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Biographical Sketches of Anglican Clergymen Trained at the College of William and Mary, 1729-1776: A Study of James Blair's Plan and its Result

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ANGLICAN CLERGYMEN
TRAINED AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY,
1729-1776:
A STUDY OF JAMES BLAIR'S PLAN AND ITS RESULT

A Thesis

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
Master of Arts

by

Susan Louise Patterson

1973

APPROVAL SHEET

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

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effectiveness of James Blair's plan to improve the quantity and the quality of the Anglican clergymen who served the parishes of colonial Virginia in the eighteenth century. Blair believed that the establishment of the divinity school provided for in the charter of the College of William and Mary (granted in 1693) would attract the younger sons of the gentry by making the position of the clergyman more respected.

An examination of College and church records indicated that thirty-two men had attended the College and became Anglican ministers. Biographical sketches of these men, which surveyed date and place of birth, family, education, and the parishes they served as ministers, provided the data for determining the effectiveness of the plan. (In several cases, however, the absence of vestry records for the crucial years when "William and Mary men" served these parishes inhibits the declaration of unqualified statements regarding the men's competence as ministers.)

The evidence indicates that Blair's plan was not completely successful. Classes at the divinity school were not begun until 1729, and Governor Thomas Jefferson abolished the divinity school in his reorganization of the College in the late 1770s, so the school operated only forty-seven years. The limited number of graduates--just thirty-two--indicates that the quantity of ministers serving the Virginia parishes was not greatly increased. Information is available on the backgrounds of seventeen (thirteen of whom were related to Anglican ministers already serving Virginia parishes). Although this still leaves fifteen men about whom information is too sparse to warrant comment, it is apparent that the younger sons of the gentry were not attracted to the ministry in a colony where the nonenforcement of primogeniture and entail made it possible for fathers to leave even younger sons land.

Blair's plan was probably successful in improving the quality of ministers, however. Of these thirty-two men, only three were somewhat less than satisfactory as ministers, and the evidence is unclear in two of those cases. It appears that Virginia, especially those counties in the southeast, near the College, benefitted from James Blair's effort to improve the caliber of men serving the Anglican church in eighteenth-century Virginia.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES OF ANGLICAN CLERGYMEN
TRAINED AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

INTRODUCTION

In 1689 Bishop of London Henry Compton appointed James Blair commissary for the colony of Virginia. Blair had come to Virginia four years earlier as an Anglican minister for Henrico County, and during that time had recognized the need for a college which could train Anglican clergy for Virginia. The establishment of this college was the paramount goal in the early years of his commissaryship. By 1693 it was on its way to realization with the granting of the college charter by King William and Queen Mary.

Historians recognize that the College of William and Mary was established to train Anglican clergymen for Virginia, but no one has gone beyond this assumption to discover if the College succeeded at this level. This study attempts to determine who the graduates of the College's divinity school were, in which parishes they served, and how competent they were as ministers of the Church in Virginia.

The College of William and Mary was chartered in 1693; however, the first known divinity student was not ordained until 1731. Chapter one explains the factors responsible for this delay as it surveys the founding of the College and the earlier years of the eighteenth century when the divinity school was finally established.

Once a divinity student had been ordained, a process which required a voyage to London, he returned to an environment that was shaped by a variety of forces--the House of Burgesses, the governor, the commissary, the vestry, and not least, the growing number of dissenters. Chapter two examines these forces.

The body of the study is concerned with the biographies of the thirty-two men who attended the College of William and Mary, traveled to London for ordination, and returned to Virginia to preach in the established church of the oldest English colony in North America. These biographies form chapter three.

The evaluation of these clergymen constitutes chapter four. Information on some was sparse; therefore it seemed valid to consider the clergymen as a group rather than to attempt to formulate judgments about individual men. The exception to this plan will be those men for whom special evidence exists; in that event the information will be included in the biography.

CHAPTER I:
THE DIVINITY SCHOOL ESTABLISHED

On July 1, 1722, the Reverend Mr. DeButts wrote to his friend, the Reverend Mr. Berriman:

some of my brethren clergy are worthy good men, but as to others I'll say nothing only I can't forbear wishing it what good doctrine they preach in the pulpit were not more than unpreached by their behavior out of it.¹

Two years later, Governor Hugh Drysdale wrote to the bishop of London informing him that he had just assigned a minister to a parish, concluding with the remarks:

I could wish we were indulged with a few more of the Same Profession. For I must assure your Lordship the Colony labours under great difficulties for want of Clergymen: Several Parishes lie unspoiled and has been in that Condition years past, which gives Occasion to Sectaries . . . Locating among us.²

As these two statements graphically indicate, eighteenth-

¹Lan. DeButts to Rev. Mr. Berriman, July 1, 1722, Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library, 13:133 (Virginia Colonial Records Project microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, Williamsburg, Virginia), hereafter cited as Fulham Papers.

²Hugh Drysdale to the bishop of London, July 10, 1724, Fulham Papers, 15:90.

century Virginia needed not only more clergymen, but also better ones. The colony, however, was not getting them. The bishop of London's commissary in Virginia, the Reverend James Blair, had to determine why.

One of the most recent historians to deal with colonial education, Lawrence A. Cremin, succinctly summarized--with the help of hindsight--the reasons for the reluctance of eighteenth-century ministers to serve in Virginia: "The harsh realities of the colonial environment," where "living conditions were rude; travel was difficult; the climate was debilitating; and poverty, hunger, discomfort, and disease seemed ubiquitous."³ Parke Rouse, Jr., in his biography of Blair, noted additional handicaps: Virginia's reputation for godlessness and the lack of tenure, and hence security, for clergymen. There was also no missionary tradition in the Anglican Church, which would at least console the spirit while the body suffered such discomforts.⁴ Undoubtedly Blair recognized all of these factors, but mere recognition did little to secure more men. In 1655 there were fifty parishes in the colony and only ten ministers; even by the

³American Education: The Colonial Experience, 1607-1783 (New York, 1970), 153-154, 344.

⁴James Blair of Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1971), 54-55, 143.

1690s only 50 percent of the parishes were filled.⁵

Blair had first arrived in Virginia in 1685, sent over by Bishop of London Henry Compton, but it was his appointment as commissary in 1689 that provided him with the influence and power to correct a situation which left half of Virginia's churches unfilled. The son of a Scottish minister, Blair had attended Marischal College, Aberdeen, before going to Edinburgh University, where he received his Master of Arts degree. In 1679 Blair was ordained minister of the Church of Scotland upon completion of his theological studies. In 1682, however, he was in London as a clerk of the master of rolls: he had lost his Scottish parish because of his opposition to King James II. From London Blair embarked for Virginia, where he first served at Henrico Parish; here he saved money, bought one hundred acres of land from William Byrd, and married Sarah Harrison, daughter of Benjamin Harrison of Wakefield, Surry County, thus aligning himself with Virginia's gentry. The new governor, Francis Nicholson, brought the news of Blair's appointment as commissary when he arrived in early 1690.⁶

Blair had already decided the solution to the problem of ministerial supply was the establishment of a college with its own divinity school; he found support for this view in

⁵William Meade, Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia (Philadelphia, 1906), I, 14-15, and George Maclaren Brdyon, Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions under which It Grew, II (Richmond, Va., 1952), 55.

⁶Rouse, James Blair, 3-37.

the General Assembly and with Governor Nicholson.⁷ In June 1691 Blair left to secure a college charter in London, where he received further support from both church and state officials. On November 12, 1691, he was granted an audience with King William and Queen Mary who approved the project. After fifteen more months of delay and politics, the charter was issued on February 8, 1693. With the charter came monetary stipends that would enable the College of William and Mary to get started: £1,985 14 s. 10 d. from the colony's quitrents; revenue from a duty (a penny a pound) placed on all tobacco exported from Virginia and Maryland to any other colony; control of the office of surveyor general of land--a lucrative office since a fee was charged for the surveying of land sold in Virginia; and twenty thousand acres of land.⁸

The formal ceremony for laying the foundation cornerstone occurred on August 8, 1695, and by April 1697 the grammar school was operating. It was for boys eight to fifteen, who were taught reading, writing, Latin, and

⁷From the founding of the colony Virginians had recognized the need for a college in Virginia. For accounts of their early attempts and failure see Herbert B. Adams, The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education . . . (Washington, D.C., 1887), esp. 11-14, and Richard L. Morton, Colonial Virginia (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1960), I, 338.

⁸Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 347, and House, James Blair, 44-71.

Greek.⁹ Unfortunately, on October 9, 1705, fire destroyed the existing structure, and rebuilding took approximately eleven more years,¹⁰ an effort hampered by the absence of the original enthusiasm which had made the additional monetary contributions possible.

During these years of slow, painstaking rebuilding Blair became even more convinced that the only salvation for the Church in Virginia was the fulfillment of the purpose of the College, as stated in the charter:

to the end that the Church of Virginia may be furnished with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel . . . to the Glory of Almighty God, to make, found, and establish a . . . perpetual College of Divinity.¹¹

On July 17, 1724, Blair wrote to Bishop of London Edmund Gibson:

The first is upon the Subject of providing this Countrey with good Ministers; . . . and the Encouraging the Education of Young Divines in our College in Virginia. My Lord, I apprehend this would have two effects as to Religion and the

⁹Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 351-352, and Lyon G. Tyler, Early Courses and Professors of William and Mary College (Williamsburg, Va., 1904), I.

¹⁰Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 398.

¹¹Henry Hartwell, et al., The Present State of Virginia and the College (1724), ed. Hunter D. Farish (Williamsburg, Va., 1940), 72-73.

Clergy . . . One is, that we would be sure to have men of much better lives preferred to the Ministry; for whereas now we are often imposed upon by Counterfeits.¹²

Such a program would cost £400--£200 for two professors' salaries per year and £20 for each of ten students.¹³

The charter had provided that until the College was organized with a complement of a president and six professors the government was to be under the direction of the trustees appointed by the charter--a group of men composed of the governor of the colony and representatives from the Council, the House of Burgesses, and the clergy.¹⁴ Upon the fulfillment of this requirement, which occurred in 1729, the physical property of the College was to be turned over to the president and masters (professors) of the College, along with the right to elect a burgess.¹⁵

The organized College was divided into four schools: (1) a grammar school; (2) a philosophical school; (3) a divinity school; and (4) an Indian school, to which the male children of neighboring Indian tribes were sent. To enter the philosophy school, the student had to pass an examination at the end of grammar school. The philosophy school

¹²James Blair to the bishop of London, July 17, 1724, Fulham Papers, 15:62.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, 346-347.

¹⁵Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 37.

required four years of study to obtain a Bachelor of Arts degree, seven years for a Master of Arts degree. Upon completion of four years, the student could enter divinity school.¹⁶ The divinity school had two professors, one of whom taught Hebrew and the Old and New Testaments, and the other dealt with controversies on church doctrines and heresies.¹⁷ At the end of two years, the student with the proper recommendations could become an ordained Anglican clergyman (once he had journeyed to London for ordination), able to serve in any of the English colonies.

This college was James Blair's solution to the disastrous situation that the Church in Virginia faced as the eighteenth century progressed. His goal was the creation of a viable institution, capable of training a clergy for Virginia and of educating its other students, the sons of Virginia's gentry who would spend their lives on plantations.¹⁸ Ultimately he wanted it to be impossible for any more John Langs to write to future bishops of London letters which included passages like the following:

¹⁶Tyler, Early Courses and Professors, 2-3.

¹⁷Lyon G. Tyler, The College of William and Mary in Virginia: Its History and Work, 1693-1907 (Richmond, Va., 1907), 21-29.

¹⁸James Blair to the bishop of London, July 17, 1724, Fulham Papers, 15:62.

I observe the people here . . .
 supienly ignorant in the very
 principles of Religion and very
 debauch't'd in Morals: This I
 apprehend is owing to the Gen-
 eral Neglect of the Clergy, in
 not taking pains to instruct youth
 in the Fundamentals of Religion.
 . . . The great cause [of this] I
 humbly conceive to be the Clergy:
 the Sober part becoming Slothful
 and Negligent and others so
 debauch't'd that they are the fore-
 most [leaders in] . . . Common
 Vices and this brings with it
 other indecencies.¹⁹

¹⁹John Lang to the bishop of London, Feb. 17, 1725/6,
 Fulham Papers, 15:68.

CHAPTER II:
VIRGINIA AND THE CLERGY

In the years from 1731, when the bishop of London ordained the first divinity student of the College of William and Mary, to 1776, when Virginia ceased to be a colony and ceased to have--for all practical purposes--an established church, Virginia was a growing colony. This growth was dual, a rapidly expanding population coupled with an increased formation of counties and parishes. Originally counties had been synonymous with parishes, but as population grew, the people had formed separate parishes within the counties. At the same time the formation of counties expanded. For instance, in 1720 Spotsylvania County was formed from Essex County, which had been established in 1692, and King William and King and Queen counties, which had been established in 1702; fifteen years later, in 1735, Spotsylvania County lost part of its land as Orange County was formed. In 1738 Frederick County was created from Augusta County and part of Orange County. The process continued, large counties decreasing in size as the House of Burgesses took sections from them, combining these with sections from other counties or from previously unsettled and unmarked lands. The end result was the same: an in-

crease in the number of Virginia counties.¹ The same situation existed with regard to parish development.

Because of the rural nature of Virginia life, the Church originally created large parishes, thus bringing together enough residents so that the cost of a minister (17,280 pounds of tobacco per year) per parishioner would be minimal.² The parishes taxed each tithable--free white males over sixteen and all slaves, both male and female over that age--a varying amount per year to pay the salary of a minister and to provide for the church; quite obviously, the larger the number of people, the smaller the levy. The parishes averaged between two hundred to five hundred miles square, about half the size of the counties. Within this area the population varied from two to four thousand persons.³ For example, Frederick Parish, formed in 1738, included the present-day counties of Frederick, Clarke, Warren, Shenandoah, and part of Page in Virginia as well as Berkeley, Jefferson, Morgan, Mineral, Hampshire, and

¹J. Devereux Weeks, Dates of Origins of Virginia Counties and Municipalities (Charlottesville, Va., 1967), passim.

²Hartwell et al., ed. Farish, Present State of the College, lv.

³Edward Lewis Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia . . . with Brief Biographical Sketches of the Colonial Clergy in Virginia (Milwaukee, Wis., 1927), 85.

Hardy counties in West Virginia.⁴ The general plan was to establish a "mother church" at some relatively convenient point and then to construct various "chapels of ease and comfort" about ten miles distant from each other, so that all the people within the parish would have a church fairly close to their homes. The parish, however, could seldom construct enough chapels for all its parishioners; therefore, within a given parish, numerous people paid a levy but received no benefit from it.⁵ Where there were such chapels, the ministers could serve them only infrequently, which again meant paying for services not received. This situation was most helpful to the dissenters, most harmful to the Established Church.⁶

It is difficult to discuss the world of the Anglican clergyman without consideration of the role of the dissenters, especially during the eighteenth century. Regretably, competent, up-to-date analyses of this problem are lacking--no major monograph on the Great Awakening in Virginia has been published since 1930 when Wesley

⁴Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 122.

⁵R. E. Griffith, Sr., "Notes on the Early History of Frederick Parish, 1744," Clarke County Historical Association, Proceedings, III (1943), 6-7.

⁶Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 470.

Gewehr's book appeared. Richard L. Morton's study of colonial Virginia and George Maclaren Brydon's research on the colonial Anglican Church do not deal either directly or at great length with the dissenters.⁷

It is clear, however, that between the 1730s and the 1750s, toleration was the rule in the western areas of the colony. Governor William Gooch and the members of the Council wished the frontier settled, to increase property values and to serve as a buffer zone away from the capital. The Scotch-Irish from Pennsylvania were available, but non-Anglican. Therefore, these dissenters were exempted from tithes until their settlements were established, allowed representation on the vestry until a majority (seven) of Church of England men were present, and permitted to construct their own churches while the Council granted licenses to their clergy.⁸

George Whitefield, the Great Awakening, and the resulting split into New Side and Old Side Presbyterians and New Light and Old Light Baptists radically altered this peaceful

⁷Wesley M. Gewehr, The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790 (Durham, N.C., 1930); Morton, Colonial Virginia, I, II, passim; Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, passim. There is, however, a new biography of Samuel Davies, Virginia's leading dissenter: George William Pilcher, Samuel Davies, Apostle of Dissent in Colonial Virginia (Knoxville, Tenn., 1971).

⁸Gewehr, Great Awakening, 41-42; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 754; Arthur Pierce Middleton, "Anglican Virginia: The Established Church of the Old Dominion, 1607-1786" (1954 research report, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, Williamsburg, Va.), 150-151.

coexistence. From the 1750s on, lay preachers wandered throughout Virginia, men to whom licenses, parish boundaries, and doctrines and clergymen of the Church of England meant little. Samuel Davies, the New Side Presbyterian minister, accused Anglican clergymen of being "stupidly serene and unconcerned, as though their hearers were crowding promiscuously close to heaven, and there were little or no danger; that they address themselves to perishing multitudes in cold blood."⁹

"Cold blood" does not describe the emotionalism of the new breed of either ministers or lay preachers. Presbyterians easily had 300 communicants by the mid-1750s (100 families in Hanover County, 20 to 30 in Henrico, 10 to 12 in Caroline, 15 to 20 in Goochland, and the same number in Louisa, Cumberland, and New Kent counties). In 1770 the Baptists had only seven churches; by 1771 they had fourteen churches with 1,335 members. In 1774 their membership was over four thousand.¹⁰ Thus the years during which the clergymen educated at the College of William and Mary played an effective role in the colony were the years of the Anglican Church's greatest challenge in terms of competing religions.

⁹Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 753, and Middleton, "Anglican Virginia," 157-165.

¹⁰Gewehr, Great Awakening, 70-72, 117.

The colonial government regulated the Anglican Church and its clergy and coped with the tangential problems of population growth, westward expansion, and religious dissent through four agencies: governor, assembly, commissary, and vestry.

The governor's role was largely technical and thus minimal. He was lay ordinary, appointed by the king; he received ministers' orders, recommended the men to parish assignments, issued licenses for marriages, and probated wills.¹¹

The House of Burgesses controlled the Church more directly; its committees established new parishes, consolidated parishes, defined parish boundaries, fixed the salaries of ministers, outlined requirements for the collection of parish taxes, and prescribed the duties of ministers.¹²

Virginia law was most explicit on what was required of a minister of its established church. Because of the lack of effective ecclesiastical discipline, the lawmakers apparently felt such exactness was more necessary than

¹¹Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 470, and William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia," in James Morton Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), 122-123.

¹²Seiler, "Anglican Parish," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 152, and Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 58.

usual. The following list summed up the duties of the clergy:

- (1) The minister shall preach one sermon every Sunday of the year.
- (2) The minister shall hold confirmation classes one half hour before evening prayer service.
- (3) The minister shall administer Holy Communion three times a year.
- (4) The minister shall keep a book recording every christening, burial, and wedding.
- (5) The minister shall visit the sick.
- (6) All marriages not solemnized by a minister of the Church shall be void in the eyes of the law.
- (7) The minister shall publish information with regard to the times of voting at election time.¹³

The commissary was the representative of the bishop of London in whose diocese the colonies were assigned.¹⁴ The bishop of London, as a member of the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations (Board of Trade), influenced the instructions that were sent to the governors of the colonies,¹⁵ but that was as far as his practical influence and help extended. This was disastrous for the Anglican Church, for as George M. Brydon has noted:

¹³William Waller Hening, The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in the Year 1619 (Richmond, Va., 1809-1823), II, 49, and Charles S. Sydnor, American Revolutionaries in the Making: Political Practices in Washington's Virginia (New York, 1965), 25.

¹⁴For details on the bishop of London's authority (or lack of it) over the colonies, see Arthur Lyon Cross, The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies (New York, 1902).

¹⁵Carl Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689-1775 (New York, 1962), 178.

The Bishop is absolutely necessary to the existence of the Church of England. No man can be admitted to its ministry except by Episcopal ordination, and he alone can depose an unworthy man from the ministry. . . . The Church in Virginia, being without a Bishop during all the colonial period, was consequently without a spiritual head or effective leadership.¹⁶

The commissarial system was established to rectify the problems generated by the lack of an American bishop. The commissary's powers were, however, limited. Edmund Gibson, bishop of London from 1723 to 1748, wrote a letter to a commissary in 1728, listing the positive aspects of the job: checking on irregularities in a clergyman's life, holding a visitation (meeting) of the clergymen annually, checking on parsonage houses and glebes, inquiring into licenses of the clergy in the district, following the act of assembly with regard to the "Suppression of Vice and Immorality among the Laity," informing the bishop of undue hardships the clergy labored under, and encouraging dutiful behavior toward the king.¹⁷ Not included in this list were such

¹⁶George M. Brdyon, ed., "The Virginia Clergy: Governor Gooch's Letters to the Bishop of London, 1717-1729," Virginia Magazine of History and Biography, XXXII (1924), 213.

¹⁷Cross, Anglican Episcopate, 295-297, and Alison Gilbert Olson, "The Commissaries of the Bishop of London in Colonial Politics," in Alison Gilbert Olson and Richard Maxwell Brown, eds., Anglo-American Political Relations, 1675-1775 (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), 111.

important power as collating ministers to benefices, granting licenses for marriages, probating wills, ordaining ministers, and confirming new members. The first three were held by the governor of the colony; the latter two required a trip to England.¹⁸ Thus the commissary had no power to act as a bishop, and what power he did have, he divided with the governor. The commissaries were ineffective. The reaction to the appointment of a commissary in Pennsylvania was very similar to the reaction in Virginia: "The patent of the late Bishop did not seem to justify his commissary in any proceeding, the Laity laughed at it, and the Clergy seemed to despise it."¹⁹

The assembly met in Williamsburg; it was impossible for it, as a whole, to know precisely what events were occurring in the individual parishes even if it had had the time to deal with them. The same stricture applied to the governor and commissary, both of whom were headquartered in the colonial capital also. The division of duties between the governor and commissary made each only partially effective. The result was the development of a powerful vestry system which governed the Church.

Originally the county court may have appointed the

¹⁸Cremin, American Education, 334.

¹⁹Olson, "Commissaries of the Bishop of London," in Olson and Brown, eds., Anglo-American Political Relations, 112.

vestrymen (twelve for each parish), but by 1645 the vestrymen were elected by the freemen of the county, and by 1662 the vestries had the right to select their own replacements,²⁰ making them self-perpetuating bodies. (It was possible for the House of Burgesses to dissolve a given vestry, but only for grave cause.²¹) The vestry had civil as well as religious duties, a carryover from the English parish system. The former included processioning the land (checking and re-establishing boundaries between the plantations and farms) and caring for the orphaned, the sick, and the helpless.²² The religious duties involved administering the affairs of the church, acting as a grand jury in presenting cases of moral conduct, establishing the parish levy,²³ and, of course, the hiring and firing of the minister. It was in connection with this function that the vestry's influence was most strongly felt.

The Church of England practiced induction, the process which granted a minister tenure in his position. It was possible to remove a dishonorable or immoral rector once

²⁰Seiler, "Anglican Parish," in Smith, ed., Seventeenth-Century America, 127.

²¹Griffith, "Frederick Parish," Clarke County Historical Association, Proceedings, III (1943), 6-7.

²²Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 424-428.

²³Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 466.

he was inducted, but such disciplinary action demanded an ecclesiastical trial before a bishop. Since Virginia had no bishop, it was impossible to get rid of a minister once he was inducted. The vestries, in order to retain control over their ministers, refused to initiate induction, producing insecurity for the ministers.²⁴ Edward Chilton, Henry Hartwell, and James Blair in their Present State of Virginia and the College roundly condemned such practice as a means to keep the ministers in "Subjection and Dependence" as well as to force them to "have a special Care how they preach'd against Vices that any Great Man of the Vestry was guilty of,"²⁵ but such action on the part of the vestry was upheld by the king's attorney general as early as 1703.²⁶ Thus the vestry continued the practice of renewing the rector's contract on a yearly basis, giving no security to the minister, even if he had proved himself effective.

The above sections dealt with the required duties of the

²⁴William A. R. Goodwin, The Record of Bruton Parish Church, ed. Mary F. Goodwin (Richmond, Va., 1941), 17.

²⁵Hartwell et al., ed. Farish, Present State of the College, 66-67.

²⁶Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 469.

clergymen and briefly discussed the method of church government. In a sense it is a bleak picture: a commissary and governor with divided powers, neither with effective control over the Church; the assembly operating out of Williamsburg, unaware (or uncaring) of the manifold problems involved in day-to-day operations of the Church; the vestry denying the ministers even the relative security possible in eighteenth-century Virginia.

It was not, however, a totally dark picture. In 1748 the assembly had collated past laws on ministers' salaries to upgrade the social position of the clergy and to clarify the financial responsibilities of the vestry. The major provisions of the law were:

- (1) An annual salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco and cask, with an allowance for shrinkage (which brought the figure to about 17,280 pounds) shall be provided.
- (2) The parish levy shall be laid the first day of December.
- (3) Glebe land of two hundred acres shall be purchased for the parish's manse, with house, kitchen, barn, stable, dairy, meat house, corn house, and garden provided.
- (4) The minister is responsible for the upkeep of the above, unless the vestry is convinced the required repairs were not the cause of the minister's neglect; upon which case the vestry shall pay for the repairs.²⁷

Hugh Jones in his Present State of Virginia figured that a salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco amounted to an

²⁷Hening, Statutes, VI, 88-90.

average salary of £100 sterling per year, in the counties where tobacco was top grade.²⁸ (West of the Blue Ridge Mountains, however, the average salary was closer to £50 per annum--the law allowed payment of three farthings per pound regardless of market price.²⁹) In addition to the prescribed salary, the clergymen also received "20s. for every wedding by license and 5 s. for every wedding by banns, with 40 s. for every funeral sermon."³⁰ The law thus guaranteed the clergymen the status the colonial leaders thought the ministers deserved--that of gentlemen.³¹

The foregoing information provides a cursory look at eighteenth-century Virginia, giving the reader an idea of the conditions under which the Anglican clergymen of this period operated. These conditions were neither intolerable nor ideal. But they were the conditions under which the clergymen were assigned parishes, led the worship, married their parishioners, baptized their children, and buried their dead, while establishing their own families.

Who were these people who lived in this milieu, who struggled to preserve Virginia as the stronghold of the Church of England?

²⁸Hugh Jones, The Present State of Virginia . . . North Carolina, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1956), 100. John J. McCusker, member of the Department of History at the University of Maryland, has calculated that a salary of £100 would be equal to that made by an ordinary laborer in ten years.

²⁹Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 247-248.

³⁰Jones, Present State of Virginia, 100.

³¹Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 58.

CHAPTER III:
THE CLERGYMEN

The clergymen discussed here are those Anglicans who attended the College of William and Mary. This was the first criterion for choosing the men, and it was developed using A Provisional List of the Alumni . . . of The College of William and Mary . . . in conjunction with Frederick L. Weis's The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina.¹ The latter book is a listing of the clergymen of these colonies, with brief biographical data on the men; the Provisional List was published by the College of William and Mary in an effort to obtain information on its graduates: it lists all known students from 1693 to 1888.

William Stith, Thomas Dawson, and James Madison have been excluded from this study. Stith and Dawson attended at the most only the grammar school of the College, obtaining their higher education in England. Stith received the A.B. and

¹ [College of William and Mary]. A Provisional List of the Alumni . . . of The College of William and Mary . . . (Richmond, Va., 1941), and Frederick L. Weis, The Colonial Clergy of Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina (Boston, 1955).

M.A. from Oxford in 1727 and 1730 respectively.² Dawson also received these degrees from Oxford in the 1730s.³ Although James Madison graduated from the College in 1771, his original concern was law; he traveled to England, receiving further education there before his ordination; he also received his D.D. degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1785.⁴ In addition, Madison's career, involved as it was with the re-establishing of the position of the Episcopal Church after its disestablishment, is truly beyond the scope of this study.

One other man should be briefly mentioned in this introduction: Charles Pasteur. Pasteur was ordained in 1735/6, but little else is known about him. Since he died on the return passage to Virginia, it did not seem necessary to include him in the major section of this study.⁵

The discussion of the thirty-two men who attended the divinity school will revolve around four major questions: (1) What was the man's background? (2) Was he ordained? When? (3) In which parishes did he serve? (4) How competent was he as a minister?

²Weis, Colonial Clergy, 48.

³Ibid., 14, and Brydon, "Virginia Clergy," VMHB, XXIII (1925), 62.

⁴Dictionary of American Biography, s.v. "Madison, James."

⁵Goodwin, Colonial Church in Virginia, 297.

The first question considers birth, immediate family, and other relatives connected with the Church in Virginia. It provides a basis for determining whether these clergymen were sons of other clergymen, second or third sons of gentry, as James Blair had hoped, or members of the lower classes.

An affirmative answer to the second question, provided that some ordination papers survived, enables one to judge the character of the man embarking on a career as an Anglican clergyman. The process of ordination was complex. The General Assembly of Virginia had passed a law requiring ordination in 1661/2:

That for the preservation of the purity and unity of doctrine and discipline in the church . . . noe minister be admitted to officiate in this country but such as shall . . . have rec'd. his ordination from some Bishop in England.⁶

Virginia, as noted previously, had no colonial bishop; since the bishop of London had assumed control over the colonial clergy, ordination had to be done in England--in other words, a round trip across the Atlantic Ocean was required before the trained clergyman could preach in Virginia!⁷

⁶Hening, Statutes, II, 46.

⁷Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 179.

It was not simply a matter of going to England; the man who desired ordination had to bring with him recommendations from ministers, vestries, college teachers, the colonial governor, and the commissary. These papers⁸ were then evaluated by the bishop of London, so that the latter would have his own method of determining the man's worth and checking the reliability of the recommendations. The bishop's approval meant ordination and the granting of the license as a minister or priest in the Anglican Church.

After 1748, the minister was also granted a King's Bounty, a sum of money equal to £20, to defray his traveling expenses; if, within three months from the date of issuance, the person was not in the colony for which he was licensed as a practicing minister, the money had to be returned, and the license was declared void. The minister was also bonded for £40 to cover unexpected expenses the individual might incur as well as to protect the bishop's office from untoward acts the newly-licensed clergyman might commit, acts for which the bishop of London could perhaps be held responsible.⁹

⁸The recommendations that were used for this study generally came from the microfilm of the Fulham Papers at Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, Williamsburg, Va. The formal recommendations used for requesting ordination are found in Fulham Papers 13. Other recommendations are scattered throughout the papers. See the appendix for sample forms of licenses.

⁹The men listed as receiving these bonds can be found in Fulham Papers Misc.: 50-119, and William W. Manross, The Fulham Papers in the Lambeth Palace Library: American Colonial Section Calendar and Indexes (Oxford, 1965), 323.

The most valuable source of information regarding ministerial service in Virginia is the vestry books of these parishes, but most of these books are no longer extant--lost through fire, war, or time. Others which do exist have gaps which include the years the clergymen from the College served. And most of them are extremely sketchy after 1776 or 1786--dates when the General Assembly no longer required levies to support the minister, or in the case of the latter date, when the Church in Virginia was formally disestablished.¹⁰ Where the vestry books were not available, other primary sources (letters, autobiographies, newspapers) and secondary sources (histories of churches and parishes, for example) were used to form a picture, although dim at times, of the man as minister.

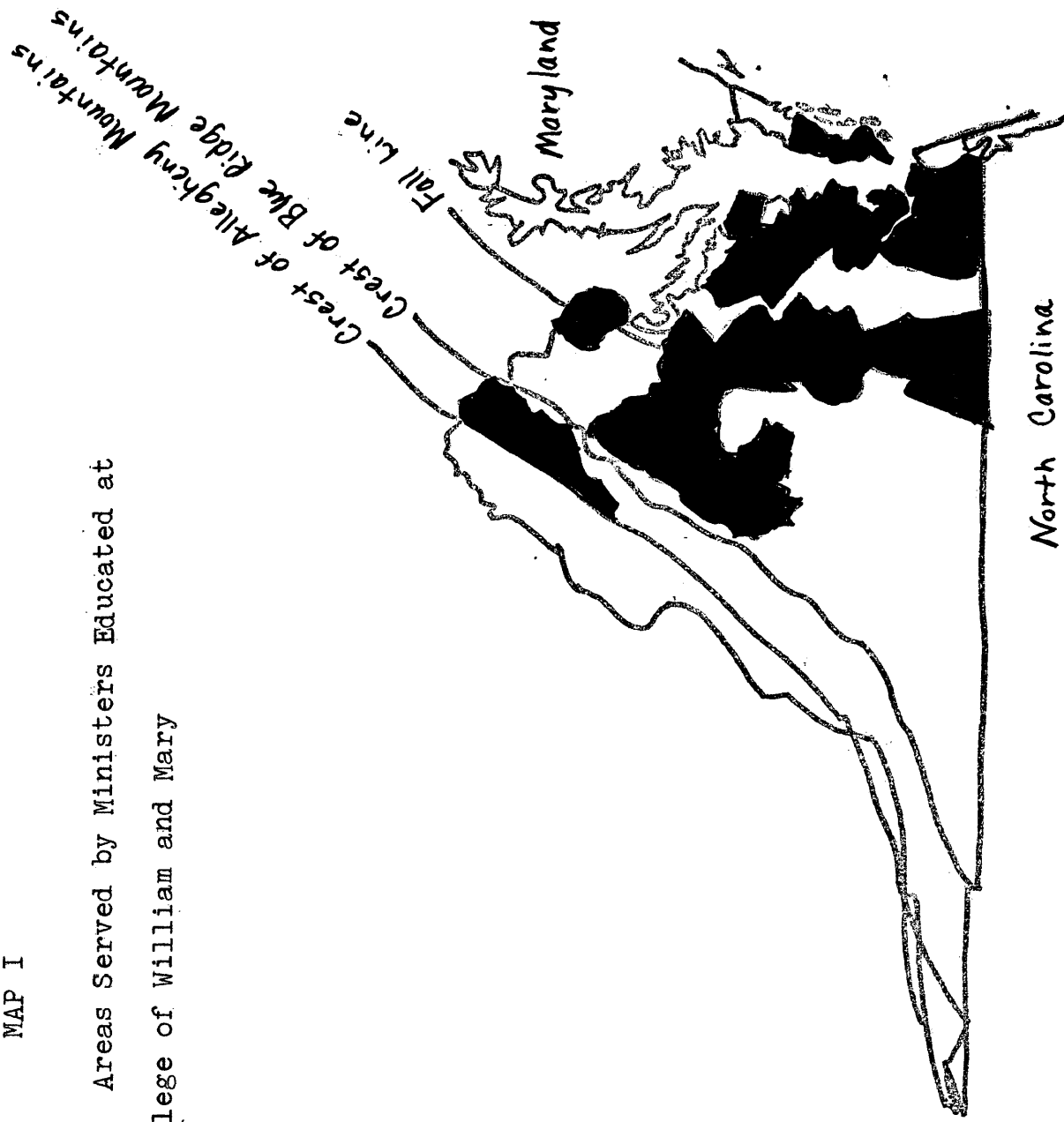
As indicated in the introduction, the fourth question--the degree of competence of the minister--will be dealt with in chapter IV.

What follows then are the sketches of these clergymen, discussed in the order of their attendance at the College of William and Mary.

¹⁰David Holmes, "The Rise and Fall of the Church in Virginia" (Seminar Paper, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Va., Fall 1971).

MAP I

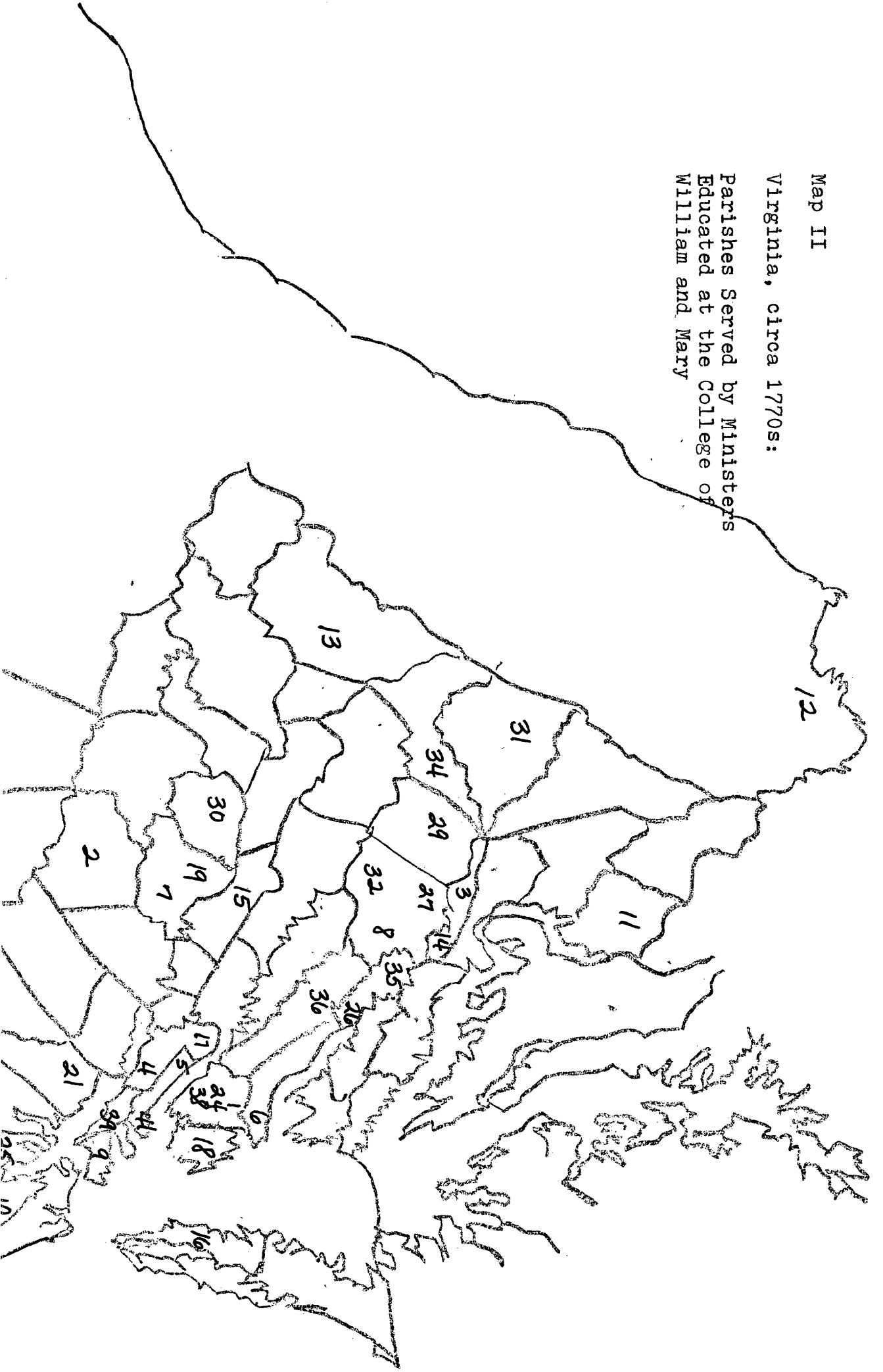
Virginia, circa 1770s: Areas Served by Ministers Educated at
the College of William and Mary



Key to Map II

1. Abingdon Parish in Gloucester County
2. Bath Parish in Dinwiddie County
3. Brunswick Parish in King George County
4. Bruton Parish in James City County
5. Charles Parish in York County
6. Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County
7. Dale Parish in Chesterfield County
8. Drysdale Parish in Caroline County
9. Elizabeth City Parish in Elizabeth City County
10. Elizabeth River Parish in Norfolk County
11. Fairfax Parish in Fairfax County
12. Frederick Parish in Frederick County
13. Fredericksville Parish in Albemarle County
14. Hanover Parish in King George County
15. Henrico Parish in Henrico County
16. Hungar's Parish in Northampton County
17. James City Parish in James City
18. Kingston Parish in Mathews County
19. Manchester Parish in Chesterfield County
20. Meherrin Parish in Brunswick County
21. Newport Parish in Isle of Wight County
22. Norfolk Parish in Norfolk County
23. North Farnham Parish in Richmond County
24. Petsworth Parish in Gloucester County
25. Portsmouth Parish in Norfolk County
26. St. Anne's Parish in Essex County
27. St. Asaph's Parish in Caroline County
28. St. Bride's Parish in Norfolk County
29. St. George's Parish in Spotsylvania County
30. St. James-Southam Parish in Powhatan County
31. St. Mark's Parish in Culpeper County
32. St. Mary's Parish in Caroline County
33. St. Stephen's Parish in Northumberland County
34. St. Thomas's Parish in Orange County
35. South Farnham Parish in Essex County
36. Stratton-Major Parish in King and Queen County
37. Suffolk Parish in Nansemond County
38. Ware Parish in Gloucester County
39. Warwick Parish in Warwick County
40. Wicomico Parish in Northumberland County
41. Yorkhampton Parish in York County

Map II
Virginia, circa 1770s:
Parishes Served by Ministers
Educated at the College of
William and Mary



John Fox

John Fox, born in 1706, was possibly the son of Henry Fox of King William County,¹¹ but little else is known about his family background. He attended the College of William and Mary in 1724;¹² five years later he became master of the Indian School operated by the College.¹³

In the spring of 1731, Fox, on leave of absence, sailed to England for Holy Orders. He was licensed for Virginia on September 11.¹⁴ On his return to Virginia, Blair commented on Fox's reluctance to leave the College in a letter to the bishop of London:

Your Lordship was pleased to mention to me lately Mr. Fox, as a person you thought very deserving of preferment. He has the good opinion of every Body; but tho' he might have had his choice of any thing that has fallen here . . . he is not yet inclinable to leave . . . he labours under an Unaccountable natural bashfulness, which very much disheartens him; I hope he will get over it in time.¹⁵

¹¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 19.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Tyler, College of William and Mary, 87-89.

¹⁴Weis, Colonial Clergy, 19.

¹⁵Brdyon, ed., "Virginia Clergy," VMHB, XXXII (1924), 330, and James Blair to the bishop of London, Aug. 11, 1734, in Herbert L. Ganter, comp., "Documents Relating to the Early History of the College of William and Mary and to the History of the Church in Virginia," William and Mary Quarterly, 2d Ser., XX (1940), 120.

In 1736 Fox overcame his "natural bashfulness" and went to Ware Parish, Gloucester County; he remained there for the rest of his life, dying circa 1764.¹⁶

The only information available on Fox after he left the College is a brief reference Blair made in a letter to the bishop of London: "Mr. Fox has lately got a very good parish."¹⁷ Fortunately there are available two recommendations Fox received as he embarked for London and his ordination. One of these, from Governor William Gooch, informs the reader that Fox was "modest, sober, and religious."¹⁸ Blair also referred to him as a "sober, grave studious young man and very exemplary in his life and conversation," and then closed the letter remarking, "I assure Your Lordship that I know no objection either to his life or learning."¹⁹

Robert Barrett

The son of Charles Barrett of Louisa County, Robert Barrett was one of the College's early students. By 1737 he was

¹⁶Weis. Colonial Clergy, 19.

¹⁷James Blair to bishop of London, Mar. 11, 1736, Fulham Papers, 15:51.

¹⁸William Gooch to bishop of London, May 28, 1731, ibid., 116.

¹⁹Blair to bishop of London, June 10, 1731, ibid., 120.

master of the Indian School, replacing John Fox who had left for Ware Parish. He received this position because of the "great Faith, Diligence, and Industry" with which he had discharged the office of usher of the grammar school.²⁰

Barrett received the King's Bounty for Virginia on December 5, 1737. He took with him to London a recommendation from Fox, who had praised Barrett's "even temper" and "virtuous disposition." Fox also wrote that Barrett's entrance into Holy Orders "will be very acceptable and grateful Thing to the People of the Country."²¹ Barrett served St. Martin's Parish, Hanover County, from 1738 to 1787; however, the absence of vestry records impedes further investigation. He died in Albemarle County in 1805.²²

James Maury

James Maury was born in Dublin, Ireland, on April 8, 1718, the son of Mary Anne Fontaine and Matthew S. Maury. His father had previously left for Virginia, and his mother im-

²⁰John Fox to the bishop of London, Aug. 15, 1737, ibid., 56, and George M. Brydon, "The Clergy of the Established Church in Virginia and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 123.

²¹Fox to the bishop of London, Aug. 15, 1737, Fulham Papers, 15:56, and Brydon, "The Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 123.

²²Brydon, "The Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 123.

migrated there by 1719. The family settled in King William County.²³ His mother's family had long been active in the Church in Virginia--Mary Fontaine was the sister of Francis, the first divinity professor at the College. Maury himself married Mary Walker (1724-1798) in 1743, and they had thirteen children, twelve of whom (seven boys and five girls) reached maturity;²⁴ two of the boys, Matthew and Walker, became clergymen.

Maury went to the College in 1738 and left in February 1742 for ordination. Governor Gooch wrote that he was "of regular Conduct" with a father who "lives in good Credit in this Country."²⁵ Blair wrote a less enthusiastic recommendation; however, the criticism fell on Maury's companions rather than on Maury himself:

This comes by an ingenious young man, Mr. James Maury . . . educated at our College and gave a bright example of diligence and of good Behaviour as to his morals . . . He has made good proficiency in his study of Latin and Greek scholars and has read . . . Philosophy and Divinity. I confess to this last

²³Ann Maury, ed., Memoirs of a Huguenot Family . . . in Virginia, etc. in 1715 and 1716 (New York, 1852), 363, and Helen D. Bullock, ed., "A Dissertation on Education in the Form of a Letter from James Maury to Robert Jackson, July 17, 1742," Albemarle County Historical Society, Papers, II (1941-1942), 38.

²⁴"Notes and Queries," Tyler's Quarterly Historical and Genealogical Magazine, VIII (1919), 376.

²⁵William Gooch to the bishop of London, Feb. 4, 1741/2, Fulham Papers, 15:225.

I would have wished he had spent more time in it before he had presented himself for Holy Orders, that his judgment might be better filled in that serious study of the Holy Scriptures . . . But his friends have pushed him on too fast. He looks too much younger than he is, being of a crowd that are of low Station.²⁶

Details on his life are vague from 1742 until 1751, when he became rector of Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County, where he served until his death in 1769.²⁷

At Fredericksville Parish Maury did not live on the glebe land, but he purchased a farm on the border of Albemarle and Louisa counties. Here Maury taught a "classical school,"²⁸ in addition to his ministerial responsibilities, which included serving three churches and a chapel.²⁹ Maury charged £20 per year for boarding and schooling the various students (in 1768 this was raised to £25). Undoubtedly the most distinguished of his students was Thomas Jefferson, who attended the school from January 1758 to January 1759.³⁰ Jefferson's only written comment on the experience was that "on

²⁶Blair to the bishop of London, Feb. 19, 1741/2, Fulham Papers, 14:147. The meaning of the last sentence of the quotation is unclear.

²⁷Weis, Colonial Clergy, 36.

²⁸Edgar Woods, Albemarle County in Virginia . . . the Men Who Made It (Bridgewater, Va., 1901), 268.

²⁹Dumas Malone, Jefferson and His Time (Boston, 1948), I, 40, 43.

³⁰Bullock, ed., "Dissertation on Education," Albemarle C. Hist. Soc., Papers, II (1941-1942), 38.

the death of my father, I went to the Reverend Mr. Maury, a correct classical scholar, with whom I continued two years."³¹ (Maury had also given thought to the problem of education in Virginia; he realized that a classical education was not suited for everyone in Virginia, a land so different from Europe.³²)

As far as his ministerial duties were concerned, the Virginia troops of Albemarle County who fought in the French and Indian War had asked Maury to be their chaplain. In this position, Maury observed both the "general spirit of patriotism" of the troops, as well as the resentment that General Edward Braddock's cavalier treatment of their fighting caused.³³ The vestry book of the parish records no unusual problems during his tenure. He was received by the vestry in May 1751, and from then until his death, the yearly meetings of the vestry record payment of his salary and the various repairs requested for the glebe lands.³⁴ The only mention of trouble was the refusal of the vestry to pay his back salary in 1760, but in this refusal there

³¹Albert S. Bergh, ed., The Writings of Thomas Jefferson, I (Washington, D.C., 1907), 3.

³²Cremin, American Education, 473.

³³Mary Rawlings, The Albemarle of Other Days (Charlottesville, Va., 1925), 95; Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 687-688; Maury, ed., Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, 405-407.

³⁴Fredericksville Parish: Louisa and Albemarle Counties Vestry Book, 1742-1787, microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, passim.

³⁵Ibid., vestry meeting of Oct. 27, 1760.

was no apparent bitterness, despite the fact that it ultimately led to one of the cases in the Parsons' Cause. From 1754 to 1769 the number of tithables declined by only 146, starting with 1,287 in 1751 and ending with 1,141 in 1770.³⁶ (This slight decline probably represented only an average loss of parishioners through death or migration; it was not connected with Maury's conduct as a pastor.)

James Maury's place in colonial history comes more from his position as Jefferson's teacher and from his position as one of the plaintiffs in the Parsons' Cause than as an Anglican clergyman in his own right. And the notoriety attached to the Parsons' Cause comes less from the litigation, although it was important, than that the defendants won one of the cases, and their attorney was Patrick Henry.

The background of the case is briefly as follows: the French and Indian War had produced a crisis in Virginia's economy. Money was needed to support military operations, and tobacco was not a flexible currency. The colonial government, therefore, began to issue paper money--£750,000 between 1754 and 1759. This issuance of paper money established a precedent for the Two Penny Acts of 1755 and 1758, which required all civil officials to accept payment of salaries at the rate of two pence per pound of tobacco (in 1758 tobacco was averaging six pence per pound). The General Assembly had passed these acts to help farmers and planters, not

³⁶Ibid., vestry meetings from May 20, 1751 to Feb. 8, 1770.

directly out of spite toward the Anglican clergy--the latter a view that the Reverend John Camm stressed in his effort to get the laws disallowed. Fearing that the tobacco crops would be poor both years, thus impoverishing the growers and benefitting the creditors, the General Assembly had passed the Two Penny Acts. (In 1756 the crop turned out well, but the expected disaster came in 1758.) The clergy felt that these laws were a deliberate insult to them. Camm went to London, where he persuaded the bishop of London to work for disallowance of the law; Camm's efforts were successful, and the laws were disallowed. Once the laws had been declared void, the clergy then thought that they could collect their back pay. So began the court cases.³⁷

Maury, in the name of the vestry, brought suit against the collectors of the parish levy after the vestry had refused to refund his salary. Technically, Maury should have received more than £250 in damages. In a letter to Camm, Maury recorded what happened. The first problem was the jury, which had been selected from the "vulgar herd"; Henry then "harangued the jury for near an hour . . .

³⁷For the Two Penny Acts, see Hening, Statutes, VI, 368-369. The description of these events comes from Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 737-784, and Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 290-302. Thad W. Tate, "The Coming of the Revolution in Virginia: Britain's Challenge to Virginia's Ruling Class, 1763-1776," WMQ, 3d Ser., XIX (1962), 326-333, and Rhys Isaac, "Religion and Authority: Problems of the Anglican Establishment in Virginia in the Era of the Great Awakening and the Parsons' Cause," ibid., XXX (1973), 3-36, also dealt with these events. Isaac is particularly good on the pamphlet war which commenced on Camm's return from England.

upon points much out of his own depth, and that of the jury," urging that Maury himself be punished for failure to support Virginia's laws. The result of the trial was damages amounting to one penny, although "after the Court was adjourned, he [Henry] apologized to me for what he had said, alleging that his sole view . . . was to render himself popular." Maury concluded with the scathing remark that "the real road to popularity here, is, to trample under foot the interests of religion."³⁸

Despite the controversy Maury was highly regarded as a minister. On his death in 1769, an obituary in the Virginia Gazette noted:

. . . it might have been hard to say, whether he was more to be admired as a learned man or revered as a good man. Abroad, and in the world at large, he was everywhere esteemed, and caressed as a man of genius and letters; and in his parish, as a diligent and able, faithful, and exemplary pastor."³⁹

³⁸Maury, ed., Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, 418-424, and Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 309-310.

³⁹Purdie and Dixon's Virginia Gazette (Williamsburg), Aug. 24, 1769, and Rind's Va. Gaz., Aug. 24, 1769.

Six weeks later in the same paper, a close friend wrote that Maury "was not more generally known than he was esteemed and admired."⁴⁰ The Reverend Jonathan Boucher commented:

I had formed a very close friendship, and kept up a constant literary correspondence, with the Reverend Mr. Maury . . . a singularly ingenious and worthy man . . . On his death-bed, Mr. Maury wished to see me; and I rode on one horse and in one day . . . upwards of a hundred miles . . . I sincerely regretted his death.⁴¹

The Green Press of Annapolis published posthumously Maury's tract To Christians of Every Denomination, a denunciation of those dissenting Anabaptists who "Pretend to be . . . teachers who come from God." More than anything else, this pamphlet reflected Maury's unwavering commitment to Anglicanism and the love he had for the religion he had professed for twenty-eight years. Maury wrote that nonconformity "will involve you in a guilt of a complicated nature" and "betrays a most culpable and shameful neglect."⁴²

⁴⁰Rind's Va. Gaz., Oct. 5, 1769.

⁴¹Jonathan Boucher, Reminiscences of an American Loyalist, 1738-1789, ed. Jonathan Boucher (Boston, 1925), 60-62.

⁴²James Maury, To Christians of Every Denomination, especially Those of the Established Church (Annapolis, Md., 1771), 6, 43.

William Yates

William Yates, born in 1720 at Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, was the son of the Reverend Bartholomew and Sarah Mickleborough Yates. Yates's family had been involved in the Church in Virginia since 1700, when Bartholomew Yates first arrived from England. In 1729 he became one of the first two professors of divinity at the College of William and Mary. Both of Yates's older brothers, Bartholomew, Jr., and Robert, became ministers, receiving their training in England.⁴³

William Yates attended the College sometime before 1744, for in that year he submitted his resignation as an usher, a job that involved assisting the master of the grammar school.⁴⁴ He left for London and ordination in 1745. Edmund Gibson wrote to Commissary William Dawson:

I received your Letter by Mr. Yates; who has approved himself in point of behaviour and abilities very worthy of the character which you and others have given of him.⁴⁵

Upon his return Yates went to Abingdon Parish, Gloucester

⁴³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 56.

⁴⁴Tyler, College of William and Mary, 36.

⁴⁵Edmund Gibson to William Dawson, Apr. 1, 1745, William Dawson Papers, Earl Gregg Swem Library, The College of William and Mary in Virginia, Williamsburg, Va.

County, where he served nine years (1750-1759); in 1759 he moved to Williamsburg, where he became rector of Bruton Parish Church, a position that he held until his death in 1764.⁴⁶ From 1761 until 1764 Yates served a brief and un-inspired term as president of the College of William and Mary. The early 1760s witnessed the culmination of the struggles between the faculty of the College and the House of Burgesses that had originated with the Two Penny Acts. The Board of Visitors, supported by the House, investigated and dismissed several faculty members, while President Yates was virtually impotent.⁴⁷

Little else is known about Yates's ministerial career. In Gloucester County he also taught school. The will of Henry Peasley (d. 1675) had provided six hundred acres of land, ten cows, and one breeding mare for the maintenance of a free school for Abingdon Parish. Here Yates taught.⁴⁸ The evidence of his success as a teacher is less clear than it was with James Maury. John Page wrote in his memoirs that he entered the school in 1752, at the age of nine, with twelve other students. Shortly thereafter, however, the

⁴⁶Wells, Colonial Clergy, 56.

⁴⁷"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of the College," WMQ, 1st Ser., III (1894-1895), 130, and Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 767-783.

⁴⁸Guy F. Wells, Parish Education in Colonial Virginia (New York, 1923), 40-41. See also Hening, Statutes, VII, 41-43.

the teacher's "Passionate disposition" induced first two, then eight more to leave. Page also noted that Yates used a grammar book (Lilly's), "one sentence in which my master never explained."⁴⁹

At Bruton his record is sketchier yet. The remnants of the vestry book note that he was "Unanimously chosen Minister" in 1760 and that he died October 5, 1764. Yates had had four slaves baptized between 1762 and 1764.⁵⁰

Roscow Cole

Roscow Cole was probably the son of William Cole.⁵¹ He attended the College "before 1744,"⁵² when he was "unanimously elected usher of the Grammar School in the room of Mr. William Yates who has resigned."⁵³ He remained an usher until 1747, when he left for ordination in London. He was licensed for Virginia on January 19, 1748/9, and received the King's Bounty on February 21, 1748/9. The only additional information known about Cole was that he served in Warwick Parish, Warwick County in 1754; he had left by 1758, for in that year Thomas Davis became rector of the parish.⁵⁴

⁴⁹"Memoirs of Colonel John Page of Rosewell," Virginia Historical Register, and Literary Notebook, III (1850), 144-145.

⁵⁰William A. R. Goodwin, The Record of Bruton Parish Church, ed. Mary Goodwin (Richmond, Va., 1941), 11, 41, 154-158.

⁵¹"Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., II (1893-1894), 53.

⁵²Alumni List.

⁵³"Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., II (1893-1894), 53.

⁵⁴Weis, Colonial Clergy, 11, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 298.

John Dixon

Extremely little is known about the early life of John Dixon. Weis recorded neither the date nor the place of his birth, and he was equally vague on Dixon's attendance at the College of William and Mary.⁵⁵ It is known, however, that Dixon was an usher of the grammar school in 1747.⁵⁶ He was licensed for Virginia one year later, on August 4, 1748.⁵⁷

On December 10, 1750, Dixon was received as minister of Kingston Parish, now in Mathews County.⁵⁸ He remained there until he voluntarily resigned in 1770.⁵⁹ The vestry book of Kingston Parish recorded no major controversy during Dixon's twenty-year tenure. His salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco was paid each year, with occasionally additional sums for repair of the glebe house or yards.⁶⁰ The vestry meeting of July 8, 1755, ordered Dixon not liable to any charge when the "Negroe boys who belong to the parish" ran away.⁶¹

⁵⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 15.

⁵⁶Tyler, College of William and Mary

⁵⁷Weis, Colonial Clergy, 15.

⁵⁸Churchill G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book of Kingston Parish, Mathews County Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1929), 43.

⁵⁹Ibid., 91.

⁶⁰Ibid., 45-92.

⁶¹Ibid., 55.

The vestry kept close track of what their minister did: on May 10, 1756, it was agreed that Dixon could saw into plank or otherwise dispose of trees felled on the glebe, as long as he did not sell them!⁶² The average number of tithables during his tenure was 1,400.⁶³ Dixon must have been relatively happy at Kingston--in 1764 he presented the parish with two sundials.⁶⁴

Dixon resigned in 1770 to accept a position as professor of divinity at the College of William and Mary,⁶⁵ a job he held until he was forced to resign in 1777. In 1771 Dixon wrote a vehement letter to the editors of the Virginia Gazette, denouncing those "busy meddling People who neglect their own affairs" to become embroiled in college policy (with regard to the divinity students) about which they know nothing; the letter was in answer to a "Country Clergyman" who had criticized the students' alleged waste of time.⁶⁶

From 1773 to 1774 Dixon officiated at the nearby parish of Stratton Major, substituting every other Sunday for a minister who was on a year's leave of absence.⁶⁷

⁶²Ibid., 57.

⁶³Ibid., 47-103.

⁶⁴Ibid., 80.

⁶⁵Tyler, College of William and Mary, 87-89.

⁶⁶purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., Aug. 1, 1771.

⁶⁷Dixon's Va. Gaz., Apr. 4, 1771.

The American Revolution proved disastrous for John Dixon. The following notice appeared in the Virginia Gazette:

Resolved, that the Rector be desired to write to the Visitors and Governors requesting their attendance in Convocation . . . to inquire into the state and affairs of the College . . . that among other things, several articles of accusation for neglect and misconduct have been exhibited against . . . John Dixon, clerk, professor of divinity.⁶⁸

The charges of accusation and misconduct were connected with Dixon's doubtful loyalty to the patriot cause. Declared a tory, Dixon was forced to resign on May 6, 1777. He spent the next few months of his life (he died later that same year in Kingston Parish), however, converting sea water to fresh to salvage the salt, which was used by a Virginia military regiment.⁶⁹

⁶⁸Ibid., Aug. 1, 1777.

⁶⁹This apparent contradiction between the charges of the Board of Visitors and Dixon's subsequent behavior can be partially explained by remembering that the Board wanted to control the College and believed a first step to this end was the removal of most of the faculty. This was also the time when the College was reorganized and the divinity school eliminated. Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 417-418.

Miles Selden

The son of Joseph Selden, Miles was born in Virginia in 1726 and attended the College of William and Mary in the late 1740s.⁷⁰ In 1751 he went to London for Holy Orders. Commissary William Dawson and Governor Lewis Burwell recommended him, commenting on his education "at our College," his "good behaviour and sound morals," and his "good Life and Conversation."⁷¹ He was licensed for Virginia on January 15, 1752, and received the King's Bounty on January 21 of the same year.⁷²

On his return to Virginia Selden became the minister of Henrico Parish, Henrico County, a position that he held from 1752 to 1785, when he died. The vestry book recorded no problems throughout Selden's tenure. The rector was present at all vestry meetings; his salary was paid without dissenting comment.⁷³ In 1775 Selden was chaplain of the 1775 Virginia Assembly which voted for independence, a post which earned him the title "patriot parson."⁷⁴ He was later chaplain of the House of Delegates in 1780,⁷⁵ and both positions suggest the confidence his peers had in his ability as a minister.

⁷⁰Brydon, "The Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 45, and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 45.

⁷¹Dawson to the bishop of London, Aug. 6, 1751, Fulham Papers, 13:113, and Burwell to the bishop of London, Aug. 21, 1751, ibid., Misc., 40.

⁷²Weis, Colonial Clergy, 45.

⁷³L. W. Burton, Annals of Henrico Parish, ed. J. Staunton Moore (Richmond, Va., 1904), 94-150.

⁷⁴Lyon G. Tyler, Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography (New York, 1915), II, 355.

⁷⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 45.

James Pasteur

James Pasteur's hometown was Williamsburg, Virginia, where he was born circa 1705. William Stith in a letter to the bishop of London noted that Pasteur's father was a barber, a vocation in which he trained his son since he was "not in Circumstances to go through with his Education" after the early 1730s, when Pasteur was attending the College.⁷⁶ Pasteur did not remain a barber long: upon his father's death, he followed "his natural Propensity to scholarship" and became a school teacher. Edward L. Goodwin placed him as a Norfolk schoolmaster as early as 1739, where he was first just an usher; he later became acting master of the local grammar school.⁷⁷

Pasteur was licensed for Virginia on December 23, 1753, and received the King's Bounty on January 17, 1754. He returned to Norfolk, where he spent a year as lecturer before assuming the pastorate at Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County, from 1755 to 1756.⁷⁸ Only through inference can details of his service there be known: in 1763 Devereux Jarratt wrote that his several predecessors at this parish apparently lectured in "smooth harangues in no way calculated to disturb carnal repose."⁷⁹ There is no way of knowing, of course, how many

⁷⁶Stith to the bishop of London, Aug. 6, 1753, Fulham Papers, 13:126, and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 39-40.

⁷⁷Stith to the bishop of London, Aug. 6, 1753, Fulham Papers, 13:126, and Goodwin, Church in Colonial Virginia, 297.

⁷⁸Weis, Colonial Clergy, 39-41.

⁷⁹Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 469.

men Jarratt included in his denunciation, and such a description does not coincide with Stith's, who praised Pasteur as a man of "fair Character . . . much esteemed by the People of the Town where he hath lived."⁸⁰

From 1756 until his arrival at St. Bride's Parish, Norfolk, in 1773, nothing is now known of Pasteur's life. He died in Norfolk in 1774.⁸¹

Joseph Davenport, Jr.

Joseph Davenport, Jr., was born in Williamsburg, Virginia, on February 21, 1731/2, the son of the first town clerk.⁸² He attended the College of William and Mary from 1750 to 1752, and from then until he left for ordination, he was a private tutor to the children of William Armistead in Mathews County. He was licensed for Virginia on October 12, 1755.⁸³

A complete set of Davenport's ordination papers are available at the Colonial Williamsburg Reserach Library in the microfilm copies of the Virginia Colonial Records Project. These papers include a joint testimonial from county leaders, praising Davenport as a "person of good sense, and of a sober,

⁸⁰Stith to bishop of London, Aug. 6, 1753, Fulham Papers, 13: 126.

⁸¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 39-40, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 469.

⁸²Landon C. Bell, Charles Parish, York County, Virginia: History and Registers (Richmond, Va., 1932), 30.

⁸³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 13.

regular and unblameable life and conversation."⁸⁴ John Dixon agreed with this description,⁸⁵ and William Armistead wrote that "his behaviour hath been but that I shall always have a great regard for him."⁸⁶ Commissary William Dawson concurred, writing that "I believe in my conscience he is qualified for that office to which he desires to be admitted."⁸⁷

On his return from England, Davenport became rector of Charles Parish, York County. There are no vestry records available, although the register of births, deaths, and christenings is still extant. Davenport remained here until his death in 1785.⁸⁸

Rice Hooe, Jr.

Rice Hooe, Jr., the son of Rice and Frances Hooe, was born on March 14, 1725, in Stafford County, Virginia. He attended the College of William and Mary from 1752 to 1755.⁸⁹

⁸⁴Testimonial for Joseph Davenport, Jr., June 7, 1755, Fulham Papers, Misc., 42.

⁸⁵John Dixon to bishop of London, June 9, 1755, ibid.

⁸⁶William Armistead to bishop of London, June 9, 1755, ibid.

⁸⁷William Dawson to bishop of London, June 10, 1755, ibid.

⁸⁸Bell, Charles Parish, 30.

⁸⁹"Extracts from the Register of St. Paul's, Stafford (now King George) County, Va.," VMHB, XIII (1900-1901), 360, and Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, 279-280.

He was licensed for Virginia on December 21, 1756.⁹⁰

There are three letters of recommendation extant, letters which Hooe took with him to London when he applied for Holy Orders. William Stuart referred to him as a "worthy Son of William and Mary," whose view was to "dedicate his Life and Labors to the glorious Service of his Maker";⁹¹ Arthur Campbell agreed with Stuart's remarks, and Commissary Thomas Dawson wrote that Hooe was "greatly esteemed by the whole Society . . . well-qualified for the Ministry."⁹² From this point, however, there is no further information on Hooe's career as an Anglican minister. There is no hint as to which parishes he might have served, if indeed he ever did serve any. It can only be inferred that a man with such recommendations would have proved a competent minister.

James Marye, Jr.

James Marye, Jr., was born on September 8, 1731, in

⁹⁰Goodwin, The Colonial Church in Virginia, 279-280.

⁹¹William Stuart to bishop of London, June 16, 1765, Fulham Papers, Misc., 46.

⁹²Thomas Dawson to bishop of London, June 24, 1756, ibid.

Goochland County, Virginia.⁹³ His father was a Huguenot clergyman from Normandy, France, who had arrived in Virginia in 1729, and from 1735 until his death in 1767 had served St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County.⁹⁴ He and his wife had four children in addition to Marye, Jr.,--one son became a surgeon, another a burgess, and two daughters married doctors.⁹⁵

Marye attended the College around 1752. In college he established a "reputation for both scholarship and good conduct."⁹⁶ He received Holy Orders in 1755 and was licensed for Virginia on December 27, 1755.⁹⁷ Three of his recommendations have survived, one from William Stith, one from William Byrd II, and one from Commissary William Dawson. Stith wrote that Marye was excellently qualified to be a clergyman, describing him as "a Young Gentleman, who has behaved extremely well here";⁹⁸ "here" was at the College, where Stith was a teacher. Byrd's recommendation was addressed to Commissary Dawson, asking

⁹³James Marye, Sr., to Commissary William Dawson, n.d., Fulham Papers, Misc., 45.

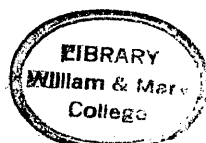
⁹⁴Weis, Colonial Clergy, 35.

⁹⁵Carrol H. Quenzel, The History and Background of St. George's Episcopal Church, Fredericksburg, Virginia (Richmond, Va., 1951), 12.

⁹⁶Ibid., 16-17.

⁹⁷Weis, Colonial Clergy, 35-36.

⁹⁸Stith to the bishop of London, Aug. 13, 1755, Fulham Papers, 15:63.



his help in getting Marye ordained. Byrd concluded his remarks, noting "your compliance with my Request you will never repent of . . . from his Behaviour."⁹⁹ Dawson's recommendation, in response to Byrd's request, was the most complete, noting that Marye was a tutor for Byrd prior to his decision to go to London, that Dawson himself thinks him "apt and meet for Learning, a goodly conversation to exercise your ministerial function."¹⁰⁰

On his return from England, Marye's location remains unknown for six years. In 1761 he became rector at St. Thomas's Parish, Orange County, and seven years later, on his father's death, Marye became minister of St. George's Parish, serving there until his death in 1780.¹⁰¹ Marye's tenure at St. George's was uneventful; Slaughter's comment that "the history of the parish for the next twenty years is unusually barren of interesting events"¹⁰² was meant only to cover the years 1735 to 1755; it easily could be extended for the years 1755 to 1775, however. The General Assembly reduced the size of the parish in 1770.¹⁰³ Otherwise the vestry book recorded Marye's annual salary plus 3,000 pounds of tobacco in lieu of

⁹⁹William Byrd to William Dawson, Aug. 11, 1755, Fulham Papers, Misc., 45.

¹⁰⁰William Dawson to the bishop of London, Aug. 13, 1755, William Dawson Papers.

¹⁰¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 35-36.

¹⁰²Philip Slaughter, A History of St. George's Parish in the County of Spotsylvania and the Diocese of Virginia, ed. R. A. Brock (Richmond, Va., 1890), 18-19.

¹⁰³Ibid., 22-23.

a glebe, regularly and without comment.¹⁰⁴ The tithables for his years as minister ranged from 2,300 until the parish division, when the number dropped to an average of 1,400.¹⁰⁵

From 1776, the year the salaries of the Anglican clergy were suspended, until his death four years later, Marye served without pay (except as provided by voluntary contributions from his parishioners). Nevertheless, at his death, he was able to bequeath land and twenty-nine slaves to his children.¹⁰⁶

William West

William West was born in Fairfax County, Virginia, in 1739, the son of Hugh West. He attended the College from 1756 to 1760. He was ordained on November 24, 1761, and received the King's Bounty four days later.

West spent almost his entire life in Maryland, returning to Fairfax Parish, Fairfax County, for only the year 1778. In Maryland he served jointly at Westminster (near Anne Arundel) and St. Andrew's (Leonardstown) parishes (the former from 1763 to 1767, the latter from 1763 to 1772). In 1772 he moved to Harford, where he served at St. George's Parish until 1779, when he left for St. Paul's Parish at Baltimore.

¹⁰⁴The Vestry Book of St. George's Parish, Vestry meetings from Jan. 20, 1768, to Nov. 24, 1780, microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

¹⁰⁵Ibid.

¹⁰⁶Quenzel, History of St. George's, 16-17.

He died there on March 30, 1791.¹⁰⁷

James Maury Fontaine

James Maury Fontaine was the son of Francis Fontaine, professor of divinity at the College of William and Mary in 1729, and his second wife, Susanna Brush, described as a "cruel woman, who has the entire dominion over her husband."¹⁰⁸ Fontaine was born in 1738,¹⁰⁹ and he attended the College from 1753 to 1755.¹¹⁰

Fontaine's family was very active in the Church in Virginia. His father had served in Virginia churches from 1720 and still served a parish while he was at the College.¹¹¹ His uncle, Peter Fontaine, had come to Virginia in 1716 and was active until his death in 1757 at Westover Parish, Charles City County; in the latter position he was chaplain on Colonel William Byrd's commission to survey the Virginia-North Carolina boundary line.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷Frederick Lewis Weis, The Colonial Clergy of Maryland, Delaware, and Georgia (Lancaster, Mass., 1950), 68; Tyler, Encyclopedia, II, 254-255; Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 304; Goodwin, Colonial Church in Virginia, 325.

¹⁰⁸Maury, ed., Memoirs of a Huguenot Family, 327.

¹⁰⁹Tyler, Encyclopedia, I, 238.

¹¹⁰Weis, Colonial Clergy, 18.

¹¹¹Ibid., 18.

¹¹²Ibid., 18-19.

James Fontaine went to England for Holy Orders in the winter of 1763,¹¹³ with two recommendations, one good and one mediocre. Governor Francis Fauquier wrote a most complimentary letter:

Mr. Fontaine a young gentleman, the Son of a clergyman who died with Reputation in this Colony . . . enjoys a very good character and is much esteemed by the Gentlemen whose Sons he has educated . . . He is provided with Testimonial from Persons of Worth, Honour, and Virtue.¹¹⁴

Commissary William Robinson, however, took a different view of Fontaine; that gentleman, wrote Robinson, "would not comply with what I require from every Person I recommend to your Lordship, namely, A Testimonial . . . he is an entire Stranger to me, having never had the least knowledge of him."¹¹⁵ In a letter to the governor, the bishop of London concurred with the earlier recommendation, writing, "I have ordained him and found him as you recommended him to be well qualified for his profession."¹¹⁶

In February 1764 Fauquier wrote to the bishop that Fontaine

¹¹³Ibid., 18.

¹¹⁴Francis Fauquier to the bishop of London, Apr. 15, 1762, Fulham Papers, 13:73.

¹¹⁵William Robinson to the bishop of London, May 4, 1763, ibid., 99.

¹¹⁶Bishop of London to Fauquier, Oct. 10, 1763, ibid., 45.

had settled in Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County.¹¹⁷ Fontaine soon moved to adjacent Ware Parish, however, where he remained until his death. He conducted a school here,¹¹⁸ and in 1794 assumed the additional responsibility as lecturer at Abingdon Parish (still in Gloucester County). He died in 1795.¹¹⁹

John Matthews

John Matthews filed exceptional papers of recommendation with the bishop of London when he went for ordination in 1764. John Fox, the first of the College's ordained clergy, wrote that Matthews was "extremely modest, remarkably pious, and religious, free from every reigning vice."¹²⁰ The president and master of the College sent a supporting testimonial, praising his piety, soberness, and honesty.¹²¹ Governor Fauquier referred to his ability as a teacher,¹²² and Bishop Beilby Porteus was persuaded to write in behalf of the young man

¹¹⁷Fauquier to bishop of London, Feb. 20, 1764, ibid., 30.

¹¹⁸Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 328.

¹¹⁹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 18, and Churchill G. Chamberlayne, ed., The Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County, Virginia: 1677-1793 (Richmond, Va., 1933), 317, 323-324, 383-389.

¹²⁰John Fox to the bishop of London, Mar. 22, 1764, Fulham Paper, 13, unnumbered 4.

¹²¹Yates et al. to the bishop of London, Jan. 23, 1764, ibid., 127.

¹²²Fauquier to the bishop of London, Feb. 17, 1764, type-script of Fauquier Correspondence, 1756-1768, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

through friends in Virginia.¹²³

This young cleric was born in Gloucester County in 1739, the son of John and Dorothy Matthews. He attended the College at least for the year 1754, before becoming an usher of the grammar school there.¹²⁴ As with other clergymen, however, once he became ordained information is sketchy. He did serve as minister at St. Anne's Parish, Essex County, from 1774 to 1792; the tenure indicates he was a competent minister. From 1795 to 1799 he was rector at St. Bride's Parish, Norfolk.¹²⁵ Bishop Meade noted that Matthews also substituted at South Farnham Parish, Powhatan County, after the American Revolution. Although this is possible, it is not directly verifiable, as the parish's vestry book contains only a listing of land boundaries from 1771 to 1819.¹²⁶

Charles Mynn Thruston

Charles Mynn Thruston was born in Gloucester County, Virginia, on November 6, 1735. He attended the College of

¹²³Bishop Porteus to the bishop of London, May 22, 1764, Fulham Papers, 13:84.

¹²⁴Fauquier to the bishop of London, Feb. 17, 1764, Fauquier Correspondence, and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 36.

¹²⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 36.

¹²⁶The Vestry Book of South Farnham Parish, microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library, passim, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 390.

William and Mary in 1754 and then returned to Gloucester County, settling within the boundaries of Petsworth Parish.¹²⁷

On March 2, 1761, Thruston was elected to the vestry of the parish. He was also appointed churchwarden for the ensuing year,¹²⁸ and 1762 saw him accept the post of collector of the tithes.¹²⁹ At the vestry meeting of September 18, 1764, the vestry recommended Thruston for ordination to the bishop of London and agreed to accept him as minister once he had received his license as an Anglican priest. On January 4, 1767, Thruston began his ministerial career, remaining at Petsworth for almost two years, before he "agreed to resign" on December 12, 1768.¹³⁰

Thruston went then to Frederick Parish, Frederick County,¹³¹ where he was the last colonial clergyman of the parish. "There is no evidence," E. K. Meade in his history of the parish noted, of a "failure to discharge his ministerial duties conscientiously and acceptably."¹³² This was something of an exaggeration.

The vestry had originally promised to hire Walker McGowan,

¹²⁷Weis, Colonial Clergy, 18.

¹²⁸Chamberlayne, ed., Vestry Book of Petsworth Parish, 310.

¹²⁹Ibid., 312.

¹³⁰Ibid., 324, 330-340.

¹³¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 51.

¹³²Everard K. Meade, Frederick Parish Virginia, 1744-1780 (Winchester, Va., 1947), 34.

but when he did not arrive, Thruston was appointed rector on November 18, 1768.¹³³ There were no problems for two years, but at the vestry meeting of November 26, 1770, the clerk recorded:

A petition of Sundry Inhabitants of the Parish of Frederick, was Presented . . . setting forth that Rev. Thruston, Rector . . . had neglected his Duty in Preaching but Once in his Parish Church Since laying the last Parish levy. Whereupon it is the Opinion of the Vestry that the Petitioners have fully Proved the allegations.¹³⁴

A week later, Thruston redeemed himself, "having excused himself and given reasons to the Satisfaction of the Vestry for the Neglect of Duty . . . of the Town of Winchester, and moreover agrred to make up the Deficiency by Preaching on Weekdays."¹³⁵

Despite his earlier praise of Thruston, E. K. Meade noted that "from 1770 on it is evident that his interest in the stirring events in secular affairs, and his participation in them, were absorbing more and more of his time, thought, and effort. . . . As a minister . . . he took care to see . . . that parish funds bought and paid for a goodly supply of

¹³³Frederick Parish, Frederick County, Virginia, Vestry Book, 1764-1818, Virginia State Library, Richmond.

¹³⁴Ibid.

¹³⁵Ibid.

ammuntion."¹³⁶ Thruston resigned in 1777 and was elected captain of a company of volunteers he himself had raised. He fought in New Jersey, where he lost an arm; nevertheless, he continued in active service, rising to the rank of full colonel.¹³⁷

After the Revolution Thruston lived in Frederick County, but he did not resume the ministry, "perhaps because of a rule of the Church of England that a minister who bore arms was thereby disqualified"¹³⁸ from further ministerial work without a dispensation from the resident bishop, and Virginia had no bishop until 1790 when James Madison was consecrated. Thruston was active in public affairs, however, and judge of the Frederick County Court, as well as delegate to the state legislature. In 1809 he moved to Louisiana, where he died three years later.¹³⁹

William Hubbard

William Hubbard is one of the least known of the clergy of the College of William and Mary. This probable son of James Hubbard attended the College from 1759 to 1762; he was

¹³⁶E. K. Meade, Frederick Parish, 47.

¹³⁷Ibid., 47-48, and Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 133.

¹³⁸E. K. Meade, Frederick Parish, 48.

¹³⁹Ibid., and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 303.

ordained in London in the spring of 1766.¹⁴⁰ In 1773 he arrived at Warwick Parish, Warwick County, where he remained for three years. Hubbard next appeared at Newport Parish, Isle of Wight County, in 1780; he died there in 1802.¹⁴¹ There is no information available regarding the "missing years" in Hubbard's life. The vestry book for Warwick Parish is not available; the one for Newport Parish stops at 1771. He was the last minister at Newport (St. Luke's Church has a stained glass window commemorating this fact), and Bishop Meade noted that "he manifested his attachment to the Church by preaching to the last, through there were only two or three persons present."¹⁴²

William Bland

As is true with many of these clergymen, little is known about the early life of William Bland beyond the fact that he was born in Virginia.¹⁴³ As far as his later personal life is concerned, he married Elizabeth Yates, the daughter of the Reverend William Yates (see above).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰Weis, Colonial Clergy, 26.

¹⁴¹Ibid., and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 238, 304.

¹⁴²Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 303.

¹⁴³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 6.

¹⁴⁴Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 113.

Bland attended the College of William and Mary from 1758 to 1763. He left for ordination in London in 1767, taking with him a letter of recommendation from Governor Fauquier.¹⁴⁵ He received the King's Bounty on July 24, 1767, and returned to Virginia, where he began his ministerial career at James City Parish, James City County. He served here ten years, leaving in 1777. He also served at Warwick Parish, Warwick County, in 1785; Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City, in 1786; and Norfolk Parish, Norfolk, from 1791 to 1794. He remained at Norfolk, however, until his death in 1803.¹⁴⁶

The vestry books for the years Bland served at these various parishes are either nonexistent or stop before he arrived. Little information is available about his ministerial career. With regard to his tenure at James City, the Reverend John Bracken wrote the Virginia Gazette that Bland served "with Diligence and a Readiness to perform every other parochial Duty."¹⁴⁷ At this parish, too, Bland became deeply involved in the furor over the establishment of an Anglican episcopate in Virginia. The Reverend John Camm, professor of divinity at the College, and the Reverend James Horrocks, president of the College of William and Mary, tried to call a convention of the clergy which would support a motion for the calling of

¹⁴⁵Francis Fauquier to the bishop of London, Mar. 18, 1767, typescript of Fauquier letters. See also Fulham Papers, 15:214.

¹⁴⁶Weis, Colonial Clergy, 6.

¹⁴⁷Purdie and Dixon's Va. Gaz., Dec. 23, 1772, supplement.

a bishop. The date of the convention was to be June 4, 1767, but of the approximately seventy-five Anglican clergymen in the colony, only eleven came. Camm and Horrocks tried to ram through the motion, but four clergymen--Richard Hewitt, Samuel Henley, Thomas Gwtakin, and William Bland--began the "Paper War," denouncing the convention and the motion. Eventually these efforts halted the bogus convention.¹⁴⁸ The Virginia Gazette recorded the gratitude of the House of Burgesses to these four men "for their wise and well-timed opposition."¹⁴⁹

There are only a few other references to Bland's ministerial career. The Virginia Gazette advertised for sale the published sermon of Bland's "on the present grievances of Americans."¹⁵⁰ George M. Brydon noted that in his later life Bland was "intemperate" and deposed from the ministry in 1794,¹⁵¹ reinforcing Bishop Meade's observation that "his only virtue was an attachment to the Revolutionary cause while he was a minister at James City."¹⁵²

Edward Jones

Edward Jones was born in Gloucester County, the son of

¹⁴⁸Bridenbaugh, Mitre and Sceptre, 317-322.

¹⁴⁹Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 349-350.

¹⁵⁰Purdie's Va. Gaz., Aug. 31, 1775.

¹⁵¹Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 125, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 273.

¹⁵²Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 273. My research indicated no relation between William Bland and the whig ideologue, Richard Bland.

Richard Jones.¹⁵³ He attended the College of William and Mary in the early 1760s and moved to North Carolina in late 1765. He left for ordination in 1767 with a letter of recommendation which included the following:

The bearer Mr. Jones a native of Virginia and at present an inhabitant of Orange County in this province North Carolina . . . has been an inhabitant of this province for about eighteen months . . . he had conducted himself with propriety and a becoming decency.¹⁵⁴

Jones became ill on his arrival in England; he had to spend his money for doctors and medicine and was forced to lodge with the sister of a friend, who wrote the bishop of London explaining Jones's circumstances. Jones was eventually ordained on May 28, 1767. His first years of service, until 1770, were spent in St. Stephen's Parish, Johnston County, North Carolina, as a missionary for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.¹⁵⁵

In the early 1770s Jones came to Virginia, serving first

¹⁵³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 27.

¹⁵⁴Michael T. Malone, "Sketches of the Anglican Clergy Who Served in North Carolina during the Period 1765-1776," Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church, XXXIX (1969), 420.

¹⁵⁵Ibid., 420-421.

as rector of St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County, from 1772 to 1789.¹⁵⁶ There were no apparent problems, but five years later, it was

Ordered, that the church wardens advertise the vacancy of this parish and the renting of the glebe. As Mr. Jones had not resigned this looks like a broad hint that his resignation would be accepted.¹⁵⁷

On February 21, 1779, Jones resigned.¹⁵⁸

Jones next appeared at North Farnham Parish, Richmond County, in 1786, but only for one year. That year must have been disastrous, for Jones ended up before an ecclesiastical trial in 1786. There is no record, either of the charge or of the verdict of the court, but Jones does not return to North Farnham. He continued his ministerial career, however, this time in Hardy County (present day West Virginia), where he served until his death in 1795.¹⁵⁹

Samuel Klug

Samuel Klug continued the tradition of Anglican ministers associated with education. He was both assistant usher and

¹⁵⁶Weis, Colonial Clergy, 27.

¹⁵⁷Philip Slaughter, A History of St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County, Virginia . . . (Baltimore, 1877), 40, 43.

¹⁵⁸Ibid., 44.

¹⁵⁹Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 490-491, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, II, 125.

usher in the College's grammar school from 1765 to 1768.¹⁶⁰

He had problems as an assistant usher: "The Journal of the President and Masters of the College" reported complaints by Klug that the usher, John Patterson of Philadelphia, had "kicked and beat him without the least Provocation." Patterson was later dismissed.¹⁶¹

The physically-abused usher was the son of the Reverend George S. Klug, a Lutheran minister of Madison County, Virginia.¹⁶² He attended the College in the early 1760s before becoming a teacher there. He went to London for ordination in 1768, receiving his license for Virginia either on June 4¹⁶³ or June 11¹⁶⁴ of that year and the King's Bounty on June 21.¹⁶⁵ On his return to Virginia Klug went to Christ Church Parish in Middlesex County, remaining there until his death in 1795.¹⁶⁶

Arthur Emmerson, Jr.

Elderly citizens talking about their minister said he was "a bookish man, with strong powers of concentration, and

¹⁶⁰"Journal of the President and Masters of the College," WMQ, 1st Ser., IV (1895-1896), 131, 189-190.

¹⁶¹Ibid.

¹⁶²Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 234.

¹⁶³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 30.

¹⁶⁴Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 234.

¹⁶⁵Ibid., and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 30.

¹⁶⁶Weis, Colonial Clergy, 30.

as a consequence, unobserving and absentminded, industrious and methodical" and that "at his death his piety and exemplary life were brought prominently before the community."¹⁶⁷

The man so eulogized was Arthur Emmerson, Jr., born on August 31, 1743, the third son of seven children of the Reverend Arthur Emmerson, Sr. The elder Emmerson first came to Virginia in 1737; he served Accomack Parish, Accomack County, until his death in 1764.¹⁶⁸ Emmerson, Jr., was educated at the College of William and Mary in the late 1750s; in 1761 he was chosen assistant usher in the grammar school, with a salary of £40; he resigned in 1765.¹⁶⁹ In that year he was ordained as minister of the Church of England;¹⁷⁰ John Blair wrote to the bishop of London, commenting that he honored himself in "Favour of Mr. Arthur Emmerson . . . educated at our College . . . His moral character, I believe is unexceptionable and honourable."¹⁷¹

Emmerson served three parishes, Meherrin (Brunswick County), from 1773 to 1776; Suffolk (Nansemond County), in 1785;

¹⁶⁷ John C. Emmerson, Jr., comp., The Emmersons and Portsmouth, 1737-1965 (Portsmouth, Va., 1966), 19.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid., 10-11.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., 20, and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 17.

¹⁷⁰ Emmerson, comp., Emmersons, 20.

¹⁷¹ John Blair to the bishop of London, Mar. 22, 1768, Fulham Papers, 15:194.

and Portsmouth (Norfolk County), from 1785 to 1802.¹⁷² In all three parishes Emmerson served as a teacher as well as pastor.¹⁷³ Bishop Meade held that Emmerson was "much esteemed as a man and a minister."¹⁷⁴

Matthew Maury

Matthew Maury was the son of the Reverend James Maury (see above). Details concerning his early life are scarce, although he did attend the College of William and Mary in 1768, before leaving for his ordination in London in the fall of 1769 (he was in London when his father died).¹⁷⁵ Maury returned home, succeeding his father at Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County,¹⁷⁶ where he served until his death in 1808.¹⁷⁷

Like his father James, Maury also taught school to supplement his income. At Fredericksville he did not live on the glebe (his mother and younger brothers and sisters did), but on an adjoining farm where he also held his classes.¹⁷⁸

Matthew Maury was probably an able minister; a year after

¹⁷²Weis, Colonial Clergy, 17.

¹⁷³Emmerson, comp., Emmersons, 19.

¹⁷⁴Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 280.

¹⁷⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 36.

¹⁷⁶Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 44.

¹⁷⁷Weis, Colonial Clergy, 36.

¹⁷⁸Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 44.

his ordination, Governor Botetourt wrote to a merchant-friend in London that "Mr. Maury cannot stand better with his friends in England than he does with all who know him here. He dined with me the Sunday after his arrival and preached in the afternoon very much to the satisfaction of his audience."¹⁷⁹ His attendance at vestry meetings, however, was not exemplary: the only meeting where his attendance is specifically recorded was on April 11, 1771, when Maury protested the lack of payment of his salary.¹⁸⁰ The vestry chose him to act as one of the two delegates to a 1785 convention in Richmond, which was held to determine the future of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia.¹⁸¹

William Selden

William Selden, born in 1741, in the Northern Neck of Virginia, was the son of John and Grace Rosewell Selden. He attended the College of William and Mary from 1752 to 1755. He originally went into law, however; it was only after several years of practice that Selden became a minister. He was ordained in 1771. From then until his death in 1783,

¹⁷⁹"Norton Correspondence: Gov. Botetourt to Mr. John Norton," Tyler's Historical Quarterly and Genealogical Magazine, VIII (1925), 95.

¹⁸⁰Fredericksville Vestry Book, passim of vestry meetings, Feb. 8, 1770-Oct. 10, 1787.

¹⁸¹Ibid., vestry meeting of Apr. 27, 1785.

Selden served Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County.¹⁸²

Selden had originally applied for the position of rector of Elizabeth City Parish as early as 1765, before he was even ordained. The vestry book noted that two people were applying for the post, Selden and Thomas Warrington. At the vestry meeting of October 16, 1756, Warrington was chosen--no doubt helped by the letter Governor Robert Dinwiddie and Commissary Thomas Dawson had written to the vestry, expressing their dismay that the vestry would even consider Selden, as he had not applied for their "approbation or consent."¹⁸³ In 1770, however, on Warrington's death, the vestry unanimously chose Selden as rector.¹⁸⁴

The tithables for the parish increased throughout Selden's tenure as rector, starting with 1,179 in 1770 and rising to 1,248 in 1776. With the disestablishment of the Church, the number dropped to 872, but increased again, reaching 1,051 in 1784.¹⁸⁵ One year before his death, the vestry recommended to its parishioners that they voluntarily contribute money to pay their minister.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸²Weis, Colonial Clergy, 43, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 139-140.

¹⁸³Marion Ruth van Doenhoff, ed., "The Vestry Book of Elizabeth City Parish, 1751-1784" (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1957), 53-54, 59.

¹⁸⁴Ibid., 206.

¹⁸⁵Ibid., 205-279.

¹⁸⁶Ibid., 273.

Abner Waugh

Abner Waugh was "reported to be the best dancer of the minuet in Virginia."¹⁸⁷ This rector was the son of Alexander Waugh and the grandson of John Waugh, an Anglican clergyman who had left England in 1673.¹⁸⁸ Waugh attended the College of William and Mary from 1765 to 1768; three years later he left for London and ordination, receiving his license as an Anglican priest on March 11, 1771, and the King's Bounty on March 14, 1771.¹⁸⁹

Waugh served two parishes, St. Mary's Parish in Caroline County (1773-1806) and St. George's Parish in Spotsylvania County (1806), and he was also chaplain for a Continental regiment during the early years of the American Revolution (1775, 1776) as well as chaplain of the Virginia Assembly in 1788.¹⁹⁰ Regarding his tenure in Caroline County, Bishop Meade commented scathingly, "As a Christian minister, he could not have occupied a very elevated or consistent position. In his day the standard of personal piety was very low, and he did not rise above the common level."¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁷Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 509.

¹⁸⁸Weis, Colonial Clergy, 53.

¹⁸⁹Ibid., and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 303-304.

¹⁹⁰Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 435; "Virginia's State Troops in the Revolution," VMHB, XXVIII (1919), 344; Weis, Colonial Clergy, 53.

¹⁹¹Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, II, 509.

Meade also reported that Waugh gambled with church funds. It was at Caroline County, right after his ordination there, that Waugh served as chaplain for the troops. The dissolution of the Anglican church occurred while he was at St. Mary's Parish. With the consent of the General Assembly, Waugh sold the glebe land, invested the money, and used the proceeds of the sale while he stayed at the parish.¹⁹²

In 1806 Waugh moved to Spotsylvania County. The vestry book of St. George's Parish recorded that he was elected minister on January 28, 1806; however, on July 26 of the same year, Waugh resigned due to ill health. He died shortly thereafter.¹⁹³

John Hyde Saunders

The information concerning John Hyde Saunders is very sketchy. He was probably born in Cumberland County, Virginia.¹⁹⁴ He attended the College of William and Mary for only one year, from 1762 to 1763; on May 10, 1763, his career at the College came to an abrupt end:

Whereas John Hyde Saunders has lately behaved himself in a very impudent and unheard of Manner to the Master of the Grammar

¹⁹²Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 509.

¹⁹³Vestry Book of St. George's Parish, vestry meetings of Jan. 28, 1806, and July 26, 1806.

¹⁹⁴Weis, Colonial Clergy, 44.

School and when call'd upon by the President and Master to give his Reasons for the same, he not only insolently behaved himself to them, but likewise absolutely refused to comply with the stated Rules of the College, unless agreeable to his own Opinion. He was then desir'd to leave the College, but he absolutely refused to do it unless he was regularly expelled. As this is a Piece of Behaviour that ought to be discouraged, and which deserves our severest . . . Punishment we do hereby declare that the said John Hyde Saunders to be publicly expelled.¹⁹⁵

Saunders was ordained in 1772 and went to Southam Parish, Powhatan County, where he served until his death, sometime after 1801.¹⁹⁶ Although the vestry book recorded Saunders present at few vestry meetings, he represented Southam at the 1785 Richmond convention of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Virginia. The number of tithables remained fairly constant during his tenure, averaging 1,800.¹⁹⁷

After the disestablishment of the Anglican church, the General Assembly granted Saunders the right to sell the glebe land, invest the proceeds, and receive the resulting incomes as long as he was in charge of the parish; Saunders

¹⁹⁵"Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of the College," WMQ, 1st Ser., IV (1894-1895), 43-44.

¹⁹⁶Weis, Colonial Clergy, 44, and Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 95.

¹⁹⁷Southam Parish, Powhatan County, Vestry Book, 1745-1836, Virginia State Library.

also conducted a "notable school" to supplement his income.¹⁹⁸

William Leigh

William Leigh was born in 1748 at West Point, Virginia, the son of Ferdinando Leigh. He attended the College of William and Mary from 1763 to 1771,¹⁹⁹ so it is possible to assume that he went to grammar/philosophy school as well as divinity school. In his senior year Leigh delivered a memorial address in honor of King William and Queen Mary. The address, published in Williamsburg in 1771, is only four pages and merely remarks on those qualities of the rulers, like William's love of liberty, which made them ideal founders of the College.²⁰⁰

Leigh was ordained in 1772.²⁰¹ Treasurer Robert Carter Nicholas wrote that Leigh was a young gentleman, whose "exceeding great merit has justly entitled him to the Esteem of his Acquaintances in Virginia."²⁰² On his return to Virginia, Leigh went first to Manchester Parish, Chesterfield County, where he served until 1776. He then left for Dale

¹⁹⁸Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 509.

¹⁹⁹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 31.

²⁰⁰William Leigh, An Oration in Commemoration of the Founders of William and Mary (Williamsburg, Va., 1771).

²⁰¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 31.

²⁰²"Norton Correspondence: Robert C. Nicholas to John Norton," Tyler's, III (1922), 287.

Parish in the same county, serving the latter until 1786.²⁰³
Additional information on his ministry is not available.

Leigh died in 1787 at Dale Parish. Bishop Meade wrote that "the testimony of children and of many others speaks nothing but what is good" of the Reverend Mr. Leigh.²⁰⁴

Rodham Kenner, Jr.

Rodham Kenner, Jr., was born in the early 1730s in Spotsylvania County, where his father was the rector of St. George's Parish. The elder Kenner died in 1734,²⁰⁵ and so his son hardly knew him. Kenner, Jr., attended the College of William and Mary from 1759 to 1760. In 1772 he went to London for ordination, receiving the King's Bounty on October 10, 1772. From 1780 to 1785, he was at Hanover Parish, King George County. In 1785 he resigned and spent the rest of his life (date of death unknown) as a farmer in Fauquier County.²⁰⁶

²⁰³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 31.

²⁰⁴Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 45-51.

²⁰⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 29.

²⁰⁶Ibid.; Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 234; Lyon G. Tyler, ed., "The Kenner Family," WMQ, 1st Ser., XIV (1905-1906), 176-177.

Thomas Davis

Mr. Davis . . . though a man of temperate habits and correct life by comparison with too many of our clergy, was not calculated by his preaching to promote the spiritual welfare of any people.²⁰⁷

This rector was the Reverend Thomas Davis, born about 1753 in Charles City County, Virginia.²⁰⁸ In 1758 his family moved to Williamsburg, where his father, the Reverend William Davis, had become the new master of the grammar school.²⁰⁹ Davis was a senior at the College in 1767,²¹⁰ and on October 2, 1770, he became usher of the grammar school, a position he retained until 1773, when he left for London.²¹¹

Davis was ordained in 1773; he received his license as priest on September 21 and the King's Bounty on October 13.²¹² Davis served several parishes (there seems to be no explanation for the moves²¹³): Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk

²⁰⁷Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, II, 260.

²⁰⁸Weis, Colonial Clergy, 13-14, and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 134.

²⁰⁹Jane Carson, James Innes and His Brothers of the F.H.C. (Williamsburg, Va., 1965), 32.

²¹⁰"Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., IV (1895-1896), 191.

²¹¹Ibid., XIII (1904-1905), 155, and Carson, Innes, 32.

²¹²Weis, Colonial Clergy, 13-14, and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 134.

²¹³Carson, Innes, 39, cited Davis's condition of near poverty as one of the main factors to consider, however.

County, 1773-1776 (three years); St. Stephen's Parish, Northumberland County, 1779-1792 (thirteen years); Alexandria Church, Alexandria (at least 1779 and probably from 1792 until 1806); Elizabeth River Parish again, 1806-1808 (two years); Hungar's Parish, Northumberland County, 1808.²¹⁴ Davis must have been a better than average rector, a surmise based both on the length of his tenure at St. Stephen's and that Elizabeth Parish agreed to his return after an absence of thirty years. Davis also served as chaplain to two regiments of troops during the American Revolution, the Continental Dragoons and the Fourth Virginia, the latter under the command of Colonel Theodorick Bland. As chaplain he was briefly captured by the British and then released in 1779.²¹⁵ At Alexandria Davis was George Washington's pastor, and he presided at the funeral of the former president.²¹⁶ Davis died circa 1808 at Hungar's Parish.²¹⁷

²¹⁴Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 272; II, 132; Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 134; Weis, Colonial Clergy, 13-14; Carson, Innes, 31.

²¹⁵Weis, Colonial Clergy, 13-14; Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 272, noted that "he was one of the ministers who zealously advocated the American Revolution"; Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 423, 435; Dixon's Va. Gaz., May 15, 1779, gives an account of the capture.

²¹⁶Carson, Innes, 32.

²¹⁷Ibid., 31.

Emmanuel Jones III

Emmanuel Jones III was descended from a long line of Virginia clergymen. His grandfather, the first Emmanuel Jones, immigrated to Virginia in 1700 and served Petsworth Parish for thirty-eight years, and his son, Emmanuel Jones II, was master of the Indian School of the College of William and Mary, from 1775 until 1777, when he was dismissed as a tory at the beginning of the American Revolution.²¹⁸ Jones III was either the son or nephew of Jones II and the grandson of Jones I. He attended the College from 1772 to 1774, receiving a studentship (equivalent to today's scholarship) in his last year.²¹⁹ He was ordained in 1774 and served St. Bride's Parish in Norfolk from 1776 until shortly before 1787, the year in which he died.²²⁰

Samuel Shield

Samuel Shield was from York County, Virginia, but other information on his background is sparse. He attended the College of William and Mary from 1769 until 1772 (or perhaps

²¹⁸Weis, Colonial Clergy, 27; Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 323; Goodwin, Colonial Church in Virginia, 267.

²¹⁹"Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., XIV (1905-1906), 26.

²²⁰Weis, Colonial Clergy, 28.

1773).²²¹ Shield was a successful student, receiving both a scholarship and a medal for the "encouragement of classical learning."²²²

Shield was ordained and licensed for Virginia in December 1774. He served several parishes: Drysdale (Caroline County), 1776-1778; St. Asaph's (Caroline County), 1779-1785; York-Hampton (York County), 1786-1792; Charles (York County), 1791-1792.²²³

After the American Revolution Shield became president of the Protestant Episcopal Clergy in Virginia, a group which was incorporated by the state during his presidency. In 1786 and again in 1790 Shield was the minority choice for bishop of Virginia,²²⁴ evidence of the high regard his peers had for him. Bishop Meade called him an "intelligent and pious man." Shield contracted bronchitis which forced him to retire from the ministry before his death, which occurred in 1793.²²⁵

²²¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 46.

²²²This medal was one of two given to the best scholars in the fields of classical learning and natural philosophy; the medals were purchased through funds provided by Governor Botsourt. "Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., XIII (1904-1905), 232, and ibid., XIV (1905-1906), 29.

²²³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 46, and Bell, Charles Parish, 30-31.

²²⁴Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 591-593, and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 330.

²²⁵Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 203-204, and Weis, Colonial Clergy, 46.

John Leland, Jr.

Information is more than usually scarce on John Leland, Jr. His father was the rector of Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County, in 1745.²²⁶ Leland, Jr.,'s date of birth is unknown, but he was attending the College of William and Mary by 1771, for on December 10, 1771, he was granted one of the two scholarships available.²²⁷ Leland was ordained in 1775 and licensed for Wicomico Parish on April 11 of that year.²²⁸

The vestry book of Wicomico Parish recorded "that in case of death or resignation of the Rev. John Leland, we do agree to take his son . . . after being duly ordained, as his successor."²²⁹ That was in 1774, and four years later an advertisement in the Virginia Gazette began: "There being a vacancy in Wicomico parish . . . by the death of Rev. John Leland."²³⁰ It is assumed that that was Leland's father, although Weis records Leland, Sr., serving that parish until 1787.²³¹ The vestry book itself reveals nothing, either

²²⁶Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County: Vestry Book, 1703-1795, microfilm, Colonial Williamsburg Research Library.

²²⁷"Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., XIII (1904-1905), 232.

²²⁸Weis, Colonial Clergy, 31.

²²⁹Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 235.

²³⁰Purdie's Va. Gaz., Apr. 3, 1778.

²³¹Weis, Colonial Clergy, 31.

about Leland's death or his replacement. In any event, a John Leland, without either a Sr. or a Jr. after his name, served this parish from 1745 until 1789, when the parish is listed as vacant.²³²

Christopher Todd

Christopher Todd attended the College of William and Mary from 1768 to 1770. He was licensed as an Anglican priest on April 26, 1775, and received the King's Bounty of twenty pounds on May 9, 1775. He served only Brunswick Parish, Stafford County, from 1775 to 1777. He died as its rector, two years after his ordination, in 1777.²³³

Walker Maury

Walker Maury, the son of the Reverend James Maury, was born on July 21, 1752.²³⁴ Little is known of his early childhood, although it can be assumed that he attended his father's classical school. Like his father and older brother, Matthew, Walker Maury also attended the College of William and Mary. In 1774 he won the Botetourt medal for excellence in classics.²³⁵

²³²Vestry Book of Wicomico Parish, passim, and Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 235.

²³³Weis, Colonial Clergy, 41; Brydon, "Clergy and the Revolution," VMHB, XLI (1933), 303; "Journal," WMQ, 1st Ser., XIII (1904-1905), 149.

²³⁴Joseph Leidy, comp., "Maury Bible Records," VMHB, XXVII (1919), 376.

²³⁵"Notes and Queries," WMQ, 1st Ser., III (1894-1895), 144, and Carson, Innes, 141.

This Maury was also a school teacher; in fact, it was probably his primary profession and major concern. In 1777 the Virginia Gazette published the following advertisement:

The Subscriber intends to open a school next month. To instruct youth in the English, Latin, and Greek languages, is what he principally has in view. . . .
Walker Maury.²³⁶

In 1780 another advertisement ran as follows:

The Subscriber conducts a grammar school, to which youth are admitted as boarders and pupils, or as pupils only. . . . Those who are not inclined to engage in the study of Latin and Greek languages, after having acquired a grammatical knowledge of English, will be instructed in several branches of polite literature. Walker Maury.²³⁷

These two advertisements were for a school on the Grymes family estate in Orange County, Virginia (Maury had married Mary Grymes). St. George Tucker had a high opinion of the school and its teacher: "I know his worth; I know that his abilities are equal to the task; and I know that his assiduity will be equally directed to improve . . . morals and . . . understanding."²³⁸

²³⁶Purdie's Va. Gaz., June 27, 1777.

²³⁷Dixon's Va. Gaz., Jan. 29, 1780.

²³⁸Carson, Innes, 43-44.

In 1738 the school moved to Williamsburg. Two of his students were John Randolph of Roanoke and Lyttleton W. Tazewell. Randolph, who felt himself exiled from his mother's home, considered Maury "peevish," "ill-tempered," "a Pedagogue," who ran a "sordid, squalid . . . establishment." Tazewell remembered the school more favorably, as a place "attended by more pupils than other grammar school that . . . existed in Virginia." Trouble rose as Maury pestered his friends for money to repair and expand the school facilities. Tuition was raised, and parents as well as students began to complain of the treatment given.²³⁹ Perhaps John Randolph had been right.

In 1786 Maury left Williamsburg for a position as principal of the Norfolk Academy, and it was then that he was ordained as an Anglican minister. That event took place on June 6, 1786, and was done, not in London, but in Connecticut by Bishop Samuel Seabury;²⁴⁰ Maury was thus the only non-English ordained clergyman trained by the College. He became rector of Elizabeth River Parish in Norfolk County, but his career as a clergyman was cut short by his early death. He died of yellow fever on October 11, 1788, at the age of thirty-six.²⁴¹

²³⁹Ibid., 45-52.

²⁴⁰Ibid., 52.

²⁴¹"Historical and Genealogical Notes and Queries," VMHB, XIII (1905-1906), 426.

CHAPTER IV:

CONCLUSION

The paucity of vestry records and the continual dividing of counties and parishes into smaller units, which increased the probability of loss of records, makes judgments with regard to specific clergymen difficult. The available evidence, however, makes possible an appraisal of these men as a group. This evaluation revolves around the ecclesiastical organizations to which the men belonged, the connection between education and the ministry, and the socioeconomic milieu from which these men came. Of primary importance, however, is the small number of graduates from the College of William and Mary's divinity school.

(1)

The College of William and Mary was founded specifically to train Anglican ministers for Virginia, yet the number of clergymen it actually turned out was small. This study deals with only thirty-two men, but approximately five hundred men attended one of the various schools--grammar, philosophical, or divinity--operated by the College from 1695 to 1776.¹ The

¹Provisional List, passim.

divinity school attracted few men; only partial answers can suggest why. The period during which the divinity school actually operated was brief, from 1729 to 1776--less than half a century. The College grew slowly after the 1705 fire, for initial enthusiasm was exhausted, and repeated requests for money met with only half-hearted responses. From 1729 through the next two decades, the divinity school slowly established itself. Nevertheless, beginning with the 1750s and continuing until 1776, conflicts increased between the English-trained clerical faculty, who wanted the authority and rights their compatriots in England had, and the House of Burgesses, which itself demanded control over the College. The Parsons' Cause was but one product of these disagreements. Four professors were removed for their efforts in repealing the Two Penny Acts. Dismissal also resulted, although only temporarily, when College professors took the Reverend John Brunskill's side in his dispute with the burgesses. Brunskill was undoubtedly an immoral rector, but the College faculty resented the burgesses's right to revoke his license as an Anglican priest; they would have approved of that action only if it had been done by an ecclesiastical court. The result of these events was the almost complete suspension of College classes for two years, and Virginians sent their children north to Philadelphia and Princeton for their

education.²

Throughout the mid-eighteenth century events besides the College-Burgess disputes altered the previously favorable situation of the Anglican Church. The number of dissenters had increased, which in turn increased the pressure on the House of Burgesses to end the practice of levying tithes for the benefit of the Anglican Church, tithes which paid the ministers' salaries and housing expenses. In 1776 Thomas Jefferson reorganized the College of William and Mary, abolishing its divinity school, while the House of Burgesses halted for one year the payment of tithes (a law which was reenacted every year until formal disestablishment of the Church in 1785-1786).

These, therefore, were the factors that combined to block James Blair's efforts to inaugurate a substantial increase in the quantity of clergymen for Virginia.³

(3)

There were no ecclesiastical organizations as such in eighteenth-century colonial Virginia. Although one duty of the various commissaries was to call conventions or

²Tyler, College of William and Mary, 39-41, and Morton, Colonial Virginia, II, 763-783. For a more recent interpretation of this turbulent decade and its relations to both the status of the Established clergy and problems within the College, see Isaac, "Religion and Authority," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXX (1973), 3-32.

³For instance, in this same period and dealing with only four years within it (1725, 1750, 1760, 1770), Harvard graduated 45 ministers and Yale, 30. Cremin, American Education, 554.

yearly meetings of the clergy to discuss ministerial problems and the religious situation in the colony, this practice was not feasible in rural Virginia. Conventions, therefore, were rare. In 1759, however, Commissary Thomas Dawson, compelled by the increasing number of Burgess-clergy disputes, called such a convention. Of the seventy-five Virginia clergymen invited, forty-eight came, including James Marye, Jr., John Fox, John Dixon, and James Pasteur. Fifteen more sent written excuses, including Roscow Cole, and Miles Selden. Only Arthur Emmerson, Jr., James Maury, and Robert Barrett were without excused absences.⁴

This convention established the Society for the Protection of Widows and Orphans of Deceased Clergymen; contributions were voluntary, but its purpose was important to eighteenth-century Anglican ministers. The vestries halted payment of salary upon a minister's death--at the next vestry meeting the widow received her husband's salary for the months prior to his death; no provisions were made, however, for her and her children's future security. In addition, there was a housing problem as the glebe land had to be vacated for the new minister. The clergymen established this society to provide monetary help for such destitute families. The College's clergymen contributed both money (Fox, Marye, Dixon, Cole, and Selden donated sums from £1

⁴A Convention of the Clergy in Virginia: A Report, Fulham Papers, 14:83, and Brydon, Virginia's Mother Church, II, 37.

to £2 immediately after the convention) and time, as William Leigh, James Maury Fontaine, Samuel Klug, Thomas Davis, and Barrett served as trustees of the fund, responsible for its administration.⁵ Both these events--attendance at the convention and active involvement in the administration of this fund--indicated a sense of responsibility to the Anglican Church and to the men who served it.

(3)

Throughout these sketches teaching and the ministry often have been linked. Fifteen of these clergymen (almost 50 percent) were also teachers, and most had received their training at the College, as assistant usher or usher in the grammar school (eight were trained there) or as master of the Indian school (two). The Maury family gave not only three ministers, but also three teachers to Virginia. In 1771 John Dixon was forced to resign from the College--and his position as divinity professor. William Yates started as a grammar school usher and died as president of the College of William and Mary.

The preponderance of clergymen in the field of colonial education was not an isolated phenomenon.⁶ The clergymen represented education to the colonials because they had

⁵Klug served every year but one from 1769 to 1776. Convention of the Clergy, Fulham Papers, 14:83; "Gazetteiana," Va. Hist. Reg., VI (1936), 216; Rind's Va. Gaz., May 9, 1771; Dixon's Va. Gaz., Apr. 16, 1779.

⁶Cremin, American Education, passim.

attended college. These thirty-two men averaged slightly more than two years at William and Mary. Furthermore, since these men were responsible for religious instruction, it seemed logical that the same men should teach reading, writing, and arithmetic, not to mention the Latin and Greek that the Virginia aristocracy demanded that its sons know.

(4)

James Blair had hoped that the College would improve the quality of Anglican clergymen, as well as the quantity. A seminary would hopefully encourage the second and third sons of the gentry to enter the ministry as opposed to law, medicine, the military, or agriculture. Blair believed the College would tighten requirements for the ministry, discouraging the laggards and the immoral from seeking ordination. As the reputation of the Anglican clergy improved, the interest of these younger sons would increase. Or so Blair hoped. What actually happened was something apparently quite different.

Twelve of these thirty-two men were sons of Anglican clergymen who had come to Virginia in the eighteenth century. The Fontaines, Maurys, and Yateses had an especially strong commitment to the Church of England--grandfathers, uncles, fathers, and sons were all active ministers. One other William and Mary student was the grandson of a clergyman and either the son or nephew of another, which makes thirteen clergy-related graduates.

Joseph Davenport, Jr., was the son of a town clerk, and

James Pasteur's father was a Williamsburg barber. Scattered information is available on only two of the remaining seventeen. Charles Thruston had been a vestryman in Petsworth Parish before his ordination. The vestry was the elite of Virginia counties--it was the self-perpetuating body, composed of the same men who conducted the county government through the county court. Thruston's election as a vestryman indicated his position as a member of this socially elite group. Roscow Cole's father was William Cole of the governor's Council, the governmental body whose members were chosen by the king from a list compiled by the governor and other Council members. It could be argued, then, that Cole's ordination represented the fulfillment of Blair's dream.

There are still fifteen men about whom information, especially with regard to socioeconomic background, is so scarce that even superficial speculation seems unwarranted. On the basis of what information is known, however, this author can only reiterate that it seems probable that Virginia clergymen were the sons of (or in other ways related to) clergymen already serving parishes in Virginia; they were not from the gentry. The nonenforcement of laws regarding primogeniture and entail made it possible for the gentry to will lands to their younger sons, lessening, if not abolishing, the need for these sons to seek employment in other professions.⁷ The active families of the Established

⁷C. Ray Keim, "Primogeniture and Entail in Colonial Virginia," WMQ, 3d Ser., XXV (1968), 545-586.

Church were those in which sons inherited from their fathers a devotion to Anglicanism: the Kenners, Lelands, Waughs, Joneses, Emmersons, Yateses, Maryes, Fontaines, and Maurys.

Until recently the historians of the colonial period had accepted Richard Bland's evaluation of the colonial clergy: Bland had written letters to the Virginia Gazette during the controversy over the ministers' salaries. In one of these letters, later published as a pamphlet, Bland wrote: "For if so many of the Clergy who are a Disgrace to the Ministry, find Opportunities to fill the parishes, they must necessarily sink very low in the Opinion of Good men, and cannot expect to be treated with Respect by the People."⁸ The evaluation of all clergymen came through the immoral conduct of men like John Brunskill, who was apparently guilty of every sin except murder, and this "he had near perpetrated on his own wife."⁹ George M. Brydon has argued that summary judgments of later historians against the Anglican clergymen came from the sources they had used, the memoirs of Methodist and Baptist ministers--sources which could hardly be considered unbiased, especially those that were written in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the Methodists and Baptists were attacking the Anglican

⁸A Letter to the Clergy of Virginia . . . (Williamsburg, Va., 1760), 7-8.

⁹Robert Dinwiddie to the bishop of London, Sept. 12, 1757, Fulham Papers, 15:42.

Church both to encourage disestablishment and to convert Anglicans to their denominations. Brydon further noted that "of the six hundred names of ministers listed [by Dr. Edward L. Goodwin] only thirty-five present any record of misconduct in the whole period from 1607 to 1785."¹⁰

A reappraisal of the position of the Established Church's clergy is needed. Of the thirty-two men examined here, only three had ecclesiastical careers that in anyway indicated misconduct--Jones and his trial, Bland and his intemperance, and Waugh and the rumors of his gambling. This can be viewed two ways: the rest were as bad, but the information is not available, or these were the only three men trained at the College of William and Mary who were less than acceptable clergymen. The latter view is more convincing. Governor Francis Fauquier, another contemporary observer, wrote, "As for the Clergy in general in the colony . . . there are many who are very worthy men, and who . . . have justly obtained the Esteem and Respect of their Parishioners."¹¹

A case can be made for the argument that scandalous actions are more easily remembered and noted than good behavior. The various sources used in connection with this study mention the same three or four people repeatedly as examples of the wicked, immoral clergy of colonial Virginia.

¹⁰Goodwin, Colonial Church in Virginia, xii, xviii.

¹¹To the bishop of London, Sept. 9, 1765, Fulham Papers, 15:64.

But even more important, a positive evaluation of these men as a group rests on the length of time they served their various parishes. By refusing to inaugurate the practice of induction, the vestry kept the necessary means to remove undesirable ministers--the clergymen were simply not rehired. The appendix has a list of the men and the parishes that they served (including dates), and from this list it can be deduced that ten of these ministers served their respective churches between ten and fifteen years; another ten served their parishes for over twenty years, and four of these were in one location over thirty years.

Time spans such as these must indicate graduates who were acceptable and at the least average; of greater importance, however, is that they can form a basis for a strong argument positing these graduates as good men and above-average ministers. It can be argued, therefore, that in one way James Blair succeeded in his goal. If the quantity of men to supply Virginia's parishes did not radically increase, it did increase somewhat, if only because the College of William and Mary was there. The quality of Anglican ministers definitely improved, especially for those parishes in southeastern Virginia near the College where their vestries could take advantage of its divinity school,¹² in spite of its brief tenure.

¹²See the parish map at the beginning of Chapter III.

Bishop Meade's accounts are occasionally harsh, occasionally sentimental, occasionally unreliable, but his evaluation of the College's clergymen can be accepted as valid: "The best ministers in Virginia were those educated at the College and sent over to England for ordination."¹³

¹³Meade, Old Churches, Families, and Ministers, I, 167.

APPENDIX A

ORDINATION LICENSE FOR A PRIEST
OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH

Be it known unto all men by these present that We
(Name of bishop--first name only) by divine permission
Bishop of London Holding by assistance of Almighty God a
Special Ordination on (Day of the Week) the (Date--day)
of (Month) in the year of our Lord one thousand seven
hundred and (Specific Years) did admit our beloved in
Christ (Name of the Clergyman and college he attended)
(of whose virtuous and pious Life and Conversation and
competent Learning and Knowledge of the holy Scripture We
were well assured) into the holy Order of Priests according
to the manner and form prescribed and used by the Church of
England, and him the said (Name of the Clergyman) did then
and there rightly and canonically Ordain a Priest He having
first in Our presence and in due form taken the Oaths
appointed by Law to be taken for and instead of the Oath of
Supremacy and the likewise having freely and voluntarily
subscribed to the thirty-nine Articles of Religion and to
the three Articles contained in the thirty-sixth Canon--
In Testimony whereof we have caused our Episcopal

Seal to be hereunto affixed¹

Seal

THE APPOINTMENT OF THE PRIEST
TO THE PROVINCE OF VIRGINIA:

(Name of bishop) BY DIVINE PERMISSION
BISHOP OF LONDON

To our beloved in Christ (Name of Clergy-
man) Clerk

greeting

We do by these Present Give and Grant to You in whose Fidelity, Morals, Learning, sound Doctrine and Diligence, We do fully confide, Our License and Authority (to continue during our pleasure) to perform the office of Minister or Priest in the Province of Virginia in North America, in reading that Common Prayers and performing the Ecclesiastical Duties belonging to the said Office according to the Form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and published by authority of the Pariliament and the Canons and Constitutions in that behalf, lawfully established and promulgated and not otherwise, or in any other manner / You having first before Us subscribed the Articles and taken the Oath which in this Case are Required by Law to be Subscribed

¹This ordination license is from Emmerson, comp., The Emmersons and Portsmouth, 21.

and taken.

In witness whereof We have caused Our seal which We use in this case to be hereunto affixed.²

Seal

²This appointment form is from Emmerson, comp., The Emmersons and Portsmouth, 24.

APPENDIX B

PARISHES SERVED BY THE MEN TRAINED
AT THE COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY

Virginia:

Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County
William Yates, 1750-1759 ✓
James Maury Fontaine, ca. 1792 ✓

— Bath Parish, Dinwiddie County
James Pasteur, 1755-1756

Brunswick Parish, King George County
Christopher Todd, 1775-1777

Bruton Parish, James City County ✓
William Yates, 1759-1764

Charles Parish, York County
Joseph Davenport, Jr., 1757-1785 ✓
— Samuel Shield, 1791-1792

Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County
Samuel Klug, 1767-1793 ✓

Dale Parish, Chesterfield County
William Leigh, 1775-1786 ✓

— Drysdale Parish, Caroline County
Samuel Shield, 1776-1778

Elizabeth City Parish, Elizabeth City County
William Selden, 1771-1783
William Bland, 1786

Elizabeth River Parish, Norfolk County
Thomas Davis, 1773-1776, 1806-1808
Walker Maury, 1786-1788

Fairfax Parish, Fairfax County
Thomas Davis, 1792-1806
William West, 1778-1779

- Frederick Parish, Frederick County
Charles Mynn Thruston, 1768-1777
- Fredericksville Parish, Albemarle County
James Maury, 1751-1769
Matthew Maury, 1769-1808
- Hanover Parish, King George County
Rodham Kenner, Jr., 1780-1785
- Henrico Parish, Henrico County
Miles Selden, 1752-1785
- Hungar's Parish, Northampton County
Thomas Davis, 1808
- James City Parish, James City
William Bland, 1767-1777
- Kingston Parish, Mathews County
John Dixon, 1754-1770
- Manchester Parish, Chesterfield County
William Leigh, 1773-1776
- Meherrin Parish, Brunswick County
Arthur Emmerson, Jr., 1773-1776
- Newport Parish, Isle of Wight County
William Hubbard, 1780-1802
- Norfolk Parish, Norfolk County
William Bland, 1791-1803
- North Farnham Parish, Richmond County
Edward Jones, 1786-1787
- Petsworth Parish, Gloucester County
James Maury Fontaine, 1764, 1790, 1795
Charles Mynn Thruston, 1765-1768
- Portsmouth Parish, Norfolk County
Arthur Emmerson, Jr., 1785-1801
- St. Anne's Parish, Essex County
John Matthews, 1774-1787 (1792?)
- St. Asaph's Parish, Caroline County
Samuel Shield, 1779-1785
- St. Bride's Parish, Norfolk County
James Pasteur, 1773-1774
Emmanuel Jones III, 1776-1787
John Matthews, 1795-1799

- St. George's Parish, Spotsylvania County
James Marye, Jr., 1768-1780
Abner Waugh, 1806
- St. James-Southam Parish, Powhatan County
John Hyde Saunders, 1773-1801 et post
- St. Mark's Parish, Culpeper County
Edward Jones, 1772-1780
- St. Mary's Parish, Caroline County
Abner Waugh, 1773-1806
- St. Stephen's Parish, Northumberland County
Thomas Davis, 1779-1792
- St. Thomas's Parish, Orange County
James Marye, Jr., 1761-1768
- South Farnham Parish, Essex County
John Matthews, after 1776
- Stratton-Major Parish, King and Queen County
John Dixon, 1773 (part-time)
- Suffolk Parish, Nansemond County
Arthur Emmerson, Jr., 1785
- Ware Parish, Gloucester County
John Fox, 1737-1764 ✓
James Maury Fontaine, 1764-1795
- Warwick Parish, Warwick County
Roscow Cole, 1754-1758
William Hubbard, 1773-1776
William Bland, 1785
- Wicomico Parish, Northumberland County
John Leland, Jr., 1775-1795
- Yorkhampton Parish, York County
Samuel Shield, 1786-1792
- North Carolina:
- St. Stephen's Parish, Johnston County
Edward Jones, 1769-1770 (missionary, S.P.G.)

Maryland:

St. Andrew's Parish, Leonardstown
William West, 1763-1772

St. George's Parish, Harford
William West, 1772-1779

St. Margaret's Parish, Anne Arundel
William West, 1763-1767

St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore
William West, 1779-1790

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