it was unpatriotic.<sup>64</sup>

Randolph's opponents did not remain silent. Nicholas, Milner, and Bolling refuted his case in the newspapers. They were joined by Richard Bland writing as "The Freeholder."<sup>65</sup> Bland, who was Bolling's step-father, was also the Randolphs' first-cousin, but he was opposed to them because he wanted to be the next Speaker of the House. Arthur Lee, member of the famous Northern Neck clan, criticized Randolph in a personal letter to his brother, Richard Henry Lee, a leading supporter of Nicholas in the treasury.

The critics differed on the matter of Randolph's style. Nicholas, claiming not to know Metriotes' true identity, thought he "wrote with some temper and politeness" and admired his "moderation and conciliating disposition."<sup>66</sup> "Dikephilos" Milner disagreed. "When I saw a late piece signed Metriotes I rejoiced," he wrote, "and expected from thence great erudition, just reasoning, and ample gratification; but how was I surprised when I found only an elegant superficial declamation!"<sup>67</sup> Bland charged Metriotes and his friend, Honest Buckskin, with



"disingenuity." They had, said Bland, miscited "our words, putting constructions upon them contrary to their known acceptation, and making us speak what neither of us ever said."<sup>68</sup>

The critics disputed Randolph's claim that Robinson was immune from criticism because he was dead. Must one always speak well of the dead, Nicholas asked, "even at the expense of truth?" "If so, how comes it that the best historians have always chosen her Truth for their guide?" Nicholas added that he thought that Montaigne, Metriotes' "favourite author," would have "taught him better."<sup>69</sup> An anonymous poet, in "An Epitaph on METRIOTES, who lately died of despair," ridiculed Randolph's assertion that the dead were not liable to judgment:

De mortuis nil nisi bonum

OPPRESS'D with dread of bold and rude objectors,  
Who foul might fall on him and protectors,  
Unhappy METRIOTES, to save his fame,  
Joins the deceas'd, who none alive must blame.  
Forbear he cries your sharpness to display,  
To cut me now, who can no more retort,  
What were it else but throwing dirt on dirt?

Ye keen objectors, since your brother sage,  
Ere he renounc'd so suddenly the stage,  
Produc'd one maxim for his purpose pat;  
Let him enjoy the benefit of that.  
O'er his remains with steps of caution tread,  
Lest you disturb the ashes of the dead.  
Reville not, like profane and wicked elves,  
Th' expir'd, who cannot answer for themselves.<sup>70</sup>

Randolph's arguments for the continued union of the speakership and treasury brought a devastating rebuttal. "Suppose for a moment that this false manner of reasoning is just," Bland retorted, "with what propriety can a disunion of the Chair and Treasury be called destroying a constitutional custom, or be called an innovation in Government?" "Time was," he replied to his own question, "even within the memory of

many now alive, when these offices were disunited; and their union since derives its existence only from temporary laws, which have constantly expired upon the dissolution of every Assembly."<sup>71</sup> Moreover, Bland pointed out, Randolph and his cronies had not been opposed to the Innovation "which drew on the publick a considerable additional expense" by doubling the salary of the Clerk of the House. Perhaps, said Bland, "the Gentleman, who mightily solicited that innovation, would have ornamented his neck, according to the institution of the Thurian lawgiver, rather than not have succeeded in its introduction."<sup>72</sup>

Nicholas likewise ridiculed Randolph's constitutional position. Having, by implication, been identified with Charondas of Thuria, Nicholas replied that the story was "much too stale to provoke even a smile." He agreed that in their fundamental principles constitutions "ought never to be touched, but with a delicate hand." Nevertheless, it was often possible to improve a constitution by changing it. There was, he implied, wide support for separating the two offices. If it were just, as Randolph said, to kill a man for proposing a law opposed by a majority, what, Nicholas asked, should be the fate of a man for resisting a change approved by a majority? "I wonder," Nicholas wrote, "we were not also told the story of 'the Ephorus, who so rudely cut the two strings,' which 'one Phrynus had added to musick,' without considering whether the harmony was increased, but merely because he thought them an 'innovation.'" Nicholas provided no more details, but readers, well steeped in the classics, did not need to be reminded that Plutarch had concluded the original story with the assertion that the Spartans cut the lute strings "to check in music that same excess and extravagance which rule in our present lives and manners, and have destroyed all the

harmony and order of our city."<sup>73</sup> Perhaps, said Nicholas, Metriotes would "allow that improvements have been made in that AGREEABLE SCIENCE."<sup>74</sup>

No one disputed Randolph's claim that the Speaker was entitled to a decent salary. Nicholas, however, denied that separation from the treasury would be detrimental. Let Metriotes tell him, Nicholas demanded, "how the dignity and mighty importance of a Speaker comes to be so much lessened in a few moments, as now to be only upon a level with the common crier of a court, and inferiour to a parish school-master?"<sup>75</sup> Bland, Bolling, and Milner all hinted that Randolph's concern for money was an extension of the avarice shown in his maneuvers to increase the wages of the clerk of the House.<sup>76</sup>

Randolph's opponents refuted his contention that there was no influence-peddling in the House of Burgesses. Arthur Lee wrote that it was

absurd...to suppose the members of the house are not to be influenced by the efficacy of money should he Metriotes show me one instance in any body of people antient or modern where money has had no influence I should be content to this strange opinion. But it is really laughable to hear him gravely assert that it is highly reproachful upon the house to suppose them capable of being unduly influenc'd....Metriotes confesses the Speaker is from his office the first among the people, & money is in his opinion absolutely requisite to support this preeminence, how so? the members are not to be influenced by money, we are not to suspect them of any such meanness and much less are we to suppose that one or two good Dinners during the Session given by the Speaker out of his handsome Salary will give him a prominence in the opinion of this body unerring in discernment, undaunted in resolution and uncorruptible in principle.<sup>77</sup>

Lee's remarks were private, but Nicholas's criticism was public. "The Gentleman," he wrote, "has obliged us with an heroic portraiture of human nature; it is a beautiful picture I must confess, but fear it is too flattering and much too large for life....What is it which obstructs

the Gentleman's sight, that he cannot see the manner in which a reciprocal influence may operate?"<sup>78</sup> Bland's comment about influence in the House, which also was public, was specific and pointed. The union of the "Chair and Treasury", he asserted, made the Speaker too powerful because he had at his personal disposal both "honorary appointment and pecuniary benefit" which "may be conducted by a skilful hand, so as to produce several prodigious effects...." He denied Randolph's assertion that Robinson was always a disinterested public servant who had made short-term loans from the treasury because money in Virginia was not otherwise easily available. Supposing such reasoning were true, which it was not, was it sufficient, Bland asked, for Robinson "to break through acts of the whole Legislature, and to controul their power by his own authority, in a case of the utmost consequence to the publick credit?" As far as Bland was concerned, Robinson's action was proof of "his influence, which he depended upon to protect him for so flagrant a breach of his publick trust."<sup>79</sup>

Of all of Randolph's critics, Robert Bolling was the most severe. Having been criticized for his opposition to the Chiswell bailment, Bolling took a pseudonym of two Roman patriots, "Marcus Fabius/Marcus Curtius" and made a telling response to Metriotes. He began by defending his patriotism, which Randolph had attacked: "If it is indeed true (and, generally speaking, we believe it not to be questioned) that we possess a greater share of patriotism than yourself and neighbours, we humbly presume to think you all might be better citizens if your proportion of it were augmented." Turning to the Chiswell affair, Bolling charged that the defense by "Mr. Wythe and yourself" had magnified "the injustice done to the colony." To Randolph's claim that the Judges

of the General Court were empowered to bail any case whatsoever, Bolling cited a precedent to prove the opposite:

When an unhappy man (whose name, on account of his worthy family, I forbear to mention) was sent to the publick prison for the murder of his wife, the general good was, in that instance, properly considered; and, as he wanted great intercessors, he was not bailed. Why was a different conduct used in the present instance? You get over this and similar cases, by telling us that opinion is to determine when the power of bailing is to be exercised. Now we cannot but be uneasy, both to see so much left to opinion, and also that there hath been a difference of opinion, where there is none essential, between the matters offered to consideration. We humbly think that, by this time, some stability might be established among us, at least in criminal cases.

Furthermore, said Bolling, "The General Court hath no power but what it owes to acts of Assembly; it is therefore in vain to ascribe to it the powers of the King's Bench, unless it receive them from acts of Assembly."

Bolling continued his blast at Randolph with a reference to the Robinson affair. He wrote, "we hardly need declare that we do not concur with you in opinion that a discretionary power of bailing can be safely lodged with particular members of the General Court; because they are, as you justly observe, the King's Counsellors."

Distrust, he continued the parent of security, is a political virtue of unspeakable utility. Had this virtue been properly exercised in some late Assemblies, it would have relieved you, Metriotes, and other Gentlemen, from the necessity you seem to think yourselves under not only of subverting all ideas of virtue and morality to justify a Gentleman lately deceased Robinson, and to metamorphose a notorious breach of the publick confidence into charity and munificence, but from that also of basely endeavouring to cast an odium on a Gentleman of inflexible integrity and virtue Nicholas, whose sole crime was daring merely to divulge what the personage (thus shamefully bepraised) did not blush to commit.

Bolling concluded with remarks directed at Randolph personally. He lamented that his own legal abilities were not as great as his public spirit, but, said Bolling, Randolph's "publick spirit corresponds not

with...his legal abilities." Satirizing Randolph's ambition to become the next Attorney General, and, at the same time criticizing Peyton Randolph for his avoidance of the Chiswell case, Bolling said: "we cannot conceive, ingenious Metriotes, what use his Majesty can have for an Attorney General, when his Counsellor-Judges so faithfully discharge his office." Contrary to Randolph's insinuation that he could be sated only "with the blood of Mr. Chiswell", Bolling replied that he bore Chiswell no malice and was not concerned about his appearance in court.

Our views he wrote have a further object than his single punishment or acquittal. We are desirous of knowing whether some Virginians may massacre other Virginians (or sojourners among them) with impunity. Whether, if Metriotes were to assassinate us, or we Metriotes, there would be a repetition of the same good natured treatment in his or our own favour, or in favour of any body in the like circumstances.... Though we might not wish to languish in a noisome, a pestilential gaol, we (culpable of homicide) would assuredly expect to do so ourselves. But quere, would not Metriotes meet with greater indulgence, more especially if he was happy enough to find an agent as sedulous, as devoted, as Mr. Wayle's, and Judge's equally disposed to hearken to him, as those were who so precipitately discharged Col. Chiswell from custody?<sup>80</sup>

Milner also criticized Randolph's arguments for Chiswell's bailment. Like Bolling, he thought that the Judges had exceeded their authority and shown a preference to Chiswell not granted to felons of lower social rank. Furthermore, he refuted Randolph's claim that Lord Mohun's case provided a precedent for bailing the Virginia murderer. Citing Salkeld's Reports on the Mohun case, which said "There is no difference between Peers and Commoners as to bail," Milner showed that Mohun had been bailed because written depositions that could be examined later were made at the coroner's inquest. Apparently no such depositions had been made in Chiswell's case. Milner concluded his piece with an appeal for impartial justice:

I entirely concur with Metriotes in thinking that men in power should be treated with great deference; but this deference should be consistent with British freedom, and not like slaves to a Bashaw. If British subjects know the power of men in high stations, and if men in high stations will exceed their due bounds, has not the meanest subject a right to mention his apprehension and grievance? Has he not a right to endeavour to maintain his privileges? And what would a patient submission to injury indicate? Does the man deserve British privileges who would do nothing for their security?<sup>61</sup>

Without Randolph's articles it is impossible to know whether or not his critics treated him fairly. Neither is it possible to know the influence, if any, his articles had on political developments. Nevertheless, he played an important role in 1766. He and his brother knew that their ambitions for political office were intimately connected. They were aware, in view of their relationship with Robinson and Chiswell, that they must move circumspectly. It is possible that they decided that Peyton, who disliked controversy anyway, should remain behind the scenes while John publicly engaged their adversaries. John could afford direct involvement; he was lobbying in England for his advancement. Thus, in the style of the time, he took the name Metriotes, which after all was a thin disguise, and maneuvered for high stakes in the Virginia government.

Despite the efforts of the Randolphs, the offices of Speaker and Treasurer were separated with the speakership going to Peyton Randolph and the treasury to Nicholas. The Chiswell affair resolved itself without consequence, for the defendant died before coming to trial. Even though the Randolphs were only partially successful, the fact that Peyton became Speaker opened the way for John to become Attorney General.

At the same time as he advanced his interest in Virginia, John worked to align support in England. Mrs. Randolph's kinsman, the Councillor Richard Corbin, wrote their cousin, Beilby Porteus, chaplain to

the Archbishop of Canterbury:

Your readiness in all Occasions to serve your Relations is the Sole Motive for this Letter. P[eyton] R[andolph] his Majys Att Genl. intends to resign his Comn. his Brother Mr J[ohn] R[andolph] who married Mr [Edmund III] Jenings Sister is Making Application & Calling to his Aid the Interest of all his Friends to Succeed to that Office. You could not be Overlooked upon this Occasion, being Satisfied you will be as earnest in his behalf as any of them & that you [will] be Successful in your Endeavours....<sup>82</sup>

Others whose influence Randolph sought included Edward Montagu, the Virginia agent in London. Montagu, like Randolph a barrister of the Middle Temple, had useful connections: a friend on the Treasury Board, and the Earl of Eglington, Lord in Waiting of the King's Bedchamber.<sup>83</sup> From Virginia Landon Carter wrote to Montagu in behalf of his friend; in London Randolph's brother-in-law, Edmund Jenings III, presented his claims to the agent.<sup>84</sup> Probably Randolph himself wrote to Montagu, but his letters have not been found.

In addition to his alliance with the Virginia agent, Randolph also opened a correspondence with Lord Dartmouth, President of the Board of Trade. Having learned that Dartmouth needed an American Bald Eagle for his menagerie to replace one that had died, Randolph, in June, 1766, sent an eagle with the promise of wild geese, turkeys, and wood ducks to follow on a ship belonging to "Messers Hanbury & Co merchants in Tower Street."<sup>85</sup> Although he said nothing of his political aspirations in his accompanying letter to Dartmouth, the fact that he mentioned the Hanburys was significant, for he was still cultivating their favor.

There was, however, some confusion in the British government. The Rockingham ministry went out in July, 1766, and took with it Dartmouth and many of the group to which the Hanburys were attached.<sup>86</sup> The change of ministry, Jenings informed Randolph on July 11, was no



occasion for alarm:

I have received your Letter of 20 May last and immediately set about the Business you have set your Heart on, and it is with great satisfaction that I inform you there is great Probability of Success. as Lord Dartmouth will soon it is said be made Secretary of State for America the chief Application was made to him which both Mr. Montagu & myself have done & we have had favorable Answers, but should this arrangement of appointing an Independent Secretary for America not take place I have Use'd my best Endeavours to secure an Interview with the Duke of Richmond & Mr. Henry Seymour Conway and with any other Person who I thought was able & willing to serve us. It is This Day Confidently reported Mr. Pitt has been se'nt for by the King and that the administn will be new moulded. This may require fresh applications which I shall most readily & honestly make to secure the desired Success.<sup>87</sup>

Nevertheless, there were changes which Jenings did not anticipate. The new ministry, even though it was headed by William Pitt, was an uneasy coalition. Dartmouth remained out of the ministry and Richmond and Conway, who had proven themselves friends of America during the Stamp Act Crisis, were maneuvered out of power. Furthermore, under Pitt the Board of Trade, long a source of colonial patronage, became a mere agency of referral, and control of American affairs was concentrated in the Southern Department. How Randolph's interest was sustained in this political climate is unclear, but Jenings implied that there were difficulties when he told Randolph that "the Change of Ministry which is not yet quite settled will make it necessary for your Friends here to renew their Applications whenever the proper persons are Known."<sup>88</sup> The change in the Board of Trade may have been to Randolph's advantage, for in November, 1766, Francis Fauquier, the Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, sent the Board "an Intreaty that your Lordships would grant me the Favor to assist me with your good Offices in Support of Mr. George Wythes Interest in...the Place of Attorney General."<sup>89</sup> Moreover, Randolph was helped when the Earl of Shelburne, a staunch American supporter,

became the Secretary of State for the Southern Department.

Jenings set aside £100 to defray the expense of passing the warrants of office,<sup>90</sup> but there is no certain record of the men who were thus encouraged to support the Randolph interest. Jenings was vague when he wrote to Virginia late in 1766: "I have the strongest Assurance from the best Quarters of Everything being done to our Satisfaction."<sup>91</sup> Finally, after Randolph was safely appointed Attorney General and Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court in March, 1767,<sup>92</sup> Jenings revealed some of the details. "...it is with greatest Satisfaction!" he wrote Randolph, "that I inform you the Warrant...will come to you by this Conveyance. I think myself much indebted to Mr. Montagu for his attention & Sollicitation for your Success and I doubt not He will have your strongest Acknowledgments as He had mine."<sup>93</sup> In addition to Montagu, Randolph later acknowledged a debt to Shelburne; and he may have owed his commission to Dartmouth, for he sent to Dartmouth a pair of wood ducks.<sup>94</sup>

During the interval between his brother's election to the speakership and his own appointment to the attorneyship, Randolph occupied himself with the duties of House clerk.<sup>95</sup> It was, nevertheless, an uncertain time. In Virginia he did not have the support of the Governor, and doubtless there were some who agreed with Fauquier that Wythe should be the next Attorney General. He had no direct control over the course of events in England; he was dependent upon letters and the strategy of his relatives and friends. His appointment, he told Jenings was necessary to establish the welfare and happiness of his family.<sup>96</sup> About the middle of May, 1767, he learned that he had achieved his ambition and in June, when his appointment was official, he resigned from the House.<sup>97</sup>

The acquisitiveness that characterized John Randolph's rise to prominence and power also characterized his personal life. In a style appropriate to his status in society he had the best that money could buy. He maintained a large and elegant household, dressed in high fashion, kept a hospitable table, indulged his wife and children, pursued his special interests in books, music, ornithology, and horticulture. For all of this, he lived to the utmost limit of his resources, and when he left Virginia, he was in deep debt.

About a year after returning from his schooling in England, he married Ariana Jenings of Annapolis, Maryland.<sup>98</sup> She came from a distinguished family who settled on the York River in Virginia late in the seventeenth century. Her grandfather, Edmund Jenings, was a leading man in the Old Dominion. Of the numerous offices which he held at various times, the most notable were Councillor, acting Governor, Attorney General, and Secretary of Virginia. Sadly, he grew senile in the government service, and it was John Randolph's father who, as the acting Attorney General in 1726, had the delicate task to persuade the venerable councillor to resign his post.<sup>99</sup>

Her father, Edmund Jenings II, barrister of Lincoln's Inn, London, settled in Maryland, where eventually he rose to the Council and secretary of the colony. In 1728 he married the twice-widowed Ariana Vanderheyden Bordley who had three daughters by her first marriage, and became father of three children of his own. About 1740 he built a great mansion which later was the official residence of the Maryland governor.<sup>100</sup>

Ariana Jenings was born in Annapolis on July 26, 1730. She was the middle child of the Jenings family; she had two brothers: Peter

a year older, Edmund a year younger. Nothing is known of her early years except that death took her elder brother when she was six and her mother when she was eleven. Her father never remarried and until his death in 1756 maintained an affectionate bond with his two surviving children.<sup>101</sup>

How and when John Randolph met Ariana is not recorded. Possibly they knew one another from childhood, for there was much visiting back and forth in Chesapeake society and Ariana's relatives, the Corbins and Grymes', were allied by marriage to the Randolphs. Certainly their courtship did not begin until John returned to Virginia in 1750. Their first serious encounter may have been arranged through his sister, Mrs. Grymes, or more likely his friend from the Middle Temple, the Annapolis lawyer Daniel Dulany, whose house was near the Jenings mansion.<sup>102</sup>

They were married in Annapolis on June 22, 1751, with Peyton Randolph in attendance.<sup>103</sup> The wedding was talked over in Williamsburg where one gossip was most interested in the financial arrangements. "I suppose Jno Randol<sup>ph</sup> is marryd," she wrote five days after the event. "it was to have been on Satturday & thats all I know onely yt Jenings gives his 1000£ dowr & thats all he<sup>l</sup> oblige himself to do but says perhaps he may drop another 1000 at his death & shes to have 150£ [a] year...if she outlives him. Mrs. Rand<sup>o</sup>l<sup>ph</sup>e is not gon to ye weding nor do I know who is...."<sup>104</sup>

Old Jenings had indeed attended to the security of his only daughter. In addition to the £1000 dowry which he gave her at her marriage, he took legal action to insure that if she were widowed, she would not be left destitute. On November 5, 1751, he bound John's kinsmen, Peyton Randolph, Peter Randolph, and Philip Grymes, "in the Full and Just Sume of Three Thousand Pounds Ste<sup>r</sup>ling" in case Ariana

should survive her husband she "Should receive Yearly & Every Year During Her Life The sume of One Hundred and fifty pounds Hard money of Great Britain Unless...[she] Shall Choose and profess to take & receive In Lieu and Barr of the said Annuale Payment Her Dower and Distributive Share of the Real & Personall Estates to which...John Randolph may be entitled to at the time of His Death...."<sup>105</sup>

John Randolph married well for a man on the rise. In most cases his wife was a complement to his ascending career. She was, according to a contemporary, an attractive woman.<sup>106</sup> She liked fine clothes and good furniture; managed a large household with a staff of servants; made friends with such people as the Governor's wife; and entertained men who were important to her husband. She was sometimes teasing as when she accused her bachelor brother of neglecting his correspondence to go courting. She knew her own mind; she said she disliked slavery; and she hounded the executors of her father's estate for her inheritance. Not everyone liked her, however, for she could be tart-tongued and tactless.<sup>107</sup>

Robert Bolling admonished her publicly in the Virginia Gazette in 1764.

Admonition to Fair Malevolent  
Mrs. John Randolph

Dieu ne crea que pour les sots  
Les mutieres Discurs de bons Mots

I

Vespilla, that voluble Tongue  
Disperses Detraction around:  
Your Presence throws all Matters wrong:  
All Freedom, before you, gives Ground.

II

Distrust every Bosom invades  
Altho' absent your Clapper so rings  
Not one, in the Circle, but dreads,  
When absent, ere long, the same Stings.

## III

The Failings of all are too great!  
 Alas who emblazons them joy  
 Have Errors enough to relate--  
 What Guinea's without an Alloy?

## IV

But she, that to others denies  
 Indulgence, must sure never claim  
 The Mote which she finds in all Eyes  
 All Eyes [illegible] to find a Beam.

## V

A Taunt (the foul Offspring of Spite)  
 You may wish to reveal but in vain.  
 The Shaft that hath taken its Flight  
 What Voice is of Force to restrain?

## VI

Fair Creature, with Charity then speak:  
 No being henceforward dispraise.  
 The Seaman, methinks, is but weak,  
 Who Tempest prefers to mild Seas.

## VII

There liv'd once at Chatsworth\* a Maid,  
 A Charmer whose Features benign  
 Elysium full-bearing display'd  
 Whose Soul, O that Soul, was divine!

## VIII

The Glance from her black Eyes was so keen  
 No mortal unmov'd could withstand  
 (No Slander no Tarnish was seen).  
 That Maid was the Boast of the Land.

## IX

Your Beauty the World might surprise  
 Like hers. Tis destroy'd by your Tattle.  
 Tho' dress'd like the Bow in the Skies;  
 What's shun'd like the Snake with a Rattle.<sup>108</sup>

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\*Bolling's note: "Miss Anne Randolph Daughter of the Hon. Peter Randolph Esqr and Lucy Randolph (Daughter of Robert Bolling Esq at Bollings Point). She never was in a Company wherein she was not the most beautiful, agreeable, kind & sprightly Person. Her eyes were Miracles....This amiable Girl married a worthy & wealthy Gentleman of the Name of Fitzhugh who loved her as she deserved to be loved."

Three children were born to John and Ariana Randolph. Their eldest, a son named Edmund Jenings, was born August 10, 1753.<sup>109</sup> He was followed by two daughters, Susanna Beverley, born about 1755,<sup>110</sup> and Ariana, whose birthdate is unknown.<sup>111</sup> Details of their family life are not fully recoverable, but available evidence indicates that the Randolphs were conscientious parents. So long as Mrs. Randolph's father lived they did not want for advice in bringing up their son, for when Edmund was just beyond his second birthday, old Jenings said he must be well grounded "in Grammar & Latin" because in England the schools "for those purposes Have not all ye Care necessary for such...."<sup>112</sup> Although they did not send Edmund to school in England, the parents provided the best education possible in Virginia, first enrolling him in a Williamsburg elementary school and then in the College of William and Mary.<sup>113</sup> As his grandfather desired, the boy was thoroughly educated in the classics, for during his schooldays he charged to his father's account with the local bookseller a Greek grammar and works by Caesar, Justin, and Ovid.<sup>114</sup> Not all of Edmund's boyhood was spent in study, however. At the age of four he wrote to his uncle Jenings in London for soldiers' uniforms. "I was much pleased with the Letter I recd from Edmund," Jenings wrote to his sister, "tell the Dear Boy that if I had been in town when the fleet had sailed he [should have] had his Regiments long before this....[I] have given all the necessary Direction so that he may Expect them by one of these Ships now."<sup>115</sup> John Randolph was proud of his son and said so. "I am glad to hear Edmund promises so well," his brother-in-law replied.<sup>116</sup> Undoubtedly Randolph was pleased when upon the completion of his studies at the College Edmund decided to become a lawyer.

In contrast to the son, there is virtually nothing concerning the childhood of the Randolph daughters. Since girls attended elementary school in Williamsburg,<sup>117</sup> it is probable that they were educated there along with Edmund. Surely they did not follow him to the College; instead they remained at home to learn such arts and skills as would prepare them for marriage. They were, an Englishman reported, "the two greatest beauties in America, the youngest sings to admiration & the Oldest plays on the harpsichord & Guitar in a masterly fashion."<sup>118</sup>

The Randolphs were comfortably situated in Williamsburg. During the early years of their marriage they apparently lived next door to the Peyton Randolph house in Archibald Blair's old home which John had purchased with part of his wife's dowry.<sup>119</sup> The Blair house, however, was inadequate either to John's growing family or his increasing importance. Accordingly, on July 8, 1758, he acquired about 100 acres from his brother, Peyton, on the south edge of town,<sup>120</sup> and there, at the end of South England Street, he began construction of one of the most distinctive townhouses in Williamsburg.

The house faced northward directly down the street and across the Market Square on the Peyton Randolph house a quarter of a mile away. A well-built frame structure, it extended to a length of 138½ feet and consisted of a single story mansion joined on either end to double story wings built perpendicular to it. A central hall extending two full stories dominated the house. The mansion and the wings were covered with hipped roofs as was the central hall itself. The mansion was used mainly for formal functions, the east wing was devoted to kitchen and service purposes, and the west wing to living quarters. There was also a variety of other buildings and outhouses in the yard



surrounding the house.<sup>121</sup> Among these was probably Randolph's law office and library.

The interior of the mansion contained a large formal room and a passage on each side of the "Salloon", as the Randolphs styled the central hall. The two formal rooms, the "Dining Parlour" on the east and the "Drawing Room" on the west, were completely panelled while the saloon and passages were treated with panelled dados. A series of large pilasters was installed in the hall and the doorways to the passages decorated with handsome arches.<sup>122</sup>

The house was expensively furnished. For example, the drawing room contained

Ten Handsome Mahogany Chairs, two Mahogany Settees, two Mahogany Card Tables, one plain black-Walnut Table, one Japan Table, one handsome wrought Tea Table, one round carved Mahogany Tea Table, one Mahogany Stand for a Tea-Kettle, two worked fire Screens, one Japaned Tea Board, one Grate and Fender handsomely Wrought, one pair Tongs and Shovel, one large pier Glass with gilt Frame, one Chimney Glass with gilt frame, one Print of the King, one print of the Queen, two Dutch pieces of painting, one compleat set of Nanquin Tea China, two handsome China Branches, five Flower Pots and six small China Figures, on the Chimney Piece, two handsome Crimson Silk Curtains, one handsome large Turkey Carpet.

In the dining room were

Ten Mahogany Chairs, one Mahogany side Board Table, one round Mahogany Tea Table, one Pier Glass gilt frame, five pictures, two prints of the King and Queen, one pair handsome green Worsted Window Curtains, one pair ornamental China Branches, seven pieces Ornamental China, one pair Tongs and Shovel, torn and illegible one Chimney Glass, gilt frame, one handsome Wilton Carpet, one old carpet.<sup>123</sup>

These were the finest rooms, but elsewhere throughout the house, even in the kitchen and service areas, the furnishings were also of excellent quality.<sup>124</sup> Furthermore, the Randolph library contained "upwards of eleven hundred volumes".

John Randolph's house was costly to build and maintain. Estimates

of its cost vary. Mrs. Randolph said that to enable her husband to build it "She gave up her Right to the Money settled on her on their Marriage amounting to 1700£. Sterling besides which she consented to Sell a number of Negroes which her Father had given her...." "Mr. Randolph," she added, "valued the house at 4,000£."<sup>125</sup> A family friend, Hamilton Usher St. George, said he heard "many People say it cost 5 or 6000 £."<sup>126</sup> These estimates, however, are not altogether reliable because at the time they were made in 1786 Mrs. Randolph was petitioning the British government for compensation of her lost property in Virginia, and St. George was among her supporters. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt that the house was an extravagant venture. St. George's comment is revealing. "...it ruined Mr. Randolph," he said.<sup>127</sup>

The house was ready to occupy in 1762.<sup>128</sup> Even though it was a strain on his finances, Randolph did not alter his mode of living. He maintained a coach and chariot with their necessary horses and livery men. He also owned riding horses as well as all manner of saddles, bridles, and harness.<sup>129</sup> He kept a supply of drugs and medicinals in his house which in itself was not really unusual except that such things were obtainable in Williamsburg from local doctors and apothecaries.<sup>130</sup> He dressed well in the fashion of the time appearing in court in a black suit and brown tie-wig and on other occasions wearing a more elaborate garb which included an expensive brown dress wig.<sup>131</sup> He sent his wigs to the local barber for dressing and went there regularly himself to be shaved.<sup>132</sup> His wife and children also had hair-pieces, and some of their clothes came from England.<sup>133</sup> He was fond of good food<sup>134</sup> and, like his brother and cousins, doubtless had

an ample girth to prove it. He set an "elegant Table"<sup>135</sup> where he gathered friends and colleagues. George Washington was often a dinner guest when he was in Williamsburg. "Dined at the Attorney Genl's," he noted in 1768, "with Lord Botetourt (ye Govr.) and many other Gentlemen."<sup>136</sup> From time to time Randolph left Williamsburg to visit friends and relatives. He was at Sabine Hall, Landon Carter's plantation in Richmond County, in 1766 when the repeal of the Stamp Act was celebrated,<sup>137</sup> and was there again with his wife and daughters in the fall of 1770 when Carter noted, "I had no wine, and made only this apology, That I had neither estate nor constitution to Justifie the use of it."<sup>138</sup> He made occasional trips with his family to Maryland where his wife had two half-sisters. But there were other attractions besides relatives. On September 17, 1771, the Virginia Gazette reported that the "Attorney General and Daughters" had sailed for Annapolis "to be present at the Races there...."<sup>139</sup> On their return home they visited the Washingtons at Mount Vernon.<sup>140</sup>

John Randolph was an avid collector of books and freely indulged in his purchases. Of the more than eleven hundred volumes he possessed when he went to England in 1775 very little is known, for the inventory is lost. A large part of his library was undoubtedly devoted to law. Most of these books he acquired himself because his father's law library went to Peyton and the Jenings books, even though his father-in-law left them in Williamsburg when he went to England about 1753, belonged to his brother-in-law.<sup>141</sup> He bought copies of the laws of Virginia and the Journals of the House of Burgesses from the Williamsburg bookseller,<sup>142</sup> but most of his purchases were made in England. In 1772 he wrote a London dealer to send "in whatever is new in the Law

as it comes out."<sup>143</sup> In addition to legal works, he purchased volumes of history, literature, poetry, grammar, animal-husbandry, gardening, religion, philosophy, and government.<sup>144</sup> His library was "thought by good judges to be as well chosen as any" in Virginia.<sup>145</sup>

Music, moreover, was among Randolph's other interests. He played the violin and was sufficiently accomplished to perform in musicales. "Mr J. R. play'd on his violin & Dr. Hackerston on his G flute," his friend, John Blair, noted in his diary.<sup>146</sup> He owned a very fine violin, made in 1660 by the Italian master Nicholas Amati of Cremona, which Randolph supposedly purchased in Europe.<sup>147</sup> Among those who admired the instrument was his cousin, Thomas Jefferson, also an amateur musician, and in the spring of 1771 they made an agreement which was witnessed by George Wythe and Patrick Henry, among others. If Jefferson survived, he was to have the fiddle and all its music; if Randolph were the survivor, he was to receive books worth £800 sterling from Jefferson's library.<sup>148</sup> At the time the pact could hardly have been seriously intended, but four years later Jefferson had Randolph's violin in circumstances neither anticipated. Besides the violin, Randolph also had a harpsichord in his home which he kept for his daughters.<sup>149</sup>

In addition to music Randolph was interested in birds and possibly had an aviary on his estate. In 1766 he sent Lord Dartmouth an American Bald Eagle which he had in captivity.

This Bird your Lordship knows is of the carnivorous Kind [he wrote] & must be fed on Garbage, or any Meat that has not been under the Hands of a Cook. It is at present young, but as it advances will become what we call the Bald Eagle. The Life of this animal may be continued for many Years if properly nurtur'd. Liberty with a Box to retreat into when it thinks proper & plenty of its natural Food, are most likely to perpetuate it's Life, & your Lordships amusement.<sup>150</sup>

The next year he sent a pair of Wood Ducks to Dartmouth with instructions for their care and feeding. He wrote on June 10, 1767:

By the Hanbury Capt Esten I have sent to your Lordship, two of our Summer Drakes, which I hope will get safe into Lady Dartmouths Menagerie. The Ducks intended for the same Purpose unfortunately died, some little Time ago. The loss I shall be able to repair on some future occasion. These fowl may be mated with the common Duck. They won't unite Kindly at first, but Time will introduce Familiarity between them. If they don't generate, the males may be kept from languishing, which they are very apt to do, in a State of Solitude....Water they delight in. A Canal wou'd be a proper Place for their Residence. A small House shou'd be built near the Stream where they dwell, into which they may retreat whenever they think proper. Bread will be the best Food for them, but I imagine when they become accustom'd to the objects about them, they'l soon content themselves with Peas &c. They breed with us, in hollow Trees which stand in our Mill Ponds. They are remarkable Climbers. By the assistance of their Beaks & Claws, they will clamber up soft Places near Perpendicular. One wing shou'd be cut shorter than ye other, otherwise they may take their Departure. Strict attention shou'd be paid to them in the Winter. Intense Cold is very apt to destroy them. I shou'd have sent you some of our Wild Geese, but I was afraid your Lordship wou'd think me troublesome.<sup>151</sup>

Furthermore, like his father, John Randolph was interested in gardening. Sometime in the 1760's, he published anonymously a practical manual on cultivation titled A Treatise on Gardening. Derived largely from Philip Miller's The Gardener's Dictionary, a popular English work of the period, it treated plants in alphabetical order, but according to their English common names rather than their Latin classifications as done by Miller. Randolph discussed such things as artichokes, asparagus, cauliflower, lettuce, melons, peas, turnips, and a host of other fruits, vegetables and herbs.<sup>152</sup> It is not certain that he grew in his own garden all that he described in his treatise, but he did make frequent observations drawn from personal experience. He wrote, for example:<sup>153</sup>

Miller says, that for spring Cauliflowers the seed should be sown on the 10th or 12th of August, but in Virginia, the 12th day of September is the proper time, which is much the same as

in England, allowing for the difference of climate, the ratio of which ought to be a month sooner in the spring, and the same later in the fall; our summer months being intensely hot in this place....

The circumstances under which Randolph wrote and published his treatise, which has been described as the earliest American book on kitchen gardening,<sup>154</sup> are unknown because the first edition has disappeared. Nevertheless, the fact that it was reprinted several times on into the nineteenth century indicated that it was an accurate and useful guide to gardening.

With all that he had and did, John Randolph maintained a standard of living that was elegant, even for the Virginia gentry. His income came chiefly from his law practice and his various governmental posts. He had the use of his wife's dowry, and it is possible that he derived some money from the produce of his land and the labor of his slaves.

His financial status cannot be defined exactly from the meagre records. Land accounted for some of his assets. About 1751, he inherited his father's plantation of unknown size on the Chickahominy River in James City County.<sup>155</sup> In 1758 his brother deeded him the 100-acre tract in Williamsburg where he built his house. He also owned other property in Williamsburg, an unspecified amount of land in York County, and 100 acres in Lunenburg County which he purchased in 1769.<sup>156</sup> As a member of a land company formed by Peyton Randolph, he was part of a group of gentlemen who in the middle 1750's claimed 170,000 acres between the Blue Ridge Mountains and the Mississippi River,<sup>157</sup> and in 1772 he headed an association of one hundred men which was granted 100,000 acres along the Ohio River.<sup>158</sup> His investment in western land was a speculative venture which, since the land was granted by the Council, took little if any real money; but there is no evidence that

he ever recognized a profit. Apparently he farmed his plantations in James City County. He traded with Farrell and Jones, the Bristol tobacco factors, but planting was never a paramount concern. He may have disposed of his plantations before he left Virginia; at any rate they are not mentioned in his family's claims for lost property.

During the 1750's he entered into partnership with his cousin, Peter Randolph, the Surveyor General. There are virtually no details of their enterprise, but possibly since Peter was later involved in such a scheme, they planned to import slaves into the colony. Peter attempted to enlist the aid and support of John's father-in-law, but old Jenings turned him down. On February 28, 1754, Jenings wrote from London "That all my Intentions of Stiring in ye affair of ye Surveyor General [are] intirely Over. For I will not risque my Money or Friends on So much Contingency as Slaves....So yt I presume all Ingagements on that occasion will be Cancelled...."<sup>159</sup> Apparently Jenings' refusal to cooperate doomed the Randolph partnership, at least John was never again involved in such a venture.

Although John was one of the most able and prominent lawyers in Virginia, he may not have found much financial reward in his profession. He had clients who paid well for his services. George Washington, for instance, paid him £20 in 1771 "as a Retainer & Fee."<sup>160</sup> Nevertheless, in May, 1773, he joined five other lawyers, Edmund Pendleton, James Mercer, Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, and Gustavus Scott, to announce in the Virginia Gazette "That after the 10th day of October next we will not give an opinion on any case stated to us but on payment of the whole fee, nor prosecute or defend any suit or motion, unless the tax, and one half the fee, be previously advanced; excepting

those cases where we chuse to act gratis." Such regulation was necessary, the lawyers explained, not because of "the worthy part of our clients" whose "conduct has been such as calls for our acknowledgements," but because fees "are withheld from us in a great proportion, by the unworthy part of our clients." "And," they continued, "we hope no person whatsoever may think of applying to us in any other way....however, in case this should be done, we think it proper to give this further warning, that no such application, either verbal, or by way of letter, will be answered or attended to to the smallest degree."<sup>161</sup> Perhaps Randolph's experience as a lawyer was comparable to that of Jefferson who never succeeded in collecting as much as 50 percent of his legal fees.<sup>162</sup>

Randolph, however, had income from sources other than his law practice. Always he collected a salary and fees from his various official posts. As clerk of the House of Burgesses he was paid £200 per year besides the fees he received for his services to the counties and private individuals; as Attorney General and judge of the Vice Admiralty Court he received £500 per year.<sup>163</sup>

According to a recent analysis, a minimum of about £500 was required to maintain a man of Randolph's status and responsibilities for a year.<sup>164</sup> Throughout his career he made certain that he received the largest possible stipend from the public treasury. He made no attempt whatever in 1758 to disguise his efforts among the burgesses to have the clerk's salary doubled to £200.<sup>165</sup> In 1768 he was disturbed by reports out of England that the Admiralty judgeship was to be separated from the Attorney-generalship,<sup>166</sup> and related his predicament to the newly arrived Governor Botetourt.



I am at present Judge of the Admiralty he explained. This is a Court where Matters of great Importance & Worth are determined. The Judge has no Salary annex'd to his Office, but receives five Pounds, for each of ye Causes that comes before him, many of which will employ three or four Days of his Time, before a final Determination. His Majesty's Attorney General has immemorially been the Judge of this Court....As Attorney General I receive sic from his Majesty, one hundred & fifty Pounds per annum, with an addition from the Governor and Council of fifty Pounds for every Pardon I make out, but so few of these Fees are reciev'd sic that they are far from being lucrative. If a Separation of the Admiralty from the Office of Attorney General is intended, some alteration must be made with Respect to the Judges Allowance, otherwise few Gentlemen qualified to hold an office of so much Consequence will be inclined to accept of it. But whether a Disunion is necessary or not is left with your Lordship to recommend. Your Sentiments on this Occasion as they have been on every other will be perfectly agreeable to me.<sup>167</sup>

Botetourt favorably reported Randolph's case to the Secretary of State,<sup>168</sup> as did the Virginia agent, Montagu. On December 9, 1769, the Secretary informed Botetourt: "I have great pleasure in so immediately transmitting to you the Warrant for an addition of £200 <sup>p</sup> Annum to Mr. Randolph. This Mark of the King's Favor is but a just Acknowledgment of that Gentleman's Merit in his commendable Attachment to Government."<sup>169</sup>

Indications are, despite his varied sources of income, that Randolph was short of money. Certainly his tastes and responsibilities were expensive, but personal extravagance was only part of the problem, for there was a general shortage of specie throughout Virginia. Many transactions were of necessity based on credit, and Randolph indulged fully in the system. In general, although he was usually slow to repay, he met his obligations. His few remaining accounts were sizeable. Between 1750 and 1756, for example, he ran up charges with Alexander Craig, a Williamsburg saddler and harnessmaker, amounting to £71.19s. 1d.;<sup>170</sup> and between August, 1771, and August, 1775, he obligated himself to Edward Charlton, a local wigmaker, for £75.12s.<sup>171</sup> His account with the English merchants, Farrell and Jones of Bristol, amounted by 1775

to a minimum of about £300.<sup>172</sup>

Although he discharged his debt to Craig in regular installments, the impression is that he did not pay his other obligations until compelled to do so. Four times between 1760 and 1771 he was sued for debt in the York County court. There is very little information about the specific cases. Only one of them came to trial and in that Randolph was ordered to pay £97.8s.11d. plus court costs; two of the cases were settled out of court implying that Randolph agreed to pay; and the outcome of the remaining case is unknown.<sup>173</sup> To be sued for debt in a Virginia county court was not unusual, but it was rare that a Randolph was a defendant in a local debt case. That John Randolph did not honor his commitments until the bitter end is further suggested by the fact that he settled his account with Charlton only as he departed for England and by the fact that at the same time he left his Williamsburg property in the hands of trustees to meet his other outstanding accounts.

All this does not necessarily mean that he tried to evade paying for things. Hobbled by a lack of cash, he borrowed from his family and friends.<sup>174</sup> From Speaker Robinson's notorious fund he obtained £996.19s.4d.,<sup>175</sup> but he quickly repaid it when it was discovered that the money had been embezzled from the public treasury. For years he sought money from his wife's brother. In 1757, he wrote Jenings for help in paying £277 due an English creditor. "I did not answer your Letter Immediately," Jenings replied, "because I was in hopes at that Time of Complying with your Request but not having recd any Remittances lately...from Virginia or Maryland I really have it not in my Power."<sup>176</sup> Randolph nevertheless continued to press Jenings for money. During the late 1760's he not only requested £1000, which Jenings claimed he did not have to loan, but, without Jenings' specific consent, also drew on

the Jenings account in England. Finally, in 1769, Jenings had enough of Randolph. "I [consider] this Treatment of me is highly Unworthy of you & me," Jenings told him. "& [it] puts me under the disagreeable necessity of suffering your bills to be noted for non acceptance. I cannot or ought to undertake the payment of them...whatever you may think of my Circumstances I assure you they are exceeding Narrow but however narrow they may be I endeavour to live within them Convinced as I am that Independence is the source of Virtue & of Happiness."<sup>177</sup>

While finances were undoubtedly a matter of personal concern to Randolph, neither in extravagance, in the uncertainty of income, nor in indebtedness was he different from his contemporaries: the Virginia gentry was famous for its style of living and the money spent to maintain it. Nevertheless, Randolph's primary interests remained the law and politics which soon involved him in events that completely altered his life.

As Attorney General and judge of the Vice Admiralty court, Randolph was at the peak of his career. Well qualified by training and experience to serve as interpreter and advocate of the law in Virginia, he performed his duties with authority tempered with sagacity. His letter to Governor Botetourt on January 25, 1770, was typical. He wrote:

one David Furguson [sic], late master of a Snow, belonging to some Gentlemen, at Norfolk, was yesterday brought to the publick Gaol, in order to recieve [sic] his Trial at the succeeding General Court, for the murder of a negroe Boy, with which he stands charged. He is also accused of having Killed, on the high Seas, in a cruel & undeserved Manner, three of his Mariners. This last offence can't be tried here, for Want of a Commission for that purpose. The 28 Hen. 8 ca. 15. points out the Mode of Prosecutions, where Felonies are committed, within the Jurisdiction of the admiral. In Consequence of this Statute, I am inform'd that Commissions have been sent to some of our Governors ...empowering them &c to proceed in Cases of this Nature. I

thought it my Duty, to mention this affair to you Lordship, leaving it to your better Judgment to determine, whether it wou'd be expedient for your Lordship to apply in order to have some Authority delegated, by which such dangerous offenders may be brought to immediate Justice, rather than send them to England which may afford great opportunities of escaping.<sup>178</sup>

Ferguson was acquitted of killing the Negro, but was convicted in England and hanged for the death of his three sailors.<sup>179</sup>

Upon assuming the attorney-generalship, Randolph resigned the clerkship of the House of Burgesses. Soon afterward, in 1769, he returned to the Assembly as a burgess for Lunenburg County. A seat in the legislature was more important to him than a constituency. His association with Lunenburg was slight. Scarcely three months before his election in December, 1768, he had purchased there a hundred acres, a minimum to stand for office.<sup>180</sup> Undoubtedly he campaigned among the voters, but an extensive campaign was hardly necessary because the prestige of the offices he already held, the reputation he had as a leading lawyer, and the prominence of his family in Virginia made him a predictable victor at the polls. Not everyone was pleased when the Virginia Gazette reported that he had led the other candidates in the election.<sup>181</sup> Henry Blagrove, the other Lunenburg burgess, wrote an unhappy letter to the newspaper:

SIR,

I shall be much obliged to you if you'll be kind enough to inform the public for what reason, or by what authority, you returned Col. John Randolph eldest Burgess for Lunenburg county, in your Gazette bearing date 9th day of December last past, before the writ for the said election was returned to the Secretary's office, as the law directs. One of my county men informs me that he asked Mr. Benjamin Waller [a prominent Williamsburg lawyer and former clerk in the Secretary's office] the reason, and his answer was, because Mr. Randolph was a man of the greatest dignity. I will not undertake to say what Mr. Randolph, or Mr. Waller's dignity may be; but in my humble opinion [neither] Mr. Randolph, nor any other Gentleman in his behalf, is intitled by law, or custom, to crown Mr. Randolph with the honour due to me, that was given me by my county men, freely and lawfully, when

at the same time, it lay to their own choice whether they would give Mr. Randolph that honour, or myself; and they gave me 260 votes, and Mr. Randolph but 210 votes; and if any Gentleman questions my honour and dignity, I am not ashamed, nor afraid to dispute that point before any lawful authority whatever....<sup>182</sup>

Perhaps the affair shortened Randolph's tenure, for he only represented Lunenburg during the May, 1769, session. He did not return to the House until 1774 when he succeeded John Page of Rosewell as burgess for the College of William and Mary.<sup>183</sup> No doubt he was proud to hold the College seat held by his father and brothers before him. John Page, however, was not happy, for he believed Randolph lacked "the disposition and character, moral and religious, which the Charter and Statutes of the College required." Page did not halt Randolph's election as burgess, but as a member of the William and Mary Board of Visitors, he went against Governor Dunmore to prevent Randolph's appointment as visitor.<sup>184</sup>

The evidence of Randolph's participation in the House of Burgesses leaves much to be desired. House records are incomplete, with the official journals containing only an outline of legislative proceedings. Consequently, much of Randolph's alignments and maneuvers can only be surmised. While it was in his interest to be a member of the House, it was at the same time an advantage to the House to have the Attorney General in its membership. Being brother of the Speaker, he was in a good position when it came to committee assignments, and, his brother may have influenced his appointment to committees where he could serve their mutual political interest. During his tenure he was a member of Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances, the two most important committees, and the Committee for Religion.<sup>185</sup> Although he was busy with such routine matters as preparing bills to dock an entail, and carrying communications to the Governor and Council,<sup>186</sup> a recent

quantitative analysis of his activities as reported in the House journals placed him only among the second rank of the burgesses in 1775.<sup>187</sup>

In addition to his other responsibilities, he remained active in the civic affairs of Williamsburg, and, on June 28, 1770, when the General Assembly passed a bill authorizing a hospital for "Ideots, Lunatics, and Persons of insane Mind," he was named to a "court of directors" consisting of fifteen laymen which also included Peyton Randolph.<sup>188</sup> On July 10, the directors appointed the Randolph brothers, together with Robert Carter Nicholas, John Blair, Jr., and Thomas Everard, a committee to draw up plans for the hospital building and to receive bids for its construction. By early August the committee agreed on a plan--"a large commodious Brick Building...to be erected in or as near the City of Williamsburg as conveniently may be."<sup>189</sup> The committee purchased eight lots on the south side of France Street in Williamsburg and chose Robert Smith, Philadelphia's most successful master builder, to design the hospital.<sup>190</sup> Even though John Randolph remained on the Court of Directors until he left Williamsburg in 1775, he was erratic in attending its meetings. He was present once in 1773, twice in 1774, and twice in 1775.<sup>191</sup>

For all his participation in Virginia politics and affairs, the course of Randolph's later life was influenced not so much by parochial issues as by the crisis between Great Britain and the American colonies that developed after 1763. Consistently he supported the mother country and made no effort to disguise his position. He opposed the resolutions against the Stamp Act and did not join the Associations for the cessation of trade with England.<sup>192</sup> In a sense his position is easily understood. He was, after all, an official of the Crown and had spent time

and money cultivating his interest in England and Virginia. He had advanced within the existing order and stood to lose much if it were overturned. However, such an explanation is too simple and does Randolph an injustice, for he was a man of principle, as he himself said later in a somewhat exaggerated vein:

When our unhappy Dispute commenc'd, he wrote from his exile in England ...I saw that it was big with Mischief, & portended Ruin & Desolation, Somewhere. I thought that it behov'd me to reflect with the utmost Deliberation, on the Line of Conduct, which I ought to pursue, on so critical an occasion. I clear'd every avenue to Information, & laid myself open to Conviction, let it come from what Quarter it wou'd. I read with avidity every Thing which was publish'd on the Subject, & put my own Thoughts in writing, that I might see how they wou'd stand on Paper. I found myself embarrass'd by a thousand Considerations acting in direct opposition to each other. In this Situation I had no Resource left but to submit myself solely to the Dictates of my Reason. To that impartial Tribunal I appeal'd. There I reciev'd [sic] Satisfaction.<sup>193</sup>

More than anything that had gone before, the events of early 1774 forced him to systematize his thinking. On March 31, Parliament passed the Boston Port Bill which closed the port to all trade after June 1 until the city paid for the tea destroyed in the Boston Tea Party the previous December. News of the act arrived in Virginia about the middle of May, and on May 24, the House of Burgesses resolved, in support of the Bostonians, to set June 1, as a day of fasting, humiliation and prayer. As a result of its action, the House was dissolved by Governor Dunmore on May 26. The next day eighty-nine burgesses met at the Raleigh Tavern to form an association calling for a boycott on tea and all other commodities imported by the East India Company except salt-peter and spices. At the same time the burgesses issued a call to all the colonies to meet yearly in a general congress. On May 30, twenty-five burgesses met again to consider a circular letter from Boston proposing a cessation of all trade with Great Britain, exports as well as

imports. They replied that Virginia would probably support the proposal, but that they themselves did not have the authority to decide. Therefore, the burgesses summoned a convention to meet on August 1 to consider stopping trade. The closing of the port of Boston, however, was not the only problem confronting Virginians. On April 12 the act setting fees for certain court officials expired. The House was dissolved before it could enact another bill, and the courts were closed. Many saw this as a means to escape their debts and to bring pressure on the British to whom most of the debts were owed.<sup>194</sup>

These were the issues which Randolph had in mind when, anonymously, he published his Considerations on the Present State of Virginia in the summer of 1774.<sup>195</sup> One of the remarkable aspects of the pamphlet is that it reveals that John Randolph, who to this day is called "the Tory", was actually whiggish. The sanctity of the constitution was fundamental to his thought. As he interpreted it, the British constitution provided a "mixed Dominion", for even though England was called a monarchy, her government partook of "many different Species." The King had the executive power placed under his direction. His powers, however, were limited. The tendency, Randolph said, is to strengthen the King "in the doing Good, but by no Means to admit of his doing wrong." The constitution allowed the people a share of power in the Parliament, specifically in the House of Commons. Parliament, representing the power of the people, was, Randolph pointed out, bound to consent only to such laws "as are likely to produce Advantage to the Community," to protect the constituency "from unreasonable Pains and Penalties, and to fix their Properties on such permanent Ground that they cannot be wrested from them or lost...." The House of Lords formed



"an intermediate State between the King and People." The Lords, Randolph said, looked in two directions: forward "to see that the King... does not infringe on the Rights of the People;" backward "to observe... that the People do not exceed...the Boundary of their Privileges." What Randolph said of the constitution of England he held to be true of the constitution of Virginia. "The King's Prerogative," he wrote, "exists here, in its fullest Lustre and Vigour. The People, by their Representatives, compose a Branch of the Legislature; and the Council, as a middle Power, complete the whole Legislative Body."<sup>196</sup>

What then was the relationship between England and Virginia? The colony, as were all the colonies, was subordinate. "The Americans," Randolph wrote, "are descended from the Loins of Britons, and therefore may, with Propriety, be called the Children, and England the Mother of them."<sup>197</sup> The family ties were supported by common custom, law, language, religion, trade and commerce.

The relationship was of great benefit to the Americans. In the first place, England preserved the constitution. In the second, she defended her colonies against "all the hostile Powers on Earth," particularly the French. Third, the mother country was arbiter for the factious colonies. "Despotism," Randolph concluded, "reigns almost every Where, but in the British Dominions...."<sup>198</sup>

How, in view of this beneficial relationship, did Randolph account for the growing dispute between England and America? He understood the root of the problem. "The Parliament of England," he wrote, "claims a superintending Power over the Colonies, which Right they insist comprehends in it that of taxing the People of America, and regulating their Trade."<sup>199</sup> He admitted that in some respects the policy was defective.

"It is true, that it bears hard on the Americans to be inhibited to deal any Where but in England, and then to lay a Duty on those Things which we purchase...." Nevertheless, this was one of the effects of the colonial relationship. "It can never be conceived that Great Britain has protected and cherished the Colonies only to rival herself, and to dispute her Authority." Still, Randolph maintained, "our Interest is so interwoven with hers, that we ought to look with Horrour on any Attempt to cause a Separation."<sup>200</sup>

He counselled patience. American autonomy could not be forestalled.

The Histories of dependent States put it beyond a Doubt that America, when she is able to protect herself, will acknowledge no Superiority in another. That she will be capable, some Time or other, to establish an Independence, must appear evident to every One, who is acquainted with her present Situation and growing Strength.<sup>201</sup>

Independence was coming, but now was not the time. Indeed, by pressing their claims the Americans stood to damage their cause. The British, Randolph warned, were so situated that if driven to it, they could easily crush an American rebellion.

So far, he pointed out, England had shown remarkable forbearance with the colonies. The Massachusetts malcontents had called down the discipline of Parliament on their own heads by dumping the tea in Boston Harbor. This affair did not involve Virginia, and the Old Dominion's efforts to support the Bay Colony against the mother country were not well taken. Let us, Randolph said, "petition his Majesty, assure him of our inviolable Attachment to his Person and Government, and implore his Royal Interposition in procuring a Repeal of those Acts against Massachusetts which excited such an Alarm amongst us, and when abrogated will quiet the Minds of his most faithful Subjects in America."<sup>202</sup>

The Virginia General Assembly had set aside June 1, 1774, as a Day of Fasting and Humiliation and Prayer to coincide with the closing of the port of Boston to show support of the patriot cause there. In these circumstances, Randolph considered such practices sacrilegious and of no practical assistance. "The Mortification of the Body, when intended as a Mark of Penitance, is something; but when it is expected that [it]...will induce the Supreme Being to prevent a hostile Invasion, or the Horrorours of a civil War...it appears to me no more than-- Mockery."<sup>203</sup> The people of Boston, he pointed out, "may be inclined to think that we mean to fob them off with nothing but Fasting and Prayer, a very slender Assistance to Men in their distressed Condition."<sup>204</sup>

Having resolved to support Massachusetts, the House was dissolved by the Governor. Some of the burgesses met afterwards to form an association calling for a boycott on tea and all other commodities imported by the East India Company but not saltpeter and spices. Randolph was critical of this measure. Had the scheme extended no further than the importation of tea, it might have served a purpose; but it was irrational to forbid the use of tea already in local households. Furthermore, Randolph observed, "the Government has received every Advantage it proposed to itself by the Duty imposed [on tea, so] this particular Restraint must be considered rather as the Overflowing of Zeal than founded on any solid Principle."<sup>205</sup> The fact that the associators had excluded saltpeter and spices demonstrated "that we consider these savoury Articles as Necessaries in Life." Is there not, he asked, "a fair Opening for Conjecture that our publick Councils are influenced by our Palates?"<sup>206</sup> The association was vulnerable, for all Parliament had to do to compel general importation was to withhold saltpeter and spices.

Some burgesses, in response to a circular letter from Boston, proposed a stoppage of all trade with Great Britain, exports as well as imports. The consequence, said Randolph, would be disastrous. The welfare of Virginians depended on their finding a proper market for their produce. The British merchant who had advanced his money to the people of Virginia would also be hurt by the inability of the Virginians to make remittances to him. To halt exports, Randolph noted, "is like blowing ourselves up in a Vessel, in Order to be delivered from the Captivity of an Enemy."<sup>207</sup> Moreover, Great Britain had "too many resources in her Power" to be influenced by the loss of the Virginia trade.

Another prospect designed to change the British colonial policy was to close the courts in Virginia. This measure, said Randolph, had already been carried out in part with the result that debts could no longer be collected. As a lawyer and attorney, Randolph was disturbed. "Every Union, whether on a publick or private Nature, ought to be founded on Honour and Integrity," he wrote. "To stop the Avenues of Justice, and by that Means put it out of the Power of an honest Creditor to recover his Demand, a Creditor who may be ruined by such an Impediment thrown in his Way, cannot be justified by the greatest Libertine in Politicks, or the most depraved in Morals."<sup>208</sup> How, he asked, did the associators plan to procure saltpeter "when we can make ...no Returns in Payment, and when we have shut up our Courts, and by that Means put it out of [the merchants'] Power to recover Debts already contracted with them?"<sup>209</sup>

Perhaps Randolph recalled that he had once called himself Metrician, for he concluded on a moderate note. "I hope," he wrote, "that the Want of Affection to my Country will not be imputed to me, because

my Aim is to recommend Moderation. My Wish is, that America may be restored to the same Situation in which it was when his present Majesty King George III ascended the Imperial Throne of his Royal Ancestors 1760. Then our Ways were Ways of Pleasantness, and all our Paths were Peace."<sup>210</sup> Those opposed to England Randolph considered "too vehement, and blinded in the Pursuit of a Thing which, when obtained, is not... worth possessing."<sup>211</sup> It was not that the mother country was above criticism and opposition. "I admit," he wrote, "that every Man has a Right to oppose the Means of Injustice; the Law of Nature allows it, the Law of Society demands it, and it is the Birthright of every Englishman to do it. But what I contend for is, that when we make our Complaints we ought to do it in a Manner most likely to obtain Success. The Mode of Application for Redress is the Subject on which we differ. Liberty is our Prayer: God grant that we may obtain it."<sup>212</sup>

Randolph's pamphlet notwithstanding, the crisis between Great Britain and the colonies intensified. Local committees sprang up in Virginia towns and counties protesting British policy. The Virginia Convention met as scheduled in August and resolved if Britain did not come to terms to halt imports and exports. In September the Continental Congress convened in Philadelphia with the Virginia delegation chosen by the Convention in attendance and created the Continental Association halting within a year all colonial trade with the mother country. The president of the Congress was Randolph's brother, Peyton.

As Randolph had said in his pamphlet, England did not alter her course in the face of colonial protests. Instead the export of gunpowder and arms to the colonies was cut off and the colonial governors were instructed to seize any that might be imported. The second

Virginia Convention, meeting late in March, 1775, put the colony "into a posture of defence" and prepared "for the embodying, arming, and disciplining such a number of men as may be sufficient for that purpose."<sup>213</sup>

Tension grew throughout the spring of 1775. In the early morning hours of April 21, a squad of royal marines, following the orders of Lord Dunmore, the royal governor, seized fifteen half barrels of gunpowder from the magazine in Williamsburg. A week later came news of the battles of Lexington and Concord. Volunteer companies formed and prepared to protect the Virginia capital. Moderates like Peyton Randolph, appealing to the men to remain quiet, forestalled a march on Williamsburg. But early in May, Patrick Henry, convinced that the gunpowder episode was another example of British tyranny, led troops from Hanover County to gain restitution. Some of Henry's men were sent to take receiver general Richard Corbin hostage, but Corbin was gone from home to a Council meeting with Dunmore. The Governor was disturbed by Henry's activities and sent messengers urging that he halt the march. Finally when he was within fifteen miles of Williamsburg, he received Corbin's son-in-law, Carter Braxton, who proposed a truce while arrangements were made to pay for the powder. On May 3, Braxton returned to Henry with a bill of exchange for £330 signed by the receiver general. Dismissing his troops, Henry rode off to the Continental Congress. Three days later Dunmore proclaimed Henry an outlaw.

On June 1, 1775, the General Assembly convened in Williamsburg for the first time since May, 1774. The Governor had called the burgesses to consider the British proposal to cease taxing the colonies if the colonies would tax themselves according to quotas made in London. The burgesses rejected the measure. Meanwhile, the Williamsburg magazine

was once more the center of attention when several young men broke in during the night of June 2-3 and were injured by a spring-triggered shotgun. The burgesses and the Governor had a heated exchange over the incident. At first it appeared that Dunmore would apologize, but during the early morning hours of June 8, he and his family fled from Williamsburg to the refuge of the H. M. S. Fowey anchored in the York River. More than ever Virginians were convinced that a British invasion was imminent. On June 27, the House of Burgesses adjourned.<sup>214</sup>

The months between June, 1774, and June, 1775, were among the most crucial in John Randolph's life. Yet, his activities during that time cannot be traced in detail. Consistent with his principles, he did not attend the meetings of the extralegal Virginia Convention, although as a burgess he could have done so.<sup>215</sup> There was no provision in the constitution for such an assembly; besides the mother country was not bound by any of its decisions. Not until the House of Burgesses convened officially in June, 1775, was he present for public discussion of the situation of the colonies, but by then events had accumulated in such a way that for all practical purposes he was politically isolated. Furthermore, the closing of the courts and his British sympathies had hurt his law practice.

A man less proud and principled than John Randolph might have weathered the crisis differently. He made his position perfectly clear, even though he knew that it was antagonistic. "My Adress is to the Publick," he wrote in the Considerations. "To that Tribunal I apply, as a proper one, to determine on the Rectitude of my Sentiments. When I mention the Publick, I mean to include only the rational Part of it. The ignorant Vulgar are as unfit to judge of the Modes, as they are

unable to manage the Reins of Government. I must beg Leave to exclude also from my Judicature every Man who possesses not a serene Mind, and sound Understanding. Cool Reasoning seldom influences the Clamorous, but Men of Temper will always hearken to it."<sup>216</sup> Still in reference to himself he continued: "He has ever held in Contempt the Applause of a giddy Multitude, but the Opinion of the Wise and Virtuous he has at all Times endeavoured to cultivate."<sup>217</sup>

Whether he intended it or not, Randolph's remarks characterized Patrick Henry in particular. Henry's conduct tended to be guided not by ideology and reason, but by interest and instinct.<sup>218</sup> Specifically, Randolph had criticized the day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer which Henry had been instrumental in organizing. He undoubtedly looked askance at Henry's membership in the Virginia Conventions and the Continental Congress and could hardly have supported Henry's leading troops to Williamsburg or his attempt to capture Richard Corbin, a longtime Randolph friend and supporter. He may very well have agreed with Dunmore that Henry was an outlaw. By 1775, however, it was unwise to be critical of Patrick Henry. In that regard Randolph was compelled to take out a public advertisement in the Virginia Gazette:

Williamsburg, July 12, 1775

It having been asserted, and industriously propagated, that some little time before the late meeting of the merchants, in conversation with a person at my own house, I said that the merchants would not meet, because they were afraid of being robbed of their money by Patrick Henry and his followers: I take this opportunity to declare, upon my honour, that I never said or thought any such thing, and that the person who charges me with uttering such expressions must have mistaken my words, or inferred from them a meaning never intended by

JOHN RANDOLPH<sup>219</sup>

The colonial crisis further alienated Randolph and his old political antagonists, Richard Henry Lee and Robert Carter Nicholas, both of



whom had opposed him in 1766 in the campaign for the continued union of the speakership and the treasury. In criticizing the association for the boycotting of British imports, Randolph was criticizing Lee's proposal. It was not Lee, but Nicholas who responded to Randolph with an anonymous pamphlet of his own, Considerations on the Present State of Virginia Examined. Randolph's arguments were trite, Nicholas said, because by their tyrannical policy against the colonies the British were endeavoring to destroy the very constitution that Randolph said must be preserved. At great length Nicholas detailed the abuses from the Stamp Act to the Boston Port Bill. Under these circumstances Virginians were certainly justified in their resistance. Hopefully, Nicholas concluded, Great Britain would recognize her mistake and restore the old harmonious relationship with her colonies.<sup>220</sup>

In addition to Lee and Nicholas, Randolph antagonized an anonymous poet to ridicule in the Virginia Gazette:

Remonstrance, Petition, and Address,  
All these, still in vain, have been try'd;  
Why then, on the throne should we press  
Those Claims that have been deny'd?

You tell us you're one of our Friends,  
And offer Advice without Fee;  
Thy Pamphlet may answer thy Ends,  
Though burnt under Liberty Tree:

But if, with a mischevious Aim,  
Our Councils you hope to mislead,  
You'll find, with confusion and Shame,  
Your Wishes will never succeed.

You ridicule Fasting and Prayer!  
Th' Effect 'tis presum'd will be small,  
When known to be fond of good Fare,  
And not fond of Praying at all.<sup>221</sup>

Whoever the poet was, he not only knew Randolph's pamphlet, he knew the man himself, for, in addition to the contents of the Considerations, he

ridiculed Randolph's refusal to give free legal advice, his elegant table, and his deistic religion.

Throughout his political career John Randolph viewed himself as a moderate. A Whig in the tradition of the Glorious Revolution, he was a firm believer in the British Constitution which limited the arbitrary power of kings, supported the rights of the aristocracy and commonalty in Parliament, and upheld the Protestant Church of England. He supported the Virginia constitution because it maintained the same principles. He was not blind to the faults of the British in dealing with the American colonies, but since Great Britain had not disturbed the constitution of Virginia, he counselled patience of his countrymen: autonomy would come one day. In the meantime the colonies stood to lose much if they provoked the mother country to hostile action.

There were few Virginians, indeed Americans generally, to dispute the greatness of the British constitution. Nor would they have disagreed that the conflict with the mother country was potentially dangerous. The difference then in the thinking of John Randolph and his contemporaries seems to have been more of degree than of substance. The Randolph brothers, John and Peyton, are a case in point. Both were moderates who upheld British authority in Virginia. They agreed that England could impose taxes on her colonies. They differed in that Peyton believed that colonial protest was an effective method of making the mother country aware of ill-conceived policies. Still, throughout 1774 and 1775, in the Virginia Conventions and the Continental Congress, it was Peyton Randolph who labored to keep colonial protests within moderate bounds. For example, he was largely responsible for restraining his countrymen from military action in the gunpowder episode of 1775.

If, then, John Randolph was well within the Whig tradition, why was he branded a Tory and driven into exile in England? It has been said that he was thoroughly English by temperament and conviction.<sup>222</sup> However, he did not conceive himself in that way, for he publicly admitted that he "was born, and educated, in Virginia."<sup>223</sup> Certainly he had been schooled also in England, he had held offices by crown appointment, traded with British merchants, and was influenced by the fashions of England; but the same was true of other Virginia aristocrats who were patriots, not the least of whom was his own brother. Furthermore, Randolph had strong ties in Virginia. As a public official he had served the county, city, and colony government. He had, until the courts closed, a flourishing law practice. His home, his family, and friends were in the colony. His indebtedness, moreover, indicated that he anticipated uninterrupted residence in Williamsburg.

Nevertheless, Randolph had a narrow view of the Virginia situation. As an aristocrat he was frankly contemptuous of his social inferiors and believed that rank had the responsibility of leadership. His view was no doubt reinforced by the fact that he had only limited experience in elective office; throughout most of his public career he held mainly appointive posts. He had been elected Williamsburg mayor and justice of the peace of James City County, but in both cases the electorate was extremely limited. In 1769, under circumstances not altogether happy for him, he had been elected burgess for Lunenburg County; he served only one term and when he returned to the House in 1774, it was as the representative of the College, a very small constituency. Perhaps it was significant that he antagonized such popular politicians as Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. They had been his

adversaries at least since the Stamp Act crisis a decade before, and it is easily conceivable, even though there is no direct evidence, that they exploited whatever political weakness they could find in John Randolph.

He was especially vulnerable on account of his association with Governor Dunmore. In a town of Williamsburg's size most prominent people were in contact with the Governor at one time or another. Randolph knew in varying degree all the governors since Gooch, who was a friend of his father, but it was with Dunmore that he formed a personal friendship. John Murray, the fourth Earl of Dunmore, arrived in Virginia to assume the governorship in September, 1771, and in the course of his duties recognized Randolph as a man on whom he could rely. Early in 1773, learning that there was a band of counterfeiters in Pittsylvania County, the Governor summoned "Mr Peyton Randolph, His Majesty's late Attorney General of this Colony, and now Speaker of the House of Burgesses, Mr. John Randolph, His Majesty's present Attorney General, and Mr. Robert Carter Nicholas, Treasurer of the Colony, whose abilities as Lawyers and men of integrity, are at least equall, if not Superiour to any three in the Colony." Asked their advice for apprehending the criminals, the lawyers told Dunmore to issue a warrant in his capacity as Chief Justice of Virginia and instruct the county authorities to round up the men and send them under guard to Williamsburg. The operation was successful, Dunmore informed the Secretary of State. "In short," he wrote, "I followed their Advice in every part of my conduct."<sup>224</sup> Dunmore's friendship with Randolph grew. He supported Randolph for appointment to the Board of Visitors of the College, and he was a welcome guest at Randolph's house. Undoubtedly Randolph's public support

of British authority in 1774 endeared him to the Governor, for it came at a time when Dunmore found himself increasingly on the defensive among Virginians.

As Britain's chief official in the Old Dominion, Dunmore was in a difficult position. He dismissed the House of Burgesses in May, 1774, because of its activities protesting the Boston Port Bill. He called the burgesses to assemble the following August, but they did not meet because he was gone to the frontier to fight Indians in what became known as Dunmore's War. Eventually the Indians were subdued, but the Virginia Convention and the Continental Congress showed that colonials would not be easily controlled. In April, 1775, after the Virginia Convention had taken steps in the previous month to defend the colony militarily, Dunmore seized the gunpowder. He explained in a letter to Lord Dartmouth: "The series of dangerous measures pursued by the People of this Colony against Government which they have now entirely overturned, and particularly their having come to a Resolution of raising a Body of armed Men in all the counties, made me think it prudent to remove some Gunpowder which was in a Magazine in this place, where it lay exposed to any attempt that might be made to seize it...."<sup>225</sup> From that point the Governor's popularity steadily declined, and his subsequent actions did nothing to bolster his reputation among Virginians. He threatened to arm the slaves against those who protested his seizure of the powder, and he declared the popular Patrick Henry an outlaw. He called the General Assembly into session in June which only compounded his difficulties because the burgesses began an investigation of the gunpowder incident. Suspicion against him was so great that when a booby trap injured two men who had broken into the Williamsburg magazine, he was condemned as a would-be assassin. The Governor and the Assembly

had an angry exchange over the affair. Rumor spread that royal marines were coming to town, and the Williamsburg volunteer company mobilized. On June 8, at two o'clock in the morning, Dunmore and his family slipped out of Williamsburg and took refuge on a ship anchored in the York River. His behavior suggested to Virginians that British invasion was imminent.

On July 14, 1775, John Randolph presented a deposition to the House of Burgesses in which he testified as to his knowledge of recent events. Clearly he was Dunmore's friend, but he was not uncritical of the Governor's performance. He had, Randolph said, no advance knowledge of the removal of the powder, nor had he heard the Governor say that he would free the slaves. But, Randolph continued, he was certain that the Governor was resolved to take such action "if he thought himself under the necessity of taking up Arms in defence of his Person." Randolph informed the Speaker, his brother, of Dunmore's resolution, "leaving it to the Speaker to pursue such Measures as he should think advisable to prevent it."

Although Randolph admitted that "he knew little of the designs of the people, not mixing with them," he did not think that there was real danger to the Governor or his family either at the time of the removal of the powder or later. Dunmore, Randolph testified, had come almost daily to the Randolph house "in particular that Evening of his departure from Wmsburg" and Randolph "knew of no insult that he received in passing to and from thence." In fact, when in recent days the House had appointed Randolph a deputy "to waite on his Lordship with their Address to solicit his return," Randolph said he had informed the Governor "that his Person was in no Danger."<sup>226</sup>

Once again Randolph had taken a moderate position. He neither

apologized for Dunmore nor condemned him. Instead he worked toward reconciliation. Typically, there was nothing covert in his actions. His position, as it had been during his campaign for the attorney-generalship in 1766, and during the crisis arising from the Boston Port Bill, was plain. He continued to carry communiques back and forth between the burgesses and the Governor until the House adjourned on June 24.<sup>227</sup> Yet the public saw Randolph not as a moderate, but as a co-conspirator with Dunmore.

As early as May, 1774, when the Governor dissolved the House because it resolved to support Massachusetts, Randolph was thought to be his accomplice. Privately Landon Carter, who had once helped make Randolph Attorney General, "imagined" that Randolph, "the College Member", had "traiterously" informed Dunmore of the action of the House "as he might have heard something about it being a Member."<sup>228</sup> Another Virginian said that Randolph was the "Tool" to Dunmore's "Vices."<sup>229</sup> On July 27, 1775, the Virginia Gazette printed a public letter "To J--n R-----ph, esquire," written by "A SURRY VOLUNTEER" at the request of several other "volunteers, well-wishers and subscribers." The letter, untempered either by reason or humor, was the most stinging public rebuke Randolph ever received:

The too late contemptible appearance you hitherto cut is the only reason that your name has not been branded with ignominy before, and your person exhibited on the public theatre as a spectacle of reproach.

Your very idea, like an unskilful actor, is enough to excite the aversion of the audience; and you will be hissed off the stage with the demerit you deserve. The late passages of your life are so pitiful that the most ingenious attempt to ascribe something to your advantage would prove ineffectual.... your consequence, perhaps, is more trifling than you imagine. Indeed, I look upon you less entitled to observation than beneath it; but as a public conspirator, your conscience should be racked....Your dependence on l--d D-----e has indeed promoted

your own disgrace, but it has not added to your interest. If it has enriched you in imagination, it has robbed you in good earnest; if it has led you to the shadow, it has lost you the certainty; if it has afforded you a transitory blessing, it has deprived you of real happiness....Yet a word: If your principles are in corrigible, if you are rooted in the wrong, pray abscond yourself, push for some remote corner of the globe, where the impressions of your countrymen, and the invectives of a much injured people, cannot assail your adamant ears.<sup>230</sup>

There was more abuse directed at Randolph. According to Dunmore, he and his family "suffered the greatest insults" and were "threatened with the loss of their lives and having their House and every thing they have destroyed."<sup>231</sup> Mrs. Randolph later claimed that her husband's enemies "did come down to Williamsburg with an Intent to hang him, but were prevented."<sup>232</sup> "The Insults," Randolph wrote, "I reciev'd from a People (whose Interest I always consider'd as my own) unrestrain'd by the Influence of Gentlemen of Rank gave me much Uneasiness. But, the unmanly & illiberal Treatment, which the more delicate part of my Family met with, I confess, fill'd me with the highest Resentment."<sup>233</sup>

Under these circumstances, Dunmore, who had already sent off his own wife and children to the mother country, advised Randolph to take his family to England, and wrote the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Lord Dartmouth, urging him to aid Randolph financially.<sup>234</sup> Before Randolph could depart, however, he had to put his affairs in Virginia in order.

First, there was the matter of his debts, which he said did not exceed £3000.<sup>235</sup> Some had gone unpaid so long that they were difficult to settle because he did not have so much cash on hand. He paid part of his bill with the barber by pardoning a Negro and giving the barber horses valued at £5.3s.7d.<sup>236</sup> To discharge his other obligations, on August 25, 1775, he appointed Peyton Randolph, John Blair, and James



Cocke trustees of his Williamsburg property including the house, out-buildings, the surrounding one hundred acres, his church pew, thirteen slaves, and all household goods and furniture.<sup>237</sup> He gave public notice in the Virginia Gazette that his estate was to be sold and informed all persons who had demands against him to tell his trustees at the next meeting of the merchants in October.<sup>238</sup> Despite his arrangement, he feared his enemies would prevent the sale of his property and would prevail upon his creditors to send their bills to England to have them put into execution there.<sup>239</sup>

His responsibilities as Attorney General he turned over to John Blair, a leading Williamsburg lawyer and clerk of the Council.<sup>240</sup>

In the midst of weightier responsibilities, Randolph remembered his violin and the pact which, in happier times four years earlier, he had made with Jefferson. He now told his cousin that he could have the fiddle. On August 17, Jefferson delivered to Carter Braxton an order for £13 to purchase the instrument. "This," Jefferson noted in his accountbook, "dissolves our bargain recorded in the General Court."<sup>241</sup> From Monticello he wrote to his friend: "I now send the bearer for the violin & such musick appurtaining to her as may be of no use to the young ladies. I beleive you had no case for her. If so, be so good as to direct Watt Lenox to get from Prentis's some bags or other coarse woollen to wrap her in and then pack her securely in a wooden box."<sup>242</sup> In a letter full of his finest sentiments Randolph replied:

I have recieved ten Guineas of the Treasurer, & have left the violin with Mr Cocke of Wmsburg. I wish I had had a case for it.

Tho we may politically differ in sentiments, yet I see no Reason, why privately we may not cherish the same Esteem for each other which formerly, I believe, subsisted between us. Should any coolness happen between us, I'll take Care not to be

the first mover of it. We both of us seem to be steering opposite Courses; the Success of either lies in the womb of time. But whether it falls to my share or not, be assured that I wish you all Health & Happiness.<sup>243</sup>

Whatever his anguish in leaving Virginia, Randolph kept it mostly to himself. But he did not disguise his worries from his son who was gone to join the Continental army at Boston:

My dear Edmund,

I wrote you a long Letter recommended to the Care of Mr Willing at Philadelphia, wherein I pointed out my Reasons why I thought your Military undertaking will not suit your Situation, or be so advantageous to you on residing in Wmsburg. Your Uncle Peyton we hear is dangerously ill at Richmond. It is thought his Duration here will be short. You should never be out of the way, when so much depends on your Presence. I shall certainly go to Engl<sup>an</sup>d with my Family before October. I want you very much to take my Place at the Capitol. His Majesty will provide for me at Home & you may certainly get into my Office. I propose selling all my Estate both real and personal at the next meeting in october. You have often told me that you wd relinquish your Legacy given by Mr Jennings. As an equivalent I shall give you the full Contents of my Study, & propose giving my Bond for the Remainder. I have appointed yourself & Uncle my Trustees for selling my Estate & shall join Mr Blairs with you. Consider what an honourable & Advantageous outset you will make in the Law. Is not the Glory of the Cabinet equal to that of the Field? Is not this better than broken Limbs, Fatigue, Shattered Health & an eternal Want of money? For God's Sake return to your Family & indeed to yourself. Abandon not your Sisters, who are wretched about you. Come back & Heaven will prosper all your Undertakings.

I am your affect & afflicted Father

J. Randolph<sup>244</sup>

He was not, however, completely dispirited. There was hope when once he arrived in England he could work reconciliation between the mother country and the colonies. Jefferson encouraged him in peacemaking. "Looking with fondness towards a reconciliation with Great Britain," Jefferson wrote to Randolph, "I cannot help hoping you may contribute towards expediting this good work. I think it must be evident to yourself that the ministry have been deceived by their officers on this side of the water, who...have constantly represented the American

opposition as that of a small faction, in which the body of the people took little part. This you can inform them of your own knowledge to be untrue....it will perhaps be in your power by doing this to render service to the whole empire, at the most critical time certainly that it has ever seen. Whether Britain shall continue the head of the greatest empire on earth, or shall return to her original station in the political scale of Europe depends perhaps on the resolutions of the succeeding winter. God send they may be wise and salutary for us all."<sup>245</sup>

At last, on Friday morning, September 8, 1775, John Randolph, with his wife and daughters, left Williamsburg. They were bound for Norfolk where they were "to take shipping for England."<sup>246</sup> Arriving in the port town on September 10,<sup>247</sup> the Randolphs waited there for a ship until the end of the month. In the meantime, Randolph conferred with Dunmore who was living aboard the William, a ship anchored in the nearby Elizabeth River.

Randolph was apprehensive. At the end of August when he advertised his departure in the Williamsburg newspaper, he said he intended to leave the colony only for a "few months."<sup>248</sup> That was wishful thinking and he knew it, for he had given up his entire estate to be sold to pay his debts. He had nothing to return to in Virginia. To Dunmore he spoke of his precarious financial condition. The Governor responded with a letter for Randolph to deliver to Lord Dartmouth in London explaining that Randolph's debt was "chiefly Contracted in entertaining Strangers which he looked upon as a duty incumbent on him as a principal Crown Officer." Specifically, Dunmore asked for government intercession to prevent Randolph's enemies from sending his debts to England for collection. Had "His Majesty's other Officers acted with the same zeal

[as Randolph],” Dunmore pointed out, “this Country never would have been involved in its present unfortunate Situation....should this Gentleman go unnoticed by His Majesty or His Servants...it will be [a] matter of great exultation to His Majesty's Enemies, and very poor encouragement to others in future to do their duty.” Furthermore, the Governor, like Jefferson, thought Randolph a proper person to convey the true state of American affairs to the ministry. The fact that both Dunmore and Jefferson could agree on Randolph when they did not agree on the imperial crisis was proof of Randolph's moderation. Should “you think proper to converse with him,” Dunmore told Dartmouth, “you will not only find him extreamly ready but exceedingly capable of giving your Lordship the best information relative to this Country.”<sup>249</sup>

In late September or early October<sup>250</sup> the Randolphins sailed for England. By November 22, they were in London.<sup>251</sup> They found temporary lodgings with a family named Campbell secured for them by Lucy Necks, a sister of Mrs. Peyton Randolph, whose first husband was Randolph's cousin, Captain Edward Randolph II. The Campbell house was next to the home of another erstwhile Virginian, the merchant John Norton, with whom Randolph had dealings. Norton reported that the Randolph “Ladys have gone thro the small pox [inoculation] and are now removed to the other end of town.”<sup>252</sup> The residence to which the Randolphins moved was Number 8, Prince's Street, Hanover Square, in the northwest section of London, where they continued to live until about 1778 when they took a house at Number 14 Brompton Row in Knightsbridge.

Undoubtedly, since he was a Crown officer in Virginia and had proven his attachment to the British Constitution, Randolph anticipated for himself a government post equal to his rank and experience. “I

shall not be surprised," a fellow Virginia expatriate wrote of Randolph, "if I should see in the Papers his appointment to some Lucrative Place here."<sup>253</sup> Doubtless encouraged when the government granted him £500 compensation in December, 1775, he took the letters from Dunmore and Jefferson and called on Lord Dartmouth.<sup>254</sup> He also met Lord Shelburne and told him he wished to be employed by the government.<sup>255</sup> Nothing came of his rounds to the ministers. His experience was typical of other loyalists. "We Americans," wrote Thomas Hutchinson, the exiled Governor of Massachusetts, in February, 1776, "are plenty here, and very cheap. Some of us at first coming are apt to think ourselves of importance, but other people do not think so, and few if any of us are much consulted or inquired after."<sup>256</sup>

Frustrated in his efforts to secure a government post, John Randolph engaged in other activities keeping his name always before the King and the ministry. In the spring of 1779 he joined with his countrymen in forming the Association of American Loyalists. This group of about one hundred Americans met first at the Spring Garden Coffee-house on May 21. Their organization not only provided a social outlet but was also a means of pressing their concerns on the government. Sir William Pepperell, Massachusetts loyalist, was their leader. After resolving to consider proper measures for their own interest and reputation in their present circumstances, they adjourned to meet later at the Crown and Anchor, a tavern in the Strand.<sup>257</sup>

About ninety refugees convened on May 26. Pepperell was appointed president. A committee of loyalists from each colony was established "to Consider the proper Measures...relative to the Affairs of the British Colonies in North America...and make Report at the next Meeting,

to be called by the Committee as soon as ready." Of the twelve committeemen appointed, Randolph represented Virginia.<sup>258</sup>

The committee reported to the Association at a general meeting at the Crown and Anchor on July 6, submitting the draft of an address to the King prepared by Joseph Galloway of Pennsylvania, John Patterson of New York, and Daniel Leonard of Massachusetts. After considering the draft carefully, the Association agreed to send it.<sup>259</sup>

The purpose of the address was to make clear to the King that despite recent British military reverses in America, "the greater Number of your Subjects in the confederated Colonies, notwithstanding every Art to seduce, every Device to intimidate, and a Variety of Oppressions to compel them to abjure their Sovereign, entertain the firmest Attachment and Allegiance to your Majesty's sacred Person and Government."<sup>260</sup> To support these "Truths," the loyalists said there was no need to mention their own sufferings because everyone knew that they had "sacrificed all which the most loyal Subjects could forego, or the happiest possess." Instead, they had only to point to their countrymen in America who had opposed the Congress, formed companies of loyal militia and fought the rebels, joined the British forces, fled their homes, or died for their principles.<sup>261</sup> Some of their fellow subjects, the loyalists lamented, motivated by mistaken principles and deluded by their leaders, had discarded their allegiance to become dependent on an alliance with France, "the ancient Enemy of their Country, Liberties, and Religion, an Alliance which may enslave, but never can establish the Happiness of your Colonists." The address concluded with a prayer to "the supreme Disposer of Events" at last "to restore to your Majesty's Subjects in America, that mild Government, under

which they long enjoyed so much Felicity."<sup>262</sup>

One hundred and five American refugees put their names to the address, Randolph signing at the head of the Virginia delegation.<sup>263</sup>

Not all loyalists signed, however. Elisha Hutchinson, son of Governor Hutchinson, refused to approve the address because it gave a mistaken impression of the strength of the loyalists in America. For that reason, Hutchinson thought, the majority of the Americans in England would never agree to the address.<sup>264</sup> No such doubts plagued John Randolph. Never a good judge of public opinion regarding England's relations with her colonies, he seemed to blame the present troubles on a few hot-heads, such as his old antagonists Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. When the signing was complete, a committee of twelve, headed by Pepperell and including Randolph, was directed to present the address to the King "in the manner most respectful and agreeable to him."<sup>265</sup>

The Association remained active throughout the summer and autumn of 1779. At the same time as they approved of the address to the King, they established a standing committee to attend to the honor and interest of the loyalists in the colonies or in England. The committee ordered its members to collect information concerning the state and progress of the American rebellion and created a committee of correspondence with the loyalists in New York. About all that was accomplished was a mutual commiseration over the sad condition of the loyalists wherever they were.<sup>266</sup>

Randolph was more concerned over the threat of a French invasion of England. Accordingly, in August, 1779, he was appointed chairman of a committee to petition Lord Germaine, the successor of Dartmouth as the Secretary of State for the Colonies, offering the King without

charge the military services of the loyalists in case of an attack.<sup>267</sup>

The King graciously accepted the offer and referred it to General Amherst, the Commander in Chief. Randolph accordingly met with Amherst who was prepared to procure commissions for such "Gentlemen" as the Association might think proper to recommend as officers, to appoint drill sergeants to instruct them in the manual of arms, and to insist that if they saw actual service in defense of London, they might be paid. Amherst, however, went beyond the intentions of the Association. The loyalists proposed to organize and drill only if an attack were imminent; they would take no pay because they, who had already suffered every extremity short of death as proof of their loyalty, were willing in case of invasion "to risk their lives also in defence of His Majesty is sacred person and rights."

Randolph had to inform Amherst of the Association's position. He was reluctant to antagonize the commander or to appear ungrateful by rejecting the offer. Instead, Randolph and his committeemen suggested a compromise. The loyalists' military service could be had only without money, and, since not all loyalists approved of organizing and drilling without actual invasion, only those who were willing to volunteer would be elected officers and trained as Amherst specified. The Association approved the recommendation.<sup>268</sup> Altogether sixty-seven loyalists volunteered and Pepperell was elected captain. Randolph was also a candidate for captain, but lost to Pepperell by two votes.<sup>269</sup> Randolph submitted a list of the officers and men to Amherst and added, "Tho' I lament the occasion of the French threat, yet I feel a particular satisfaction, which I dare say, is general among us, in having an opportunity of showing our Gratitude & affection for his Majesty; &



I hope our Actions will be found to correspond in the fullest Manner, with our Professions."<sup>270</sup>

Not all loyalists, however, shared Randolph's "particular satisfaction." They viewed the election of officers and the regimentation of volunteers as an attempt by Randolph to pervert the association from its true intent "in order to serve some private views." They did not say what Randolph's "private views" were, but they did say that they feared that if their voluntary organization were made into a formal military company, rivalry would result and other loyalists would not unite with them. They signed themselves only "Several Members of the Association."<sup>271</sup> As it turned out, their fears were groundless; the loyalist company never mobilized, for there was no invasion from France. It was noteworthy that Randolph was suspected of fostering his private interests. Certainly he had always been concerned with his personal advancement. If the suspicions of his loyalist colleagues had foundation in fact, what was he seeking, a military commission, or was he simply attempting to prove himself worthy and capable of a government appointment?

Randolph spent much of his time among the Virginia refugees. He was the chairman of the General Meeting of the Loyalists of Virginia formed in 1783 to review the property claims they intended to submit to the British government. He attested the claims of several of his countrymen. A reliable witness, he recognized the distinction between fact and hearsay and testified only to the limits of his knowledge. For example, he certified that Bernard Carey was "a Resident of Williamsburgh, and kept a Shop there", but that he "Knew nothing of his Property or Loyalty."<sup>272</sup> As chairman, Randolph collected the Virginia claims and

presented them to the government in October, 1783.<sup>273</sup>

Sometimes he was willing to aid a Virginian out of his own pocket. Learning that young William Page, who was in school in Edinburgh, was "very much Distressed for Want of a Subsistance," he and his fellow refugees, John Baylor and Richard Corbin, Jr., arranged to send Page eight guineas a month for a year "to enable him to pursue his Studies." They anticipated that Page's relatives in Virginia would repay the money, but if not, they would stand the expense themselves.<sup>274</sup>

He continued his efforts to reconcile Britain and America. In 1779, after Jefferson had become Governor of Virginia, Randolph resumed a correspondence with his old friend by proposing an end to the war with the mother country. The scheme was arranged with tact and design. Surely, he began, their friendship survived; he trusted that Jefferson had not been swayed by their differences; for his part, Randolph said, despite all that had happened to him, he harbored no bitterness. He recognized that the Americans were determined to be independent and to that end had made an alliance with France and Spain. He dismissed Spain as insignificant, but France, he warned, was perfidious, for that despotic and Catholic power was determined only to crush Britain and would sacrifice the Americans in the process. The Americans must not fool themselves in thinking that Britain was near defeat. The British navy, he pointed out, had just turned away the French fleet; the nations of Europe were prepared to join Britain to maintain the balance of power against France; and even in the uncertainty of British politics there was agreement to fight on to victory. All of this, Randolph said, was "intended to prepare you for one important Question, momentous not only to America, & Great Britain, but also to Europe in

General: Wou'd it not be prudent, to rescind your Declaration of Independence, be happily reunited to your ancient & natural Friend, & enjoy a Peace, which I most religiously think, wd pass all Understanding."

American independence will never be acknowledged by the Parliament, but he admitted concessions would be made. "Every Immunity, which you can reasonably ask for, will be granted to you; the rapacious Hand of Taxation will never reach you. Your Laws & Regulations will be established on the solid Basis of the british Constitution, & your Happiness will be attended to with all the Solitude, which belongs to an affectionate Parent."<sup>275</sup> However, he may not have posted the letter, or it was intercepted, for it never reached Jefferson.

In 1780, as the British armies in America captured Savannah and Charleston, Randolph, in anticipation of an end to the war, submitted to Lord Germaine a "Plan of Accomodations" for dealing with the defeated colonies. Although he was bewildered at the rebellion of the Americans who "enjoy'd every Blessing, which reasonable men cou'd or ought to expect in a State of Society," he was characteristically moderate. "As in every Dispute, which has been carried on with Violence," he wrote, "some points must be given up, on both Sides in order to establish a perfect Reconciliation."<sup>276</sup> So long as Parliament maintained the right to unlimited control, the colonies will remain jealous, Randolph said. "To relinquish any Part of this Power, may be thought descending below the supreme Legislature; to preserve it entire," he warned, "may be establishing a perpetual warfare."<sup>277</sup> There were two instances where the Parliament was supreme: regulation of commerce and collective control of the colonies.<sup>278</sup> Yet, he declared that "it will always be Policy to gratify [the Americans' desires] when the Thing

requir'd can be productive of no Mischief." In outline his plan was that each colony, instead of being represented in the British Parliament, should maintain its own institutions of representative government; that in order to keep the colonies from future rebellion, they ought to be kept separate from each other; that the "Bugbear of Taxation" be renounced to be replaced by an annual allowance which the colonies were required to pay; that all the acts of trade and navigation be enforced, but that trade be allowed with the Spanish possessions in America; that all proprietary colonies be abolished with all land "uniformly and immediately" held under the crown; that the power of the colonial governor be increased so that he will be respected by the people; that the courts of vice admiralty and the American board of customs commissioners be abolished.<sup>279</sup> There must be no retribution, Randolph concluded. When the colonies had given "sufficient Proofs that they have recover'd their Senses, and feel the Value of Connection with Great Britain, in Preference to all others" they must be "reciev'd into the Bosom of this Country, and cherish'd with parental Kindness, which is due to a Son, who with filial Respect submits himself to the authority of his Father."<sup>280</sup>

Although Randolph's plan of accommodation "was one of the most enlightened commentaries on the problems governing America,"<sup>281</sup> it is remarkable how little his thinking had changed since 1774. In the Considerations he had held that Great Britain was the most enlightened of nations and that for the colonies the benefits of the imperial connection far outweighed any disadvantage. The British constitution guaranteed their liberties; the force of British arms protected and defended them from all enemies; and only the mother country could settle

disputes between the colonies themselves. Parliament held the power to regulate commerce; no one, he said, disputed that Parliament also held the power to tax. Almost every colonial protested that; but the protest was not well taken because after the repeal of the Stamp tax, Parliament had maintained only a token tax on tea. The kinds of protests (fasts, associations, non-importation) practiced by the colonists were dangerous because they could only provoke the mother country to a contest the Americans could not win. By 1780, he was willing to concede the power of taxation and colonial grievances against the vice admiralty courts and the customs collectors, but he insisted that the Americans must subordinate themselves to Great Britain. Strange to say, he seemed to be unaware that the Americans had gone to war and that it was impossible to restore the old empire of 1760.

There is associated with John Randolph a curious volume titled Letters from General Washington to several of his Friends, in the year 1776, in which is set forth a fairer and fuller View of American Politics than ever yet transpired, first published in London in 1777.<sup>282</sup>

Better known as the "Spurious letters of Washington," the collection was attributed to John Randolph. The little volume contained seven letters supposedly written by Washington from New York during June and July, 1776. They had come into loyalist possession from Billy, a mulatto, "the old servant of General Washington", who had been left behind during the American evacuation of Fort Lee.<sup>283</sup> In the letters Washington appeared critical of New England, the Virginia patriots, and the Continental Congress. He was further pictured as loyal to the King, doubtful of American independence, and uncertain that a pitiful American army could succeed against Britain.<sup>284</sup>

Was Randolph indeed the author of the letters? There is no doubt that he knew Washington and his wife better than almost anyone else in England at the time. For that reason, Washington himself suspected "Jack Randolph for the author, as the letters contain a knowledge of his family affairs that none but a Virginian could be acquainted with."<sup>285</sup>

The letters were cleverly written. Addressed to the members of the Washington family, including Mrs. Washington, they appeared to reveal Washington's private and intimate concerns. They contained enough truth to be plausible. A Washington aide admitted that the sentiments of the letters were noble "and such as the General often expresses. I have heard him declare a thousand times, and he does it in the most public company, that independence was farthest of anything from his thoughts, and that he never entertained the idea until he plainly saw that absolute conquest was the aim, and unconditional submission the terms which Great Britain meant to grant."<sup>286</sup>

The letters displayed a knowledge of Washington's family life that was specific and remarkably accurate. Most of them were addressed to Lund Washington at Mount Vernon where he was the plantation manager during the General's absence. There was a letter to Mrs. Washington and one to her son, John Parke Custis. Aside from Washington's political opinions and doubts, the letters revealed him as a husband concerned for his wife's welfare and safety; in particular he was worried lest she contract smallpox.<sup>287</sup> There was a basis in fact for his concern because Mrs. Washington was afraid of smallpox inoculation and consented to it only during the spring of 1776 as a precaution against her exposure to the disease when she visited her husband in camp. Throughout the correspondence Washington made frequent references to

Eleanor Custis, his stepson's wife, whom he called Nelly. One of the fake letters was sent in care of her father, Bernard Calvert of Mount Airy in Maryland, where the writer knew the young Custises were often in residence. Washington was made to write to his wife in June, 1776, congratulating her on Nelly's recovery from childbirth, but consoling her at the same time for he did not "wonder that this second loss of a little one should affect you."<sup>288</sup> The details of this incident were not entirely accurate. Nelly gave birth to a healthy daughter in the summer of 1776, but a year earlier she had miscarried just at the time Randolph was preparing to go to England. The fact that the letter contained a consolation to Mrs. Washington showed that the writer knew her very well, for she had in great sorrow outlived three of her own four children.<sup>289</sup> One detail in the letters more than any other pointed directly to Randolph. In the spurious letter to his wife Washington referred to "the set of greys I bought of Lord Botetourt." These very animals had, in 1770, impressed Randolph as "remarkable handsome grey Horses;" and as one of Botetourt's executors, he knew that Washington had purchased them for £130.<sup>290</sup>

Moreover, in content the letters resemble Randolph's own writings. His favorite themes--loyalty to the King, contempt for the common people, the disparity between the various colonies, the futility of war against Britain--are strongly emphasized. There are also pointed remarks against Randolph's old political opponents, Patrick Henry and Richard Henry Lee. "No doubt," one of the letters read, "Henry is, in many respects, the unfittest man in the state for Governor of Virginia. He has no property, no learning, but little good sense, and still less virtue or public spirit; but he is the idol of the people;....His

inaugural speech<sup>7</sup> is, indeed, a poor pitiful performance; and yet I can believe, that set off by his smooth and oily delivery, it would appear clever when he spoke it."<sup>291</sup> The same letter lamented that the Lees, men of "shining talents" capable of leading "a willing multitude", had vacated their leadership. "With all their cleverness, they are selfish in the extreme. The people, at length, have found this out; or, no doubt, R. H. Lee would have now been governor, the grand object of all his aims."<sup>292</sup>

If Randolph forged the Washington letters, he did so at the expense of an old friend. At one time such exploitation was not in his thinking. Before leaving Virginia he had been explicit in his hope to Jefferson that their friendship outlast their differences. Apparently he and Washington parted on amiable terms, for during the late summer of 1775 when rumor spread that Lord Dunmore was planning a raid on Mount Vernon to abduct Mrs. Washington, Lund Washington reassured the General that "her old acquaintance, the Attorney" would prevent Dunmore from "doing an act of that kind."<sup>293</sup>

Randolph's life in England, however, had proven disappointing. Instead of receiving a post in the government commensurate to his former position, he was reduced to a pension that he found inadequate and to activities that had no real importance. Although he claimed that he was not bitter, he was hardly happy. A passage from the letters where Washington was made to recall "a friend, now most unjustly as well as unwisely driven from his friends and his home"<sup>294</sup> described Randolph exactly.

When the Washington letters appeared in 1777, they were, like Randolph's other published pieces, anonymous. Furthermore, they were



moderate in comparison with other literature critical of Washington; they were neither scurrilous nor salacious.<sup>295</sup> Such was Randolph's mood, for he was not so much opposed to Washington personally as he was to the radicals who were destroying the British Empire. Perhaps because of their moderation, the letters were difficult to discredit and they had a longer life than usual for such things; to Washington's annoyance they were republished as late as 1795.

In the midst of his efforts to reconcile Britain and the colonies, Randolph was plagued with personal problems. His finances, which had been always a major concern, grew more complicated after his removal to England. To pay his Virginia creditors he had signed over his property to trustees, and finally, after several delays, the estate was sold at auction.<sup>296</sup> The trustees, however, had difficulty in collecting money from the sale; on July 17, 1777, they requested "all persons indebted for goods bought at the sale to make immediate payment, the bonds having been due some time;"<sup>297</sup> finally, even though they still had not collected all the money, they settled with the creditors in October, 1778.<sup>298</sup> Contrary to Randolph's plan, the sale of his Virginia property did not cancel his indebtedness.

Edmund Randolph, who had returned from Massachusetts to Virginia in 1776, spent years in the attempt to settle his parent's affairs.<sup>299</sup> Although he had been promised his father's library, it was auctioned by order of the James City County court in September, 1778.<sup>300</sup> The death of Mrs. Peyton Randolph in 1783 complicated matters still more because by the terms of her husband's will, John Randolph was the major heir of the estate. The creditors were quick to claim whatever they could. Edmund worked to settle the accounts equally,<sup>301</sup> but he was

forced to give up his career as Virginia Attorney General to return to the practice of law. "It is not often," he wrote, "that I lament my want of patrimony; but, when obliged to exchange a pursuit, liberal and extensive, like politicks, for reports and entries, I surely do not commit an unpardonable Sin in reprehending my father for not handing down a fortune to me."<sup>302</sup>

Randolph's financial problems followed him to Britain. He claimed that his "Escape" from Virginia had been so sudden that he had arrived in England "destitute of even what was necessary to enable himself & Family to make their appearance in Public."<sup>303</sup> While the claim was exaggerated, there is no doubt that in contrast to his Virginia lifestyle, he was in reduced circumstances. In December, 1775, he was granted £500 in lieu of his annual salary as Attorney General and judge of the Admiralty, but after the first year the allowance was reduced to £400.

Randolph spent years in his attempt to have his pension restored to its original sum. He claimed that his expenses were regulated on the expectation that he would receive £500 so long as the present war lasted. Even though he adopted "every Measure of Economy," he informed the Lords of the Treasury in 1777, he was in a financial bind. It had been impossible to bring "any Thing" from Virginia, he was in debt at least £300, London was an "expensive City," and "the Sickness of my Family & my Expenses in getting to England, have plac'd me in this unhappy Situation."<sup>304</sup> If their Lordships would grant him the full allowance he could pay his debts and then he would be satisfied with £400.<sup>305</sup> Dunmore gave his support, but the petition was denied. He petitioned again in 1778. He reminded the Treasury of his loyalty to

the crown and the sacrifices he had made because of it. His debt had increased to £500 and if it were not discharged in a short time, it would "unavoidably throw him into a Gaol." All of his assets had been seized by the Virginia Convention, nothing but ruin was in store for him and his family unless relieved by their Lordships' goodness.<sup>306</sup> Again his petition was denied.<sup>307</sup>

Finally, in 1783, he petitioned once more. The Earl of Shelburne, who had appointed him Attorney General, was then the First Lord of the Treasury. Randolph's claim, perhaps reflecting his desperation, was exaggerated to show how much he had been forced to give up in fleeing Virginia and how much it cost to maintain his household in England. He claimed that his official salary had been £500 a year with an additional £1200 in fees. Furthermore, he had a considerable personal estate in Virginia, real estate worth several hundred pounds a year, a great number of slaves valued at £2000, and a townhouse which was "destroyed the night after he left Williamsburg." Although it cannot be proved, it is doubtful that Randolph ever collected fees in the amount stated, nor did he possess slaves to the value claimed--his Williamsburg inventory listed only thirteen. To claim that his house had been destroyed was absolutely false. He emphasized his loyalty at the time of the Stamp Act, and the present poverty of his family. With him in England were his wife and two daughters both of whom were married to "American Sufferers". The youngest daughter lived with him because her husband was "in the Militia & in distress." As with all his other petitions, this was also rejected.<sup>308</sup> That Randolph exaggerated his losses and sufferings was a sign of desperation.

That Randolph found his position in England degrading was apparent

in his first petition to the Treasury. "It w'd give me great Pleasure," he wrote, "to be employ'd in any Thing that w'd render me deserving of this Bounty; for Nothing is so hurtful to me as to be an Incumbrance on Government. I hope you will pardon me for saying that I have always seen happier Days, & that I little expected that my attachment to the Authority of the Kingdom wou'd have reduced myself & Family to the Condition in which they are in at this Time."<sup>309</sup>

The Treasury Board did not grant Randolph's petitions for a £500 pension because they wished to maintain him more or less equal with other colonial pensioners of similar rank and responsibility. They agreed that his "character & Conduct appears to us to be extreamly Good & he has a large Family," but they explained that he had been granted £500 in the beginning as a continuance of his salary because they expected that he would soon return to Virginia to execute his offices. The former attorney of Pennsylvania was paid £300, and considering Randolph's family responsibilities, the Board decided £400 a year was adequate.<sup>310</sup>

There is little information of the private life of John Randolph in England. Until about 1778 his family lived at No. 8 Prince Street, Hanover Square, in London. From there they moved to No. 4 Brompton Row, Knightsbridge, which was described as "country altho only 3/4 of a mile from Hyde Park Corner."<sup>311</sup> About twenty Massachusetts loyalist families, among them Thomas Hutchinson, Jr., son of the Bay Colony's governor, and Samuel Curwen, the diarist, resided in Brompton. Despite living in the same neighborhood and sharing common political sentiments with the New Englanders, Randolph apparently had almost no contact with them. He met Curwen in January, 1780, not at Brompton, but at

Bristol, and Curwen noted in his diary that he had taken tea with "a Mr. Randolph, Brother to Congress Member, of contrary political principles."<sup>312</sup>

Most of Randolph's society was restricted to the Virginia refugees of whom he was the recognized leader. They frequently met in London coffeehouses which were popular meeting places for all American refugees. They used the coffeehouses as their mailing addresses and came there often to receive and send mail, to read the latest American newspapers, to meet friends, and greet new arrivals from home.<sup>313</sup> It was in the Cannon Coffee House in Spring Garden that Randolph composed his peace proposal to Jefferson in 1779. Supposedly the Virginians had "a merry time of it, dining and supping together at various inns."<sup>314</sup> Randolph's role cannot be specifically defined, but he advised the refugees on dealing with the British government, assisted them when they were destitute, and may have occasionally hosted an American dinner at a coffeehouse. Undoubtedly, in the strict hierarchy of refugee society, he was usually the called-upon, seldom the caller.<sup>315</sup>

There were in Randolph's family the usual joys and sorrows. Randolph had not been long in London when he received news from Jefferson that Peyton had died on October 22, 1775, while attending the Congress in Philadelphia.<sup>316</sup> Although his brother's death was not entirely unexpected, it was one more broken link with Virginia, which left John the lone survivor of his family. The Randolph daughters married in England, both of them to Virginia loyalists; Susanna to her cousin, John Randolph Grymes, and Ariana to James Wormeley. According to family tradition the Wormeleys were wed "at Lord Dunmore's house in Scotland."<sup>317</sup> After their marriage both girls remained close to their parents. The

Grymeses took a house at No. 14 Brompton Row, and the Wormeleys moved in with the Randolphs at No. 4. Randolph maintained a correspondence with his son in Virginia, and Edmund managed to send money occasionally to his parents.<sup>318</sup>

The American victory in the war for independence made exile permanent for Randolph. He doubtless knew that he could never return to Virginia. His application for an increase to his pension in 1783 seemed to indicate his acceptance of his fate. He had come to England confident that the mother country would shortly bring the colonies under control and that a place in the government would be found for him as a reward for his loyalty. Instead he was given a pension and for the most part ignored.

He died at Brompton on January 31, 1784. He was fifty-six.<sup>319</sup> Shortly afterward the Wormeleys departed for Virginia, and since his "dying prayer had been to be buried in his native land,"<sup>320</sup> they carried with them his coffin which they deposited between those of his parents and his brother, Peyton, in the crypt of the Chapel of the College in Williamsburg.

His widow remained in England. She died there in reduced circumstances on February 2, 1801.<sup>321</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER XIV

- <sup>1</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., September 8, 1775, suppl. 2:3.
- <sup>2</sup>Ibid., August 25, 1775, 7:2.
- <sup>3</sup>Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The dead of the Chapel of William and Mary," Southern Argus (Norfolk), July 31, 1858, reported an examination of the coffin of John Randolph and noted that the coffin plate said he had died on 31 January 1784 aged 56 years.
- <sup>4</sup>A Provisional List of Alumni, Grammar School Students, Members of the Faculty, and Members of the Board of Visitors of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, From 1693 to 1888 (Richmond, Va.: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941), 33.
- <sup>5</sup>"Copy of Will of Sir John Randolph," VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378.
- <sup>6</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 29, 1766, 2:1; and Arthur Lee to R. H. Lee, post August 29, 1766, Lee Papers, University of Virginia (CWM).
- <sup>7</sup>Thomas Wharton Account Book, 1729-1751, 302, CW.
- <sup>8</sup>[Elizabeth Catesby Holloway] to [Lady Susanna Randolph], August 11, 1740, Jones Family Papers, LC (CWM).
- <sup>9</sup>Typescript copy of Randolph's matriculation at the Temple in Isaac G. Bates to Miss Randolph, August 25, 1911, VHS.
- <sup>10</sup>Ibid. C.E.A. Bedwell, "American Middle Templars," American Historical Review, XXV (July, 1920), 683, and E. Alfred Jones, American Members of the Inns of Court (London: The Saint Catherine Press, 1924), 178.
- <sup>11</sup>The bookplates are further inscribed: "1742 Bath I Skinner." A faint "PE" precedes the name John Randolph. Apparently John employed the same engraver as his brother Peyton and the engraver merely removed Peyton's name from the plate and substituted John's, which accounts for the 1742 date, three years before John's arrival in England. Examples of the bookplates are found in Randolph's copy of M. Reboulet, Histoire du regne de Louis XIV. Surnomme le grand roy de France, 2 vols. (A, Avignon, Chez Francois Girard, Imprimeur-Libraire, Place Saint Didier, MDCCXLIV) in the Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- <sup>12</sup>Louis Biancolli, "T. Jefferson, Fiddler," Life, XXII (April 7, 1947), 16. Biancolli asserts without documentation that Randolph acquired an Italian violin while he was Attorney General. Since there is no evidence whatever that Randolph was in Europe between 1750 and 1775, if Biancolli is correct, Randolph purchased the instrument between 1745 and 1749.

<sup>13</sup>Ms notes made by John Randolph of Roanoke from missing issues of the Virginia Gazette, Tucker-Coleman Papers, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.

<sup>14</sup>Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1750-1752, 7, 8 (CW photostat. The original is in the Alderman Library, University of Virginia.)

<sup>15</sup>York County, Judgments and Orders, I (1747-1752), 379 (VSIIm).

<sup>16</sup>Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, post November 1, 1756, April 12, 1761, Jenings Letterbook, VHS; John Randolph to Andrew Hagar, Preston Papers, Draper Mss, 2QQ33, Wisconsin State Historical Society (CWm); Daniel Parke Custis Invoice Book, 23 (CW photostat. Original in possession of Mrs. Hunter de Butts.); and John Tayloe to Theodorick Bland, October 25, 1758, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>17</sup>John Randolph's receipt to George Washington, February 26, 1771, Custis Papers, VHS.

<sup>18</sup>Richard Henry Lee to George Washington, October 21, 1773, Chicago Historical Society (CWm).

<sup>19</sup>George Washington to John Tayloe, December 11, 1775, in Fitzpatrick, ed., Writings of Washington, XXXVII, 517.

<sup>20</sup>Lord Dunmore to Lord Dartmouth, June 25, 1775, in Governors Correspondence with the Secretary of State, 1774-1777, PRO, CO 5/1353, 221 (CWm).

<sup>21</sup>John Tayloe to Theodorick Bland, October 25, 1758, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>22</sup>William Wirt, Sketches of the Life and Character of Patrick Henry (Philadelphia: James Webster, 1817), 16-18. See also Tyler's Quarterly Magazine, IX (1927-28), 97.

<sup>23</sup>John Randolph to the Duke of Beaufort, October 15, 1770, Personal collection of the Duke of Beaufort, Badminton, Gloucestershire, England (CW photocopy). See Nelson, Randolph, Nicholas, Wythe, and Blair to Beaufort, *Ibid.*; and "Correspondence Relating to Lord Boteourt," Tyler's Quarterly Magazine, III (1921-1922), 109-126, which reprints all the correspondence between the administrators and Beaufort as well as the inventory of the things shipped to England.

<sup>24</sup>JHB 1752-1758, 3.

<sup>25</sup>JHB 1742-1749, passim.

<sup>26</sup>Hening, Statutes at Large, VII, 59, 175, 260, 350, 360-361, 498; VIII, 146, 213-214.

<sup>27</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 43. The salary was raised from £100 during Randolph's tenure.



<sup>28</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 90, 114.

<sup>29</sup>The fullest account of Johnson's remarks appears in *Ibid.*, 114, which is quoted here except for the last clause which is quoted from *Ibid.*, 90.

<sup>30</sup>Robert Bolling, El:arodinea, 53, n. 4. This manuscript volume of poems belongs to Richard H. Henneman of Charlottesville, Virginia.

<sup>31</sup>For a fuller treatment of this affair see Edmund S. and Helen M. Morgan, The Stamp Act Crisis Prologue to Revolution, rev. ed. (New York: Collier Books, 1963), 122-127; and Carl Bridenbaugh, Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth Century Williamsburg, (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg, 1950), 55-71.

<sup>32</sup>Dunmore to Lord Dartmouth, June 25, 1775, Governors Correspondence with the Secretary of State, 1774-1775, PRO, CO 5/13533, 221 (CWM).

<sup>33</sup>Pinckney's Va. Gaz., May 25, 1775, 2:3.

<sup>34</sup>Rev. I. William Giberne to Lord Dartmouth, May 30, 1766, Dartmouth Mss, County Record Office, Stafford, England (CW photocopy).

<sup>35</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., December 5, 1751, 3:2; December 5, 1755, 3:1; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., November 29, 1770, 2:1.

<sup>36</sup>The date given here is September 17, 1762, High Court of Admiralty: Prize Appeal Records, PRO HCA 42/60 (CWM).

<sup>37</sup>The earliest reference to his rank is 1761. Alexander Craig Day Book 1761-1763, 4, 67, CW.

<sup>38</sup>Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph in the form of a letter to his children, March 25, 1810, photostat, Alderman Library, University of Virginia (CWM).

<sup>39</sup>Goodwin, Record of Bruton Parish Church, 157.

<sup>40</sup>Memoir of John Page of Rosewell, The Virginia Historical Register, III (1850), 148. See p. 712, infra.

<sup>41</sup>Edmund Jenings II to John Randolph, February 28, 1754, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>42</sup>Jenings II to Randolph, February 22, 1755. See also Jenings' letters to Randolph for March 13 and June 15, 1755, *Ibid.*

<sup>43</sup>York County, Judgments & Orders, III (1759-1763), 32 (VSLm).

<sup>44</sup>Peter Randolph to Edmund Pendleton, May 25, 1766, United States Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 462, VSL; and J. A. Leo Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell," Early American Literature, VI (1971).

- <sup>45</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 452,  
VSL.
- <sup>46</sup>Robert Bolling, HL:arodinea, 53, n. 2.
- <sup>47</sup>"Metriotes...is Jack R.," Arthur Lee to R. H. Lee, post August 29, 1766, Lee Family Papers, microfilm ed. (Cwm); Robert Bolling, HL:arodinea, 53, also makes the connection between Metriotes and "Jack Randolph."
- <sup>48</sup>Nicholas's article is in Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 27, 1766.
- <sup>49</sup>Joseph Albert Ernst, "The Robinson Scandal Redivivus," VMHB, LXX (1969), 156-157; and Jack P. Greene, "The Attempt to Separate the Offices of Speaker and Treasurer," VMHB, LXXI (1963), 11-18.
- <sup>50</sup>Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph, (Cwm); and Ernst, "Robinson Scandal," 158-159.
- <sup>51</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 4, 1766, 2:1-2.
- <sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, October 17, 1766, 1:2. Italics removed.
- <sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, September 5, 1766, 2:1-2.
- <sup>54</sup>Quoted by Arthur Lee to R. H. Lee, post August 29, 1766, Lee Family Papers, microfilm ed. (Cwm).
- <sup>55</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 17, 1766, 1:3. Italics removed.
- <sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*
- <sup>57</sup>Quoted by Arthur Lee to R. H. Lee, post August 29, 1766, Lee Family Papers, microfilm ed. (Cwm).
- <sup>58</sup>Charles Anthon, A Classical Distionary... (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843), 337.
- <sup>59</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 5, 1766, 2:1-2.
- <sup>60</sup>*Ibid.*, August 29, 1766; September 12, 1766.
- <sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*, September 12, 1766.
- <sup>62</sup>*Ibid.*, August 29, 1766, 2:1-2.
- <sup>63</sup>*Ibid.*, August 29, 1766, 2:2-3; and Thomas Babington Macaulay, The History of England from the Accession of James II, 5 vols. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co., 1868), IV, 248-250.
- <sup>64</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 12, 1766.
- <sup>65</sup>*Ibid.*, October 17, 1766.

- <sup>66</sup> Ibid., September 5, 1766, 2:1. Arthur Lee's criticism is discussed below.
- <sup>67</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 29, 1766, 2:1.
- <sup>68</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1766, 1:2.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., September 5, 1766, 2:1.
- <sup>70</sup> Ibid., September 19, 1766, 2:3.
- <sup>71</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1766, 1:2.
- <sup>72</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>73</sup> Life of Agis, Plutarch's Lives, corrected and revised by A. H. Clough, 5 vols. (New York: Bigelow, Brown & Co., n.d.), IV, 507.
- <sup>74</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 5, 1766, 2:1.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>76</sup> Ibid., August 29, 1766, 2:1; October 17, 1766, 1:2; Bolling, Hlarodinea, 53, n. 4.
- <sup>77</sup> Arthur Lee to R. H. Lee, post August 29, 1766, Lee Family Papers, microfilm ed. (CWM).
- <sup>78</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 5, 1766, 2:1-2.
- <sup>79</sup> Ibid., October 17, 1766, 1:2-3.
- <sup>80</sup> All Bolling quotations are taken from Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 12, 1766, 1:1-3, as cited in Lemay, "Robert Bolling and the Bailment of Colonel Chiswell."
- <sup>81</sup> Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., August 29, 1766, 2:1-3.
- <sup>82</sup> Richard Corbin to the Rev. Beilby Porteus, June 3, 1766, Corbin Letterbook, 1758-1768, 185, Alderman Library, UVA. (CWM). Later Porteus was Bishop of London.
- <sup>83</sup> Michael G. Kammen, A Rope of Sand: The Colonial Agents, British Politics, and the American Revolution (New York: Vintage Books, 1974 [orig. ed., 1968]), 25, 133.
- <sup>84</sup> Jack P. Greene, ed., The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752-1778, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965), I, 303; and Edmund Jenings to John Randolph, ante April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
- <sup>85</sup> John Randolph to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 15, 1766, Dartmouth Mss, William Salt Library, Stafford, England (CW photostat). Randolph sent the wood ducks a year later, see Randolph to Dartmouth, June 10, 1767, Ibid.

86. Lewis Namier and John Brooke, The House of Commons, 1754-1790 2 vols. (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), II, 576-577.
87. Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, July 11, 1766, Jenings Letterbook, VHS. In the interest of clarity, the punctuation has been slightly altered.
88. Jenings III to Randolph, post July 11, 1766, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
89. Fauquier to the Lords of Trade, November 22, 1766, PRO, CO 5/1331, 155-156 (CWM).
90. Jenings to Randolph, ante April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
91. Jenings to Randolph, November 23, 1766, Ibid.
92. Admiralty Board's Minutes, 26 March 1767--28 May 1767, PRO, ADM 3/75, 51 (CWM); and Admiralty Muniment Book, 1764-1771, PRO, HCA 50/12, 74 (CWM); Jenings to Randolph, ante April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 11, 1767, 2:2.
93. Jenings to Randolph, ante April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
94. Randolph to Dartmouth, June 10, 1767, Dartmouth Mss, William Sal 94 Randolph Stafford, England (CW photostat).
95. Rind's Va. Gaz., December 4, 1766, 2:2.
96. Jenings to Ariana Randolph, ante April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
97. Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 11, 1767, 2:2; July 16, 1767, 3:2-3. See JHB 1766-1769, 141.
98. "The Diary of John Blair," WMQ, 1st series, VII (1899), 150.
99. EJCCV, IV, 107.
100. William Hand Browne, ed., Proceedings of the Council of Maryland 1732 (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1908), 13-14; Jenings Family Bible, VHS; Francis B. Culver, "Frisby Family," Maryland Historical Magazine, XXXI (1936), 343; "Council Proceedings 1716-1717," VMHB, IV (1896-97), 366n; Walter B. Norris, Annapolis: Its Colonial and Naval Story (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1925), 101-102; and John W. Reys, Tidewater Towns (Williamsburg, Va.: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 134, 136.
101. Jenings Family Bible, VHS.

- <sup>102</sup>Randolph mailed a letter to Dulany on December 11, 1750, Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 16. Also see Bedwell, "American Middle Templars, AHR, XXV (1920), 683; and Norris, Annapolis: Its Colonial and Naval Story, 97-99.
- <sup>103</sup>"The Diary of John Blair," 141, 150.
- <sup>104</sup>Elizabeth Holloway to Elizabeth Jones, June 27, 1751, Jones Family Papers, LC (CWM).
- <sup>105</sup>Contemporary copy of the bond from the records of King and Queen County, September 14, 1756, VHS.
- <sup>106</sup>Robert Bolling described her a "Fair Creature," see Hl:arodinea, 39.
- <sup>107</sup>Edmund Jenings II to Ariana Randolph, February 28, 1754; Edmund Jenings III to Ariana Randolph, June 28, 1758, December 12, 1759, ante April 2, 1767, post July 19, 1769, Jenings Letterbook, VHS; John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, August 25, 1775, Tazewell Papers, CW; and Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of Washington, I, 298, 380; II, 56, 104, 128-131, 151-152.
- <sup>108</sup>The poem originally appeared in Rind's Va. Gaz., December 25, 1764, which has since disappeared. The version quoted here is from the manuscript Hl:arodinea, 39-40. It was titled "Admonition to Mrs. John Randolph," but Bolling changed it to "Admonition to Fair Malevolent". Punctuation has been supplied and spelling corrected. Vespilla is the feminine form of the Latin "vespillo" meaning corpse bearer for the poor, or one who works at night.
- <sup>109</sup>Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph, photostat UVa. (CWM).
- <sup>110</sup>She died October 16, 1791, "in the 37th Year of her age." See copies of Jenings-Randolph-Grymes epitaphs, Jenings Collection, BHS.
- <sup>111</sup>Ariana Randolph was certainly the youngest child. See Edmund Pendleton to William Woodford, April 26, 1779, in David John Mays, ed., The Letters and Papers of Edmund Pendleton, 1734-1803, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1967), I, 28.
- <sup>112</sup>Edmund Jenings II to Ariana Randolph, October 23, 1755, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
- <sup>113</sup>Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph; and Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 34.
- <sup>114</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1764-1766, 5, 58, 190, 212.
- <sup>115</sup>Edmund Jenings III to Ariana Randolph, June 28, 1758, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
- <sup>116</sup>Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, post August 30, 1765, Ibid.

- 117 Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph.
- 118 Journal of Augustine Prevost, July 5, 1774, quoted in Ivor Noel Hume, 1775: Another Part of the Field (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 248; also see Katharine Prescott Wormeley, Recollections of Ralph Randolph Wormeley, Rear-Admiral, R. N. (New York: Privately printed by the National Press, 1879), 13.
- 119 York County, Deeds, VI (1755-1763), 521-522 (VSLm).
- 120 Tazewell Hall Tract, Southall Papers, Folder 181, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- 121 S. P. Moorehead, Tazewell Hall, A Report on its Eighteenth Century Appearance, September 14, 1949, CW Architecture Department. Also see S. P. Moorehead, "Tazewell Hall: A Report on its Eighteenth Century Appearance," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XIV, 14-17.
- 122 Ibid., and John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, August 25, 1775, Tazewell Papers, CW. Also see Waterman, Mansions of Virginia, 78-85; and William B. O'Neal, Architecture in Virginia (New York: Walker & Company, Inc., 1968), 63-65.
- 123 John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, August 25, 1775, Tazewell Papers, CW.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Memorial of Ariana Randolph, January 31, 1786, Loyalist Claims, Series I--Evidence Virginia, 1785-1786, PRO, AO 12/54, 400 (CWm).
- 126 Ibid., 403.
- 127 Ibid. The house, much altered in the nineteenth century, was dismantled in the 1940's. Some of the original panelling has been incorporated into a reconstructed mansion, known as Tazewell Hall, after a later owner, which now stands in Newport News, Virginia.
- 128 Hening, Statutes at Large, VII, 598-599.
- 129 Alexander Craig Accountbook, 36, 143, CW; Alexander Craig Daybook 1761-1763, 4, 6, CW; and Williamsburg-James City County Tax Book 1768-1777, 16, CW.
- 130 John Randolph's Account with Stark & Company 1769-1771, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.
- 131 St. George Tucker, September 25, 1815, WMQ, 1st series, XXII (1913), 225; and Charlton Accountbook, 11, 53, CW.
- 132 Charlton Accountbook, 11, 53, CW.
- 133 Ibid., and Edmund Jenings III to Ariana Randolph, post April 25, 1757, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

- <sup>134</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 28, 1774, 3:2.
- <sup>135</sup>Bolling, Hlarodinea, 53 ln.
- <sup>136</sup>Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of Washington, I, 298. See also II, 56, 104, 129, 152, 159.
- <sup>137</sup>Rev. I. William Giberne to Lord Dartmouth, May 30, 1766, Dartmouth Papers, William Salt Library, Stafford, England, (CW photo-stat).
- <sup>138</sup>Greene, ed., Diary of Landon Carter, I, 525.
- <sup>139</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 17, 1771, 3:2.
- <sup>140</sup>Fitzpatrick, ed., Diaries of Washington, II, 36. See also I, 271-272.
- <sup>141</sup>Edmund Jenings II to John Randolph, October 23, 1755, and Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, post February 11, 1758, January 30, 1760, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
- <sup>142</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1750-1752, 77; and Ibid., 1764-1766, 6, 123, 201.
- <sup>143</sup>John Randolph to John Norton, May 19, 1772, Norton Papers, CW. See also his letters to Norton and Worall, August 26, 1771, Norton Papers.
- <sup>144</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1750-1752, 37; and Ibid., 5, 24, 38, 58, 71, 79, 84, 110, 168, 190, 202.
- <sup>145</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., August 21, 1775, 3:3.
- <sup>146</sup>"The Diary of John Blair," January 17, 1751, WMQ, 1st series, VII (1898), 135. Hackerston has not been identified.
- <sup>147</sup>Biancolli, "T. Jefferson Fiddler," 13, 16, 19.
- <sup>148</sup>Henry S. Randall, The Life of Thomas Jefferson, 3 vols. (New York: Derby & Jackson, 1858), I, 131 ln.
- <sup>149</sup>John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, August 25, 1775, Tazewell Papers, CW; and Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph, August 25, 1775, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 240.
- <sup>150</sup>John Randolph to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 15, 1766, Dartmouth Papers, William Salt Library, Stafford, England. See also Rev. I. William Giberne to Dartmouth, May 30, 1766, Ibid.
- <sup>151</sup>John Randolph to the Earl of Dartmouth, June 10, 1767, Dartmouth Papers, William Salt Library, Stafford, England.

<sup>152</sup>Marjorie Fleming Warner, "The Earliest American Book on Kitchen Gardening," Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1919, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923), I, 436-439.

<sup>153</sup>John Randolph, A Treatise on Gardening, edited by M. F. Warner (Richmond, Va.: Appeals Press for the William Parks Club, 1924), 9-10.

<sup>154</sup>Warner, "Earliest American Book on Kitchen Gardening," 431-442.

<sup>155</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378-379.

<sup>156</sup>York County, Judgments and Orders, III (1759-1763), 297; IV (1770-1772), 132; and Lunenburg County, Deed Book #11 (1767-1771), 207-208 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>157</sup>EJCCV, V, 436-437, 470.

<sup>158</sup>Ibid., VI, 463.

<sup>159</sup>Edmund Jenings II to Richard [?] Corbin, February 28, 1754, Jenings Letterbook, VHS. Also see Jenings II to Peter Randolph, January 29, 1754, March 1, 1754; and Jenings II to John Randolph, February 28, 1754, Ibid.

<sup>160</sup>John Randolph's receipt to George Washington, February 26, 1771, Custis Papers, VHS.

<sup>161</sup>Rind's Va. Gaz., May 20, 1773, 2:2.

<sup>162</sup>Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 123.

<sup>163</sup>John Randolph to Lord George Germaine, April 17, 1777, PRO, AO 13/32 (CW<sub>m</sub>); also see List of Official Appointments, British Museum, Add, Ms. 22/29, 12-13 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>164</sup>Jackson Turner Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), 123.

<sup>165</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 90, 114.

<sup>166</sup>Commissioners of the Admiralty to General Amherst, May 9, 1768, PRO, 406, Adm. 2/1057, 384 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>167</sup>John Randolph to Lord Botetourt, December 20, 1768, PRO, CO 5/1347, 52 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>168</sup>Botetourt to Hillsborough, September 23, 1769, Ibid., 184; and Edward Montagu to Hillsborough, n.d., Ibid., 114.

<sup>169</sup>Hillsborough to Botetourt, December 9, 1769, Ibid., 199. Also see Hillsborough to Botetourt, July 17, 1769, Ibid., 122.

<sup>170</sup>Alexander Craig Account Book, 36, 143, CW.



- 171 Charlton Account Book, 11, 53, CW.
- 172 In 1778 and 1779 he was credited with respective payments of £291.12s. and \$972. See *American Loyalist Claims*, XXX (1766-1853), PRO, T 79/30, n.p. (CWm); and Patrick Henry's receipt to John Randolph, February 27, 1779, photostat VHS.
- 173 York County, Judgments and Orders, III (1759-1763), 117; IV (1763-1765), 105; II (1770-1772), 141; 270 (VSLm).
- 174 Daniel Parke Custis Invoice Book, 23 (CW photostat); and Henrico County, Deed Book (1781-1785), 49 (VSLm).
- 175 U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #20, 452 VSL.
- 176 Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, post February 11, 1758, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.
- 177 Edmund Jenings III to John Randolph, ante July 19, 1769, Ibid.
- 178 John Randolph to Lord Botetourt, January 25, 1770, PRO, CO 5/1348, 63 (CWm). Also see PRO, CO 5/145, 119-203 (CWm); PRO, CO 5/1351, 27-29 (CWm); Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 23, 1771, 2:3, and February 25, 1773, 3:1; and George Wythe to John Randolph, October 13, 1774, CW.
- 179 See Letters relating to Admiralty and Vice Admiralty Courts, PRO, Admiralty 2/1058, 27-28 (CWm); High Court of Admiralty: Oyer and Terminer Records, 1766-1775, PRO, HCA 1/23, 98, 103, 104, 105, 110, 111 (CWm); and Hugh F. Rankin, Criminal Trial Proceedings in the General Court of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1965), 212-214.
- 180 Lunenburg County, Deed Book #11 (1767-1771), 207-208 (VSLm).
- 181 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 8, 1768, 3:1.
- 182 Rind's Va. Gaz., February 2, 1769, 2:2. Rind replied: "We often receive the accounts of elections from transient persons, who know nothing more than the names of the Gentlemen who are elected, and cannot give correct lists until all the writs are returned." Ibid.
- 183 Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 5, 1774, 2:2; and July 21, 1774, 3:2; Rind's Va. Gaz., July 21, 1774, 3:2; and JHB 1773-1776, 67-68.
- 184 Memoir of John Page, The Virginia Historical Register, III (1850), 148.
- 185 JHB 1766-1769, 189, 190, 191; JHB 1773-1776, 82, 164, 178.
- 186 JHB 1766-1769, 189; JHB 1773-1776, 78, 83, 85, 100, 101, 131, 204, 208.

- 187 Greene, Quest For Power, 472.
- 188 Rind's Va. Gaz., August 2, 1770, 2:3; and Dain, Disordered Minds, 10.
- 189 Rind's Va. Gaz., August 2, 1770, 2:3.
- 190 Dain, Disordered Minds, 11.
- 191 Eastern State Hospital, Court of Directors Minutes, December 10, 1770--July 23, 1801, 26-27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, photostat CW.
- 192 JHB 1770-1772, xxix-xxxi.
- 193 John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, October 25, 1779, Single Mss Collection, Earl Gregg Swem Library, College of William and Mary.
- 194 JHB 1773-1776, 124, 134; and John E. Selby, A Chronology of Virginia and the War of Independence 1763-1783 (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1973), 12-14. Cited hereinafter as Selby, Chronology.
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- 196 [John Randolph], Considerations on the Present State of Virginia, edited by Earl Gregg Swem (New York: Charles F. Heartman, 1919), 18-20. Cited hereinafter as Considerations.
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- 198 Ibid.
- 199 Ibid., 20.
- 200 Ibid., 35.
- 201 Ibid., 21.
- 202 Ibid., 28-29.
- 203 Ibid., 29-30.
- 204 Ibid., 30.
- 205 Ibid., 31.
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- 214 Selby, Chronology, 17-20; Robert Douthat Meade, Patrick Henry: Practical Revolutionary (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1969), 46-56; and H. J. Eckenrode, The Revolution in Virginia (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1964 [orig. ed. 1916]), 45-57.
- 215 Keith Berwick, "Loyalties in Crisis," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1961, 165n.
- 216 Considerations, 15.
- 217 Ibid.
- 218 Richard R. Beeman, Patrick Henry: A Biography (New York: McGraw Hill Co., 1974), 129.
- 219 Purdie's Va. Gaz., July 14, 1775, suppl., 2:3.
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- 221 "To the Author of Considerations on the present State of Virginia," Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 28, 1774, 3:2.
- 222 Berwick, "Loyalties in Crisis," 58.
- 223 Considerations, 15.
- 224 Dunmore to the Earl of Dartmouth, March 31, 1773, PRO, CO 5/1351, 27-29 (Cwm); and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., February 25, 1773, 3:1.
- 225 Dunmore to Dartmouth, May 1, 1775, PRO, CO 5/1353, 137 (Cwm).
- 226 The Deposition of John Randolph Esqr., Convention Papers, Misc. Box, July 1775, VSL; "Virginia Legislative Papers," VMHB, XV (1907-08), 149-150; JHB 1773-1776, 208, 232-233.
- 227 JHB 1773-1776, 274, 278, 280, 283; and Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., June 23, 1774, suppl., 2:3.
- 228 Greene, ed., Diary of Landon Carter, II, 818.

- 229 William Reynolds to George F. Norton, September 22, 1775, William Reynolds Letterbook, 80, LC (Cwm).
- 230 Pinkney's Va. Gaz., July 27, 1775, 3:2.
- 231 Dunmore to Dartmouth, September 24, 1775, PRO, CO 5/1353, 249 (Cwm).
- 232 Loyalist Claims of Ariana Randolph, January 31, 1786, PRO, AO 12/54, 400 (Cwm).
- 233 John Randolph to Thomas Jefferson, October 25, 1779, Single Mss Collection, Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.
- 234 Dunmore to Dartmouth, June 25, 1775, and September 24, 1775, PRO, CO 5/1353, 221-222, 249 (Cwm).
- 235 Dunmore to Dartmouth, September 24, 1775, Ibid.
- 236 Charlton Account Book, 53.
- 237 John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, Tazewell Papers, CW.
- 238 Purdie's Va. Gaz., August 25, 1775, 7:2.
- 239 Dunmore to Dartmouth, September 24, 1775, PRO, CO 5/1353, 249 (Cwm).
- 240 Purdie's Va. Gaz., August 25, 1775, 7:2.
- 241 Randall, Jefferson, I, 131.
- 242 Jefferson to Randolph, August 25, 1775, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 240.
- 243 Randolph to Jefferson, August 31, 1775, Jefferson Papers, LC, photostat Earl Gregg Swem Library, W&M.
- 244 John Randolph to Edmund Randolph, August 12, 1775, Gage Papers, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan (Cwm).
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260 Chambers, Minutes, July 6, 1779, 77.

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267 Petition of American Loyalists, 1779, WMQ, 2nd series, I (1921), 70-71. The petition is misdated 1778; it was probably drafted in August 1779. See Sabine, Loyalists, II, 174; and Norton, British Americans, 301, n25.

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270 John Randolph to Sir Jeffery Amherst, September 30, 1779, Amherst Papers, PRO, WO 34/118, 210-212 (CWm).

271 Letter to Lord Amherst, September 21, 1779, Amherst Papers, PRO, WO 34/188, 210-212 (CWm).

272 Loyalist Claims, 1766-1789, PRO, AO 12/54, 8 (CWm); Randolph's other testimonies are filed under the Virginia claims in alphabetical order according to surname, specifically Ravenscroft, Bickerton, Cra-mond, Davenport, Grymes, Necks, Orange, Thornton, Rothery, St. George; see Loyalist Claims, 1766-1789, PRO, AO 13/28, 13/29, 13/32 (CWm).

273 Dunmore to Col. Dundas, October 7, 1783, Loyalist Claims, Series I--Intelligence, 1782-1785, PRO, AO 12/107 (CWm).

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278 Ibid. Compare Considerations, 20-21.

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296 Purdie's Va. Gaz., October 13, 1775, 2:3; October 20, 1775, 3:2; October 27, 1775, 4:1; November 3, 1775, 4:2; November 10, 1775, 4:2, suppl. 2:2; November 17, 1775, 4:1; November 24, 1775, 3:2; December 1, 1775, 2:3; August 16, 1776, 3:3.

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302 Edmund Randolph to James Madison, April 19, 1782, Papers of Madison, IV, 160.

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- 307 American Loyalist Claims--Copies of Treasury Minutes, 1777-1783, PRO, T 79/97A, 61 (CWm).
- 308 Treasury Minute Book, LIII, PRO, T 29/53, 162-163 (CWm); Treasury Miscellaneous--Documents Relating to Refugees 1782-1783, PRO, T 50/7 (CWm); Loyalist Claims--Copies of Treasury Minutes, 1777-1783, PRO, T 79/97A, 110 (CWm); Loyalist Claims, Series I--Tabular Statement of Information on Claims, 1783-1790, PRO, AO 12/106, 15-16 (CWm).
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- 311 Quoted in Norton, British Americans, 66.
- 312 The Journal of Samuel Curwen, edited by Andrew Oliver, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1972), II, 588.
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- 316 Thomas Jefferson to John Randolph, November 29, 1775, in Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 268.
- 317 Wormeley, Memoirs of Ralph Randolph Wormeley, 13.
- 318 Edmund Randolph to James Madison, September 13, 1783, Papers of Madison, VII, 316-317.
- 319 The Gentleman's Magazine, LIV (1784), 152; and Hugh Blair Grigsby, "The Dead of the Chapel of William and Mary," The Southern Argus (Norfolk), July 31, 1858, 2:2.
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## CHAPTER XV

### THE FAMILY OF EDWARD RANDOLPH

#### A. EDWARD RANDOLPH (c. 1695--?)

Edward Randolph was the youngest son of William and Mary Isham Randolph. He spent most of his life in England where he engaged in the Virginia trade as a sea-captain and merchant. During the late 1720's he owned his own ships and tobacco firm, but was bankrupt by 1732 and left in reduced circumstances for the rest of his life.

Born in Virginia about 1695,<sup>1</sup> he grew up on his father's plantation and went to school nearby at the Harrison plantation at Berkeley.<sup>2</sup> Later he continued his studies at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg.<sup>3</sup> William Byrd II, a neighbor and friend to his father and brothers, saw him occasionally during these adolescent years and left an unflattering account of the boy whom he called "Ned." On June 7, 1709, Ned's father came to the Byrd plantation at Westover and found the master irritated with his son because of some trouble a few days earlier. "I had a quarrel with Ned Randolph," Byrd explained, "about his complaining that he was starved and because he ran about without my knowing anything of it and would not come to me when I sent to him." The father promised punishment if Ned "should dare to do so again."<sup>4</sup> Eventually Byrd forgave the impudent lad and their friendship was lasting.

As a young man Edward Randolph went to England and entered the maritime trade. There is nothing specifically to document his choice

of a career. From boyhood he was familiar with ships and sailing along the James River. Perhaps his decision was shaped by his elder brother, Isham, who had gone to sea and established himself in England as a captain and merchant. Just when Edward left Virginia is not recorded, but he was definitely in England by January, 1718/19, when Byrd delivered letters to him at a London coffeehouse.<sup>5</sup>

His career in the Virginia trade started well. Within a decade of his meeting Byrd at the coffeehouse he owned his own ships and had incorporated his own firm, Edward Randolph and Company. He did not venture into business unassisted, but there is no certain record of his financial backing. He had money of his own, having inherited land and slaves in Virginia, and, according to family tradition, he had access to £10,000 inherited by his wife.<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, during the early phase of his career, it seems that he was in partnership with his brother, Isham. Besides his own and his family's resources, he attracted other investors, "one of them is a Wharssinger near the Custom-House, another an Apothecary near Grace Church Street, and the third a Ropemaker near Shadwell."<sup>7</sup> How much and under what conditions money was given to Randolph cannot be determined.

Presumably, he began his career as a member of a ship's crew, but there is no evidence of his position before 1720 by which time he was a captain. In April, 1720, he sailed to Virginia and spent a few weeks in business and frolic with his family and friends. "About eleven Captain Randolph sent his boat," Byrd noted in his diary on May 9, "and we went aboard his ship....I ate some roast lamb. After dinner we danced and toasted all the healths consequent to the good agreement of the Governor and Council....We were merry till 9 o'clock and then I ate some

ham and about eleven I took leave and had fifteen guns from three ships."<sup>8</sup> Whether or not Randolph owned the ship Byrd did not say, but in December, 1722, he and Isham were registered owners of the Williamsburg, a ten-year-old British-built ship of about three hundred tons and sixteen guns.<sup>9</sup> According to Byrd, the Williamsburg had "so much the ayr of a man of War, that no modest Pyrate will venture to attaque Her."<sup>10</sup> In 1725 the Randolph brothers purchased a new British frigate of about one hundred tons and six guns which they registered on November 2, and christened the Randolph.<sup>11</sup>

The firm Edward Randolph and Company was formed about 1726.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps Edward and Isham were associated within the company, but in the records all business was transacted in Edward's name. In addition to the Williamsburg and Randolph, which after 1727 were registered solely to Edward, the firm expanded its fleet of merchantmen acquiring the Dudley, a British-built ship of about one hundred and fifty tons and ten guns, and the Molly Gully, a British-built ship of about eighty tons and five guns.<sup>13</sup> In 1729 the firm purchased a ship of about three hundred tons with twenty guns and renamed it the Gooch in honor of the current Virginia governor.<sup>14</sup> Randolph's motives in naming the ship were transparent, as the Governor himself observed. "My friend Edwd Randolph was as you say very complaisant in giving his ship my name," Gooch wrote to his brother; "but then he knew at the same time his own Interest in it, for if a Governour is so fortunate as to be beloved, his name-sake will always get her laden. Besides, Mr. Micajah Perry [an influential London merchant] is very jealous of him, and it is as much as I can do to keep the one quiet, under the obligations."<sup>15</sup>

Once Randolph owned his own vessels, he apparently did not sail

them. Instead he seems to have remained ashore in London managing his business. His company employed a good number of seamen. According to the Virginia Naval Officer's records, between 1726 and 1731 there were seven masters in command of the firm's five ships on voyages to the colony. Among these men were Isham Randolph, Thomas Bolling, a member of an old Virginia family, and Graves Packe, a personal friend of Edward Randolph.<sup>16</sup> About one hundred sailors comprised the crews of the various ships, the Gooch with twenty-eight men having the largest and the Randolph the smallest with twelve.<sup>17</sup> Randolph's relations with most of his employees is unknown, but he was a "Well beloved friend" of Graves Packe, master of the Gooch. When Packe died in 1731, he bequeathed Randolph a sizeable estate in Virginia and named him an executor of his will.<sup>18</sup>

Since none of the ledgers or records of Randolph and Company have so far been uncovered, the nature and extent of the firm's mercantile activities are difficult to determine. From the available evidence it appears that the London-based company traded chiefly with Virginia for tobacco. Laden with "sundry European goods" the Randolph ships called at Virginia ports on the upper James River and on the York River on the average of twice a year. Usually the voyages originated in London and came directly to Virginia, but sometimes they made intermediate stops in Madeira and the West Indies before anchoring in the colony. Between 1726 and 1731 the ships cleared the Virginia ports carrying 5,590 hogsheads of tobacco, 19,900 pipe staves, 11,660 barrel staves, 11,550 hoghead staves, 15 hogsheads and one box of skins, 56 chests of snuff, 128 wine pipes, 46 tons of iron, walnut and oak planks of undetermined number, one barrel of liquor, one barrel of cocoa, some dyewood and

firewood, and "a parcel of Elephths. teeth & some Returned goods from Africa."<sup>19</sup>

The Randolph company developed an extensive clientele among the Virginia planters. Prominent families consigned their tobacco to the firm: the Lees, Beverleys, Fitzhughs, Nelsons, Jacquelines, Corbins, Dandridges, Lightfoots, and Digges'.<sup>20</sup> Although there is no record of their dealings, it is probable that Randolph's brothers, William, Richard, Thomas, and John, sent their tobacco to England with him.

In addition to produce, the Randolph ships also carried passengers. William Byrd II booked passage from London, as did former Governor Alexander Spotswood, and William Dawson, the future Commissary of the Bishop of London and President of the College of William and Mary.<sup>21</sup> Dawson paid £15.8.11, which included £6 for "Common passage", £8.6.8 for "fresh provisions &c", and £1.2.3 for "building his Cabin".<sup>22</sup> From time to time Governor Gooch put his mail for England on board the Randolph ships.<sup>23</sup>

Edward Randolph assumed the role of a "great Tobacco Merchant."<sup>24</sup> On March 5, 1726, he was elected a Younger Brother of Trinity House, a company of mariners founded in 1515 and confirmed by letters patent of the King in 1685. The company had comprehensive powers examining mathematical scholars of Christ Hospital and the masters of His Majesty's warships, appointing pilots on the Thames River, settling pilotage rates, erecting lighthouses, protecting sailors' rights, arbitrating the disputes of merchant sailors, keeping the rivers and harbors navigable, assisting in lawsuits, and advising the judge of the Court of Admiralty in prize cases. Randolph's position as a Younger Brother was honorary, but on March 15, 1729, he was elected one of the eighteen Elder Brothers,

who, with the master, four wardens, and eight assistants, was responsible for governing the company. He served regularly until 1739, attending the weekly meetings until he returned to Virginia to settle some affairs.<sup>25</sup>

He participated in Anglo-American politics. In 1729 he was liaison between Virginia Governor Gooch and the English merchant prince, Micaajah Perry. The Governor, maneuvering the passage of a tobacco-inspection law through the Virginia General Assembly, wisely sought the support of the British merchants. Upon the successful enactment of the law in 1730, Gooch revealed some of his machinations: "...my friend, in private, Capt Randolph, was so kind as to wisper it in Mr. Perry's ear the last Summer when I sent home the Scheme...."<sup>26</sup>

Randolph, moreover, established a family. At some undetermined date, possibly 1717 or 1718,<sup>27</sup> he married a "Miss Groves", an heiress of £10,000 whom he met at a ship's launching at Gravesend, England.<sup>28</sup> They were parents of four children, Joseph, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth. Where the family lived is unknown, but Randolph owned an estate outside London, in the county of Kent at Upnor in Finsbury Parish, where he had a "Messuage, Garden and a Cherry Orchard containing about three Acres with the Appurtences."<sup>29</sup>

But the success of Edward Randolph and Company was more apparent than real. The firm failed in 1732. The Pennsylvania Gazette reprinted a London item dated February 19: "All the Discourse of the Town is upon the going off of Mr. Randolph, the great Tobacco Merchant, three of whose Bondsmen are taken up and imprisoned for a very large Sum, amounting as is reported, to 50000 l."<sup>30</sup> There is no easy explanation of the collapse. The company's accounts were, as a contemporary

noted, "very Intricate & troublesome."<sup>31</sup>

Perhaps some of the firm's troubles were related to its creation and expansion during the latter part of the 1720's. For more than a decade the Virginia tobacco trade was depressed, but in 1727 the average price per pound of tobacco was 9d, and in 1729 was 10d, both considerable increases over the  $1\frac{1}{2}$ d of 1724.<sup>32</sup> Slight though the increase really was, English merchants, including Edward Randolph, anticipated better tobacco prices as a result of the Virginia Inspection Law of 1730 which sought to improve the quality of the leaf shipped to England.<sup>33</sup> Furthermore, a new market opened as the French began buying great quantities of Chesapeake tobacco. It was during this period that the Randolph company expanded. Between 1727 and 1729 the size of its fleet increased to five with the addition of three ships. Consequently it rivalled other firms, not the least of which was the firm of Micajah Perry, the leading merchant in the Virginia trade who, according to Governor Gooch, was "very jealous" of Edward Randolph.<sup>34</sup>

When the Randolph company failed in 1732, it was in arrears £18,396.18.2 $\frac{1}{2}$  on bonds posted for duty on the tobacco imported to England since 1729.<sup>35</sup> Why Randolph and his associates incurred such a debt is hard to know. Duties, which had been levied on tobacco since 1660, and which since 1703 were set at 6-1/3d per pound, were a potential burden to the merchant except for the policy granting a full drawback on tobacco re-exported within a year. Furthermore, for tobacco sold in England the merchant was not required to pay the full duty upon entry, but could post bond for a period of eighteen months.<sup>36</sup> The fact that Randolph posted bond on the duty indicated his intention to sell the tobacco in England, and he disposed of some of it to "the Charitable

Corporation & Alderman Salter",<sup>37</sup> but his dealings are obscure and cannot be understood with the evidence presently available. Randolph's apparent failure to take advantage of the re-export trade, which, if nothing else, would have relieved his company of its debt to the Customs House, is a mystery. Presumably, he could have sent his cargoes to France, the greatest consumer of the Oronoco tobacco grown along the James River where he did the majority of his trading. But the French trade may have been no help after all, for the French buyer needed such great quantities of tobacco that he dealt only with the largest merchants who could make bargains for hundreds of thousands of hogsheads. "The few big sellers," noted Jacob M. Price, "...because they could supply the quantities needed, could demand concessions in price and terms which the small men could never extract. When the small [merchants] tried to form bargaining rings, they failed."<sup>38</sup>

The collapse of his company was a financial reverse from which Randolph never recovered, and it was also costly to those in business with him. His assets in England were seized. The customs officials took over the warehouses and confiscated the small amount of tobacco they found there. They also impounded the cargoes on the incoming ships. The Randolph fleet was broken up and sold. Randolph and his associates attempted to forestall complete disaster by collecting debts due their firm and by exploiting the law which allowed a reduction of 4% in the duty on tobacco spoiled in trade.<sup>39</sup> Although they succeeded in reducing their customs debt to £9000,<sup>40</sup> they were unable to prevent the forced sale of their personal property. Randolph's estate at Upnor in Kent was auctioned for £310, while the estate of his associate, John Westerbane, brought £360.<sup>41</sup> The proceedings against Randolph dragged



on for years. Twice, in the fall of 1732 and again in the winter of 1735, Randolph petitioned the Customs Commissioners to make a report on his case so he could "apply to Parliament for discharge of his Debt", and each time the Commissioners "were of Opinion he deserved no favour."<sup>42</sup> There is no record of the outcome of the case; the customs officials were careful to extract the last shilling from Randolph, but whether they were able to recover all their money is unknown, for the records ceased in 1736.<sup>43</sup>

Randolph's troubles were not confined to England, however; he also had difficulties in Virginia where local planters went to court to recover their accounts. They had a double grievance against the Randolph company. When it failed, they not only lost their tobacco consignments for 1731, but many of them also had not been paid for their earlier consignments. In the York County court there were altogether sixteen suits instituted against Randolph in which the planters were awarded a total of £974.6.2-3/4 sterling.<sup>44</sup> Small claims were made against Randolph in other counties: in Goochland two planters complained that they had lost, respectively, £15.0. and £119.9.11; and in Caroline there were three suits against Randolph for £14, £4.10, and £18.<sup>45</sup>

Randolph's difficulties in Virginia were not entirely the result of his debts to the planters. Some of them owed him money, perhaps for English goods and services he had obtained whose cost had not been completely defrayed by the sale of their tobacco.<sup>46</sup> For example, Thomas Jones of Williamsburg owed Randolph a balance of £1682.19.6, which, despite the efforts of the Randolph brothers, Sir John, William, Richard, and Edward himself, proved troublesome to collect. Before the failure

of the Randolph company, Jones prepared to discharge his obligation by shipping almost all his tobacco to Randolph in London. Later, Jones suspected that Randolph had not dealt fairly in crediting his account, but had pocketed part of his profits. "...they have," Jones wrote in 1741, "always acknowledged my Tobo. was the best....Coll. William Randolph after his return from England about 12 Years ago...often declared that mine was the best he Saw upon the Kegs at London; and Since his Bror Edward came in Speaking of the Tobo. in general I Shipp'd him, confess'd it was the best he ever Saw in his life." Although Jones shipped Randolph his best crop, he sent inferior leaf to Bristol consisting, he admitted, of "the ground leaves, under Tobo. and Cuttings," which, he added, "cleared £4<sup>0</sup> hhd more than I had of Randolph." Jones refused to pay Randolph until he was redressed for his grievances. "I ought," he wrote, "to have so much as was agreed for, and not less than others under the Same circumstances....I was no intruding Correspondent, nor did I impose anything upon him Randolph against his Consent, or contrary to the opinion of his friends here; for it was upon Condition of his advancing Money that I agreed to Send my Tobo. to him, when it was proposed to me, which he confirmed....I never made any objection to what Interest he charged in my Accts. and have allowed the Assignees as much as I think is due to them."<sup>47</sup> Although Jones sold some property to meet the Randolph charges, the debt apparently was still outstanding as late as 1755, and it is not known if it was finally discharged.<sup>48</sup>

Edward Randolph's career is difficult to trace after the failure of his trading company. Apparently he attempted to refurbish his status as a merchant. He held on to his post as an Elder Brother of

Trinity House and was a regular attendant at the weekly meetings of the corporation. He also maintained his Virginia connections. In 1735 Governor Gooch informed his brother, who was seeking Virginia snuff, that "if there is any in London Ned Randolph can help you to it."<sup>49</sup> Nevertheless, there is no evidence suggesting that he ever again owned his own business or sailed his own ships.

He returned to Virginia early in 1740. Ostensibly he intended his stay to be temporary; accordingly, he petitioned for a six month's leave of absence from Trinity House to settle his private affairs.<sup>50</sup> But his subsequent activities suggest that he was not averse to remaining permanently in the colony; in fact, in 1743, after his return to England, he was listed as "formerly of the City of London...but now of His Majesty's Colony of Virginia in America."<sup>51</sup>

Not long after his return he was involved in Virginia politics where his brothers were a powerful influence. On August 27, 1740, the House of Burgesses resolved to petition the King in Council for the liberty to import salt from Portugal and elsewhere, and appointed a committee to study the matter among whose members were Richard and Isham Randolph. The next day the committee issued a favorable report, and the House passed the resolve "That Mr Edward Randolph be appointed Agent to negotiate the...Address and Petition."<sup>52</sup> The appointment involved political maneuvering as is clear from a letter Richard Chapman wrote to George Carter in London the following November. The letter also told the outcome of the affair. Chapman wrote:<sup>53</sup>

You was Proposed in Our House of Burgesses last May, as Agent to Sollicit a Petition of this Colony to the King in Council for the Importation of Salt from Lisbon &c. And Mr. Edward Randolph was also Proposed who is now in Virginia. The Votes were for Mr. Randolph by a small Majority; but it was a

sudden thing, and had the Matter taken its natural Course, without being diverted by Art, I dare believe your Countrymen would have done Justice to your Merit, the Vote was thrown out by the Council, and the Governor was desir'd to take the Petition under his Particular Care; So there is no Agent.

Even though he did not become an agent of the burgesses, Randolph continued to seek a colonial office, and in February, 1742/43, Martin Bladen of the Board of Trade recommended him as a person fit for the Council in Virginia. The appointment, however, was never made.<sup>54</sup>

Politics aside, Randolph spent much of his time in Virginia attending to his business affairs. Although he had not lived in the colony for almost a quarter of a century, he maintained property there. The extent of his holdings cannot be determined because the local records are incomplete. Upon the death of his father in 1711 he inherited more than 1,200 acres in Henrico County and along the upper James.<sup>55</sup> How long he kept his patrimony is uncertain, but in 1738 and again in 1743 he sold some of his Henrico land.<sup>56</sup> He also owned 600 acres in James City County, 575 acres in Hanover, and four lots with houses at "Queen Mary's Port" near Williamsburg, all of which were legacies of his friend, Graves Packe.<sup>57</sup> He sold the lots at Queen Mary's Port in 1741.<sup>58</sup> With his brothers, Richard and Isham, he patented 60,000 acres in Brunswick County in 1740.<sup>59</sup> Randolph's intentions are unknown, and there is no discernible pattern to his land transactions.

Randolph's affairs in Virginia involved court action. Although the records fail to specify the reasons for the suits, it is probable that they concerned the recovery of monies due on local planters' accounts with Randolph's bankrupt company. Among those whom Randolph appointed to prosecute his cases was his brother, Richard.<sup>60</sup> There were, in the years between 1740 and 1745, fifteen suits instituted in

Randolph's behalf in the courts of York, Henrico, and Charles City counties. Six of the cases were dismissed, and in the nine remaining Randolph recovered £15.1.5 sterling and £37.13.10 Virginia money.<sup>61</sup> Incidentally, one of Randolph's creditors, Benjamin Harrison of Berkeley whose daughter later married Edward Randolph II, asserting "that Edward Randolph is indebted to him in the Sum of Five pounds twelve Shillings & Six pence [and has] absconded So that the ordinary process of law could not be Served on him", successfully attached that amount from the money awarded Randolph in the Charles City court.<sup>62</sup>

Randolph's suits against William Woodford, a Spotsylvania County planter, and William Beverley, his nephew by marriage, came before the General Court in Williamsburg. Randolph charged Woodford owed him £314.11.4 and Beverley, £823.14.1.<sup>63</sup> Both men had dealt with the defunct Randolph and Company and there was little question of their debt because they had been named co-defendants in cases against Randolph.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, they disputed his claims, and, on April 23, 1741, the General Court decided in their favor. The specific decisions have not survived, but Randolph appealed both of them to the King on the grounds that he had not been allowed to present his evidence in court. On June 24, 1743, an Order in Council granted his appeals.<sup>65</sup>

There was reaction against Randolph when news of the Order reached Virginia. Governor Gooch, in behalf of his colleagues on the General Court, directed a petition of protest to the Duke of Newcastle, the Secretary of State for the Southern Department, to be delivered to the King.

The judges urged disallowance of Randolph's appeal for reasons of procedure asserting that he had let lapse the year and a day allowed

for making an appeal and had failed to submit documents officially sanctioned by them. The judges also justified their refusal to allow Randolph's personal affidavit affirming the integrity of his accounts against the planters. Such a practice, they claimed, "is agreeable to the Laws and Universal Practice in your Majestys Courts in this Colony which never did admit the Parties oath as Evidence to support any claim or Bar in any action at Common Law." The allowance of these affidavits, made by "persons strongly biased by their own Interest or Desperate fortunes," the judges said, would jeopardize "the Estates of your Majestys Subjects in this Colony." They continued:

The Admission of the Devices complained of by the said Randolph is also strictly Consonant to the uninterrupted usage of Proceedings in Your Majestys several Courts of this Colony and made absolutely necessary for the obtaining of Justice from such persons as the said Randolph in Broken and ruined Circumstances residing in Europe or Elsewhere out of this Jurisdiction of the Court here . Were We prohibited from pursuing in this manner the Effects of Debtors who become Bankrupt as the said Randolph was Your Majestys Subjects here would be deterred from trusting or depositing their money and Fortunes with the Merchants and others of Great Britain.<sup>66</sup>

Well-drawn though the petition was, it was ineffectual in diverting the appeal. When the case came to review, Beverley laid his claims before the Privy Council. Woodford's action, if any, is unknown. To Ferdinando John Parris, his solicitor before the Council, Beverley wrote on May 9, 1744:<sup>67</sup>

It is indeed an hard Case to have to do with such a person as Capt Edward Randolph is, for if I get the Better, and the Council should order me my full costs there is no hope of ever getting it....There were several Evidences sworn and examined at the trial here & no Depositions taken, so none could be Returned with the Judgment; and even his own Brother Capt Isham Randolph had been in partnership with him (and is since Dead) was sworn & among other things was examined as to the sale of my two last Parcels of Tobacco, and declared that tho' his Brother E.R. sold them at a Low price, yet if ye purchaser sold them again for more, yt ye said E.R. was to have more, and they were actually sold for more

& ye money was paid to him; and being over again pressed by E.R. to Declare what Reason he had for saying so he told him and the Court that he was sorry, he was asked the Question, but as he must answer it, he declared yt Capt. Thomas Bolling (who was privy to all E.R.'s affairs) told him so, to which E.R. could make no Reply; this I mention as a sample to shew you what manner of person I have to deal with, and that it is impossible the Council should have any insight into our Dispute, because my said principal evidence is dead, and the others are here; and nothing he offered to give in Evidence against me was refused him, but his own Oath to his own account, which if the court had admitted would have been against all Law & reason but they admitted ye account & his Books to be given to the Jury, so that he had no just Reason to Complain and I hope the verdict will stand unimpeached, and that the Council will Dismiss the Appeal & order him to pay me my full costs both at home & here, tho' I have no hopes, if they should order it, that I should ever get a penny of it.

For all its controversy, nothing of the outcome of Randolph's appeals has so far been found. Nevertheless, the weight of the available evidence seems to be against Randolph.

Late in 1741 he returned to England. His immediate purpose doubtless was to press his appeal against the decision of the Virginia General Court. In view of his later recommendation for appointment to the Council of Virginia, it is doubtful that he intended to remain permanently in the mother country, but at the same time he seemed to have resigned himself to his failure as a merchant and resumed his former career as a ship's captain.<sup>68</sup>

During his absence in Virginia, he had, despite repeated reminders, allowed his office in Trinity House Corporation to lapse. In March, 1742, one of the Elder Brothers died, and Randolph petitioned to be reinstated in the vacant office.<sup>69</sup> His petition was considered on the 27th, but the masters, perhaps mindful of his past indifference to their communiques, resolved "that he should not now be restored," but they did not exclude him from a future vacancy if they were satisfied

that he was able to attend the meetings of the board.<sup>70</sup>

Another vacancy occurred early in 1745, and Randolph again petitioned for the place. He stated, with some exaggeration of the time he was excused, that in 1739 he had been granted a year's leave of absence to attend to his affairs in Virginia and that his business detained him longer than expected. Upon returning to England in the fall of 1741, he had been gravely ill and could not even inform the corporation of his arrival. As a matter of fact, he claimed, he was in Bristol waiting his recovery so that he could resume his duties as Elder Brother at the very time the post was taken from him on October 3. He was, he pointed out, not the first Elder Brother to let his office lapse, but that one Captain John Smith had gone from England to become Governor of St. Helena and when he returned years later was again elected Elder Brother on the first vacancy.<sup>71</sup> The petition was considered and postponed.<sup>72</sup>

By July, 1745, Randolph was in financial straits and compelled to ask for charity. All that is known of his situation is contained in his petition to the Trinity House Corporation:

The Humble Petition of Edwd. Randolph  
Sheweth

That your Petitioner Having lately been an Elder Brother of this Corporation and having been many years in a very Extensive trade to Virginia

Humbly requests in Regard to his many Losses & misfortunes in Trade, that his Case may be taken into Consideration & allowd Such Releif as the Said Corporation shall think fitt. all which shall be Greatfully acknowledged....<sup>73</sup>

Eventually he was allowed fifty shillings a month to support his family.

In 1746 he signed on as a Purser, either in the Naval or the East India Company's service, the two most likely to carry an officer of his rank,<sup>74</sup> and went to sea. Soon afterward his allowance from Trinity



House was suspended. On December 6, 1746, Randolph wrote the corporation with the "Greatest Regret" requesting the money be continued because his wage as Purser was inadequate to support his family. "And," he went on, "as I am in advance a Considerable Sum to Supply necessarys to the Service, more than my ident money will answer; for this and many other reasons I hope for a continuance of your favours," all of which, he promised, would be repaid when "it's in my power to Support my Self and Family."<sup>75</sup> Whether his request was granted is not recorded. There is no other reference to Randolph in the Trinity House records.

Virtually nothing is known of Randolph's last years. He lived into the 1750's and was a witness to his son's will on April 7, 1751.<sup>76</sup> But by that time the once great tobacco merchant was a man of such little consequence that when he died he was soon forgotten. The date of his death is unknown.

#### 1. JOSEPH RANDOLPH (?--?)

Very little is known of Joseph Randolph. He was the son of Edward Randolph and was probably born in London where his father was a merchant. As a young man he came to Virginia where he was involved in land transactions. On December 15, 1737, the Council granted him a tract of land in Brunswick County;<sup>77</sup> on November 4, 1745, he, his brother, and six Randolph cousins joined with Richard Randolph to patent sixty thousand acres in Brunswick;<sup>78</sup> and on August 2, 1748, he witnessed a deed of gift between his uncle, Richard Randolph I, and his cousin, Richard Randolph II.<sup>79</sup>

In 1776 there was a Joseph Randolph involved in a housestealing case in Louisa County. But there is no evidence that this Joseph

Randolph was related to the Turkey Island Randolphs.<sup>80</sup> Regardless, the case is of little significance, because Randolph's innocence or guilt was not recorded.

Joseph Randolph never married.<sup>81</sup> The date of his death is unknown.

## 2. EDWARD RANDOLPH II (?--April, 1757)

According to family tradition, Edward Randolph II was the second son of Edward Randolph I. He was probably born in London and came to Virginia after the bankruptcy of his father's mercantile firm in 1732. Sometime after 1745 he married Lucy Harrison of Berkeley.<sup>82</sup> He was the father of at least two children, Harrison and Lucy.<sup>83</sup>

Like his father, he was a sea captain in the Virginia trade. Except for an interest in sixty thousand acres in Brunswick County, which he shared with an uncle, his brother, and six cousins, he was apparently unconcerned with land.<sup>84</sup> He commanded several ships, the John and Ann in 1743, the Charles in 1746, the Harrison in 1751, the Virginian in 1752, and the Baltimore in 1752.<sup>85</sup> In the course of his voyages from London he touched various ports, St. Kitts, the James and Rappahanock Rivers in Virginia, and New York.<sup>86</sup> Among his customers were Governor Dinwiddie who shipped baggage, letters, and Virginia hams,<sup>87</sup> and Daniel Parke Custis who ordered household goods and a "Velvet Hat for Mrs Custis."<sup>88</sup>

Randolph died in April, 1757. He left his entire estate to his wife who was the sole executrix of the will.<sup>89</sup>

## 3. MARY RANDOLPH YATES (?--?)

Mary Randolph was born in England<sup>90</sup> where her father, Edward Randolph, was a ship captain and merchant. In England she met and married Robert Yates, a Virginian studying for the Anglican ministry at Oxford University.

Yates, son of the Reverend Bartholomew Yates of Middlesex County, was born January 8, 1715.<sup>91</sup> In spite of his father's poverty,<sup>92</sup> he matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford, on July 12, 1733, and took his B.A. in 1737.<sup>93</sup> He was chosen minister of Petsworth Parish in Gloucester County, Virginia, in 1739,<sup>94</sup> but he did not assume his clerical responsibilities until 1742.<sup>95</sup> He remained in the parish until his death in 1761.<sup>96</sup>

Mary Randolph Yates was the mother of four daughters, the youngest of whom was named Catherine.<sup>97</sup> Perhaps she bore other children, but if she did, there is no account of them. Surviving her husband, she apparently remained a widow for the rest of her life. On October 31, 1771, she advertised for sale thirteen slaves at her plantation in Gloucester County.<sup>98</sup> There is no other record of her life.

## 4. ELIZABETH RANDOLPH (YATES) BLAND (?--c. 1785)

A daughter of Edward Randolph, Elizabeth Randolph was born and reared in England where she married William Yates, the younger brother of her sister's husband.<sup>99</sup>

Yates was born in Virginia on December 20, 1720,<sup>100</sup> and later went to England to prepare for Anglican orders. There is no record of his education, for unlike his brothers, he did not matriculate at Oxford. Returning to Virginia in 1745,<sup>101</sup> he became minister of

Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County, where, besides the routine parish duties, he supervised the building of a new church completed in 1755.<sup>102</sup> He also kept a grammar school at the glebe house where he prepared students for college. Later, one of his scholars said that Yates' "passionate disposition" caused some of the boys to leave the school.<sup>103</sup> Appointed Chaplain of the House of Burgesses in 1758,<sup>104</sup> he remained in Gloucester County until 1761 when he succeeded Thomas Dawson as President of the College of William and Mary and Rector of Bruton Parish Church in Williamsburg.<sup>105</sup> He died on September 21, 1764.<sup>106</sup>

Apart from the career of her husband, little is known of Elizabeth Randolph Yates. She was the mother of eight children, William, Edward Randolph, Sarah, Mary, Elizabeth, Susannah, Clara, and Lucy.<sup>107</sup> Two of the daughters did not survive to maturity: Sarah died at the age of eleven on October 28, 1759; and Mary succumbed on March 24, 1760, her age unrecorded.<sup>108</sup>

In his will Yates bequeathed his whole estate to his wife. Confident of "her prudence and known discretion," he allowed her complete freedom to use his "Land, Houses, Orchards, Negroes, Stocks, Household Stuff, as she pleases and thinks best for her own and my Childrens maintainance...."<sup>109</sup> Since no appraisal was made of the estate, and since the records of Gloucester and James City counties are lost, it is impossible to define Mrs. Yates' inheritance.

She remained in Williamsburg in the months immediately following the death of her husband.<sup>110</sup> A few years later, however, she was apparently living in Prince George County. In 1770 she offered for sale a four-hundred-and-thirty-acre plantation in the county,<sup>111</sup> and sold it two years later to Bristol Parish for £350.<sup>112</sup> In September,

1777, she became the second wife of her first cousin, Theodorick Bland, a resident of Prince George.<sup>113</sup>

With Bland she moved to Springfield, a plantation in Amelia County. She died there about 1785, a few months after her husband.<sup>114</sup>

## END NOTES -- CHAPTER XV

<sup>1</sup>Randolph's birthdate has been given as 1690 and 1700, but the 1695 date appears to be more accurate. See VMHB, VII (1900), 332, and XLV (1937), 84.

<sup>2</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 20.

<sup>3</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary, 33.

<sup>4</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 36, 44-45.

<sup>5</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 215. Randolph may have been in England earlier, but the references in Byrd's diary do not make clear whether he was referring to Isham or Edward Randolph; see pp. 135, 137-38.

<sup>6</sup>John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, 62.

<sup>7</sup>Pa. Gaz., May 4-11, 1732, 2:2.

<sup>8</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 396, 404-405, 408-409, 410, 411. See also Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1719-1724), 24 (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and John Spencer Bassett, "The Relation Between the Virginia Planter and the London Merchant," American Historical Association Annual Report for... 1901, I (1902), 557.

<sup>9</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns, 1715-1727, PRO, CO 5/1442, 41, 42, 43 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>10</sup>William Byrd to John Custis, July 29, 1723, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 37.

<sup>11</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns, 1715-1727, PRO, CO 5/1442, 43, 50, 52 (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 1726-1735, PRO, CO 5/1443, 18 (CW<sub>m</sub>), lists "Edward Randolph &c" as owners of a ship registered December 2, 1726.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., 18, 44.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., 51.

<sup>15</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, June 28, 1729, CW typescript.

<sup>16</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns, 1726-1735, 14, 18, 37, 44, 47, 51, 55, 56, 60, 68, 79. The other masters were Charles Rogers, Peter Hamar, William Clark, Nicholas Towart, and Richard Towerth.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. No record of the crew of the Williamsburg has been found, but since it was comparable in size to the Gooch, it is assumed that its crew numbered about twenty-eight.

<sup>18</sup>Will of Graves Packe, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, CW photostat.

<sup>19</sup>Virginia Shipping Returns, 1726-1735, 14, 18, 37, 44, 47, 51, 55, 56, 60, 68, 79.

<sup>20</sup>York County, Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 308, 309, 310, 311; Henrico County, Deeds Etc. (1748-1750), 41 (VSLm).

<sup>21</sup>VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 37; William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, April 9, 1730, CW typescript.

<sup>22</sup>Receipt to William Dawson in Correspondence of the Bishop of London, with some miscellaneous papers c. 1695-1771, Lambeth Palace, Fulham Palace Papers (CWm).

<sup>23</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, April 9, 1730, CW typescript.

<sup>24</sup>Pa. Gaz., May 4-11, 1732, 2:2.

<sup>25</sup>For information on Randolph's activities at Trinity House, see W. R. Chapin to James M. Smith, May 12, 1959 (CWm). Also see The Microcosm of London or London in Miniature, 3 vols. (London: Methuen & Co., 1904), III, 198-201.

<sup>26</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, July 24, 1730, CW typescript.

<sup>27</sup>Anderson, "Tuckahoe Randolphs," 84.

<sup>28</sup>Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, 1806-1830, 62. There is little specific information about Mrs. Edward Randolph. Her full name has been given as Elizabeth Graves, R. I. Randolph, The Randolphs, 255. Another tradition asserts that her name was Grosvenor and that she was a Quakeress so opposed to slavery that she refused to come to Virginia, VMHB, VII (1900), 322.

<sup>29</sup>General Business Minutes, 5 December 1734--3 July 1736, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 887, 401 (CWm).

<sup>30</sup>Pa. Gaz., May 4-11, 1732, 2:2.

<sup>31</sup>General Business Minutes, 5 December 1734--3 July 1736, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 887, 408 (CWm).

<sup>32</sup>Melvin Herndon, Tobacco in Colonial Virginia (Williamsburg, Va.: The Virginia 350th Anniversary Celebration Corporation, 1957), 48.

<sup>33</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, July 24, 1730, CW typescript; and James Soltow, The Economic Role of Williamsburg (Charlottesville, Va.: University of Virginia Press, 1965), 26-28.

<sup>34</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, June 28, 1729, CW typescript.

<sup>35</sup>Receiver-General's Minutes, 1730-1734, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 1273, 241 (Cwm).

<sup>36</sup>Arthur P. Middleton, Tobacco Coast (Newport News, Va.: The Mariner's Museum, 1953), 110-111.

<sup>37</sup>General Business Minutes, 5 December 1734--3 July 1736, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 887, 75-76 (Cwm).

<sup>38</sup>Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1697-1775," Journal of Economic History, XXIV (1964), 506; and Middleton, Tobacco Coast, 128.

<sup>39</sup>Receiver-General's Minutes, 1730-1734, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 1273, 200, 218, 230, 240-241, 247, 250, 266, 371 (Cwm).

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., 250.

<sup>41</sup>General Business Minutes, Class 887, 388, 401 (Cwm).

<sup>42</sup>Ibid., 81.

<sup>43</sup>See letter from Customs Board, April 5, 1732, Letter Book: Customs Board to Collector, and Collector's out-letters 1729-1745, Customs House, Ayr (Cwm); State Papers, Domestic, George II, PRO, SP 36/26, 142-143 (Cwm); Treasury Warrant to Customs Commissioners, 8 January 1733/34, Treasury Out-Letters--Customs XX, PRO, T 11/20, 450 (Cwm); Receiver-General's Minutes 1730-1734, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 1273, 132, 200, 218, 230, 240-241, 247, 250, 266, 370, 371, 394, 420 (Cwm); General Business Minutes 5 December 1734--3 July 1736, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 887, 75-76, 81, 84, 91-94, 268-269, 271, 318, 366, 388, 401, 408, 420 (Cwm).

<sup>44</sup>York County, Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 308, 309, 310, 311, 314, 317, 319, 337; Orders, Wills, XVIII (1732-1740/41), 6, 16, 31, 43 (VSLm).

<sup>45</sup>Goochland County, Order Book #3, 111-113; and Caroline County, Order Book (1732-1740), 17-18, 39-40, 40-41 (VSLm).

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>Thomas Jones to ?, April 6, 1741, Jones Family Papers, LC (Cwm).

<sup>48</sup>Memorandum of Thomas Jones to Fred Jones, October 4, 1755, Ibid.

<sup>49</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, March 8, 1734/35, CW typescript.

<sup>50</sup>Trinity House Minute Books cited by W. R. Chaplin to James M. Smith, May 12, 1959 (Cwm).

<sup>51</sup>Privy Council Registers, 1741-1743, PRO, PC/27, 451 (Cwm).



- <sup>52</sup>JHB 1727-1740, 442.
- <sup>53</sup>November 16, 1740, WMQ, 1st series, XXI (1913), 99-100.
- <sup>54</sup>Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies 1706-1760, 10, PRO, CO 324/48 (CWm).
- <sup>55</sup>Henrico County, Miscellaneous Court Records, I (1650-1717), 224 (VSLm).
- <sup>56</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 50, 230 (VSLm).
- <sup>57</sup>Will of Graves Packe, December 16, 1728, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, CW photostat.
- <sup>58</sup>York County, Deeds IV (1729-1740), 624-625 (VSLm).
- <sup>59</sup>EJCCV, V, 16.
- <sup>60</sup>Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 82 (VSLm).
- <sup>61</sup>York County, Orders, Wills, Inventories, XVIII (1732-1740/41), 644, 652, 665, 673-674; Henrico County, Order Book (1737-1746), 144, 236, 252, 334, 335; Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 193, 266, 267, 269, 273, 277 (VSLm).
- <sup>62</sup>Charles City County, Court Orders (1737-1757), 199-200 (VSLm).
- <sup>63</sup>Privy Council Registers, 1741-1743, PRO, PC 2/97, 451-452 (CWm).
- <sup>64</sup>York County, Orders, Wills, XVII (1729-1732), 308-311, 314, 317, 319, 337; Caroline County, Order Book (1732-1740), 17-18, 39-41 (VSLm).
- <sup>65</sup>Privy Council Registers, 1741-1743, PRO, PC 2/97, 451-452 (CWm).
- <sup>66</sup>Council Petition, October 29, 1743, Governors' Correspondence with the Secretary of State, 1694-1753, PRO, CO 5/1337, 287-291 (CWm).
- <sup>67</sup>Worthington Chauncey Ford, ed., "Some Letters of William Beverley," WMQ, 1st series, III (1894), 236-237.
- <sup>68</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., November 21, 1745, 3:2.
- <sup>69</sup>Edward Randolph to Charles Martin, March 16, 1742, Trinity House Archives, London (CWm).
- <sup>70</sup>Transcript of Trinity House Minutes (CWm).
- <sup>71</sup>Memorial of Edward Randolph, February 2, 1744/45, Trinity House Archives, London (CWm).
- <sup>72</sup>Transcript of Trinity House Minutes (CWm).

<sup>73</sup>Trinity House Archives, London (CWm). Also see Edward Randolph to John Wormby, July 3, 1745, *Ibid.*

<sup>74</sup>W. R. Chaplin to James M. Smith, May 12, 1959 (CWm).

<sup>75</sup>Edward Randolph to Deputy Master and Elder Brothers of Trinity House, December 6, 1746, Trinity House Archives, London (CWm).

<sup>76</sup>Will of Edward Randolph II, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, CW photostat.

<sup>77</sup>EJCCV, IV, 413.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, V, 195.

<sup>79</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Etc. (1748-1750), 41, 58 (VSLm).

<sup>80</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., September 13, 1776, 3:1; Dixon and Hunter's Va. Gaz., October 11, 1776, 6:2; October 18, 1776, 3:1. It is possible that the Joseph Randolph here mentioned is the same as the one who in 1780 was aged 29 and living in Mecklenburg County, see Virginia Genealogical Society Quarterly Bulletin, VI (1968), 9. Also see Public Service Claims, York County, Court Booklet, II. 3a; and Gloucester County, Commissioner's Book, IV, 289, VSL.

<sup>81</sup>Randolph of Roanoke, *Commonpalce Book*, 62.

<sup>82</sup>There is confusion about Lucy Harrison Randolph arising from an item in the Maryland Gazette, August 16, 1745, 3:4, dated Williamsburg, July 18, which stated that lightning striking Berkeley had killed Col. Benjamin Harrison and "his two youngest Daughters." It has been assumed that Lucy was one of the daughters who died by lightning. She was alive, however, in 1781, when, as Mrs. Lucy Necks, a Loyalist seeking compensation for her losses in Virginia, she certified that she was the sister of Governor Benjamin Harrison of Virginia, see Loyalist Reports of Lucy Necks, Loyalist Claims, Series II--Virginia Claims, 1777-1789, PRO, AO 13/32 (CWm). That she survived to maturity is further evident from the will of Elizabeth Harrison Randolph, dated October 23, 1780, wherein Mrs. Randolph referred to "my Niece Lucy Randolph Daughter of my Sister Necks," see York County, Wills and Inventories, XXIII (1783-1811), 4 (VSLm). Mrs. Necks was living in England as late as 1788, see James Maury to Lucy Necks, July 14, 1787; and William F. Bickerston to James Maury, April 21, 1788, Maury Family Papers, Box 2, Alderman Library, UVa. She had died by December 10, 1793, when her nephews paid the heirs of "Lucy late Mrs. Necks of London" £150 legacy from her father, see Accounts of the estate of Benjamin Harrison, Brock Collection, Henry E. Huntington Library (CWm).

<sup>83</sup>The dates of birth are unknown, R. I. Randolph, Randolphs, 255. Edward Randolph II may have been the father of another daughter, for the second husband of his widow, in a will dated August 17, 1774, listed "Betty Popley Daughter of my beloved Wife's by a former Husband." See the will of Robert Necks, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, CW photostat.

<sup>84</sup>EJCCV, V, 195.

<sup>85</sup>Admiralty-Miscellaneous, Register of Protections from being pressed, 1742-1743, PRO, Adm. 7/369, n.p.; Ibid., 1746-1747, PRO, Adm. 7/369, n.p.; Hunter's Va. Gaz., October 3, 1751, 3:1; January 30, 1752, 3:2; April 30, 1752, 2:1.

<sup>86</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., October 3, 1751, 3:1; January 30, 1752, 3:2; April 30, 1752, 2:1; Brock, ed., Dinwiddie Papers, II, 419.

<sup>87</sup>"Diary of John Blair," WMQ, 1st series, VII (1899), 8; Brock, Dinwiddie Papers, II, 414, 417, 419, 526.

<sup>88</sup>Daniel Parke Custis, Invoice Book, 2, 9, CW photostat. Mrs. Custis was later Martha Washington.

<sup>89</sup>Will of Edward Randolph, dated April 7, 1751 and probated July 1, 1757, Principal Probate Registry, Somerset House, London, CW photostat.

<sup>90</sup>VMHB, VII (1900), 332.

<sup>91</sup>The Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Va. from 1633 to 1812 (Richmond, Va.: Wm. Ellis Jones, 1897), 93.

<sup>92</sup>Anonymous letter to the Bishop of London, May 30, 1732, in William Stevens Perry, ed., Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church, 3 vols. (Hartford, Conn.: Church Press Company, 1870), I, 355.

<sup>93</sup>Foster, ed., Alumni Oxonienses 1715-1886, IV, 1626.

<sup>94</sup>C. G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish Gloucester County, Virginia 1677-1793 (Richmond, Va.: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1933), 257. Cited hereinafter as Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish.

<sup>95</sup>Treasury-General Accounts, Quarterly, Midsummer 1742, PRO, T 31/164, 66 (Cwm); Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, 263.

<sup>96</sup>Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, 263-314, passim.

<sup>97</sup>Dixon's Va. Gaz., September 5, 1777, 2:2. Catherine was born March 24, 1760, and died February 11, 1831, see Wellford Family Bible, transcript, VHS.

<sup>98</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., October 31, 1771, 3:1.

<sup>99</sup>VMHB, VII (1900), 332.

<sup>100</sup>The Parish Register of Christ Church, Middlesex County, Va. from 1633 to 1812 (Richmond, Va.: Wm. Ellis Jones, 1897), 106.

- 101 Treasury-General Accounts, Quarterly, Midsummer 1745, PRO, T 31/176, 62 (Cwm).
- 102 George MacLaren Brydon, A History of Abingdon Parish 1655-1955 (n.p.: 1955), 25.
- 103 John Page, "Autobiographical Memoir," Virginia Historical Register, III (1850), 144.
- 104 JHB 1758-1761, 5.
- 105 Goodwin, Record of Bruton Parish, 140.
- 106 John Randolph of Roanoke, Commonplace Book, c. 1826, 10, VHS.
- 107 Nuptial Agreement between Theodorick Bland and Elizabeth Yates, September 22, 1784, Campbell Papers, VHS; Amelia County, Will Book #3, (1780-1786), 302-304 (VSLm); and Thomas Jefferson to William Fleming, March 20, 1764, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 16.
- 108 Abingdon Parish Register, 83, 102, 108, VHS.
- 109 Will of William Yates, Brock Collection (Uncatalogued), Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery (Cwm).
- 110 Virginia Gazette Day Book, 1764-1765, CW photostat, 153.
- 111 Rind's Va. Gaz., September 20, 1770, 3:2.
- 112 Churchill Gibson Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry and Register of Bristol Parish, Virginia, 1720-1789 (Richmond, Va.: privately printed, 1898), 234, 237, 245-246.
- 113 Frances Bland Randolph to Theodorick Bland, Jr., September 18, 1777, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.
- 114 Will of Elizabeth Bland, December 17, 1784, Amelia County, Will Book #3 (1780-1786), 302-304 (VSLm). The estate was ordered appraised in September, 1785, Ibid., 404-406.

## CHAPTER XVI

### THE RANDOLPHS OF TURKEY ISLAND IN RETROSPECT

The Randolphs of Turkey Island were one of the most successful of the great families who rose to wealth and power in colonial Virginia. Most of these families came to the Old Dominion after the middle of the seventeenth century; they were usually of substantial stock and often had financial backing from home to ease their settlement in the colony.<sup>1</sup> Such was the case of William Randolph I of Turkey Island.

Randolph arrived in Virginia about 1670, a twenty-year-old Englishman of the minor gentry. He had a little money and the added advantage of an uncle who was a well-connected Virginia gentleman. Contracting a good marriage with Mary Isham, a sturdy young woman of his social rank, he sired ten children. By the time of his death in 1711, he had established the foundation of his family's greatness in planting, commerce, education, law, and politics. It was upon these foundations that subsequent generations of the Randolphs built with notable achievement.

Over three generations the Randolphs displayed remarkable solidarity. As a rule, they married well within their social rank, produced healthy offspring, and lived at least into middle age. The full significance of these patterns of life awaits studies of other families of the Virginia gentry. Nevertheless, it is clear that such patterns shaped Randolph ambitions and accomplishments.

Marriage was a serious concern of the first families of Virginia.

The Randolphs buttressed their position by matrimonial alliances. In 1758, a family member recalled that an uncle had said "that [the] first fall & ruin of Family's and estates was mostly Occasioned by Imprudent Matches to Imbeggar familys & to beget a race of beggars."<sup>2</sup>

As far as Virginia law was concerned, a couple could marry without parental consent so long as the bride was at least sixteen and the groom at least twenty-one. Custom, however, was binding: the man had to have the consent of the girl's parents before he proposed marriage to her. Edmund S. Morgan has since pointed out that a Virginia father "who had spent a lifetime in accumulating a fortune did not wish to see his son squander it on a maid with a short hempen skirt, nor did he wish to see his daughter hand it over to a man who could not otherwise support her in a manner befitting her birth."<sup>3</sup>

"A Marriage," the Virginian Robert Bolling noted in 1764, "decides the Happiness or Misery always of two, generally of more, sometimes of many Persons. There is therefore nothing, in which a prudent Person will more cautiously avoid interfering."<sup>4</sup> Twice the Randolphs sought to halt marital unions damaging the family, but with mixed results.\* In 1732, the teen-aged Mary Isham Randolph of Tuckahoe eloped with an uncle's low-born overseer. Her father was dead and her only brother was not yet twenty-one, so other men in the family brought her back home and sent the overseer packing. But Mary was still defiant, for in 1736 she married the Reverend James Keith, minister of the neighboring parish, a man not only without family and money but also without good character. Keith had resigned his parish in disgrace admitting to fornication with

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\*Most of the information in this chapter is drawn from the preceding chapters and is not specifically noted.

a young gentlewoman, undoubtedly the headstrong daughter of Tuckahoe. He had offered to marry the girl, but her family was adamant against it, so he left for northern Virginia where Mary eventually joined him. The Randolphs never forgave her. She died befuddled and poverty-stricken.<sup>5</sup>

The case of Mary Randolph of Turkey Island turned out more happily than that of her Tuckahoe cousin. Younger daughter of William Randolph II, Mary remained at home with her widowed father while her brothers and sister married and went off on their own. About 1744, some two years after her father's death, the twenty-five-year-old spinster shocked her family by marrying John Price, a nineteen-year-old indentured carpenter working for her brother. Eventually the Randolphs accepted Mary's husband who was ambitious enough to turn the more than £800 sterling of her inheritance into a fine house and plantation in Hanover County.<sup>6</sup>

The marriages of the two Mary Randolphs were unusual. Most of the marital alliances of the Randolphs were made within the tight circle of the aristocracy of tidewater Virginia whose members were constantly together in business, government, and society. Sons and daughters naturally selected suitable mates from among the friends of their parents. William Randolph I married Mary Isham in the middle 1670's. While he undoubtedly met her through his uncle who lived near the Ishams on the southside of the James River, their families may have been acquainted long before they migrated to Virginia since for several generations they both were established in the west of England in Northamptonshire.<sup>7</sup>

Over three generations the Randolphs made fifty-two marriages. The bridal couple in fourteen of them came from the same Virginia county,

in sixteen from counties adjacent, and in fourteen from counties widely scattered throughout the colony. Two marriages occurred in other colonies and six in England. That most of the Randolphs found spouses near their homes is not surprising, for the county people came together frequently at church, court, and at each other's plantations. When Randolphs married into Virginia families living a good distance beyond their own county, their unions were usually the result of an acquaintance made through parents or mutual friends. For example, William Randolph II possibly met Elizabeth Beverley of Gloucester County after having first been introduced to her father, one of Gloucester's leading men in the House of Burgesses where Randolph's own father had helped make him clerk. Elizabeth Bland, moreover, became the wife of William Beverley, whose Essex County plantation was far from her family home in Prince George County; she met him most likely through his uncle, William Byrd II of Westover, a longtime friend of the Blands.

Cousins John Randolph the Loyalist\* and Isham Randolph II took wives outside Virginia. There is no record how John Randolph came to know Ariana Jenings of Maryland, but she had relatives in Virginia and he was acquainted with her Annapolis neighbor, the younger Daniel Dulany. The wife of Isham Randolph II, Sarah Hargraves, came from Philadelphia. As a captain in the colonial trade, Isham called often at the Pennsylvania port; he may have been introduced to Sarah by her father who was also a ship's captain.

The marital unions contracted in England were the result of Randolph residence in the mother country. Brothers Isham and Edward

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\*For purposes of clarity, John Randolph is referred to as the Loyalist, although in most instances the term is an anachronism.



Randolph and Isham's son, William Randolph of Bristol, all wed English women because they had established themselves as merchants in London and Bristol. Edward's daughters, Mary and Elizabeth, who were born and reared in London, married, respectively, Robert and William Yates, brothers from Virginia who had come to England for holy orders. Brett Randolph of Curles wed Mary Scott of Gloucestershire whom he met while attending school in England.

Isham Randolph eventually settled his English wife in Virginia. The Yates couples also lived permanently in the colony. Edward Randolph came frequently to the Old Dominion and even resided there briefly in the late 1730's, but a family tradition asserts that his wife refused to come with him because she was a Quaker opposed to Negro slavery. Brett Randolph brought his wife to his Virginia plantation, but she may have been unhappy, for they returned to the mother country. Of the Randolphs who married in England, only William of Bristol never traveled to Virginia with his spouse. He was a partner in the Bristol firm of Sedgley, Hilhouse and Randolph, he had a large family, and the American Revolution halted whatever thoughts he had of visiting his old home.

During three generations, four marriages were made among relatives. William Stith married his cousin, Judith Randolph of Tuckahoe; Thomas Randolph of Dungeness his second cousin, Jane Cary of Ampthill; John Randolph of Bizarre his second cousin, Frances Bland; and Theodorick Bland took as his second wife his widowed cousin, Elizabeth Randolph Yates. Three members of the family, Richard Randolph I, Peter Randolph, and Theodorick Bland, married into the Bolling family. Sir

John Randolph\* wed Susanna Beverley, younger sister of Mrs. William Randolph II. Richard Randolph II and his sister, Elizabeth, married a sister and brother of the Meade family of Nansemond County. The long association between the Randolphs and the Harrisons of Berkeley was strengthened between the 1740's and 1760's when four Randolph cousins, William Randolph III of Wilton, Peyton Randolph, Edward Randolph II, and Susannah Randolph of Dungeness, married daughters and a son of Benjamin Harrison IV. Anna Randolph of Dungeness found both a second and third husband in the Pleasants family. By their marriages the Randolphs were allied directly or indirectly with most of the aristocratic families of colonial Virginia.

Money and property were important considerations in marital alliances. When Beverley Randolph wed Elizabeth Lightfoot in December, 1737, the Virginia Gazette observed with exaggeration that the bride had "a Fortune of upwards of 5000 l."<sup>8</sup> The following July, the newspaper reported that "the Rev. Mr. William Stith was married to Miss Judith Randolph, ...an agreeable Lady, with a considerable Fortune;" and that "Mr. Peter Randolph...was married to Miss Lucy Bolling, ...a very deserving young Lady, with a pretty Fortune."<sup>9</sup> Exactly what constituted a "pretty" and a "considerable" fortune, the newspaper did not say. There was no fixed sum. The amount seems to have varied according to family size and financial resources. Sir John Randolph and Richard Randolph I, who were the most prosperous of their generation, settled £1000 sterling on their daughters (Sir John had one, Richard

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\*For the sake of clarity the name Sir John Randolph is used here even though he was not knighted until 1733 and in some instances the use of the title is an anachronism.

three) when they married or came of age. Their brother-in-law, Richard Bland, Sr., a fairly successful merchant and planter, left his three daughters each £500. Their brother, Isham Randolph, however, was short of money and set aside for his five daughters £200, which, in the case of his eldest daughter, he was unable to pay when she married.<sup>10</sup>

There is little information concerning financial and property settlements for the marriages of the Randolph sons, but it is clear that they did not have to await the death of their parents for a share of their inheritance. The younger sons, moreover, were not ignored in favor of the eldest son. William Randolph I gave land to two elder sons when they came of age; he aided another in establishing a maritime career; and three younger sons, who were still minors at the time of his death, were given good provision in his will. William Randolph II brought his bride to the Turkey Island plantation, part of which his father had already deeded him, and set up housekeeping a short distance from his parents' house. Perhaps the arrangement was not entirely satisfactory, for when his son, Beverley, married, he gave the young couple the Turkey Island plantation and moved his family to Goochland County. The widowed Mary Randolph Stith left the family plantation in Charles City County to her married son, although she doubtless had dower rights to the place, and established herself as the College Housekeeper in Williamsburg. Anticipating marriage, Richard Randolph II, who already was in possession of most of his patrimony, bought out his mother's life interest in the home plantation at Curles.<sup>11</sup>

In most cases the Randolph family's financial position was unquestioned. However, in 1751, when John Randolph, the Loyalist, married Ariana Jenings, her father took legal steps to protect her £1000 dowry

by having three of the groom's kinsmen post bond in court insuring that if she were widowed, she would receive an annual stipend of £150 sterling.<sup>12</sup> Old Jenings' concern was well founded, for, after his death, John Randolph spent his wife's money in building a splendid mansion in Williamsburg, maintained an expensive lifestyle, and sacrificed his estate to discharge his debts before fleeing to England in 1775. Ariana Randolph lived out her last years a widow close to poverty.

On the average, first marriages occurred in the Randolph family when the groom was aged about twenty-five and the bride about twenty. The evidence from which their ages are computed, however, is incomplete. Of the forty-six first marriages, there is precise data for twenty-two; for sixteen, age can only be estimated; and for eight, nothing is known. The principals of the first generation, William Randolph I and Mary Isham, were, respectively, about twenty-five and seventeen when they wed. Men of the second generation married at an average age of twenty-seven, women about seventeen. The average for men of the third generation was twenty-four and, for women, twenty.

At the time of their marriage, Randolph men of the second generation ranged in age from about twenty-three to about thirty-three; their sons were between eighteen and thirty-two. Women of the second generation were probably about sixteen and eighteen when they wed; in the third generation they married between the ages of sixteen and thirty-one.

As a rule, husbands were older than wives by an average of seven and one-half years. More than eight years separated William Randolph I and his wife. There was an average difference of ten years among his children and their spouses; and six years among his grandchildren. Clearly colonial Virginians thought a husband should be the elder in

marriage, for when the thirty-one-year-old Elizabeth Randolph of Curles married Richard Kidder Meade, a man eleven years her junior, the Virginia Gazette printed a poem satirizing her for taking a "boy."<sup>13</sup>

There is no record to explain why the Randolphs married when they did. Surmise in some cases is possible. For example, Richard and Theodorick Bland, while in their late teens, entered especially early into matrimony probably because their parents were dead, they had no family home, and already had their inheritance. On the other hand, William Stith at age thirty-one made a relatively late marriage. After taking his degrees at Oxford, Stith returned from England to a position at the College of William and Mary where President James Blair thought it best for his faculty to be unmarried. Not until 1738, when he had left the college, did Stith take a wife. Mary Randolph of Turkey Island and Elizabeth Randolph of Curles both remained at home with widowed parents until they were considered spinsters. When, to the consternation of their contemporaries, they finally did marry, both husbands were younger and, in Mary's case, of inferior social rank.

Since they usually married older men, Randolph wives often outlived their husbands. Survivors of thirty-nine marital alliances are known; twenty-nine of them were women. There were surprisingly few remarriages among the widowed in the Randolph family. The widows of Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe, Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island, and John Randolph of Bizarre took second husbands. Richard Bland outlived three wives. The second wife of Theodorick Bland was his widowed cousin, Elizabeth Randolph Yates. Mary Randolph of Tuckahoe wed James Keith after first eloping with an uncle's overseer. The twice widowed Anna Randolph of Dungeness had three husbands. That the Randolphs did

not often remarry in a colony where such a practice was common is not easily explained. Widowers left with small children sometimes seek a new wife to assist in their households, but both William Randolph II and William Randolph of Tuckahoe reared their families alone after their wives died. Widows left with heavy family and property considerations sometimes feel the need of a man to attend to their affairs, but Lady Susanna Randolph successfully brought up her four adolescents by herself. The Randolphs in general were a very wealthy family who arranged upon their deaths for their estates to be maintained for the well-being of their widows and orphans. Thus, there was in most cases no pressure to remarry for reasons of security. Furthermore, after a long marriage, a widowed spouse facing his own end was probably not inclined to marry again.

Not all adult Randolphs were married. Henry, second son of William Randolph I, remained a bachelor, as did his nephews, Joseph and Ryland Randolph. About the single state of Henry and Joseph there is no information, but Ryland apparently had a conjugal relationship with his Negro servant, Aggy, and sired a son and daughter. When he died in 1784, Ryland willed most of his estate to Aggy and the children, established a trust fund of £3000 sterling for them in England, and provided their passage out of Virginia. However, Ryland's brother, Richard Randolph II, to whom the estate was heavily in debt, broke the will and kept the slaves in bondage. At Richard's death in 1786, provision was made for the eventual emancipation of Aggy's children on condition that they claim nothing of Ryland's estate. What happened to Aggy is unknown.<sup>14</sup>

Travelers in eighteenth-century Virginia were impressed by the

great size of the Randolph family.<sup>15</sup> By the end of the century the descendants of William Randolph I numbered at least two-hundred and forty-eight. There were ten children born in the second generation, forty-four in the third, and one-hundred and ninety-four in the fourth. Individual family size for parents of the third generation ranged between three and eleven offspring; and between one and twelve for parents of the fourth generation. In both of these generations, the average family size was about six children.

The Randolphs were fortunate to bring most of their offspring to maturity. Richard Bland, Sr., for instance, lost his wife and all six of their children before marrying into the Randolph family. The record of infant mortality among the Randolphs is probably incomplete, but out of fifty-four births recorded in the first three generations, there were only five deaths. Elizabeth Randolph died in 1685 when she was perhaps six or seven years old; her small gravestone at Turkey Island is mute testimony to her parents' grief. Spare sentences in a Bible are the only record of Isham Randolph's two sons who died within weeks of their birth. An accidental scalding claimed the life of three-year-old Beverley, son of William Randolph II; his brother, William, died at ten on a voyage to England.<sup>16</sup>

"...I always knew," a Virginian wrote following the death of Peter Randolph in 1767, "Col. Randolph's were of a short lived Family..."<sup>17</sup> Peter Randolph's family was indeed short-lived; his brothers, Beverley and William, predeceased him both aged thirty-seven; Peter himself was not yet fifty when he died of a long illness, a mysterious "Iruposthume of the Lungs."<sup>18</sup> Of the forty-nine family members who reached adulthood, the lifespans of thirty-seven are known. In

three generations the average lifespan for males was forty-nine years and for females, fifty-six years. In the first generation, William Randolph I and his wife, Mary, died, respectively, at the ages of sixty and about seventy-six. Men in the second generation lived an average of fifty-one years and women at least fifty-two. In the third generation the average lifespan was forty-nine years for men and fifty-seven years for women. From such a small sampling based on incomplete data, it is difficult to know if the Randolphs were a short-lived family. Furthermore, there are no demographic studies of other Virginia families by which to measure the standards of life-expectancy in the colony.

Mortality patterns of the townspeople in Andover, Massachusetts, during the colonial period, however, provide a helpful comparison. Men and women of the first generation, who were born between 1640 and 1669, lived an average of 71.8 and 70.8 years, respectively; the second generation, born between 1670 and 1699, lived, in the case of males, an average of 64.2 years and, in the case of females, 61.8 years; and men and women of the third generation, born between 1700 and 1729, had lifespans of 62.4 and 60.8 years.<sup>19</sup> By the standards of Andover, Massachusetts, therefore, the Randolphs were not a long-lived family; but Randolph women, in contrast to their northern contemporaries, lived longer than the men in the family.

Randolph medical history is, in most cases, unrecoverable. Some of the Randolph men, as is evident in their portraits, were inclined to corpulence, but only in the case of Peyton Randolph, who succumbed to an apparent cerebral hemorrhage, is there an indication that excess weight may have contributed to physical decline. Other factors as well may have undermined their health. Sir John Randolph, with the concurrent



pressures of his manifold responsibilities possibly developed ulcers. Contemporaries thought that worry over the troubled state of his finances hastened the end of Richard Randolph II.<sup>20</sup> Childbearing may have brought the demise of Elizabeth Randolph Bland who died within six weeks of the birth of her fifth child. The family, moreover, was subject to other maladies. For years William Randolph I suffered with gout. William Byrd doctored Thomas Randolph for "a cholic and a fever caused by a violent cold."<sup>21</sup> John Randolph of Bizarre complained not only of "Ague & fever" but also of "blind piles."<sup>22</sup>

The Randolphs were concerned for their health. Sir John Randolph, William Randolph II, Richard Randolph I, and Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island went to England to restore themselves. Sir John and Richard took, without great success, the waters at Bath. Mary Randolph Cary went to the warm springs in Virginia's Augusta County in a vain attempt to recover her strength.<sup>23</sup> John Randolph of Bizarre repeatedly consulted his brother-in-law, Dr. Theodorick Bland, Jr., for diagnosis and treatment. The doctor, although he was sometimes exasperated with Randolph's continual illnesses, administered leeches and emetics. Nevertheless, Randolph caught cold and died at thirty-three.<sup>24</sup> William Stith, who was in ill-health in the late summer of 1755, sought relief by taking the "Bark", but, according to an associate, he dosed himself improperly and lapsed "into a Stupor...of which he died."<sup>25</sup>

The family unit was important in the growing-up of the Randolph children. When William Randolph I came seeking his fortune in Virginia, his departure from England was hardly a radical alteration in family pattern, for the Randolphs had a history of mobility. Randolph's grandfather moved, apparently from Sussex, to Northamptonshire; his father

went to Warwickshire and perhaps even to Ireland; and his uncle migrated to Virginia.<sup>26</sup>

Very little is known specifically of the expectations and techniques of Randolph child-rearing. But generally in view of Randolph prominence and responsibility in Virginia society, it is not too much to assume that parents certainly imposed standards of behavior on their offspring. Sons grew to positions in public service, planting, commerce and the professions; while daughters matured to the duties of house and nursery. Discipline was sometimes necessary. For example, when the teen-aged Edward Randolph quarrelled with William Byrd of Westover, complaining that he was starved and would not come when his elder called him, Byrd informed the lad's father who pledged punishment if such behavior were repeated.<sup>27</sup> Over-indulgence in childhood apparently spoiled John Randolph of Bizarre. Youngest in his family, he was fatherless from the age of six, but his mother, brothers, and sisters made up the loss with affection and advice to the point that when he grew to manhood, he found it hard to make his own decisions.

Religion was a means of transmitting values. While Virginians were not celebrated generally for their piety, several notable Randolphs had more than a conventional interest in religion. Sir John Randolph was branded a heretic. He was orthodox but non-clerical and even blasted the clergy for making "the religion of Christ a science of mighty difficulty and mystery against his own authority."<sup>28</sup> John Randolph the Loyalist, like his father, was a reputed free thinker and as a result was kept from a place on the Board of Visitors of the College. The Reverend William Stith was charged with anti-Trinitarianism because he did not employ the Athanasian Creed in his parish churches. Beverley

Randolph of Turkey Island thought ministers were hypocrites. Richard Bland, a lay reader in his parish church, who had once considered taking holy orders, was an active churchman, but he kept books of religious liberalism in his library. The reputation for free thought or heresy which some of the Randolphs had in their time seems exaggerated. Well acquainted as they were with church history and theology, they were broad-minded and tolerant in religious matters. Apparently their beliefs put them at odds with some of the Virginia clergy. Nevertheless, most of the Randolphs were orthodox churchmen, at least sixteen of them and their kinsmen were members of their parish vestries. Five Randolph women married ministers.

There are few details of the religious instruction of the Randolph children. Among the surviving books from the library of Sir John Randolph was an abridgment of Bible stories for youngsters by Sebastien Chatleillon, Dialogorum Sacrorum...Et ad Linguam Recte formandam, & ad Vitam sancte instituendam Christianae Juventuti apprime utiles (1722),<sup>29</sup> which Randolph's sons may have used during their school days. Sir John's youngest son, John Randolph the Loyalist, became a Deist and brought up his son, Edmund, in the same way. Later, under the influence of a pious wife, Edmund came to a more orthodox Christian belief. "I was a deist," Edmund wrote; "made so by my confidence in some whom I revered and by the labours of my two preceptors who tho' of the ministry, poisoned me with books on infidelity."<sup>30</sup> Sir John's daughter, Mary Randolph Grymes, apparently instructed her ten children in the elements of orthodox Christianity, for in 1751 her husband purchased several Bibles and prayer books in Williamsburg.<sup>31</sup> Doubtless to instruct his family and friends, Richard Bland bought twelve copies of

The Sinfulness and Pernicious Nature of Gaming, a sermon by his cousin, William Stith, and four dozen books on the catechism and sacraments.<sup>32</sup>

Not by accident Bland's son, William, became a clergyman. Although, like most Virginians, Anna Randolph of Dungeness was reared in the Church of England, she converted to the faith of her husband, John Pleasants, who was a Quaker. Her conversion probably was not sanctioned by her cousin Bland who had written a pamphlet against the Quakers.<sup>33</sup> If her relatives disapproved, Anna paid no attention; for when her husband died, she married his Quaker cousin, James Pleasants.

The Randolphs were concerned for the formal education of their offspring. Virginia, however, was short of schools and schoolmasters. Sometimes the parish minister taught students to supplement his salary. Wealthy planters often hired tutors to maintain schools on their plantations; some planters educated their children in England. For a time, William Randolph I employed a Huguenot clergyman for his son, John; but the Frenchman did not long remain, for Randolph's next son, Edward, went to school to the tutor at Berkeley, the Harrison plantation down-river from Turkey Island.<sup>34</sup> William Randolph of Tuckahoe, who died in 1745, instructed his executors to keep a "Private Tutor" for his son.<sup>35</sup>

The teacher whom they secured not only had charge of young master Thomas Mann Randolph but also his cousin, Thomas Jefferson, whose father had moved his family to Tuckahoe to look after the Randolph orphans. In 1756, Theodorick Bland advertised in the Virginia Gazette that "A PERSON who understands teaching of Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, and comes well recommended, may meet with good Encouragement, by applying to the Subscriber in Prince-George County."<sup>36</sup> In Gloucester County, about the same time, the Reverend William Yates,

husband of Elizabeth Randolph, kept a school to prepare scholars for college.<sup>37</sup> Richard Randolph I and William Beverley, his niece's husband, took their sons to England to enroll them in grammar school.

School records for individual Randolphs are virtually nonexistent. However, enough is known of the books, letters, and accounts of the various branches of the family to make it relatively certain that all their children, boys and girls, were given at least a rudimentary education. Reading, writing, and arithmetic were basic to the curricula of the plantation and parish schools. Boys who were college-bound were taught Greek and Latin and sometimes law and accounting. But girls were not thought to have a capacity for advanced learning, and their studies did not extend beyond the basic curriculum. "...mending, writing, Arithmetic, and Music," a Virginia girl noted ruefully, "was all I could be permitted to acquire."<sup>38</sup>

When the boys, at age twelve or thereabouts, completed their preparatory studies, most of them continued their education at the College of William and Mary in Virginia, a school which the Randolphs had supported since its founding in 1693. William Randolph I was a member of the original Board of Visitors and was succeeded in that office by his sons, William Randolph II and Sir John Randolph, and his grandsons, Peter Randolph, Peyton Randolph, Richard Randolph II, and Richard Bland. His daughter, Mary Randolph Stith, was college housekeeper. Three of the first five presidents of the College, William Dawson, William Stith, and William Yates, were related to the Randolphs by blood or marriage. Dawson and Stith, moreover, had been members of the faculty before their elevation to the presidency. Sir John Randolph and his three sons, Beverley, Peyton, and John,

represented the College in the House of Burgesses.

According to incomplete college records, at least forty Randolphs and their immediate kinsmen of the second, third, and fourth generations were members of the student-body. Six sons of William Randolph I, twelve grandsons, and twenty-two great-grandsons matriculated at the College.<sup>39</sup> No other Virginia family provided as many students for the college. Some of the Randolphs retained an abiding affection for their alma mater. Sir John, for instance, was twice her agent in England negotiating the transfer of the college charter and purchasing books for the library. Later he asked to be entombed within the crypt of the chapel where his remains were eventually joined by those of his sons, Peyton and John. William Randolph of Tuckahoe, however, did not share the fond feelings of his relatives, for he left explicit instructions that his son was not to be "Educated att the Colledge of William and Mary in Virginia."<sup>40</sup> Perhaps his uncle, Isham Randolph, was also dissatisfied with his alma mater because there is no record that his sons ever attended.

Some of the family enrolled their sons in preparatory schools in England. Richard Randolph I sent his eldest son to the College of William and Mary, but as his wealth increased, about 1748, he put his middle sons, sixteen-year-old Brett and fourteen-year-old Ryland, in English schools. They were followed two years later by their second cousins, ten-year-old Robert Beverley and thirteen-year-old Robert Munford. The son and ward, respectively, of William Beverley, the younger boys attended first Beverley School and then transferred to Wakefield Grammar School. About 1756, Theodorick Bland, no doubt influenced by his brother-in-law Beverley, placed his son, Theodorick

Bland, Jr., at Wakefield. Four years later, on September 19, 1760, Philip Ludwell Grymes and John Randolph Grymes, sons of Mary Randolph Grymes, entered Eton.<sup>41</sup>

There is nothing in the surviving record to explain why these parents placed their sons in English academies rather than the College of William and Mary which, by the middle of the eighteenth century, had an increasingly good reputation.<sup>42</sup> Yet, Virginians were exceeded only by South Carolinians in their high regard for an English education.<sup>43</sup> Perhaps the Randolphs thought as Richard Ambler of Yorktown who, on August 1, 1748, wrote to his two boys at school in England:

I shall think the expense I am at (tho' great) well laid out provided you make proper use of it and acquire such an education as may set you above the common level & drudgery of Life, of which be mindfull. You are now entering into Years which will enable you to reflect, that many Children capable of learning, are condemn'd to the necessity of Labouring hard, for want of ability in their Parents to give them an Education. You cannot therefore, sufficiently Adore the Divine Providence who has placed your Parents above the lower Class and thereby enabled them to be at the expense of giving you such an Education (which if not now neglected by you) will preserve you in the same Class & Rank among mankind.<sup>44</sup>

Seemingly, the Randolphs and their kinsmen who could afford to put their sons in English academies intended for them to continue their studies in the universities and the Inns of Court. Ryland Randolph entered the Middle Temple; Robert Beverley, Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Middle Temple; Theodorick Bland, Jr., the University of Edinburgh; and Philip Ludwell Grymes, Balliol College, Oxford. John Randolph Grymes apparently returned home after his schooling. Brett Randolph married an English girl and took her to Virginia. Robert Munford, probably because his late father's estate could no longer support him, also came home.<sup>45</sup>

The young academicians, however, were not the first of their

family to attain higher education in England. After attending the College in Virginia, Sir John Randolph went to Gray's Inn in 1715; William Stith to Oxford in 1724; and the brothers, Peyton and John Randolph, to the Middle Temple in 1739 and 1745, respectively.<sup>46</sup> While an English education was a way of providing an elite social position and establishing political and commercial connections, it was also preparation for professions such as ministry, medicine, and law.

The ministry attracted William Stith whose career was distinguished. He took the degrees Bachelor and Master of Arts at Queen's College, Oxford. Upon returning to Virginia in 1731, he progressed as Chaplain of the House of Burgesses, Master of the Grammar School of the College of William and Mary, Minister of Henrico and Yorkminster Parishes, and President of the College. He was also a noted preacher and historian. His connection in the Randolph family was important. His relatives helped him to secure the posts in the College, the church, and the House of Burgesses; he aided them against Governor Dinwiddie in the dispute over the pistole fee.

Theodorick Bland, Jr., a member of the fourth generation, entered the medical profession by taking a degree at the University of Edinburgh. "I flatter myself," his father wrote to him in 1763, "with hopes of seeing my dear and only son, (whom I have already been deprived of for near ten years,) at farthest in the spring of sixty-four...as I think by this time you must have made sufficient progress in your studies to appear to Virginia with credit to the country, and pleasure to your disconsolate parents..."<sup>47</sup> Young Bland practiced in the colony until the coming of the American Revolution, when, somewhat to the dismay of his father who had paid for his education, he abandoned his



profession for a career as a soldier and planter.<sup>48</sup>

The legal profession was most important to the Randolph family. A lawyer in Virginia by his practice in the county and provincial courts attracted the attention of the politically powerful. Providing that he was connected by family and other ties to the ruling class, he could make a political career for himself. In addition to preparation for political service, the study of law also enabled a gentleman better to attend his own interests and to furnish legal advice to his less fortunate neighbors. In three generations, six members of the Randolph family were trained lawyers; their relatives who served in the vestry, county court, and provincial government were, from a practical standpoint, also well acquainted with law. While the Randolphs obviously considered legal knowledge their responsibility as social and political leaders, the influence of their men, notably Sir John Randolph, Peyton Randolph, and John Randolph the Loyalist, who were professional lawyers, very much enhanced the quality of the Virginia bar in the eighteenth century.<sup>49</sup>

From the beginning the Randolphs understood the use of the law in the accumulation of power and prestige. Although he apparently had no formal training, William Randolph I had sufficient legal expertise, which he doubtless acquired through personal study and through practical experience in the county court and the General Assembly, to make him Attorney General from 1694 to 1698. No doubt he guided his sons, William Randolph II and Sir John Randolph, to the study of law. Perhaps he trained them himself, utilizing his own knowledge as well as his connections to introduce them to such friends as William Byrd II, who had studied at the Inns of Court and possessed a great library.

There is no record of the admission of William Randolph II to the bar, but he acted as attorney in the county courts of Henrico, Prince George, and Charles City. Although he had an active practice, he gave it up as his responsibilities to the county and provincial government increased.<sup>50</sup>

Sir John Randolph displayed a precocious aptitude for law. At about seventeen he purchased books from the estate of Benjamin Harrison III and noted that Harrison had not a very good understanding of the law. At twenty-one he was appointed Deputy Attorney General for Henrico, Prince George, and Charles City counties. In 1715 he enrolled at Gray's Inn, London, where only two years later the excellence of his scholarship and the influence of his friends gained him admission to the bar. Upon his return to Virginia, he became a leading lawyer in the colony practicing chiefly in Williamsburg. His clients included the eminent Robert "King" Carter, William Byrd II, and John Custis. His counsel was sought by the Virginia government which he served as acting Attorney General, clerk, and Speaker of the House of Burgesses. He planned to write a constitutional history of Virginia, but death at forty-four ended his career.

His two younger sons succeeded him as leading lawyers. Both matriculated at the Middle Temple and were admitted to the bar in England. Their practice was confined to Williamsburg and the General Court. Peyton Randolph not only inherited his father's law books, but also some of his clients, notably Custis and the Carters. He was appointed Attorney General in 1744 even though he was not yet twenty-five and was without much practical legal experience. While his family connections secured his advancement, he distinguished himself by his learning and

affability. He was, moreover, judge of the Court of Vice Admiralty. When he became Speaker of the House of Burgesses, he was replaced as Attorney General and Admiralty judge by his brother, John, who was also noted for legal ability and had a prominent clientele. The younger Randolph remained Attorney General until 1775. He was succeeded by his son, Edmund Randolph.

Although never as famous a barrister as his Randolph cousins, Richard Bland was also a lawyer. After study at the College in the 1720's, he apparently read with a local lawyer and was admitted to practice in the several counties near his home in Prince George County. Besides his other activities as planter and politician, he rode the circuit attending county courts. In the late 1760's he turned over most of his practice to Thomas Jefferson.

Even though an English education meant professional advancement, there were disadvantages. "The eighteenth century," Edmund Morgan noted, "was an era of great licentiousness and corruption in England, and the boys and girls who were educated there frequently returned with dissipated, corrupt morals, and bad manners."<sup>51</sup> Ryland Randolph may have been spoiled by his schooling in England. After reading law at the Middle Temple, he returned to Virginia but never served at the bar. He entered the public service, but his performance was lackadaisical. He employed his inherited fortune not so much in the usual pursuits of a Virginia gentleman, planting and politics, but more in personal indulgence in architecture, gardening, literature, and travel. A lifelong bachelor, it seems that he kept one of his slaves as his mistress.

Formal schools provided only part of the education for the

Randolph family. They absorbed a code of conduct from the society in which they lived. Observing their elders, they learned to behave like ladies and gentlemen. Some learned better than others. The gossipy Mary Randolph Stith was a good companion at the cardtable. Elizabeth Randolph Chiswell was described as "a most amiable lady: From her door, the needy were never sent empty away."<sup>52</sup> Sir John Randolph held his tongue, cards, and liquor even when those around him did not.<sup>53</sup> His traits were inherited by his son, Peyton, who was beloved by all as "the good old Speaker." There were, however, Randolphs of different disposition. John Randolph the Loyalist did not get on as well in society as his father and brother. Snobbish and contemptuous of his social and intellectual inferiors, he made almost as many enemies as he did friends. The sons of Richard Randolph of Curles were difficult. They quarreled among themselves and with their neighbors to the point of lawsuits. They were jealous, spiteful, rude, and unhappy. Nevertheless, the Randolph family in general seems to have been even-tempered, congenial, and friendly. Perhaps their pleasant personalities contributed to their success in the Old Dominion.

Wealth and power made the Randolphs and their relatives leaders in Virginia society. They showed their status by the elegance of their attire. Theodorick Bland wrote about 1745 that for want of proper clothes he could not visit his sister, Elizabeth Bland Beverley. "I am shore," the sister replied, "if Mr Beverly [her husband] had money at command you would not want them or any thing in reason for I do assure you are a very perticuler favorit of his."<sup>54</sup> Young Bland perhaps considered his wardrobe inadequate beside the well-dressed Beverleys, some of whose costumes came from England. In 1737 William Beverley placed

an order with the London merchant, Micajah Perry:

For my wife  
 an hat  
 6 pr of fflower'd stuff Damask shoes not laced...  
 ffor my Daughters Eliza and Ursula  
 6 pr of Callimanco or stuff damask shoes for each  
 1 pr of Silk Shoes for each according to measures  
 3 fine thin Calf Skins & 2 skins of white Leather to  
 make shoes for my children....  
 for myself  
 A Bever hat without stiffening 7 6/10 Inches diamr in ye  
 Crown  
 a fair Bobb wigg  
 1 pr dd chanld pumps, 1 pr winter shoes, 2 prs sumr do  
 round toed wth ye flesh side out.<sup>55</sup>

Doubtless Bland was overly concerned about his garb because the Beverleys' English clothes did not always fit. For instance, Beverley informed Perry in 1742, "...my goods are come to hand & my Sons Shoes & Gloves are not too big for a boy of 3 yrs old wherefore instead of 6 [the boy's actual age] I have made him 8 years old."<sup>56</sup>

An account of other Randolph relations and their wearing apparel can be pieced together from various sources. Among the items pilfered from the plantation of William Randolph I during Bacon's Rebellion in 1676 were "one tufted holland peticoat cont: 7 yrd., one dowlas petticoate conta: 3 Ells fine Dowlas..., two pr of parragon bodices..., [a] Holland vest, fine broad cloth Coate and briches...."<sup>57</sup> Almost eighty years later, on January 31, 1754, the widow of Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island brought one Mary Murray to court on suspicion of stealing "one Velvit Petticoat, one Chintz Sack and Flowered Lawn Petticoat belonging to a Short Sack, a dark Coulered Callico night gown, Striped Stuff night gown, a pair of Stays, and piece of Figured Silk out of the Dwelling House of Elizabeth Randolph...[all] the property of the said Elizabeth Randolph."<sup>58</sup>

Family portraits show the Randolphs as they wished posterity to remember them. The artists painted elegant costumes of high fashion: velvet, silk, or satin jackets for the men who wore ruffles at their throats and wrists; for the young ladies there were low-cut gowns of fine fabric trimmed in ribbon and lace, while sashes and caps covered the bosoms and heads of the matrons. It is not clear whether the Randolphs were depicted in their own clothes or merely garbed by the artist in imaginary finery. However, hairstyles in the portraits undoubtedly reflect the actual appearance of the sitters. The Randolph women sat with their own hair simply styled and curled while the men posed in wigs of considerable size.<sup>59</sup>

A wig was an important badge of high social rank. To wear one a gentleman sacrificed his own hair and kept his head shaved. While wigs ranged in price from eight shillings to £4, a gentleman probably paid about 43 shillings for his false hair. For that amount of money a man could clothe himself from head to foot or rent a house in Williamsburg for a year.<sup>60</sup> In their portraits the Randolph men mostly wore white wigs of flowing locks that fell in curls at least to their shoulders. Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island, however, posed in a queue wig that had hanging behind it a pigtail bound with a large bow.

Peyton Randolph and John, his brother, were regular customers of Edward Charlton, a Williamsburg barber and wigmaker. On the average, the brothers each bought two new wigs a year. Peyton preferred a brown dress bob wig while John wore a brown dress queue wig and bag. For each of his wigs Peyton usually paid £2.3s. John's cost £2.13s., but the brown tie wigs he purchased in 1769 and 1771 were £4 apiece. Charlton shaved both of the brothers and dressed their wigs for an annual fee

of about £4. Peyton paid his account regularly at the end of the year, but John allowed his bill to mount so that in 1775 he settled with cash, a pardon for a Negro, and with some horses.<sup>61</sup>

That the Randolphs were well dressed is apparent in a few surviving remarks of their contemporaries. Robert "King" Carter assured his son that his clothes were as good as those that Sir John Randolph was wearing. St. George Tucker noted that when John Randolph the Loyalist came to court, he wore a black suit and a tie wig. According to the caustic comments of Robert Bolling, John's wife, Ariana, was decked out like a rainbow.<sup>62</sup>

The aristocratic status of the Randolphs was apparent in their coaches and the animals which pulled them. In 1742, Mary Randolph inherited from her father, William Randolph II, "a new Chaise & Harness for Six Horses...and Six Horses of her own Choosing...."<sup>63</sup> An account with Alexander Craig, the Williamsburg saddlemaker, revealed that in 1753 John Randolph the Loyalist paid £3.5s. for "Lyning a Charriot, making a Cushion & Hammer Cloath...& a pr. of Scarlet Reins." A few weeks later Craig sold Randolph, for £1.16s. "a Sett of Brass buckles for all the Braces of a Charriot w<sup>it</sup>h Studds and loops...."<sup>64</sup> For Peyton Randolph, Craig charged seven shillings to repair "the long Braces wh. go under the Charriot in 5 Different places."<sup>65</sup> There was a tax on such vehicles. In 1768 John Randolph the Loyalist paid £2 "To Coach and Chariot Tax." His sister, Mrs. Grymes, and cousin, Mrs. Chiswell, who lived near him in Williamsburg, each paid a tax of £1 on their carriages.<sup>66</sup> Clearly a coach was a luxury not everyone could afford, and Robert Bolling accused John of currying favors by giving rides to politicians who usually rode horseback.<sup>67</sup>

Aristocrat or not, there was a risk always in taking a carriage out on the roads. In January, 1735, William Byrd urged his friend, Sir John Randolph, to remain at Westover with his family until the winter roads improved, but Randolph was determined to get back to town. "No doubt," Byrd wrote when they were safely home, "you were obliged to have Pioneers to clear the way before you...and you needed Four Yokes of Oxen...to dragg you thro' the Durt. I dare say notwithstanding your fine Horses you were not able to go along faster than Mr Attorney walks."<sup>68</sup> In the midsummer of 1767, the Virginia Gazette reported that Peyton Randolph "had lately the misfortune to have his leg much bruised by the oversetting of his carriage up James River...."<sup>69</sup> Years later, as Peyton was on his way to Philadelphia to attend the Continental Congress, his driver accidentally demolished the coach in which he was riding by running it into a tree.<sup>70</sup>

The Randolphs dwelt in houses that reflected their social aspirations and increasing wealth. Generally their houses were, in the beginning, simple and substantial structures. By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, they had been much altered and embellished. The original dwelling house of William Randolph I at Turkey Island stood high on a steep bank above the James River. Built sometime during the latter part of the seventeenth century, it was of dark red brick, two stories, probably with four rooms and an attic. A great house for its time, it was eventually abandoned by the family and given up to slave quarters. A new mansion, possibly begun by William Randolph II between 1709 and 1735, was built at the crest of a gentle slope further back from the river. Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island inherited the plantation and may have completed the house before his death in 1750, but



there is no certain reference to it until the late 1760's by which time it had passed to Ryland Randolph. Damaged by lightning in 1768, the house was extensively remodelled. No expense was spared. An aged carpenter recalled in the nineteenth century that he had served his apprenticeship "in a single room of that house, where he had learned more of his trade than one could now do in building...a hundred houses."<sup>71</sup> As completed by Ryland, the brick mansion stood two stories high, flanked on either side by wings of one story, and capped with a large dome. In the manner of an English lord, Ryland made a deer park in the surrounding woods. Unfortunately the Turkey Island mansion no longer stands; after being partially destroyed by fire in 1809, it was destroyed completely in the Civil War.

Other Randolph mansions underwent a similar evolution. The modest frame Tuckahoe house, above the falls of the James River in Goochland County built by Thomas Randolph after 1713, was probably enlarged by the builder's son, William, in the middle 1730's. William Randolph erected an almost identical structure parallel to the existing building and connected them so that the completed mansion took the form of the letter "H". Long afterward, in 1779, when William's son was the master of Tuckahoe, a British traveler described the place: "[It] has the appearance of two houses, joined by a large saloon; each wing has two stories, and four large rooms on a floor...."<sup>72</sup>

The Williamsburg townhouse, purchased by Sir John Randolph before 1724 and held by his descendants until 1783, underwent a series of alterations. Perhaps Sir John began the remodelling by covering the leaky hollow in the roof used to catch rain water and by adding the unique oak panels in the upstairs bedroom. When Peyton Randolph

inherited clear title to the house upon the death of his mother, he probably enlarged the eight-room structure with the addition of a large panelled parlor and bedchamber connected to the older portion by a wide hallway dominated by a Palladian window.

Some of the Randolphs, however, not content to remodel old houses, built new ones. About the middle of the 1740's, Peter Randolph built what was later described as "a very good house with an agreeable perspective" on the north bank of the James River in Henrico County between Turkey Island and Richmond. Like the Dukes of Devonshire, he called the place Chatsworth. The house was a two-story frame structure flanked on either end by wings of one story, but since it no longer survives, little is known about it.<sup>73</sup>

William Randolph III began construction of a mansion he called Wilton about 1748. Located below Chatsworth on a tract called World's End, the house was a two-story structure, built of brick with its eight rooms and passages completely panelled. It stood, flanked by four dependencies, on a terraced bluff overlooking the James River. Wilton was probably some years in the building, for the removal of woodwork during restoration in the 1930's revealed a carpenter's notation: "Samson Darril put up This Cornish in the year of our Lord 1753."<sup>74</sup>

In the late 1750's John Randolph the Loyalist began to build one of the most distinctive townhouses in Williamsburg. Constructed of wood, it extended to a length of 138½ feet and consisted of a single story mansion joined on either end to double story wings built perpendicular to it. A central hall extending two full stories dominated the house. The interior contained a large formal room and a passage on each side of the "Salloon", as the Randolphs styled the central hall.

The two formal rooms, the "Dining Parlour" on the east and the "Drawing Room" on the west, were completely panelled while one saloon and passages were treated with panelled dados. A series of large pilasters was installed in the hall and the doorways to the passages decorated with handsome arches.<sup>75</sup>

The builders of these new and expensive mansions at Chatsworth, Wilton, and Williamsburg were among the largest debtors in the Randolph family.

The keeping of the house was left to the Randolph women. The family member best known for her domestic skills was Mary Randolph who, in 1824, brought out The Virginia Housewife or, Methodical Cook, the first cookbook printed in the South. Born in 1762, she was the daughter of Thomas Mann Randolph, the elder, of Tuckahoe and Anne Cary of Ampt-hill; she married her cousin, David Meade Randolph of Curles. As a young matron she set up housekeeping in Richmond; but financial reverses compelled the selling of her home, so she became mistress of a series of boarding houses. Her reputation as a cook was celebrated. The slave, Gabriel Prosser, who masterminded an unsuccessful plot to massacre the whites of Richmond in 1800, admitted that he thought to spare Mrs. Randolph because of her abilities in the kitchen. She spent her last years near her son in Washington, D.C., dying in 1828.<sup>76</sup>

Mary Randolph was the fifth generation of her family in Virginia, and while much of her domestic skill came from practical experience, some of her technique doubtless descended from her forebears. "The government of a family," she wrote in her book, "bears a Lilliputian resemblance to the government of a nation. The contents of the Treasury must be known, and great care taken to keep the expenditures from

being equal to the receipts. A regular system must be introduced into each department, which may be modified until matured, and should then pass into an inviolable law." She reduced the "grand arcanum of management" to three simple rules: "Let every thing be done at a proper time, keep every thing in its proper place, and put every thing to its proper use."<sup>77</sup>

The Virginia lady, said Mrs. Randolph, who would be a good manager, must rise early in the morning to arrange breakfast for her family and servants. Until that meal is over, no work can be done. She must see the family seated at the table as soon as the muffins or buckwheat cakes are ready. The kitchen-help also must be sent to their meal. While the servants are eating, she should employ herself "washing the cups, glasses, &c.; arranging the cruets, the mustard, salt-sellers, pickle vases, and all the apparatus for the dinner table." This requires little time and the lady is satisfied in knowing that the task is done better than if left to the servants. When the cook has put the kitchen in order, the mistress must go in and mete out the supplies needed for dinner: "have the butter, sugar, flour, meal, lard, given out in proper quantities; the catsup, spice, wine, whatever may be wanted for each dish, measured to the cook." The mistress must be scrupulous, Mrs. Randolph continued, "for we have no right to expect slaves or hired servants to be more attentive to our interest than we ourselves are." An hour devoted to these duties in the morning will release the mistress until the next day. Mrs. Randolph concluded:

The prosperity and happiness of a family depend greatly on the order and regularity established in it. The husband, who can ask a friend to partake of his dinner in full confidence of finding his wife unruffled by the petty vexations attendant on the neglect of household duties--who can usher his guest into

the dining-room assured of seeing that methodical nicety which is the essence of true elegance,--will feel pride and exultation in the possession of a companion, who gives to his home charms that gratify every wish of his soul, and render the haunts of dissipation hateful to him. The sons bred in such a family will be moral men, of steady habits; and the daughters, if the mother shall have performed the duties of a parent in the superintendence of their education, as faithfully as she has done those of a wife, will each be a treasure to her husband; and being formed on the model of an exemplary mother, will use the same means for securing the happiness of her own family, which she has seen successfully practiced under the paternal roof.<sup>78</sup>

Mary Randolph complained that when she began housekeeping, there were no really good books on the subject available. However, her maternal grandmother, Mary Randolph Cary, owned a copy of The Art of Cookery Made Plain and Easy...by a Lady,<sup>79</sup> the best English cookbook then available in Virginia. Reputedly written by a Mrs. H. Glasse, the book noted that "every servant who can but read will be capable of making a tolerable good cook." Accordingly, its style was plain and direct, suited for those who actually did the cooking.<sup>80</sup> Many Virginia housewives compiled their own recipes which they collected among their relatives and friends.

The manuscript cookbook belonging probably to Jane Rogers Randolph, wife of Isham Randolph, survives.<sup>81</sup> Part of the book contains family accounts, but the greater part is given to recipes for food, medicines, and other necessities such as soap. The recipe "To make Metheglein", a healing medicinal, came from "Mrs Mary Randolph" whose identity is uncertain, but she could have been Mrs. Randolph's mother-in-law, Mary Isham Randolph, or her niece, Mary Page Randolph of Tuckahoe, or even Mary Randolph who published the cookbook. The recipe reads:

Make your honey and water strong  
 Enough to bear an Egg then boil it away  
 to abt. 6 Inches then take it off and set  
 it to cool the Yest must be very good  
 work'd very well by the fire then mix it  
 off with your wort wch must be a little  
 warm then set it to work being cover'd  
 with a Blankett when it has done  
 working turn it into a clean dry Cask  
 & take 1 oz. Cloves Do of Mace & as much  
 Ginger some Nutmeg groasly beaten  
 tie them up in a rag and put them  
 into the Cask & stop it very well Let it stand  
 3 months & then bottle it in 7 weeks time  
 it will be fit to drink

NB You must brew this drink the first of October.<sup>82</sup>

Some of the Randolph women were prepared to entertain in high style. Mrs. Peyton Randolph, for instance, presided over an elegantly equipped household. There were silver pieces for the table, spoons, ladles, candlesticks, chafing dishes, serving trays, trivets. Added to this was much china and glassware: eight dozen plates and twenty-two serving dishes of one pattern; two tea sets of India china and Chelsea; a set of ornamental china; dessert salvars; there were nine decanters and various liquor glasses. She also possessed forty-eight tablecloths. The furniture was of the best kind: forty chairs, seven bookpresses, tables of various sizes--all mahogany; there were more tables, chairs, and bedsteads; a Wilton carpet lay on the floor; damask curtains were at the windows.<sup>83</sup> Since her husband was successively Attorney General and Speaker of the House, she was accustomed to entertaining his friends. Several governors were her guests and George Washington was frequently in her home. Beloved by children, although she had none of her own, she was called affectionately "Aunt Betty."

There is scant evidence regarding other domestic activities of the women in the Randolph family. Jane Randolph Walke "took great pains" to embroider a set of curtains that her husband willed to their

son more than twenty years after her death.<sup>84</sup> Elizabeth Randolph Chiswell was noted for her kindness to the needy. A Williamsburg physician made arrangements before his death for her, Mrs. Peyton Randolph, and Mrs. Robert Dinwiddie to look after his orphaned daughter. Mrs. Chiswell is also supposed to have looked after her motherless nephews. Childrearing, which has already been discussed herein, was one of a woman's most important tasks. Mary Bland Lee apparently succeeded, for her son hailed her as "the best of Mothers, the best of Women & the best of friends."<sup>85</sup>

Mary Randolph Stith was by far the most independent woman in the family. Following the death of her husband about 1720, she moved to Williamsburg to become housekeeper at the college. There was no real necessity for her to take the post; she undoubtedly had dower-rights to the family plantation, and if she were ever in financial straits, her brothers could help her. Her duties were to board and lodge the college students and faculty. She ordered the food and supplies, managed the kitchen garden, corn fields, and milk cows, and directed the servants in cooking, laundering, and cleaning. All this she did, a professor noted, "in the neatest and most regular and plentiful manner."<sup>86</sup> She was, however, something of a gossip and when the college president threatened to dismiss her for a tale she spread about his housekeeper and one of the professors, she defiantly went to the Governor to tell her side of the story. She kept her job.

Widowhood brought out strong traits in some of the women in the Randolph family. Susanna Randolph, Sir John's widow, saw two of her sons off to the Inns of Court, the other established on his own plantation, and her daughter well married. She hunted a lost slave and

petitioned the House of Burgesses to protect the family's interest in a local tobacco warehouse. Perhaps with the example of her mother in mind, Mary Randolph Grymes, who was a trustee of her husband's estate, not only actively sold her tobacco, cattle, and land but also directed the feeding and clothing of her family and slaves.<sup>87</sup>

The major plantations of the Randolph family were situated in the James River Basin in Henrico and the cluster of adjacent counties: James City, Charles City, Surry, Prince George, Chesterfield, and Goochland. Henrico and Goochland held the principal Randolph seats of Turkey Island, Curles, Wilton, Chatsworth, Tuckahoe, and Dungeness; while the Stith plantation, Swinyards, was in Charles City, and the Bland plantation, Jordan's Point, was in Prince George. In addition to these plantations, the Randolph family had holdings over a broad area of the colony in the counties of York, Gloucester, Essex, Middlesex, King and Queen, Westmoreland, Prince William, Fauquier, Hanover, Louisa, Albemarle, Charlotte, Brunswick, Prince Edward, Lunenburg, Halifax, and Amelia. The family was also well established in the Virginia capital at Williamsburg. Permanent residents of the town were Sir John Randolph and his sons, Peyton and John. At various times other Randolphs resided there: Elizabeth Randolph Bland, Mary Randolph Stith, William Stith, Mary Stith Dawson, Elizabeth Randolph Chiswell, and Mary Randolph Grymes. William Randolph II, moreover, maintained a small townhouse in Williamsburg to use when he was occupied with business in the capital.

In three generations the Randolphs and their relatives acquired a vast amount of land. William Randolph I accumulated a total of about 16,000 acres. His seven sons, through inheritance and purchase, owned,



on an average, about 40,000 acres; and twelve of his grandsons, for whom there is data, averaged about 27,000 acres. These acreages, however, are not definitive; they are but a maximum estimate based upon fragmentary evidence. Many of the land records of Virginia have been destroyed; even where the records survive, they do not always list complete transactions of buying and selling. The Randolphs, therefore, may have acquired or disposed of more land than appears in the existing records. Estimated acreages for individual family members are as follows: William Randolph II, 33,829; Henry Randolph, 707; Isham Randolph, 48,170; Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe, 57,335; Richard Randolph I, 114,264; Sir John Randolph, 28,000; Edward Randolph, 21,000; John Stith, 4,697; William Stith, 26,583 $\frac{1}{2}$ ; Peter Randolph, 13,436; William Randolph III, 22,164; Richard Bland, 11,536; Theodorick Bland, 13,112; William Randolph of Tuckahoe, 63,538; Richard Randolph II, 68,072; Brett Randolph, 21,317; Ryland Randolph, 22,029; John Randolph of Bizarre, 22,035; and Peyton Randolph, 37,422.

The uses to which the Randolphs put their land cannot be determined specifically. Obviously much of it was employed in agriculture. Like their contemporaries, they grew tobacco which made reserve land necessary because it quickly took fertility from the soil. Furthermore, the Randolphs were land-speculators. The 114,000-acre tract in Orange County, patented by William Beverley, Richard Randolph I, Sir John Randolph, and John Robinson, was sub-divided and sold. The vast tracts of western land which Peyton Randolph and John Randolph the Loyalist patented in association with a land company in the 1750's were probably held for speculation. Land, moreover, provided an inheritance. William Randolph I, Isham Randolph, and Edward Randolph patented 60,000 acres

in the names of their sons.

Slaves, in addition to land, were a sign of wealth. Surviving records for several family members partially reveal the extent of their holdings: William Randolph II had at least forty-four slaves when he died in 1742; Peter Randolph, who was a slave trader, had two-hundred and fifty at his death in 1767; William Randolph II had "several hundred negro slaves;" Richard Randolph I listed sixty-five in 1748; Richard Randolph II had one-hundred and thirty in 1786; John Randolph of Bizarre gave up seventy-eight to cover a debt; Richard Bland's executors offered thirty for sale; Theodorick Bland's estate had fifty-one; and one-hundred and nine blacks belonged to the estate of Peyton Randolph. Altogether eight of the above slaveholders for whom precise data is available owned 757 slaves. On this basis it may not be too much to assume that the average planter in the Randolph family possessed about one-hundred slaves. According to the recent estimate of Jackson Turner Main, a southern planter in the last half of the eighteenth century who owned 500 acres and twenty slaves was well-to-do; if he possessed more, he was wealthy.<sup>88</sup> Clearly then, the Randolphs were in the latter category.

With all their land and slaves, the Randolphs and their relatives were prominently engaged in commercial agriculture. Tobacco was their principal crop, and on a smaller scale they also grew indigo, wheat, and corn. Their tobacco was marketed in England. Their business, however, was far from certain. Both tobacco crops and English markets were unpredictable. Virginia planters found the sale of tobacco was seldom sufficient to cover the cost of English goods and services they thought essential to their standard of living. Therefore, British

merchants to whom Virginia tobacco was consigned extended credit against future crops. Since Virginians were chronically short of specie and currency, the merchants also granted bills of exchange. Few planters managed to remain free of debt in their lifetimes; in some cases sons and grandsons were the inheritors of debt. About the middle of the eighteenth century planter indebtedness showed a marked increase and, as Emory Evans has pointed out, "seemed to accelerate as the Revolution approached, despite higher tobacco prices that might have enabled the planters to extricate themselves."<sup>89</sup>

The increase in indebtedness is partially explained because more and more Virginians, among them small planters and yeomen, were becoming indebted. But Evans emphasized the extravagance of the Virginia gentry: "The gentry's increase in wealth and its assumption of political and social leadership had been accompanied by a desire for the refinements of the more cultivated existence enjoyed by its counterpart in Britain. Trouble came when this desire outran income."<sup>90</sup>

Like their contemporaries, the Randolphs were caught up in increasing indebtedness. William Randolph I had a large debt with London merchants, Micajah and Phillip Perry. Unable to meet the obligation in his lifetime, he willed the profits of one of his plantations to the merchants. His arrangement, for some reason, was unsatisfactory and the Perrys sued. The Virginia General Court found for the Randolph heirs, but the Perrys appealed to the Privy Council which reversed the decision compelling the Randolphs to pay £2465.1s.8d. and court costs.<sup>91</sup>

The records indicate without much detail that several of the sons and grandsons of William Randolph I were debtors: William II, Isham, Thomas of Tuckahoe, Richard I, John Stith, Richard and Theodorick Bland,

Peter, William III, Peyton, John the Loyalist, Richard II, Ryland, and John of Bizarre. The largest obligations belonged to Richard I (£1200+); Richard II (£14,500); Ryland (£6000); John of Bizarre (£11,000); Peter (£18,000); William III (£7325); and John the Loyalist (£3000?). In most cases, if not all, these debts were the result of extravagance.

"The Situation in which this poor Gentleman has left his affairs ex[c]ites the Amazement of many," Peter Randolph's executor wrote, "...but when it is considered that he was a most expensive Man in every Article of his Life And his Estate was under but indiff[erent Managemt. ...the wonder ceases."<sup>92</sup> Ryland Randolph was known to the family as a spendthrift.<sup>93</sup> The high style in which John Randolph the Loyalist and his family lived in Williamsburg was plain for all to see. Of the other Randolphs who owed large sums, they all maintained large households and plantations. The debts of John Randolph of Bizarre may not have been entirely due to extravagance, for he seems not to have been able to manage his affairs very well by himself.

Peyton Randolph, in contrast to his relatives, lived well within his means. He resided in the Williamsburg townhouse inherited from his father. Even though he probably enlarged his home, it remained modest in comparison to the nearby mansion of his brother. The owner of much land and many slaves, he apparently resisted the temptation to take more credit than he could afford. According to Thomas Jefferson, who admired him greatly, Peyton Randolph "was liberal in his expenses, but correct also so as not to be involved in pecuniary embarrassments."<sup>94</sup>

Credit for the Virginia planter was often based on his friendship or contact with a British merchant or the merchant's Virginia agent. Over the years as planter and merchant exchanged letters, their relations

became more confidential. The planters often had merchants handle important political matters while the merchants appointed planters to attend to their affairs in Virginia.<sup>95</sup> Several of the Randolphs were merchants' agents. Richard Randolph I, Peter Randolph, and William Randolph III were agents for John and Capel Hanbury of London; William Randolph III was also agent for the Bristol firm of Farrell and Jones; and Richard Randolph II was agent for Sedgley, Hilhouse and Randolph, a Bristol firm of which his cousin was a partner.<sup>96</sup> The merchants, moreover, served the Randolph interest in England. The Hanburys successfully pressed to make Peyton Randolph Attorney General of Virginia even though he had not much legal experience or the support of Governor Gooch; they also lobbied for an appointment to the Virginia Council for Richard Randolph I, but Randolph died too soon; and they used their influence for the advancement of John Randolph the Loyalist.<sup>97</sup> Sedgley, Hilhouse, and Randolph extended bills of exchange to Richard Randolph II enabling him to pay his father's debt to Farrell and Jones.<sup>98</sup>

The relationship between the Randolph family and the merchants Perry, however, was without much mutual benefit. The Perrys sued the Randolphs, carrying their case all the way to the Privy Council to recover their money. There was undoubtedly resentment, for the Randolphs had attempted to discharge honorably their debt before it came to court. Edward Randolph, who had his own tobacco company in London, lobbied in support of the tobacco inspection law passed by the Virginia General Assembly in 1730 and persuaded Micajah Perry that it was worthwhile. But, noted Governor Gooch, who had employed Randolph in behalf of the inspection law, "Mr Perry is very jealous of him, and it is as much as I can do to keep the one quiet, under the obligations."<sup>99</sup> In 1733,

when Sir John Randolph, in England on business for his colony, joined with Sir Robert Walpole in an effort to pass an excise on tobacco through the Parliament, Perry and his cronies in the House of Commons resisted.<sup>100</sup>

Intimate as the relationship between planter and merchant became, neither forgot the realities of their business. It was imperative to retain a secure credit link. Once a planter's credit status came into question, his entire enterprise could come tumbling down. The merchant, even though he had more monetary capital available to him, faced a situation similar to that of the planter; he had to restrict his obligations to protect his credit in his community.<sup>101</sup> "I do from my Heart return you thanks for your support of my Credit," wrote Peter Randolph to Farrell and Jones, "and beg leave to assure you I shall take every Occasion to making you the most grateful Return."<sup>102</sup> Another time, requesting the merchants not to rush the sale of his tobacco, Randolph wrote, "I have the more reason to hope for your Indulgence in this respect as I readily acquiesce to the paying Interest for any Money you may be in advance for me."<sup>103</sup>

While Farrell and Jones apparently carried Peter Randolph's debt until his death, his cousin, Richard Randolph II, was not so fortunate. In January, 1770, the Hanburys sued for £1039 sterling which, despite delaying tactics, he had to pay. He next consigned his tobacco to Farrell and Jones until 1777 when his debt outstripped his credit by £342.5d. sterling. Farrell and Jones sued.<sup>104</sup>

The evidence is that in most cases the Randolphs and their merchants dealt with each other in good faith. To pay his obligations, Peter Randolph's executors sold a sizeable part of his estate and

operated his remaining plantations for the benefit of his heirs and his creditors. William Randolph III had obtained credit on "a very great Estate in Lands, several hundred negro slaves, and a personal Estate worth several thousand pounds."<sup>105</sup> In 1772, eleven years after the death of William Randolph, his debt to Farrell and Jones had not been discharged despite regular consignments of tobacco. His executor wrote the merchants that Peter Randolph, William's son, "is much obliged to you for the many favours conferred on the Estate & will be ready at any Moment to mortgage you as much of his Estate as shall be thought by you...sufficient to secure your Demands against it...."<sup>106</sup> Richard Randolph II, even as he supported the coming war for American independence, assured Farrell and Jones of his intention to satisfy his obligation. "I have in Possession," he wrote, "an Estate worth at least forty thousand pounds full sufficient to satisfy my Debts & leave an ample Provision for my Family which consoles me a good deal...."<sup>107</sup> John Randolph of Bizarre, who was in debt to the Hanburys and Farrell and Jones, provided in his will for his executors to "settle my accounts, collect and pay my Debts as soon as possible."<sup>108</sup>

When the American Revolution disrupted the pattern of their trade and credit, the merchants brought suits to recover their money from the Randolphs. The cases dragged on into the 1790's and in one instance into the 1820's. The estates of Richard Randolph I, Richard Randolph II, John Randolph of Bizarre, and William Randolph III were all compelled to pay. Only in the case of the Hanburys and John Randolph of Bizarre was negligence proved against the merchants. The Hanburys confessed in 1802 that 225 hogsheads of tobacco consigned to them almost thirty years earlier had been lost and they reduced their claims by one-third.<sup>109</sup>

Whether or not the Randolphs had assumed more credit than they could afford is a question not easily answered. Their main assets in land and slaves were not immediately convertible into cash even if money acceptable to the merchants had been readily available in Virginia. Furthermore, tobacco was a fluctuating commodity whose earnings were uncertain from one year to the next. "The recovery of British debts can no longer be postponed," wrote the manager of the estate of John Randolph of Bizarre to Randolph's sons in 1788, "& there now seems to be a moral certainty that your patrimony will all go to satisfy the unjust debt from your Papa to the Hanburys."<sup>110</sup> Nevertheless, the impression is that since Randolph's estate, and those of his father, brother, and cousin as well, remained essentially intact throughout the lifetime of the immediate heirs that the debts did not exceed the assets.

The case of John Randolph the Loyalist is an exception. Always a lavish spender, upon leaving for England in 1775, he put his entire Virginia estate in the hands of trustees to discharge his debts. Since his departure was rushed, it is doubtful that he could have settled his affairs differently. But his arrangements did not satisfy his creditors either because of insufficient funds or, more likely, because of prejudice in response to his loyalist sympathies. At any rate, when he fell heir to his brother Peyton's estate, his creditors were quick with counter-claims against it. He died in England in 1784, having spent more than eight years in exile dependent on a government pension he considered less than adequate.

While the Randolphs were debtors in the mother country, they tended to be creditors in Virginia. The local records indicate that



they kept track of what they were owed and could be aggressive in recovering it. Between 1708 and 1742, William Randolph II sued for a total of 7,994 pounds of tobacco, £157.16s.9d. sterling, and £48.6s.2½d. Virginia money. He also held mortgages valued at £423.19s.6d. Richard Randolph I, moreover, extended credit. In 1733 he loaned a neighbor £68.16s.2d. Virginia money; in 1739 he held another neighbor's bond for £260 Virginia money. After his death in 1748 his executors sued to recover 6000 pounds of tobacco and £91.1s.4d. Peter Randolph was one of the family's greatest creditors. Between 1743 and 1767 he personally brought eighteen suits in county court for the recovery of more than £2900. In these cases his credits ranged from 27 shillings Virginia money to £1783 sterling. Seven of his suits were for sums in excess of £100 sterling.<sup>111</sup> It is disappointing to note that the evidence fails to specify how and for what reasons the Randolphs became creditors. Nevertheless, the family was engaged in various economic enterprises.

In addition to commercial agriculture, the Randolph family had mercantile ambitions. William Randolph I was known locally as a merchant. Like other Virginians whose plantations were situated along the major rivers, he maintained a store at Turkey Island. Here he kept English goods and manufactures which he traded for tobacco that he shipped to England. It is probable that he also took tobacco on consignment for, according to a contemporary account, he was a "Considerable dealer in ye tobacco trade."<sup>112</sup>

William Randolph II inherited the Turkey Island store and business. No doubt his mercantile enterprise profited with his appointment as agent of the tobacco warehouse at Turkey Island which was one of a

series of warehouses built to maintain systematic control and regulation of the tobacco trade by providing a central place for tobacco ships to dock and take on an entire cargo rather than shift from one plantation to another.<sup>113</sup> William Randolph II probably kept up his mercantile activities until the 1730's when he deeded the Turkey Island plantation to his son, Beverley Randolph, who continued in the family tradition.

Incorporated as "Beverlie Randolph & Co.," he owned at various times two thirty-ton sloops and traded in New England, Madeira, and the West Indies. On the outward voyage his sloops carried corn, wheat, and tobacco and returned with cargoes of iron and wooden ware, rum, molasses, sugar, cranberries, axes, cardboxes, cheese, bricks, hops, and fish.<sup>114</sup> Apparently Richard Randolph I also kept a store at Curles or another of his plantations which was carried on after his death by his namesake son, but nothing specific is known about it.

The Randolphs did not confine their mercantile enterprise to Virginia. As a merchant in the tobacco trade, William Randolph I certainly understood the importance of connections in England. So also did his sons and grandsons. That his sons, Isham and Edward, became London-based merchants was too convenient to the family to have been entirely accidental.

The brothers began their careers aboard merchant ships of which they eventually became captains. By 1720 Isham was listed as a merchant "in Shakespeare's Walk" in London, even though he continued to sail back and forth to Virginia. With Edward he owned two vessels, the Williamsburg and the Randolph. About 1726 the firm of Edward Randolph and Company was incorporated in London. While Edward possibly

put up money from his wife's dowry and arranged for other financial backing, Isham too was associated with the business. Since Isham had moved his family to Virginia about 1725, he may have attended to company matters from there while Edward took charge of affairs in England. Their brothers, William, Richard, and John, were also part of the enterprise.

The firm expanded. In addition to the Williamsburg and the Randolph, three more ships, the Dudley, Molly Gully, and the Gooch, were added to the fleet between 1727 and 1729. Altogether more than a hundred sailors were employed. Many Virginia planters of the best families consigned their tobacco to Randolph and Company and purchased goods from England, Madeira, and the West Indies. Furthermore, such notable Virginians as William Byrd II, Alexander Spotswood, and William Dawson, booked passage to and from London on the Randolph ships. But all was not well with the firm.

About 1729, Isham left the company to settle permanently in Virginia as a planter. Three years later the firm was bankrupt. The Pennsylvania Gazette carried the news from London to Virginia, where there was not yet a newspaper, reprinting an item of February 19, 1732: "All the Discourse of the Town is upon the going off of Mr. Randolph, the great Tobacco Merchant, three of whose Bondsmen are taken up and imprisoned for a very large Sum, amounting as is reported, to 50000 l."<sup>115</sup> There is no clear explanation of the collapse; the company's accounts were, said a contemporary, "very Intricate and troublesome."<sup>116</sup> Possibly the firm failed because it expanded in a time when the price of tobacco could not support it. Perhaps it could not compete with larger firms who were building monopolies in the French tobacco trade.<sup>117</sup> The

firm's backers may have been dishonest, or Randolph himself may not have been a good businessman.

Whatever the reasons for bankruptcy, Edward Randolph was ruined. He lost his property in England and was beset with lawsuits. He returned to Virginia in an attempt to recover himself, but finally gave up to take a salaried post as purser aboard a ship either of the Royal Navy or the East India Company. Finding his wages inadequate, he was forced to rely on charity. He died in obscurity in England probably in the 1750's.

The Randolphs were among the few great Virginia families who, in the manner of New England, the Middle Colonies, and South Carolina, attempted to establish trading connections in the mother country. Unlike the Lees of Northern Neck whose brother, William, was an important merchant and civic leader in London, the Randolphs failed to create a great merchant prince. They arranged for Isham and Edward to establish themselves as captains and merchants in the Virginia trade, but Isham returned permanently to Virginia in the 1720's and the tobacco firm of Edward Randolph went bankrupt in 1732. This was, however, the only major initiative of the Randolphs that did not succeed.

Despite the failure, the family maintained some ties to the tobacco trade. Two of Isham's sons, Isham II and William of Bristol, were both ship-captains. For a time William was partner of Sedgley, Hilhouse, and Randolph, a Bristol firm; even when that partnership folded, he continued in the colonial trade. Edward's son, Edward II, was also a captain of a ship in the Virginia trade.

Besides their economic interests and activities, the Randolphs were leaders in the Virginia government. Their wealth, connection, and

talent, not to mention their strength in numbers, made them prominent in the operations of parish, county, and province.

The parish was the local unit of administration for ecclesiastical affairs and since there was no separation of church and state in Virginia, it also was a local unit for the administration of certain civil affairs. The parishes were administered by the vestry. "These Vestries," noted the Virginia historian, Robert Beverley, in 1705, "consist of twelve Gentlemen of the Parish, and were first chosen by Vote of the Parishioners; but upon the death of one, have been continued by the Survivor's electing another in his place."<sup>118</sup> The vestry was responsible for selecting and supporting the minister, collecting the parish levy, maintaining the buildings and land of the church and the glebe, tending the orphans and paupers in the parish, and supervising land processioning.<sup>119</sup> For the convenient discharge of these responsibilities, the vestry annually chose, on a rotating basis, two from among their number to be churchwardens. Beside their ecclesiastical duties, the churchwardens were charged by the General Assembly to oversee the moral conduct of the parishioners and to present such reprobates as they found for judgment before the county court.<sup>120</sup>

The parish records of colonial Virginia are incomplete, but they indicate that among the Randolphs, at least sixteen were vestrymen. They were all, with the single exception of John Randolph of Bizarre, churchwardens.<sup>121</sup> They served various parishes in which their homes were situated: Bristol, Bruton, Henrico, St. James Northam, Martin's Brandon, and Westover. More than any other, they dominated Henrico.

From about 1720 until 1773, when the records cease, there were at least two Randolphs on the Henrico vestry; for short periods--1748-1750, 1760-1761, 1766-1767--there were four Randolph vestrymen. That

William Randolph I was a member of the vestry is probable but not certain. Three of his sons, William II, Thomas, and Richard, and six of his grandsons, Beverley of Turkey Island, Peter, William III, Richard II, Ryland, and John of Bizarre, were all vestrymen. Parish records show that the family performed routine tasks and that some of them, notably Beverley and Peter, who, respectively, missed vestry meetings for almost five and fifteen years, apparently lost interest. There were some developments within the parish that were not officially recorded, but which were of special concern to the Randolphs. For example, when James Keith, the parish minister, resigned on charges of fornication, his departure was doubtless speeded because of his association with Mary Randolph of Tuckahoe. On a happier note, William Randolph II and Richard Randolph I were certainly the chief supporters of their nephew, the Reverend William Stith, who became parish minister in 1736. As four of his cousins were named to the vestry in the next fifteen years, Stith enjoyed support unlike few, if any, other ministers in Virginia. His relatives oversaw improvements to the glebe house and outbuildings as well as the construction of a new chapel. They may also have seen to it that he had sufficient leisure to attend to his plantations and to pursue his scholarly interests.

As the Randolphs were a part of the oligarchy who dominated the parishes of Virginia, so also were they part of the structure of the county government in the colony. The business of the county was in the hands of between ten and fifteen justices of the peace who were named by the Governor. Usually the Governor appointed gentlemen from a list submitted to him by the incumbents. While the Governor was not legally bound to consult local justices in his appointments, they were

prepared to make trouble if their recommendations were ignored. In 1757, for example, Governor Dinwiddie named Richard Bland to be justice of the peace for Halifax County without the justices' recommendation because he was irritated at the county's refusal to support the French and Indian War. After a protracted quarrel between Dinwiddie and the Halifax officials, Bland finally took his seat, but the justices gave him such a chilly reception that he only was present at one meeting.<sup>122</sup>

The justice of the peace had minor powers and responsibilities: he settled suits for small debts, issued peace bonds, and ordered persons to appear before the county court to answer an indictment. With his colleagues he sat on the county court which met monthly. Every third month the county justices convened as the Court of Quarter Sessions to deal with criminal cases involving a free person in which the punishment did not mean the loss of life or limb. The county court, moreover, elected the county clerk and recommended to the Governor for his commission the sheriff, coroner, tobacco inspector, and militia officers below the rank of brigadier. Accordingly, the county justices made a major contribution to local affairs and received major training in the art of government.<sup>123</sup>

Through three generations and beyond, the Randolphs were leaders in county affairs. They sat on the courts in the counties of Charles City, Gloucester, Goochland, Henrico, James City, Prince George, and York, but it was in Henrico that their influence was most strongly felt. From 1674, when William Randolph I succeeded his late uncle as clerk, until 1770, when the records disappear, the family had always a representative on the county court. For thirty-seven years William Randolph I served variously as clerk, coroner, sheriff, and justice; three of

his sons served as clerk or justice from 1709 to 1748; and five of his grandsons as sheriff or justice from 1734 to 1770. More often than not the Randolphs stood first on the county commission which was significant because the first four justices named constituted a quorum, one of whom had to be present at every court's convening. Undoubtedly talented in county service, the family's strength was in its numbers. Three brothers, William II, Thomas, and Richard, were at one time justices in 1720; so briefly, in 1748, were Richard and his nephews, Beverley, Peter, and William III; and Richard II and his brother Ryland were together during the 1760's. Any appointment within the power of the county was easily secured by the Randolphs. Virtually all of their men living in Henrico were commissioned colonels in the county militia, four were sheriff, one coroner, and another tobacco inspector. The family's influence was apparent to contemporaries. In 1720, when the three Randolph brothers were named justices, they were cautioned not to sit together as judges of the court lest they serve their own interest before justice.<sup>124</sup> There is, however, no evidence that the Randolphs ever abused their position in the county.

Dominant within their respective counties, the Randolphs also were influential and powerful in Williamsburg. From the time of William Randolph I, they were often in town discharging their responsibilities to the government, the court, and the college. Sir John Randolph and his sons, Peyton and John, were permanent Williamsburg residents, but William Randolph II, who was a councillor, and Peter, his son, who was a councillor and Surveyor General, both maintained houses in Williamsburg in addition to their plantations in Henrico.<sup>125</sup>

The most notable civic leaders in the family were Sir John



Randolph and his sons. Well educated in the law, they were among the elite of the legal profession in Virginia. Not only did they practise more or less exclusively in the General Court but they were also judges in the Court of Vice Admiralty. At the incorporation of Williamsburg as a city on July 28, 1722, Sir John was named first among six aldermen.<sup>126</sup> Son John became a member of the Williamsburg Common Council in 1751, and was twice mayor of the city in 1756 and 1771. Although Peyton apparently never held office in the city government, he represented Williamsburg in the House of Burgesses from 1748 to 1752 and from 1761 to 1775. The Randolphs undoubtedly all gave good service, but there is evidence only of Peyton's performance. Sagacious in political matters, he never lost touch with his constituents and was careful to keep them informed especially as the American Revolution approached. His influence among the townspeople was such that in April, 1775, he calmed their anger at Lord Dunmore's removal of the gunpowder from the Williamsburg magazine. A few weeks later, when he returned from the Continental Congress in Philadelphia, his neighbors turned out to hail him the "Father of His Country."

Sir John and Peyton Randolph were also officials of the borough of Norfolk. In November, 1736, about four months before his death, Sir John was appointed the borough's recorder. He was the first to hold the office, and when he arrived in Norfolk to take his oath, the townspeople celebrated "for Several Days; amply signaling their great Respect, on this joyful Occasion."<sup>127</sup> Peyton became the Norfolk recorder in August, 1748. Apparently he made regular trips downriver from Williamsburg to attend the meetings of the Common Council until his duties as Speaker kept him away. Nevertheless, he remained in the

post until he died.<sup>128</sup>

As the Randolphs became leaders in local politics, they paved the way to power in the provincial government. The gentry dominated the county court so that one seldom went to an elective post in the capital without their approval. Each county sent to the General Assembly two burgesses elected by the local freeholders. The election, set by the sheriff, who opened and closed the polls, took place at the courthouse where the candidates sat to see and hear the votes cast. With the support of the leading gentlemen, a candidate was usually elected because the lesser men in the county tended to follow the example of their social superiors at the polls.

The Randolphs fit well into the structure of local politics. Little is known of their campaigns, but by the middle of the eighteenth century, their reputation in public service was sufficient to make their names familiar in any neighborhood. Undoubtedly they campaigned among the freeholders and, as was often done by Virginia politicians when the votes were delivered in their favor, they may have treated their constituents with rum punch, ginger cakes, and other goodies. In 1720, William Byrd II noted that William Randolph II and his brother, Thomas, were elected Henrico burgesses by virtue of "their great industry."<sup>129</sup> At least once the family was not successful. In a close race for Henrico burgess in 1772, Richard Randolph II defeated Samuel Duval by two votes. Duval examined the poll, and convinced that he was the winner, charged fraud. To avoid further dispute, Randolph petitioned for a new election, but the freeholders sent Duval to Williamsburg.<sup>130</sup>

As a rule, various family members represented their home constituencies in the House of Burgesses. Almost without interruption from

1683 to 1772, William Randolph I, his sons, William II and Richard, and their sons, were burgesses for Henrico; Richard Bland was a burgess for Prince George from 1743 to 1776; and Sir John Randolph and his three sons were successively burgesses for the college at odd intervals between 1734 and 1775.

There were some exceptions where a Randolph did not represent the place where he lived, notably John Randolph the Loyalist who became Lunenburg County's burgess in 1769. He had been clerk of the House since 1752, but in 1767 had given up his place to become Attorney General. He was personally ambitious to sit among the burgesses again, and it was advantageous for the House to have a man of his position in the membership. Since he could not gain the Williamsburg seat held by his brother nor the college seat held by his antagonist, John Page of Rosewell, he had to find another constituency. Accordingly, in August, 1768, he purchased in Lunenburg County one-hundred acres, the minimum to qualify for public office. The Virginia Gazette reported in December that he had placed first in the election when actually he had trailed Henry Blagrove 210 votes to 260. Blagrove was angry to learn that Randolph had been listed as the leading burgess because the newspaper considered him a man of the greatest dignity. "I am not ashamed," wrote Blagrove, "nor afraid to dispute that point before any lawful authority whatever." Perhaps the Lunenburg freeholders were angry too, for Randolph was their burgess only during the May, 1769, session.<sup>131</sup>

The Randolphs and their kinsmen were important leaders in the House of Burgesses. In three generations, fifteen of them were burgesses, six were clerks, three were speakers, and one was chaplain. Furthermore, seven of the men who married into the second and third

generations were burgesses. The individual family members worked hard in the service of the House; a quantitative analysis of their committee assignments reveals that only four failed to achieve recognition in the first or second rank of the burgesses.<sup>132</sup> Altogether in their various posts, the Randolph clan was represented in the House of Burgesses for ninety years, from 1683 to 1776, excluding the years 1712-1715 when there was no family member present. After 1720, with the exception of a period between 1740 and 1742 when there was only one, the family had at least two burgesses in the House; there were four between 1742 and 1745 and again in 1769; and from 1746 to 1761, 1767 to 1768, 1770 to 1775, three were present.

That the family was a potent force in politics was obvious to their contemporaries. After much of the Old Dominion turned against him in the pistole fee controversy, Governor Dinwiddie said it was because "a High Priest [William Stith], who was supported by the Family of the Randolphs, and few more, who by unjust methods fir'd the Ho. of Burgesses to act very inconsistently."<sup>133</sup> Moreover, when Thomas Dawson failed in a race with Stith to be elected president of the college, he blamed his defeat partially to "the Randolphs & all the Relations of that Family" who stirred up votes against him.<sup>134</sup>

The Randolphs were adroit at getting and keeping offices in the House. While their strategy is unknown in specific detail, it is nevertheless apparent that they depended on a network of friendship that always included House leaders, councillors, and Governors. The office of clerk of the House was practically a Randolph sinecure. The clerk was, next to the Speaker, the most important official in the House. He took the minutes and kept the records. While he had no vote

in the proceedings, he used his position to build powerful political connections. William Randolph I gained the post in 1699; exactly why is a mystery, for the previous year he had been Speaker. The appointment came from Governor Nicholson, whom he had long supported. When he left the post in 1705 to sit again among the burgesses, he was succeeded by his son, William Randolph II, whom he had earlier made his deputy. The younger Randolph's appointment was doubtless due to family influence with Nicholson. He was clerk until 1712, having been re-appointed in 1710 when his councillor-friend, William Byrd II, spoke favorably of him to the new Governor, Alexander Spotswood. He lost the post for telling Spotswood some of Byrd's criticism of him. The Governor, however, could ill afford to remain angry and offered to make Randolph again clerk, but by that time Randolph was a burgess and suggested his brother, John, who was clerk from 1718 until 1734 when he became Speaker. In 1740 Peter Randolph, a son of William Randolph II, was appointed clerk by Governor Gooch who well understood the family's political strength. Peter held the post until 1749, when he became burgess. He was succeeded by his brother, William Randolph III, whose term was brief. In 1752 Governor Dinwiddie appointed William's cousin, John Randolph the Loyalist, who was clerk until 1766.

The Randolphs held the clerk's post under four governors who appointed them not only because Randolphs were capable and acceptable to the House but also because it was good politics to keep the family under obligation. The Speaker's post, however, was elective. The burgesses had not the same priorities as the Governor. That three Randolphs were Speaker was an indication of long association and hard work; it also indicated an ability to be on friendly terms with most

of the burgesses. William Randolph I, who was usually among the first rank in the House, became Speaker in 1698 after a tenure of fifteen years. Nothing is known of the circumstances of his election, but from the address he delivered upon assuming the chair, it is clear that the new Speaker understood his role as servant of the House.<sup>135</sup>

Sir John Randolph's elevation to the speakership was an example of friends in the right place at the right time. When Speaker Holloway resigned in August, 1734, Randolph replaced him, but not without some hasty maneuvering. Randolph was well known and liked as clerk, a post he had held for the past sixteen years. Yet to be Speaker he had first to be burgess. So, he resigned the clerkship to stand for college burgess, a post then conveniently vacant, which had a very small constituency. The General Assembly was already in session when the college corporation convened on August 23 to elect Randolph who, the next day, was unanimously chosen Speaker.<sup>136</sup>

Peyton Randolph was the third of his family to become Speaker. Although for eighteen years he had been a leading burgess and was universally respected by his colleagues, he gained the post in 1766 after months of uncertainty. He had hoped to succeed his mentor, the late John Robinson, as Speaker and Treasurer, but there was a delay because of the discovery that Robinson had made private loans from the public treasury. There was further trouble when Randolph's cousin-in-law, John Chiswell, after being denied bail on a murder charge by a county court, was bailed by three councillors to a public outcry of preferential treatment. Randolph, who was not directly involved in either affair, remained aloof while political battle raged in the newspapers. He left such fighting to his lieutenants. When the House finally

convened in October, the burgesses elected him Speaker, but in view of the Robinson scandal, made the Treasurer a separate official. While Randolph very much wanted the treasury, his disappointment was mitigated somewhat by the larger salary for Speaker.

In addition to the major offices, the influence of the Randolph family was apparent in committee assignments. At the end of the colonial period there were in the House of Burgesses five standing committees, the most important of which were Privileges and Elections and Propositions and Grievances. Of the fifteen Randolphs and their kinsmen who were burgesses, twelve were members of Privileges and Elections and thirteen of Propositions and Grievances. Although appointments usually came after several years of service, seven members of the family were named to Privileges and Elections and nine to Propositions and Grievances during their first term. Furthermore, Peyton Randolph and Richard Bland were, at different times, chairmen of these committees.

Whether the Randolph family voted en bloc is impossible to determine. Certainly they united when they were crossed. For instance, as Governor Dinwiddie and his friends blocked the family's efforts to make William Stith Commissary of the Bishop of London, they brought Stith into the House as chaplain and fought the Governor on the issue of the pistole fee. Thomas Johnson, burgess from Louisa, testified to a Randolph clique in the House. During a debate to increase the clerk's salary in 1758, said Johnson, the clerk, who was John Randolph, "walked through the Burgesses, and nodded to his Creatures or Partizans on each Side, who followed him out of the House." Johnson denied that he was part of the faction, but he admitted that he was "solicited by Mr Randolph...and many of the Members, to be for the largest Sum...for

the...Salary, which he refused, but most of the other Members went in and voted for the largest Sum, which was carried."<sup>137</sup> Nevertheless, the family was not always united in every case. Richard Bland entered the Speaker's race in 1766 against Peyton Randolph. At Randolph's victory, however, Bland harbored no resentment and in the next session nominated his cousin for another term.

As the family consolidated its position in the House, some members moved to the Council. The King appointed councillors upon nomination by the Board of Trade from a list recommended by the Governor. According to the Governor's instructions, he was careful to recommend men "of good life, well-affected to our government, of good estates and abilities, and not necessitous people." The Governor's task was delicate: not only did he need to choose men with whom he could work but he had also to placate powerful and prestigious gentlemen and their families. An appointment to the Council was highly prized because it was a select body of twelve who were advisors to the Governor, judges of the highest court of appeals, and members of the upper house of the legislature. While the Governor could remove them for misconduct in office, the councillors usually served for life.<sup>138</sup>

William Randolph II entered the Virginia Council in 1728. Almost twenty-one years later, his son, Peter, became councillor. William Randolph I, his sons, Richard and Edward, and his grandsons, Beverley of Gloucester, William of Tuckahoe, and William III, were all recommended for the Council, but never appointed. The influence of the Randolphs within the Council is difficult to determine. The terms of William II, who served almost fourteen years, and Peter, who served eighteen years, were not concurrent: the father died before the son's



appointment. Among Peter's colleagues, however, were Philip Grymes, William Beverley, and William Dawson, who were married, respectively, to a Randolph, Bland, and Stith. Peter had the confidence of Governor Dinwiddie, which was more than his Randolph and Stith relatives in the House possessed, for Dinwiddie in 1755 sent him and his fellow councillor, William Byrd III, on a special mission to encourage the southern Indian tribes to support the British against the French. It is clear that while the Randolphs actively sought appointments to the Council and performed ably once they secured them, the House of Burgesses remained the base of their power in the General Assembly.

In addition to the Council, the Randolph family held other appointments from the crown. In 1749, upon his nomination by the Commissioners of the Customs, Peter Randolph was named by the King Surveyor General of the Customs for the Southern District of America. His duties were to inspect local customs offices from Pennsylvania to the Bahamas (in 1763 the district was reduced to Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas), to ascertain the payment of duties and keeping of accounts, and to appoint officials whenever a vacancy occurred. The post had a salary of about £500 per annum and carried with it an automatic appointment to the Virginia Council because it was also the responsibility of the Surveyor General to advise the Governor.

Three Randolphs, William I, Peyton, and John the Loyalist, were Attorneys General of Virginia. From about 1700, after William I had left the post, the Attorney General was appointed and commissioned by the Governor. However, neither Peyton nor John had a Governor's support in becoming Attorney General. Governor Gooch supported Thomas Nelson, Jr., for Attorney General in 1743, but Peyton's connections in England

secured the post for him. Twelve years later, Governor Dinwiddie removed Peyton from office for leaving the colony without his permission. Again the Randolphs' influential friends rallied and, contrary to his own inclination, Dinwiddie reinstated Peyton. Governor Fauquier, after supporting George Wythe for Attorney General in 1766, bowed to the appointment which John Randolph secured at great effort and expense in England.<sup>139</sup>

William Randolph I was Attorney General at the end of an era. By the eighteenth century the duties of the office were numerous and complex; the Attorney General was not only a functionary of the courts but also the final arbiter of the interpretation and practice of the law; it was necessary that he be a man of more than average legal ability; and after 1703 he was required to reside in Williamsburg and to appoint a competent deputy if he were absent from the capital.<sup>140</sup> Whereas old Randolph became Attorney General with only the law he had learned by himself and traveled in pursuit of his duties from Turkey Island to Jamestown, his descendants, who succeeded to the post a half century later, both read law at the Inns of Court and were leading Williamsburg residents. Incidentally, Sir John Randolph was appointed deputy Attorney General in 1726 when Attorney John Clayton left Williamsburg for a visit to the mother country.

Patronage was a factor in the Randolph family's securing office in colonial Virginia. For the most part, they made friends easily. William Byrd II supported William Randolph II for clerk of the House and helped Sir John Randolph gain admission to the English bar. Landon Carter and Archibald Cary, both Randolph relatives by marriage, actively worked to make Peyton Randolph Speaker. Richard Bland found a political

ally in Richard Henry Lee. William Stith undoubtedly owed his position at the college, in part, to the support of James Blair.

The family also understood the value of a harmonious relationship with the Governors of Virginia. Seven Randolphs were recommended to the Virginia Council, six appointed clerk of the House of Burgesses, two judges of the Court of Vice Admiralty, one Adjutant General, and one Escheator General.

Governor Gooch did most to advance the family's interest. He recommended six of them for the Council, appointed Isham Adjutant General, introduced Sir John into English society and politics, and trusted Edward with some of his business and political chores in England. Well aware that Randolph wealth and influence could serve his interest in Virginia, the Governor no doubt appreciated the talent and quality of the family's service. Writing to the Bishop of London in 1739, he noted that the Reverend William Dawson "is well Allied here by marrying a niece of the late Sr. John Randolph's one of the best Familys in the Country."<sup>141</sup> Nevertheless, Gooch was not blind in his support of the family. Perhaps feeling that Peyton Randolph was too young and without sufficient experience, he pressed to make Thomas Nelson, Jr., Attorney General.

Although dependent upon the Governors for advancement and usually considerate of their feelings, the Randolphs were hardly their pawns. Sir John owed his first positions in provincial government to Governor Spotswood. There was a close relationship between them to the point that some in Virginia thought that John was a sycophant. Yet, when it was discovered after Spotswood left office that he had misappropriated public monies, John criticized him publicly in the Virginia newspaper.

As has been noted, Peyton Randolph had a strained relationship with Governor Dinwiddie and kept his post as Attorney General by employing his considerable connections against the Governor. In his dealings with Governor Dunmore, Peyton appeared courteous and correct, but not close. Brother John, however, was one of Dunmore's best friends which partially explained the public outrage that drove him to take refuge in England in 1775.

The Randolphs balanced their patrons in Virginia with patrons in England. In addition to their close relations with selected British merchants, which have been described elsewhere, they had other friends in high places. For three generations the family had personal contact with the mother country. William Randolph I may have gone home in the 1680's. All seven of his sons went to England. Isham and Edward lived for years in London as merchants. Eleven grandsons also traveled to England: Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island, William Randolph III, Isham Randolph II, William Randolph of Bristol, Ryland Randolph, Brett Randolph, Beverley Randolph of Gloucester, Peyton Randolph, John Randolph the Loyalist, Edward Randolph II, and William Stith. Of these, Brett, Isham II, William of Bristol, and Edward II lived out their lives in the mother country. The family made several significant contacts.

Twice, in 1728 and 1732, Sir John Randolph went to England to transact business for the House of Burgesses and the College of William and Mary. Each time he carried with him letters of introduction to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Southern Department; Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London; and the Board of Trade. On his second mission in 1732, Randolph met Sir Robert Walpole, First Lord of the

Treasury, Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the King's First Minister. They got on well and worked on a bill for an excise on tobacco. According to Walpole's biographer, the First Minister "spent long hours with Randolph, discussing every aspect of this excise scheme; indeed, he saw so much of him that some came to believe that Randolph and not Walpole drew the bill to excise tobacco."<sup>142</sup> The bill failed in the opposition of a clique of merchants in the House of Commons, but Walpole apparently rewarded Randolph with knighthood. During this same time Randolph met and turned over some business to a young lawyer, Dudley Rider, who later became Attorney General.

It is not clear in all cases how the Randolphs employed their connections in England to advance their political fortunes. Undoubtedly William Randolph II, who was in London at the time, lobbied for his own appointment to the Virginia Council in 1728. Edward Randolph pressed Martin Bladen, one of the most important members of the Board of Trade, to nominate him and his nephew, William Randolph of Tuckahoe, to the Council in 1744. Eleven years later, Peyton Randolph made the official rounds in London seeking to regain his post as Virginia Attorney General. There is no record of his contacts. Walpole, his father's patron, had fallen from power in disgrace and was now dead. He may have sought out Dudley Rider, but whatever sympathy there was between them was certainly mitigated by Rider's recent decision upholding the rights of religious dissenters in Virginia which flew in the face of Randolph's official pronouncements on the case made in Williamsburg.

The effort of John Randolph the Loyalist to become Virginia Attorney General in 1766 is the clearest example of Randolph solicitation in England. Randolph's chief correspondent was his London-based

brother-in-law, Edmund Jenings III. Jenings contacted Edward Montagu, the Virginia agent as well as the Duke of Richmond, and Henry Conway, both of whom had supported the Americans in the recent Stamp Act crisis. Letters in Randolph's behalf, written by Landon Carter and Richard Corbin, went to Montagu and to Beilby Porteus, Mrs. Randolph's cousin, who was chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury. Randolph himself apparently contacted Lords Dartmouth and Shelburne. Probably the merchants Hanbury were also enlisted. The solicitations were successful. Later Randolph said that Shelburne was his chief supporter, but he may have exaggerated because he was then petitioning Shelburne for a pension. Jenings acknowledged in 1767 that Montagu had been the greatest help. <sup>143</sup>

The solid accomplishments of the Randolph family were recognized by their contemporaries. "The gentry of Virginia, I dare say, /For honor vie with all America," sang York County's blacksmith-poet, Charles Hansford, about 1752.

Though there be many, yet [I] can mention few  
And those by families....

The Nelsons, Digges, Carters, Burwells, Pages,  
The Grymes and the Robinsons engages  
Respect, and reverence to those names be paid!  
Blairs, Ludwells, Byrds in the same scale be laid.  
Randolphs and Wallers, Harrison's likewise--  
These all contend for honors, noble prize.  
Willises, Wormeleys, Lewises do run  
In honor's path, as loath to be outdone.  
The Spotswoods, Berkeleys, Armisteads thither bend  
Their steps and for the lovely prize contend.  
I hope Virginia hath many more  
To me unknown--might lengthen out the score.  
As stars of the first magnitude these shine  
And, in their several stations, do combine  
The great support and ornament to be  
Of Britain's first and ancient colony. <sup>144</sup>

A century later, Herman Melville, in his famous novel, Moby Dick, mentioned the Randolphs as "an old established family in the land." They were, he implied, among the few real aristocrats in America who had no need to lower themselves to the hard labor of whaling.<sup>145</sup> While the Randolphs were by the nineteenth century undoubtedly symbols of the American success story, they had established themselves with diligence, ability, and hard work.

## END NOTES--CHAPTER XVI

<sup>1</sup>See Louis B. Wright, The First Gentlemen of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1964 [orig. ed., 1940]), 38-62; Bernard Bailyn, "Politics and Social Structure in Virginia," in Seventeenth Century America Essays in Colonial History, edited by James Morton Smith (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 90-115; and Edmund S. Morgan, American Slavery American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia (New York: W. W. Norton, 1975), passim.

<sup>2</sup>Henry Lee to "Dear Brother," February 22, 1758, Papers of Richard Bland Lee, Library of Congress (CWM). Henry Lee was a grandson of Elizabeth Randolph Bland. He was referring to his uncle, Thomas Lee.

<sup>3</sup>Edmund S. Morgan, Virginians at Home, Family Life in the Eighteenth Century (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1963 [orig. ed., 1952]), 29-33, esp. 31.

<sup>4</sup>Robert Bolling, A Collection of diverting Anecdotes (1764), Brock Collection, 15, Henry E. Huntington Library (CWM).

<sup>5</sup>W. M. Paxton, Marshall Family, 25-26; Wright, ed., Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover, 342; Brock, ed., Vestrybook of Henrico Parish, 3-5, 7, 9-10, 13, 16; James Blair to the Bishop of London, January 15, 1734/35 and September 18, 1735, Fulham Palace Papers, 15, 112, 122 (CWM); Fauquier County, Deed Book 5 (1772-1774), 212, 213; and Deed Book 6 (1774-1778), 522-525 (VSLm).

<sup>6</sup>Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403; Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100; Louisa County, Deed Book A (1742-1754), 64 (VSLm); McGill, Beverley Family, 220; Price, John Price the Emigrant, 11; Dabney, John Blair Dabney Manuscript, 32.

<sup>7</sup>My friend Jacqueline Nash of Tarboro, North Carolina, a Randolph descendant, has made a long and careful study of the English antecedents of colonial families. She notes no less than seventeen villages in Northamptonshire associated with the Randolphs and Ishams. Her research leads her to conclude "that many marriages in the New World were between residents in the Old." Letter to the author, December 30, 1976.

<sup>8</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., December 30, 1737, 4:2.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., July 28, 1738, 4:1.

<sup>10</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 378-380; Will of Richard Randolph, Henrico County, Deeds (1748-1750), 112ff; Will of Richard Bland, Prince George County, Deeds & Wills (1713-1728), 395; and Will of Isham Randolph, Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 110 (VSLm).

<sup>11</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 31-32 (VSLm).



<sup>12</sup>Contemporary copy of the bond from the records of King and Queen County, September 14, 1756, VHS.

<sup>13</sup>Robert Bolling, "On Miss El: Randolphs Marriage with Richd: Mead Esqr, Feb. 1767 (She 31 he 20)," in HL:arodinea, 62.

<sup>14</sup>Henrico County, Wills (1781-1787), 179-180, 304 (VSLm).

<sup>15</sup>Chastellux, Travels in North America, II, 426-427; and Anburey, Travels, II, 351-352.

<sup>16</sup>Gravestone of Elizabeth Randolph, copied by the author August 12, 1970; Family Bible of Thomas Jefferson, Alderman Library, UVa.; Morrison, "Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," 403; and H. W. Brainard, Ishams in England and America, 86.

<sup>17</sup>John Syme to Farrell and Jones, May 25, 1768, U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 474, VSL. Syme was soliciting to succeed Randolph as Surveyor General and was, in view of Randolph's poor health, "contented to wait for a vacancy."

<sup>18</sup>John Wayles to Farrell and Jones, July 9, 1767, PRO, T 79/30 (CWm).

<sup>19</sup>Philip J. Greven, Jr., Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1970), 26-30; 190-197.

<sup>20</sup>James Currie to Thomas Jefferson, July 9, 1786, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, X, 109.

<sup>21</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 403.

<sup>22</sup>Theodorick Bland, Jr., to John Randolph, n.d., Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>23</sup>Archibald Cary to George Washington, October 22, 1781, Washington Papers, LC.

<sup>24</sup>Archibald Cary to Thomas Jefferson, October 31, 1775, Boyd, ed., Papers of Jefferson, I, 250.

<sup>25</sup>Thomas Dawson to the Bishop of London, February 25, 1756, Fulham Palace Papers 31, #125 (CWm).

<sup>26</sup>R. L. Randolph, First Randolphs, 7-11.

<sup>27</sup>Byrd, Secret Diary, 36, 44-45.

<sup>28</sup>Will of Sir John Randolph, VMHB, XXXVI (1928), 376-377; Parks' Va. Gaz., May 6, 1737, 4:1-2; and Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 521.

<sup>29</sup>Sowerby, Library of Thomas Jefferson, II, 130.

- <sup>30</sup>Autobiographical sketch of Edmund J. Randolph in form of a letter to his children, photostat, Alderman Library, UVa. (Cwm).
- <sup>31</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book 1750-1752, 31, 38, 45.
- <sup>32</sup>Ibid., 42, 110.
- <sup>33</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., June 20, 1755, 4:1; and Roger Atkinson to Samuel Pleasants, October 1, 1774, VMHB, XV (1908), 356.
- <sup>34</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., March 11, 1737, 3:2; and Byrd, Secret Diary, 20.
- <sup>35</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 74 (VSLm).
- <sup>36</sup>Hunter's Va. Gaz., August 27, 1756, 4:1; September 3, 1756, 4:1.
- <sup>37</sup>John Page, "Autobiographical Memoir," Virginia Historical Register, III (1850), 144.
- <sup>38</sup>Eliza Parke Custis quoted in Morgan, Virginians at Home, 17.
- <sup>39</sup>Provisional List...of the College of William and Mary; and Catalogue of the College of William and Mary (1859). For specific names, see Appendix J.
- <sup>40</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1745-1749), 74 (VSLm).
- <sup>41</sup>VMHB, XVIII (1910), 375n.
- <sup>42</sup>Lucille Griffith, ed., "English Education for Virginia Youth: Some Eighteenth Century Ambler Family Letters," VMHB, LXXIX (1961), 8.
- <sup>43</sup>Willard Connely, "Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge," The American Oxonian, XXIX (1942), 6-17; and J. G. De Roulhac Hamilton, "Southern Members of the Inns of Court," North Carolina Historical Review, X (1933), 278-280.
- <sup>44</sup>Richard and Eliza Ambler to Edward and John Ambler, August 1, 1748, in Griffith, ed., "English Education," 14-15.
- <sup>44</sup>Richard Connely, "Colonial Americans in Oxford and Cambridge," 6-17; C. E. A. Bedwell, "American Middle Templars," 684; and VMHB, XIX (1911), 398-399.
- <sup>46</sup>Typescript of Randolph matriculation at Gray's Inn and the Middle Temple in Letter of Isaac G. Bates to Miss Randolph, August 22, 1911, VHS; and Foster, ed., Alumni Oxoniensis, 1714-1886, IV, 1356.
- <sup>47</sup>Theodorick Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., February 14, 1763, in Campbell, ed., Bland Papers, I, 21.
- <sup>48</sup>Theodorick Bland to Theodorick Bland, Jr., March 21, 1781, and June, 1783, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>49</sup>Alan M. Smith, "Virginia Lawyers, 1680-1776: The Birth of an American Profession," (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The Johns Hopkins University, 1967), 63-64, 79, 80; Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, 17; Malone, Jefferson the Virginian, 65-69; and Armistead C. Gordon, "Some Lawyers in Colonial Virginia," Proceedings of the Thirty-Second Annual Meeting of the Virginia State Bar Association...1921, 152-159.

<sup>50</sup>Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), passim (VSI<sub>m</sub>); and Byrd Secret Diary, 45, 301, 579.

<sup>51</sup>Morgan, Virginians at Home, 10-11.

<sup>52</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., March 8, 1776, 3:1.

<sup>53</sup>See Byrd, Secret Diary, 437-439.

<sup>54</sup>Elizabeth Bland Beverley to Theodorick Bland, c. 1745, Bland Papers, Campbell Collection, VHS.

<sup>55</sup>An Invoice of sundry goods to be sent to Wm Beverley by a Rappa ship, in W. C. Ford, ed., "Some Letters of William Beverley," WMQ, 1st series, III (1894), 225.

<sup>56</sup>William Beverley to Micajah Perry, August 4, 1742, William Beverley Letterbook, New York Public Library (CW<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>57</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills (1677-1692), 30 (VSI<sub>m</sub>).

<sup>58</sup>Henrico County, Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 167 (VSI<sub>m</sub>). The case was transferred to the General Court in Williamsburg; the outcome is unknown because the pertinent records do not survive. For the sake of clarity in the above quotation, minor punctuation has been supplied.

<sup>59</sup>The Randolph family portraits owned by the Virginia Historical Society can be seen in the Society's headquarters in Richmond and at Wilton, the restored home of William Randolph III, in the same city. The portraits owned by the College of William and Mary are displayed in the President's House and the Earl Gregg Swem Library. Convenient reproduction of the major portraits are in Eckenrode, Randolphs, passim, and Daniels, Randolphs, passim.

<sup>60</sup>The Wigmaker in Eighteenth Century Williamsburg, Williamsburg Craft Series (Williamsburg, Va.: Published by Colonial Williamsburg, 1971), 13-15, 24-27.

<sup>61</sup>Edward Charlton Account Book, 11, 12, 53, 72, CW.

<sup>62</sup>Robert Carter to John Carter, July 13, 1720, in Louis B. Wright, ed., Letters of Robert Carter 1720-1727: The Commercial Interests of a Virginia Gentleman (San Mario, Calif.: The Huntington Library, 1940), 7; WMQ, 1st series, XXII (1913), 255; and Robert Bolling, "Admonition to Fair Malevolent," HL:arodinea, 40.

- <sup>63</sup>Goochland County, Deed Book (1741-1745), 100 (VSLm).
- <sup>64</sup>Alexander Craig Account Book, 143, CW.
- <sup>65</sup>Ibid., 10.
- <sup>66</sup>Williamsburg-James City County Tax Book, 1768-1777, 13, 16, CW.
- <sup>67</sup>Bolling, HL:arodinea.
- <sup>68</sup>William Byrd to Sir John Randolph, January 21, 1735, Byrd Letterbook, VHS.
- <sup>69</sup>Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., July 16, 1767, 3:2.
- <sup>70</sup>Purdie's Va. Gaz., September 14, 1775, 2:3; September 22, 1775, 2:3.
- <sup>71</sup>R. P., "Turkey Island," Virginia Historical Register, 105.
- <sup>72</sup>Anburey, Travels, II, 358-359.
- <sup>73</sup>Smyth, Tour in the United States, I, 28.
- <sup>74</sup>Architect's Emergency Committee, Great Georgian Houses of America, 2 vols. (New York: Dover Publications, 1970), II, 116.
- <sup>75</sup>S. P. Moorehead, Tazewell Hall: A Report on its Eighteenth-Century Appearance, September 14, 1949, CW Architecture Department; and John Randolph's Deed of Trust on his Williamsburg Property, August 25, 1775, Tazewell Papers, CW.
- <sup>76</sup>Sterling P. Anderson, "Queen Molly and the Virginia Housewife," Virginia Cavalcade, XX (1971), 29-35.
- <sup>77</sup>Mary Randolph, The Virginia Housewife or, Methodical Cook (Philadelphia: E. H. Butler & Co., 1860), iii.
- <sup>78</sup>Randolph, Virginia Housewife, v-vi.
- <sup>79</sup>Va. Gaz. Day Book, 1764-1766, 66, photostat CW.
- <sup>80</sup>On Mrs. Glasse, see Jane Carson, Colonial Virginia Cookery (Charlottesville, Va.: University Press of Virginia, 1968), xxiii.
- <sup>81</sup>The book, which is privately owned, was photographed by the Virginia Historical Society. Another copy is in the Virginia State Library. The inscription inside the front cover reads: "Jane Randolph/her/Cook Book." On the opposite page, in another handwriting is "Miss/Jane Randolph/Cookery Book/January 14th 1743." Immediately beneath this inscription, turned upside down, is written in still another handwriting: "Jane Randolph/Her Book Sugar to Make/March 29th 1796." The identity of Jane Randolph is, consequently, difficult to

determine. She was almost certainly a Randolph of Turkey Island because the cookbook contains accounts of such family members as Richard, Beverley, and Ned Randolph. Of the five Jane Randolphs who might have begun the compilation of recipes, the evidence supports Jane Rogers Randolph. There is on page 126, a recipe for liquid soap from Dr. Samuel Tschiffelley, a friend of her husband's. Furthermore, there are scattered references to the Pleasants family into which her daughter Anna married. The handwriting indicates that if the cookbook indeed belonged to Mrs. Randolph, it was compiled by several people.

<sup>82</sup>Jane Randolph Cookbook, 133, VSL.

<sup>83</sup>York County, Wills & Inventories, XXII, 308-310 (VSLm). See also Inventory of the Estate of Philip Grymes, LC (CWm).

<sup>84</sup>Princess Anne County, Deed Book #17 (1780-1782), 75 (VSLm).

<sup>85</sup>Henry Lee to Richard Lee, May 13, 1764, Edmund Jennings Lee Papers, VHS.

<sup>86</sup>Jones, Present State of Virginia, 68.

<sup>87</sup>Mary Randolph Grymes Accounts, 1761-1765, Harrison Papers and Picot Family Papers, VHS.

<sup>88</sup>Main, Social Structure of Revolutionary America, 276.

<sup>89</sup>Emory G. Evans, "Planter Indebtedness and the Coming of the Revolution in Virginia," WMQ, 3rd series, XIX (1962), 518.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 518.

<sup>91</sup>Privy Council Office 1722-1724, PRO, PC 2/88, 525, 541; Privy Council Office 1724-1727, PRO, PC 2/89, 15, 16, 90-91, 101-102 (CWm).

<sup>92</sup>John Wayles to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, July 9, 1769, American Loyalist Claims, PRO, T 79/30 (CWm).

<sup>93</sup>Commonplace Book of John Randolph of Roanoke, 1806-1830, Tucker-Coleman Papers, W&M.

<sup>94</sup>Ford, ed., Writings of Jefferson, XII, 32.

<sup>95</sup>Samuel M. Rosenblatt, "The Significance of Credit in the Tobacco Trade: a Study of John Norton & Sons, 1768-1775," WMQ, 3rd series, XIX (1962), 385-386.

<sup>96</sup>Henrico County, Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1750-1767), 85, 198; Order Book (1767-1769), 325; Court Minute Book (1752-1755), 31; and Amelia County, Deed Book #3 (1747-1750), 41-42 (VSLm).

<sup>97</sup>Lord Albemarle to the Earl of Newcastle, November 29, 1743, Newcastle Papers, Home Correspondence, XVI, 265-266, British Museum,

Additional Manuscripts 32701 (Cwm); Edmund Jenings II to John Randolph, February 22, 1755, Jenings Letterbook, VHS; and Lists of Councillors and Persons Recommended to Fill Vacancies, 1706-1760, PRO, CO 324/48, 20 (Cwm).

<sup>98</sup>John Wayles to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, August 30, 1766, PRO, T 79/10 (Cwm).

<sup>99</sup>William Gooch to Thomas Gooch, June 28, July 24, 1730, CW typescripts.

<sup>100</sup>Sioussat, "Virginia and the English Commercial System," 87-88.

<sup>101</sup>Rosenblatt, "Significance of Credit," 386-387.

<sup>102</sup>Peter Randolph to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, May 2, 1764, American Loyalist Claims, PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).

<sup>103</sup>Peter Randolph to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, June 1, 1761, Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>York County, Judgments & Orders (1770-1772), 3 (VSLm); and U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #5, 360-373, VSL.

<sup>105</sup>Ibid., Record Book #4, 441.

<sup>106</sup>Richard Randolph II to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, September 16, 1772, American Loyalist Claims, PRO, T 79/30 (Cwm).

<sup>107</sup>Richard Randolph II to Messrs. Farrell and Jones, May 15, 1775, Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Chesterfield County, Will Book #2 (1765-1774), 330 (VSLm).

<sup>109</sup>U.S. Circuit Court, Virginia District, Record Book #19, 17-28, VSL. Also see Emory G. Evans, "Private Indebtedness and the Revolution in Virginia, 1776 to 1796," WMQ, 3rd series, XXVIII (1971), 350-351.

<sup>110</sup>St. George Tucker to Theodorick B. and John Randolph, June 29, 1788, Bryan Family Papers, UVa.

<sup>111</sup>See sketches of William Randolph II, Richard Randolph I, and Peter Randolph, supra.

<sup>112</sup>Henrico County, Orders & Wills (1678-1693), transcript, 189; and Deeds, Wills, Etc. (1688-1697), transcript, 51-52 (VSLm).

<sup>113</sup>EJCCV, III, 380; and Henrico County, Orders (1710-1714), 309 (VSLm).

<sup>114</sup>Shipping Returns, 1735-1756, PRO, CO 5/1446, n.p. (Cwm).

<sup>115</sup>Pa. Gaz., May 4-11, 1732, 2:2.

<sup>116</sup>General Business Minutes, December, 1734--July, 1736, H. M. Customs & Excise Library, Class 887, 408 (CWM).

<sup>117</sup>Jacob M. Price, "The Economic Growth of the Chesapeake and the European Market, 1697-1775," 506.

<sup>118</sup>Robert Beverley, The History and Present State of Virginia, edited with an introduction by Louis B. Wright, (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), 262-263.

<sup>119</sup>Ibid., 263; and William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth Century America, 136-138. Seiler notes that after the middle of the seventeenth century, collection of the parish levies was sometimes transferred to the sheriff.

<sup>120</sup>Seiler, "Anglican Parish," 128.

<sup>121</sup>There is no direct evidence, since their parish records do not survive, that Sir John Randolph, Peyton Randolph, and Richard Bland were churchwardens, but since they were all active vestrymen, it is safe to conclude that they served in that capacity.

<sup>122</sup>Halifax County, Pleas #2 (1755-1759), 215, 216, 236, 265; Pleas #3 (1759-1762), 1 (VSLm).

<sup>123</sup>Sydnor, Gentlemen Freeholders, 75-79.

<sup>124</sup>EJCCV, III, 533.

<sup>125</sup>York County, Deeds (1741-1754), 181-182 (VSLm). The executors of Peter Randolph's estate noted in 1767 the "Appraisalment of Household Furniture of House in Williamsburg" at £114.3s.9d. Peter Randolph Estate Papers, LC.

<sup>126</sup>Williamsburg City Charter, reprinted in WMQ, 1st series, X (1901), 85.

<sup>127</sup>Parks' Va. Gaz., November 26, 1736, 4:1.

<sup>128</sup>"Peyton Randolph Norfolk Recorder," The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary, I (1895-1896), 137-139.

<sup>129</sup>Byrd, London Diary, 445.

<sup>130</sup>JHB 1770-1772, 143-144, 175, 179, 195, 245; and Richard Adams to Thomas Adams, March 24, 1772, VMHB, XXII (1914), 388.

<sup>131</sup>Lunenburg County, Deed Book #11 (1767-1771), 207-208 (VSLm); Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., December 8, 1768, 3:1; Rind's Va. Gaz., February 2, 1769, 2:2; and JHB 1766-1769, 189, 190, 191.

<sup>132</sup>Greene, Quest for Power, 467-468, 472-473. The four were Thomas and William Randolph of Tuckahoe, whose tenure was brief; Richard Randolph II, and John Stith.

<sup>133</sup>Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, 1754, Dinwiddie Papers, I, 153-154.

<sup>134</sup>Thomas Dawson to Lady Gooch, August 24, 1752, Dawson Papers #128, LC (Cwm).

<sup>135</sup>Bruce, Institutional History, II, 471n.

<sup>136</sup>JHB 1727-1740, xxiv, 171-173, 220.

<sup>137</sup>JHB 1758-1761, 90, 114.

<sup>138</sup>For this paragraph I am indebted to Jackson Turner Main, The Upper House in Revolutionary America 1763-1788 (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 3-4.

<sup>139</sup>Rankin, Criminal Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia, 53; Bailyn, Origins of American Politics, 74-79; Bruce, Institutional History, I, 689; and sketches of Peyton and John Randolph, *supra*.

<sup>140</sup>Rankin, Criminal Proceedings in the General Court of Colonial Virginia, 54-56.

<sup>141</sup>William Gooch to the Bishop of London, May 21, 1739, Fulham Palace Papers 13, #142 (Cwm).

<sup>142</sup>Plumb, Sir Robert Walpole, I, 257.

<sup>143</sup>Treasury Miscellaneous--Documents Relating to Refugees, 1782-1783, PRO, T 50/7 (Cwm); and Edmund Jenings to John Randolph, *ante* April 2, 1767, Jenings Letterbook, VHS.

<sup>144</sup>Charles Hansford, "My Country's Worth," The Poems of Charles Hansford, edited by James A. Servies and Carl R. Dolmetsch (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1961), 57-58.

<sup>145</sup>Herman Melville, Moby Dick (Seacaucus, N.J.: Longriver Press, 1976 [orig. ed., 1851]), 4.



## APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

THE RANDOLPHS OF VIRGINIA: THREE GENERATIONS

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
<u>First</u>									
WILLIAM I	1650-1711	60	c.1675	25	36	--	10	9	8
Mary Isham	c.1659-1735	76		16		24			
<u>Second</u>									
MARY	?-?	?	c.1696	?	c.26	?	3	3	3
John Stith, Jr.	?-1722?	?		?					
ELIZABETH I	?-1685	?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WILLIAM II	1681-1742	60	1709	28	14	18	7	5	5
Elizabeth Beverley	1691-1723	32		18					
HENRY	c.1683-?	?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ELIZABETH II	c.1685-1720	35	1702	17	19	--	5	5	5
Richard Bland, Sr.	1665-1720	54		36		2 mos.			
ISHAM	1687-1742	55	1717	30	35	--	11	9	9
Jane Rogers	1698-1761	63		17		18			

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
THOMAS Judith Fleming	c.1689-1729 ?-?	40 ?	1712	23 ?	15	-- 4	3	3	3
RICHARD Jane Bolling	c.1691-1748 1703-1766	57 63	c.1724	33 21	24	-- 17	7	7	7
JOHN Susanna Beverley	c.1693-1737 1693-1767?	44 74	c.1718	25 25	19	-- 30	4	4	4
EDWARD ? Groves	c.1695-? ?-?	? ?	1718?	23? ?	? ?	? ?	4	4	3
<u>Third</u>									
(Mary Randolph Stith)									
JOHN STITH Elizabeth Anderson	c.1697-c.1758 ?-?	61 ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	? ?	3	3	3
WILLIAM STITH Judith Randolph	c.1707-1755 ?-?	48	1738	31	17	-- ?	3	3	1
MARY STITH William Dawson	?-? c.1705-1752	? 47	? ?	? ?	? ?	-- remarried 1752	2	2	2

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
(William Randolph II)									
BEVERLEY I	1710-1713	2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
WILLIAM	1712-1722	10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
BEVERLEY II	1713-1750	37	1737	24	12	--	--	--	--
Elizabeth Lightfoot	c.1720-1770	50		17		4			
ELIZABETH	1715-1776	60	c.1736	19	30	10	4	4	4
John Chiswell	?-1766	?							
PETER	1717-1767	49	1738	21	28	--	4	4	4
Lucy Bolling	1719-?			19		?			
MARY	1719-?	?	1744?	25	?	?	4	4	4
John Price	1726-?	?		18		?			
WILLIAM	1723-1761	38	c.1744	21	17	--	8	7	5
Anne Harrison	c.1724-?			20		?			

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
(Elizabeth Randolph Bland)									
MARY	1704-1764	59	c.1722	18	25	16	4	4	4
Henry Lee	1691-1747	56		31		--			
ELIZABETH	1706-?		c.1725	19	21	4?	5	4	4
William Beverley	1696-1756	60		29		--			
RICHARD	1710-1776	66	1729	18/48/52		10 mos./2			
Anne Poythress	1713-1758	44		16	19	--	12	9	?
Martha Macon Massie	1722-1759	36	1759	36	8 mos.	--	--	--	--
Elizabeth Blair Bolling	1708-1775	67	1761?	53	15	--	--	--	--
ANNA	1712-1771	59		?/35	?	3			
Robert Munford			?	?			3	3	3
George Currie	?-1771		1747	?	23	1 mo.	2	2	1
THEODORICK	1719-1784	65	c.1739	19/57	25	3--	6	6	6
Frances Bolling	1724-1774	50		15	--	--			
Elizabeth Randolph Yates	?-1785	?	1777	?	7	1	--	--	--
(Isham Randolph)									
ISHAM	1718	10 days	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
JANE Peter Jefferson	1720-1776 1708-1757	56 49	1739	19 31	17	19 --	9	7	4
ISHAM Sarah Hargraves	1724-1770? ?-?		c.1749	25 ?	23	-- ?	--	--	--
MARY Charles Lewis	1725-1803 1722-1782	77 60	1746	21 24	35	21 --	9	9	7
ELIZABETH John Railey	c.1727-1782 ?-1783	55	1753	26 ?	29	-- 1	10	10	?
WILLIAM Elizabeth Little	1729-1791 ?-?	62	1761	32 ?	? ?	? ?	12	9	?
DOROTHEA John Woodson	1730-1794 c.1730-1789	64 59	1751	21 21	38	4 --	11	11	9
THOMAS	1732	6 wks.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ANNA Daniel Scott John Pleasants James Pleasants	1735-? ?-1754 ?-1765	? ? ?	1751 1759 ?	16/24/ ? ?	2 ? ?	5 ? ?	-- 3 6	-- 3 6	-- 3? 4?

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
THOMAS Jane Cary	1736-? 1751-1774	? 23	1767	31 16	13	? --	4	4	4
SUSANNAH Carter Harrison	1738-1806 c.1732-1794	68 c.62	1760	22 28	34	12 --	6	6	4?
(Thomas Randolph)									
WILLIAM Maria Page	c.1713-1745 1714-1742	32 28	1734	21 20	8	3 --	3	3	3
MARY "Overseer" James Keith	?-1778? ?-? c.1696-1753	57	c.1732 c.1735		annulled 18	?/25	1? 8	-- 8	-- ?
JUDITH William Stith	?-? 1707-1755	48	1738	21	17	? --	3	3	2
(Richard Randolph)									
RICHARD II Anne Meade	c.1725-1786 c.1731-1814	61 83	c.1751	26 20	25	-- 28	10	10	10

APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
MARY Archibald Cary	1727-1781 1721-1787	54 66	1744	17 23	37	-- 6	8	5	5
JANE Anthony Walke	1729-? 1726-1779	? 53	c.1750	21 24	5?	-- 1	1	1	1
BRETT Mary Scott	c.1732-1759 ?-?	27 ?	?	? ?	?	-- ?	4	4	?
RYLAND	1734-1784	50	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
ELIZABETH Richard K. Meade	1736-1773 1746-1805	37 58	1767	31 20	7	-- ?	?	--	--
JOHN Frances Bland	1742-1775 1752-1788	33 35	1769	26 16	6	-- 3	4	3	1
(Sir John Randolph)									
BEVERLEY Agatha Wormeley	1719-1764 1721-?	45 ?	1743	23 22	19	-- ?	2	--	--
PEYTON Elizabeth Harrison	c.1721-1775 c.1723-1783	54 60	1746	25 22	29	-- 7	--	--	--



APPENDIX A--Continued

Generation in America	Life Span		Marriage				No. Born	No. Mature	No. Marry
	Dates	Age	Date	Age	Length	Years Widow(er)			
MARY Philip Grymes	c.1724-1768 1722-1762	44 40	1742	18 20	19	6 --	10	8	?
JOHN Ariana Jenings  (Edward Randolph)	c.1727-1784 1730-1801	57 70	1751	24 20	33	-- 17	3	3	3
JOSEPH	?-?	?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
EDWARD Lucy Harrison	?-1757 ?-?	? ?	?	?	?	--	2	2	2
MARY Robert Yates	?-? 1715-1761	46	?	?	?	?	4	4	?
ELIZABETH William Yates Theodorick Bland	?-1785 1720-1764 1719-1784	? 43 64	?	? ? 57	? ? 7	13/1 --	8 --	6 --	? --

## APPENDIX B

## RANDOLPH MEMBERSHIP ON LOCAL VESTRIES: THREE GENERATIONS

<u>Name</u>	<u>Parish</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Bland, Richard	Martin's Brandon	?-1776?
Bland, Theodorick	Bristol	1740-1767?
Randolph, Beverley of Turkey Island	Henrico	1742-1750
Randolph, Isham	St. James Northam	?-1742?
Randolph, John of Bizarre	Henrico	1766-1770?
Randolph, Sir John	Bruton	1727-1737
Randolph, Peter	Henrico	1739-1767
Randolph, Peyton	Bruton	1749-1775?
Randolph, Richard I	Henrico	?-1748
Randolph, Richard II	Henrico	1748-1786?
Randolph, Ryland	Henrico	1759-1784?
Randolph, Thomas of Tuckahoe	St. James Northam	1721-1729
Randolph, William I	Henrico	service probable
Randolph, William II	Henrico	?-1737
Randolph, William III	Henrico	1748-1761
Randolph, William of Tuckahoe	St. James Northam	?-1745
Stith, John	Westover	?-?

APPENDIX C

RANDOLPH SERVICE IN THE COUNTIES: THREE GENERATIONS

<u>Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Bland, Richard	Prince George Halifax	Justice of the Peace Justice of the Peace	1733-1775 1757-1758
Bland, Theodorick	Prince George	Justice of the Peace Sheriff Clerk	1742-? 1747-? 1759-?
Randolph, Beverley of Gloucester	Gloucester	Justice of the Peace Sheriff	1743-1752? 1756-?
Randolph, Beverley of Turkey Island	Henrico	Justice of the Peace Sheriff	1734-1743; 1744-1750 1743
Randolph, Brett	Chesterfield	Surveyor of Roads	1753-1756?
Randolph, Isham	Goochland	Justice of the Peace	1734-1742
Randolph, John of Bizarre	Henrico	Justice of the Peace	1768-1770?
Randolph, John, the Loyalist	James City	Justice of the Peace	?-?
Randolph, Sir John	Gloucester	Justice of the Peace	?-?
Randolph, Peter	Henrico	Justice of the Peace	1741-1754
Randolph, Peyton	York	Justice of the Peace	1748-1775

APPENDIX C--Continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>County</u>	<u>Office</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Randolph, Richard I	Henrico	Justice of the Peace	1720-1748?
Randolph, Richard II	Henrico	Justice of the Peace Sheriff	1749-1751; 1753-? 1751-1753
Randolph, Ryland	Henrico	Justice of the Peace Sheriff	1757-1761; 1767-? 1761-1767
Randolph, Thomas of Dungeness	Goochland	Justice of the Peace	1765
Randolph, Thomas of Tuckahoe	Henrico	Under-sheriff	1703-1711
	Goochland	Justice of the Peace	1713-1728
		Justice of the Peace	1728-1729
Randolph, William I	Henrico	Clerk Justice of the Peace Coroner Sheriff	1674-1683 1683-1708 1686-1707 1708-1711
Randolph, William II	Charles City	Clerk	1705-?
	Henrico	Clerk	1710-1720
		Justice of the Peace	1720-1727
Randolph, William III	Henrico	Justice of the Peace	1748-1761
Randolph, William of Tuckahoe	Goochland	Justice of the Peace	1734-1745
Stith, John III	Charles City	Justice of the Peace	?-?

APPENDIX D

THE RANDOLPH FAMILY IN THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES: 1684-1776

<u>Name</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Banister, John*	IV	Dinwiddie	1766-1776
Beverley, William*	III	Orange Essex	1734-1740 1742-1749
Bland, Richard, Sr.*	II	Charles City Prince George	1693; 1700-1705 1705-1706
Bland, Richard	III	Prince George	1742-1776
Cary, Archibald*	III	Goochland	1748-1749 1756-1776
Chiswell, John*	III	Hanover Williamsburg	1742-1755 1756-1758
Currie, George*	III	Halifax	1752
Grymes, Philip L.	IV	Middlesex	1769-1770
Jefferson, Thomas	IV	Albemarle	1769-1776
Lee, Richard of Lee Hall	IV	Westmoreland	1758-1776
Marshall, Thomas*	V	Fauquier	1765
Munford, Robert, Sr.*	III	Prince George	1736-1742

APPENDIX D--Continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Munford, Robert, Jr.	IV	Mecklenburg	1765-1776
Randolph, Beverley of Gloucester	III	College of Wm & Mary	1744-1749
Randolph, Isham	II	Goochland	1738-1740
Randolph, John, the Loyalist	III	Lunenburg College of Wm & Mary	1769 1773-1775
Randolph, Sir John	II	College of Wm & Mary	1734-1737
Randolph, Richard I	II	Henrico	1727-1748
Randolph, Richard II	III	Henrico	1766-1772
Randolph, Thomas of Tuckahoe	II	Henrico	1720-1722
Randolph, Thomas Mann	IV	Goochland	1770
Randolph, Peter	III	Henrico	1749
Randolph, Peyton	III	Williamsburg College of Wm & Mary	1748-1749; 1761-1775 1752-1761
Randolph, William I	I	Henrico	1684-1698; 1703-1711
Randolph, William II	II	Henrico	1715-1726

APPENDIX D--Continued

<u>Name</u>	<u>Generation</u>	<u>Constituency</u>	<u>Dates</u>
Randolph, William III	III	Goochland Henrico	1746-1748 1752-1761
Randolph, William of Tuckahoe	III	Goochland	1742-1745
Stith, John, Jr.*	II	Charles City	1718-1720?
Stith, John III	III	Charles City	1720?-1735
Walke, Anthony	III	Princess Anne	1761-1765
Woodson, John	III	Goochland	1768-1776

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\*Randolph in-laws.

APPENDIX E  
SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

William Randolph I	1698
Sir John Randolph	1734-1737
Peyton Randolph	1766-1775



## APPENDIX F

## CLERKS OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

William Randolph I	1699-1703
William Randolph II	1703-1712
Sir John Randolph	1718-1734
Peter Randolph	1739-1749
William Randolph III	1749
John Randolph, the Loyalist	1752-1767

APPENDIX G  
ATTORNEYS GENERAL

William Randolph I	1694-1698
Peyton Randolph II	1743-1766
John Randolph, the Loyalist	1767-1775

APPENDIX H  
COUNCILLORS

William Randolph II                    1727-1742

Peter Randolph                        1749-1767

## APPENDIX J

THE RANDOLPH FAMILY AND THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY  
1693-1796

## I. Board of Visitors

William Randolph I	(1693-1711)
William Randolph II	(?-1742?)
Sir John Randolph	(?-1737?)
Peyton Randolph	(?-1775?)
Richard Bland	(?-1767)
Peter Randolph	(?-1767?)
Richard Randolph II	(?-1786?)

## II. Office of President

William Dawson (husband of Mary Stith)	(1744-1753)
William Stith	(1753-1755)
William Yates (husband of Elizabeth Randolph)	(1759-1764)

## III. Faculty

William Stith Master of the Grammar School	(1731-1736)
William Dawson Professor of Moral Theology	(1729-1744)

## IV. Students

## A. Second Generation

William Randolph II	before 1710
Isham Randolph	before 1710
Thomas Randolph of Tuckahoe	before 1710
Richard Randolph I	before 1710
Sir John Randolph	before 1715
Edward Randolph	before 1715

## B. Third Generation

Richard Bland	after 1720
Beverley Randolph of Gloucester	after 1730
Beverley Randolph of Turkey Island	after 1720

## B. Third Generation (Continued)

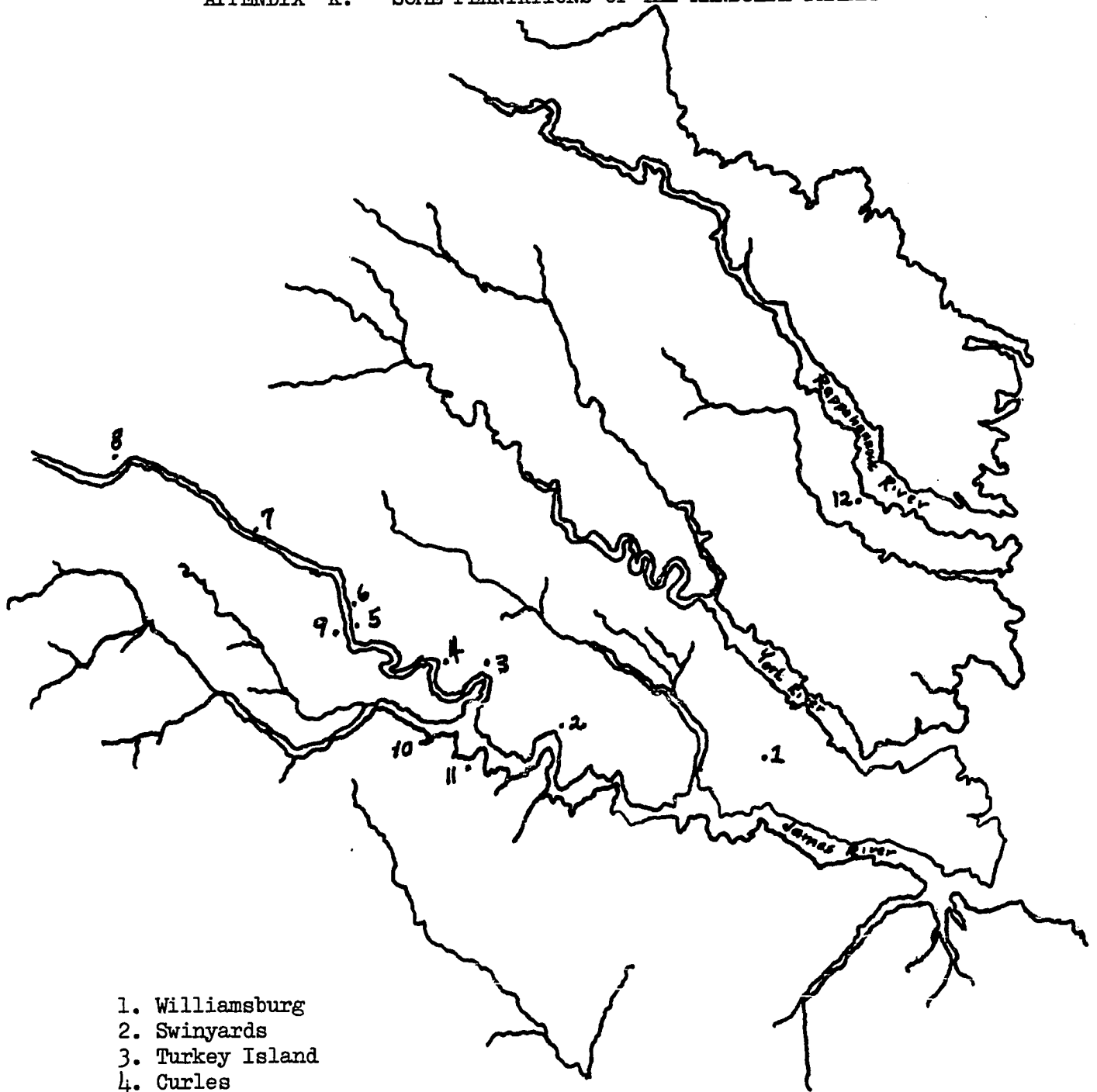
John Randolph the Loyalist	after 1735
John Randolph of Bizarre	after 1750
Peter Randolph	after 1730
Peyton Randolph	after 1730
Richard Randolph II	after 1735
William Randolph III	after 1730
William Randolph of Tuckahoe	after 1725
John Stith III	before 1715
William Stith	after 1720

## C. Fourth Generation

(c. 1750-1796)

Edward Bland  
 Peter Bland  
 Theodorick Bland, Jr.  
 William Bland  
 Philip Ludwell Grymes  
 Carter B. Harrison  
 Thomas Jefferson  
 Randolph Jefferson  
 Theodorick Munford  
 Thomas Price  
 Beverley Randolph of Chatsworth  
 Brett Randolph, Jr.  
 David Meade Randolph of Curles  
 Edmund Jenings Randolph  
 John Randolph of Roanoke  
 Peyton Randolph of Wilton  
 Richard Randolph III of Curles  
 Robert Randolph of Chatsworth  
 Ryland Randolph of Curles  
 Thomas Randolph, Jr., of Dungeness  
 Edward Randolph Yates  
 William Yates

## APPENDIX K: SOME PLANTATIONS OF THE RANDOLPH FAMILY



1. Williamsburg
2. Swinyards
3. Turkey Island
4. Curles
5. Wilton
6. Chatsworth
7. Tuckahoe
8. Dungeness
9. Amphill
10. Cawsons
11. Jordan's Point
12. Brandon

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## I. A NOTE ON SOURCES

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1888), has some data concerning Randolph the Loyalist and his immediate family.

By the end of the nineteenth century the genealogy of the Randolphs was no longer the exclusive domain of the family. In 1892 appeared The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, published under the auspices of the Virginia Historical Society. During the succeeding half-century the Virginia Magazine printed genealogical notices of the Randolphs and their allied families. A selective list is discussed here. "The Ancestors and Descendants of John Rolfe with Notices of Some Connected Families, Bolling-Randolph," VMHB, XXII (1914), 441-446, describes the relationship with Pocahontas, a connection of which the Randolphs were proud. A. J. Morrison, "An Account of the Time of the Births of the Children of William and Eliz'a Randolph," VMHB, XXV (1917), 403-404, was a transcription of a genealogical listing contained in a volume of Tillotson's Works which has since disappeared. "Lilburne-Randolph-Jefferson," VMHB, XXVI (1918), 321-324, is an investigation of the English background of Thomas Jefferson's mother. A most important piece is William B. Hall, "The Daughters of Colonel William Randolph of 'Turkey Island,' and Two Informative Wills," VMHB, XLV (1937), 254-255. Employing the wills of Katharine and Henry Isham, grandmother and uncle of the Randolph daughters, Hall noted that contrary to the usual genealogical custom of relegating females to the end of the family list, Mary Randolph Stith and Elizabeth Randolph Bland should probably be listed among the elder children of William Randolph of Turkey Island. Jefferson Randolph Anderson, "Tuckahoe and the Tuckahoe Randolphs," VMHB, XLV (1937), 55-86, 392-405, more comprehensive than its title indicates, deals with the entire Randolph family. Despite

some errors in names and dates, Anderson's genealogy remains useful. Robert Isham Randolph, "The sons of Isham Randolph of Dungeness," VMHB, XLV (1937), 383-386; and "The family of William Randolph of Bristol, England, second son of Isham Randolph of Dungeness, Virginia," VMHB, XLIX (1941), 78-80, were at the time of their publication the work of the leading authority on the branch of Isham Randolph. These articles have a valuable discussion of Isham's sons, but recent manuscript acquisitions, notably the Jefferson Family Bible in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia, supercede them.

The William and Mary Quarterly, edited by the historian-antiquarian, Lyon G. Tyler, appeared in 1892. In its early issues the Quarterly published genealogical notes on the Randolphs and their relatives. W. G. Stanard, "Brett-Isham-Randolph," WMQ, 1st series, I (1892), 108-109, investigated family antecedents in England and Virginia. Stanard published a fuller genealogy in "The Randolph Family," WMQ, 1st series, VII (1898), 122-125, 195-197; VIII (1899), 119-122, 263-265; IX (1900), 182-183, 250-252. Stanard, who was among the best informed chroniclers of his time, provided a fairly complete list of the Randolphs, but with some serious omissions.

Among the numerous genealogical studies pertaining to the Randolphs which appeared in the twentieth century, these are meritorious. Louise Perquet du Bellet, Some Prominent Virginia Families, 4 vols. (Lynchburg, Va., 1907), gives a convenient sketch of the Randolphs, but is confused about some names and dates. Robert Isham Randolph, The Randolphs of Virginia, a compilation of the descendants of William Randolph of Turkey Island, and his wife Mary Isham of Bermuda Hundred (Chicago? 1936?) lists the Randolphs and their numerous progeny until the mid-1930's.

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Literature about the families related by marriage to the Randolphs is enormous. For the most part, a discussion of it is beyond the scope of the present study, but some of it has special merit. Charles Campbell, ed., The Bland Papers, Being a Selection from the Manuscripts of Colonel Theodorick Bland, Jr., of Prince George County, Virginia, 2 vols. (Petersburg, Va., 1840), is a compilation of letters and genealogical notes. Much of the source material is available in manuscript in the Virginia Historical Society, but some of the material is available only in Campbell's book. W. M. Paxton, The Marshall Family (Cincinnati, 1885) is primarily concerned with Chief Justice John Marshall, his ancestors and descendants, but it has important information regarding Marshall's maternal grandmother, Mary Randolph of Tuckahoe. Edward Pleasants Valentine, Abstracts of Records in the Local and General Archives of Virginia, 4 vols. (Richmond, Va., n.d.) is a collection, chiefly from the Virginia county and local records pertaining to the several families to whom the compiler was related. Pleasants' transcriptions are generally accurate and even though most of his documents are now available at the Virginia State Library, the work contains copies of a few records that have disappeared since its publication. Fairfax Harrison, The Virginia Carys (New York, 1919), copies Bible

records and family history. While Harrison did not always include complete data for the manuscripts or list fully his sources, his work is accurate as far as it goes. John McGill, The Beverley Family of Virginia (Columbia, S.C., 1956), contains much information pertinent to a study of the Randolphs; despite its wealth of detail, it has almost no documentation.

Anyone undertaking a study of the Randolphs must consult several important manuscript collections which have become accessible during the last twenty-five years. These manuscripts are absolutely essential because there is no significant body of Randolph family papers. The public and personal papers of the Randolphs are scarce and widely scattered.

Among the most important sources for a history of the Randolph family is the Virginia Colonial Records Project. Begun in 1957 to commemorate the 350th anniversary of the founding of Jamestown, the purpose of the project is to microfilm Virginia records in English depositories and libraries. The project included not only official government documents, but private and commercial correspondence as well. The material, which has yet to be indexed, can be consulted at the Virginia State Library in Richmond, the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia in Charlottesville, and the Colonial Williamsburg Research Department in Williamsburg.

Another significant source is the Virginia county records, most of which have been microfilmed and deposited in the Virginia State Library. Also among the Library's collections are the records of the Council of Virginia, the House of Burgesses, the Virginia State Land Office, the United States Circuit Court of Virginia, Public Service

Claims, local parishes, and family Bibles.

An extensive and well indexed collection of Virginiana is found in the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond. Besides many individual manuscripts, two groups of papers are especially important to a study of the Randolphs: The Bland Papers, Campbell Collection; and the Jenings Collection. The Society also owns many of the Randolph family portraits.

Among the holdings of the University of Virginia are the Bryan Family Papers which contain letters of the Randolphs and the Blands. Here too are the Edgehill-Randolph Papers, the Sabine Hall Papers of Landon Carter, and the Family Bible of Thomas Jefferson containing data of his Randolph relatives.

The College of William and Mary holds the surviving college records. The Tucker-Coleman Collection has some significant Randolph pieces and is thoroughly indexed for convenient use. Copies of the Dawson Papers, the originals of which are in the Library of Congress, can be found here. There is also a good collection of Randolph family portraits.

Last, but certainly not least, is the Colonial Williamsburg Research Department Library which has manuscripts relating to the Randolphs. Even more important is the matchless microfilm collection of Virginiana containing documents from depositories throughout the United States, Canada, and Great Britain. This collection is supplemented by a sizeable selection of photostats and typescripts. There is no more convenient place to study colonial Virginia.

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#### Albemarle County

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- Will Book #2 (1752-1785)

#### Amelia County

- Deed Book #3 (1747-1750)
- Deed Book #5 (1749-1757)
- Deed Book #7 (1759-1762)
- Deed Book #8 (1762-1765)
- Deed Book #16 (1780-1784)
- Will Book #3 (1780-1786)
- Will Book #4 (1793-1799)

#### Brunswick County

- Deed Book #4 (1750-1764)
- Deed Book #5 (1751-1755)
- Deed Book #6 (n.d.)

#### Caroline County

- Order Book (1732-1740)
- Minute Book (1774-1781)

#### Charles City County

- Court Orders (1737-1757)
- Court Orders (1758-1762)

#### Charlotte County

- Order Book (1771-1773)

## Chesterfield County

Deed Book #1 (1749-1753)  
 Deed Book #2 (1753-1755)  
 Deed Book #3 (1755-1759)  
 Deed Book #4 (1767-1771)  
 Deed Book #5 (1764-1768)  
 Deed Book #6 (1768-1772)  
 Deed Book #7 (1772-1774)  
 Deed Book #8 (1774-1778)  
 Deed Book #9 (1779-1783)  
 Deed Book #10 (1781-1785)  
 Deed Book #13 (1793-1796)  
 Order Book #5 (1771-1775)  
 Will Book #2 (1765-1774)  
 Will Book #3 (1774-1785)  
 Will Book #4 (1785-1800)

## Cumberland County

Deed Book #1 (1749-1752)  
 Deed Book #3 (1760-1765)  
 Deed Book #5 (1771-1778)  
 Order Book (1752-1758)  
 Will Book #1 (1749-1769)

## Essex County

Deed Book #19 (1728-1733)  
 Deed Book #23 (1742-1745)  
 Deed Book #25 (1749-1752)  
 Wills #10 (1754-1756)  
 Wills #11 (1757-1762)

## Fauquier County

Deed Book #5 (1772-1774)  
 Deed Book #6 (1774-1778)

## Goochland County

Deeds Etc. #1 (1728-1734)  
 Deed Book #2 (1734-1736)  
 Deed Book #3 (1737-1742)  
 Deed Book #4 (1741-1742)  
 Deed Book #5 (1745-1749)  
 Deed Book #6 (1748-1755)  
 Deed Book #8 (1759-1765)  
 Marriage Register (1730-1835)  
 Order Book #1 (1728-1730)  
 Order Book #2 (1730-1731)  
 Order Book #3 (1731-1735)  
 Order Book #4 (1735-1741)  
 Order Book #5 (1741-1744)  
 Order Book #6 (1744-1749)  
 Order Book #10 (1765-1766)

## Halifax County

Pleas #2 (1755-1759)  
 Pleas #3 (1759-1762)

## Henrico County

Miscellaneous Court Records. 7 vols. (1650-1807)  
 Deeds and Wills (1677-1692)  
 Deeds and Wills (1688-1697)  
 Deeds and Wills (1697-1704)  
 Deeds and Wills (1697-1699)  
 Deeds and Wills (1706-1709)  
 Deeds and Wills (1710-1714)  
 Deeds and Wills (1714-1718)  
 Deeds and Wills (1725-1737)  
 Deed Book (1744-1748)  
 Deed Book (1748-1750)  
 Deeds and Wills (1750-1767)  
 Deed Book (1767-1774)  
 Order Book and Wills (1678-1693)  
 Order Book (1694-1701)  
 Court Orders (1707-1709)  
 Court Orders (1710-1714)  
 Court Minute Book (1719-1724)  
 Order Book (1737-1746)  
 Court Minute Book (1752-1755)  
 Court Orders (1755-1762)  
 Court Orders (1763-1767)  
 Court Orders (1767-1769)  
 Order Book #1 (1781-1784)  
 Order Book #2 (1784-1787)  
 Will Book #1 (1781-1787)

## Louisa County

Deed Book A (1742-1754)  
 Deed Book B (1754-1759)

## Lunenburg County

Order Book #1 (1746-1748)  
 Deed Book #11 (1767-1771)

## Middlesex County

Marriage Register (1740-1854)  
 Will Book E (1760-1762)

## Prince Edward County

Deed Book #5 (1772-1778)

## Prince George County

Deeds and Wills (1713-1728)  
 Deeds and Wills (1759-1760)  
 Minute Book (1737-1740)

## Prince William County

Deed Book E (1740-1741)  
Minute Book (1752-1753)

## Princess Anne County

Deed Book #17 (1780-1782)

## Surry County

Court Orders (1691-1718)  
Court Orders (1744-1749)

## Westmoreland County

Deeds and Wills #10 (1744-1748)  
Deeds and Wills #14 (1761-1768)

## York County

Orders, Wills, etc. XIV (1709-1716)  
Orders, Wills, etc. XV (1716-1720)  
Orders, Wills, etc. XVI (1720-1729)  
Orders, Wills, etc. XVII (1729-1732)  
Wills and Inventories XVIII (1732-1740)  
Wills and Inventories XIX (1740-1746)  
Wills and Inventories XX (1745-1759)  
Wills and Inventories XXI (1760-1771)  
Wills and Inventories XXII (1771-1783)  
Wills and Inventories XXIII (1783-1811)  
Deeds and Bonds III (1713-1729)  
Deeds IV (1729-1740)  
Deeds V (1741-1754)  
Deeds VI (1755-1763)  
Deeds VII (1763-1769)  
Deeds VIII (1769-1777)  
Deed Book #6 (1777-1791)  
Judgments and Orders (1746-1752)  
Judgments and Orders (1752-1754)  
Judgments and Orders (1759-1763)  
Judgments and Orders (1763-1765)  
Order Book (1765-1768)  
Order Book (1768-1770)  
Judgments and Orders (1770-1772)  
Judgments and Orders (1772-1774)  
Order Book #4 (1774-1784)

4. Virginia Land Office Records

Patent Book #6 (1666-1679)  
Patent Book #7 (1679-1689)  
Patent Book #8 (1689-1695)  
Patent Book #9 (1695-1700)  
Patent Book #11 (1719-1724)  
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 Patent Book #23 (1743-1745)  
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