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The Puritan Experiment in Virginia, 1607-1650

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THE PURITAN EXPERIMENT IN VIRGINIA, 1607-1650

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

Kevin Butterfield

1999

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements

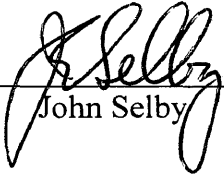
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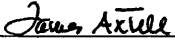


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Approved, June 1999



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ABSTRACT

Puritanism played an important role in seventeenth-century Virginia. Not limited to New England, Puritans settled in various locales in the New World, including Virginia, mostly south of the James River. Their history in Virginia is short—most people of Puritan sentiments were gone by 1650—but by examining their plight, particularly in the 1640s, one gains a fuller appreciation of the complexities of early society in the Old Dominion.

The importance of religion to the English settlers becomes clearly evident, both in the official policies of the Jamestown and London governing bodies and in the daily lives of the inhabitants of the colony. Further, the methods used to govern the rapidly expanding colony can be seen vividly by studying the means used to attempt to bring the Puritan settlers into stricter conformity with the Church of England. Those efforts peaked with the arrival of Sir William Berkeley and his attempts to remove the nonconformists through legislation. But the governor was not entirely successful until his Council and the Assembly altered their governing policies and gave additional power to the counties and parishes. Then a battle in the court of Lower Norfolk County led to the “voluntary” removal of the Puritan settlers to the more tolerant colony of Maryland.

The history of the Virginia Puritans also reveals a greater amount of interaction between Virginia and New England than historians usually appreciate. Further, the divisions caused by the religious struggles among the English in Virginia helps explain the timing of the Anglo-Indian conflict of 1644. And the political and numerical strength of the Puritan settlements in the Chesapeake offers some insight into the quick surrender of Virginia to the representatives of the Commonwealth in 1652. Most important, though, is the story of a large number of settlers who left England for a new start and faced in Virginia an intolerant government. The details of their persecution and their response tell us a great deal about many aspects of life in seventeenth-century Virginia. The very existence of a large, thriving, Puritan settlement in Virginia shows that Puritanism was not just a feature of New England but an important feature of many English settlements in the New World.

THE PURITAN EXPERIMENT IN VIRGINIA, 1607-1650

And who knowes, but the wildernesse and solitary place may be glad,
the parched ground may become a pool, and the thirsty land springs of water.
I am sure it is the earnest prayer of some poore soules in Virginia...

William Durand, 1642

Introduction

Seventeenth-century Virginia was not a likely wellspring of Puritanism. Profit, not religion, was the primary driving force in the growth of the colony. Jamestown, the first settlement and the seventeenth-century capital of the colony, has been described as the first American boomtown, with tobacco taking the place of gold. Foreign investors and bureaucratic corporations had more interest and influence in Virginia than did any church or religious sect. Most people immigrated to the Chesapeake region to make money. In 1621, a Puritan minister in Massachusetts described the Virginia colonists as men who, in England, seemed “religious, zealous and conscionable,” but have now “lost even the sap of grace, and edge to all goodness; and are become mere worldlings.” When juxtaposed with the solemn way of life in New England, Virginia appears to have had most of the qualities that one least commonly associates with Puritanism.¹

And yet, in the first half of the seventeenth century, Puritans were an influential component of Virginia society. They formed their own parish churches, actively ministered to the populace, elected and dispatched delegates to the House of Burgesses, and made every effort to create and preserve a community of like-minded individuals. Their attempt finally failed only when the colonial government in Jamestown cracked down on those not conforming to the dictates of the Church of England; by 1650 almost all Puritans had fled Virginia. This thesis examines the history of Puritanism in Virginia, focusing on those counties south of the James River—particularly Nansemond and Lower Norfolk counties—where the Puritans

settled in the greatest numbers and where their influence was strongest. Their story is one of religious growth and decline in the face of legal persecution. It is a story that reveals much about the religious environment and sociopolitical realities of seventeenth-century Virginia.

It would be a mistake to conclude that because Virginia was more secular than New England it was without significant religious influences and institutions. From its earliest days, religion played a vital role in the colony. Its first charters enjoined the colonists to spread the Christian religion to the native inhabitants of the land and to remain faithful to it themselves on threat of imprisonment. Ministers came with the first shiploads of Englishmen, and, from their writings and actions, it is difficult to question the piety of the first settlers. After some years, the first Virginia Assembly, believing that “men’s affairs doe little prosper where God’s service is neglected,” enacted laws mandating observance of the Sabbath, weekly church attendance, and taxes for the support of church and clergy.²

The church and clergy that were supported were exclusively Anglican. The original charters mandated the propagation of the religion “now professed and established within our realme of England.” The Church of England was to be the established church of the colony of Virginia. Officially, at least, this status would not change until the Revolution. What did evolve rather quickly was the rigidity with which Anglicanism was to be enforced. Each governor of the colony was instructed by his superiors in London to preserve the Church of England in Virginia. As early as 1621, though, Governor Francis Wyatt was ordered to “keep up religion of the church of England *as near as may be*.” The Assembly legislated in March

1624 that there was to be “an uniformity in our church *as neere as may be* to the canons in England.” The leaders of the colony had begun to realize that the exigencies of life in the New World required a certain amount of flexibility.³

The harsh conditions of the colony, as well as geographical separation from England and the lack of an episcopal structure for Virginia, led to a number of modifications. Control of the church was shared by the Assembly, the governor, and the parish vestry. For affairs relating to a single parish church, the most important of these groups was the vestry, composed of the leading laymen of each parish. The Assembly finally granted local authority to the parish vestries in 1643, after they had fought for autonomy for years. As a result, the churches in seventeenth-century Virginia were quite independent. No central authority, civil or ecclesiastical, monitored the daily affairs of the churches. Yet dissent from the Church of England was never an option. The established church evolved, but it remained firmly established.⁴

Puritans were part of the religious history of Virginia from the beginning. Adherence to Puritan sentiments and theology was not in itself religious dissent or nonconformity to the Anglican creed. Puritans in the early seventeenth century could be found scattered throughout the Church of England, and most felt themselves to be good members of the Anglican church. These men wished to rid the church of pre-Reformation attributes such as its episcopal structure and its many formal prayers and litanies from the *Book of Common Prayer*. But as historian Darrett Rutman pointed out, Puritans are too frequently “described in terms of what they were against. What is most pertinent, however, is what they stood for: the

intense and evangelical advocacy of the Christian obligation to know and serve God.” Puritans were first and foremost devout Christians. They usually wanted to reform the church from within rather than become separatists. Many of the earliest ministers in colonial Virginia were probably of this opinion. It would be a mistake, then, to see Puritans and Anglicans as rival factions with little in common. Puritans were participants in a Calvinist reform movement, and they were generally willing to conform to the Church of England as long as it remained basically Calvinist. Most Puritans could and did subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles that defined the Church of England, but a reaction within the church to Puritanism began in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, and from 1630 on the conflict between Anglicans and nonconformists grew into a nationally divisive issue. Before this period, many Puritans, depending on the degree of their dissent, were a tolerated minority within the Church of England.⁵

Still, toleration of Puritanism during the early years of Virginia settlement was contentious. Although several ministers in early Virginia were Puritans, many colonists were not always pleased to have them. In 1609 it was reported that an “unhappy dissension” had broken out among the settlers “by reason of their Minister, who being, as they say, somewhat a Puritan, the most part refused to go to his services and hear his sermons, though by the other part he was supported and favored.” From the earliest years of settlement, Puritans preached in Virginia; from the earliest years, Virginians were divided by their presence.⁶

I

The dispersal of English people with Puritan leanings was not restricted to any one region in the Americas—not to New England or anywhere else—but, wherever they settled, they did tend to settle in significant groups and to form cohesive communities. The settlements south of the James River became the center of Virginia Puritanism. Captain John Martin made an abortive attempt to settle the Nansemond River as early as 1609, but permanent English settlement did not begin south of the James until the early 1620s. Several plantations were founded in this period in what became Isle of Wight County, including a sizeable settlement of Puritans at Warraskoyack. In November 1621, the Virginia Company granted land to Edward Bennett and a number of other men who “undertook to settle 200 persons in the colony.” This Puritan settlement was sponsored by Bennett, a wealthy London merchant who, according to historian James Horn, was “one of the principal pillars of Puritan emigration to America.” He had become associated with the separatist church in the Netherlands and may have begun shipping Puritan colonists to the New World as early as 1618. Bennett’s personal holdings in the region were extensive, and his nephews, Richard and Philip Bennett, traveled to Virginia in the 1630s to monitor their uncle’s investments and make some of their own. Richard Bennett brought forty people, most likely Puritans, with him in 1635 and acquired two thousand acres on the Nansemond River. By the late 1630s, the Bennetts had holdings in future Nansemond County of over ten thousand acres. Christopher Lawne, who had been an important figure in the Dutch separatist church, emigrated

to Virginia and settled on the south side of the James River, bringing many like-minded individuals with him. Taken together, the leadership of the Lawne and the Bennett family introduced several hundred Puritans to the southern reaches of seventeenth-century Virginia.

In large part, the confused and uncertain land policy of the English government might have delayed extensive settlement in the region south of the James and east of the Nansemond River. In any event, after the policy was clarified in 1634, a flood of applicants for new land inundated the area, many of whom were of Puritan sentiment.⁷

With the establishment of the first counties in 1634, the Assembly included the banks on both shores of the lower James in Elizabeth City County. The massive increase in the population below the river led to the formation of Norfolk County in 1636 and, about a year later, to its subdivision into Upper and Lower Norfolk Counties. Ultimately, Upper Norfolk became Nansimum (later to be spelled Nansemond) County.⁸ The counties were further divided into parishes as the growth of population required: Lower Norfolk County in 1640, and Nansemond County in 1643. As vestries became autonomous in mid-seventeenth-century Virginia, each was responsible for locating and hiring its own ministers. The difficulty of this process can hardly be overstated. There were simply not enough ministers to go around. One pamphleteer in 1660 estimated that, at best, one-fifth of the parishes were “supplied with ministers.” Adding to the difficulties, the population explosion in the region had led to diversification of religious beliefs. Separatist Puritans now

lived alongside staunch Anglicans, and the hiring and firing of ministers became hot points of contention.⁹

Despite these challenges, church services began relatively early in the history of the southern counties. In 1635, land was granted in Upper Norfolk County to “George White, minister of the word of God.” Private homes were likely the sites of the earliest services, since there is no evidence of church buildings when the county was divided into parishes in 1643. Religious services were held in Lower Norfolk County as early as 1637, and probably before. Reverend John Wilson ministered to the inhabitants of the region until his death in 1640, preaching in the homes of captains John Sibsey and John Thorowgood until the erection of a church sometime before May 1638.¹⁰

Wilson’s ministry appears to have been the source of one of the earliest ecclesiastical controversies in the southern counties. In 1639, he reported that he had been denied tithes by a large portion of his congregation. He complained that he had “received great loss and damage by not receiving his corn due the last year for tithes.” Even when the county court ordered the people to pay, they refused. The causes of the dispute are not apparent, but clearly many of the congregation were not willing to support Wilson’s ministry.¹¹

A young minister of Puritan leanings named Thomas Harrison replaced Wilson the following year. Born in Hull, Yorkshire, he came to Virginia a couple of years after completing his education at Cambridge University. When he arrived in Virginia in 1640, a well-educated man in his early twenties, he was immediately hired to replace the deceased Wilson as the minister to all of Lower Norfolk County.

He even ministered to the people of neighboring Nansemond County. He was “an able man of unblameable conversation,” reported members of his congregation, and, according to some sources, his reputation led to his further appointment as chaplain to Governor William Berkeley at Jamestown during the early 1640s. His Puritanism only later became apparent and created a schism between the nonconformists of the region and the representatives of the colonial government. But his abilities as a preacher were above reproach. In England and Ireland in the 1650s, he was remembered as a “most agreeable preacher” who “had a peculiar way of insinuating himself into the affections of his hearers.”¹²

Harrison was welcomed with open arms by the people of Lower Norfolk. The decision to invite him was made “with the general approbacion” of the inhabitants, and in May 1640 the county officials hired him to “instruct them concerning their souls health” and “to testifie their zeale and willingness to promote Gods service.” The salary offered was the sizeable sum of one hundred pounds a year. In fact, Harrison was so popular that the only point of dispute came about when the inhabitants of some of the outer reaches of the county asked that Harrison travel to minister separately to them. The parish decided that Harrison should travel to the home of Robert Glascocke and “teache and instruct them as often as he shall teache att the Parish Church at Mr. Sewell’s Point.” In the early 1640s, Harrison had the apparent approval of virtually everyone in the county.¹³

** 1 **

Nansemond County was not so lucky; it had no full-time ministers. In 1642, the Bennett family and others attempted to remedy this situation by sending abroad for ministers. The citizens of the county discussed Massachusetts as well as England as a possible source, and letters were finally dispatched to the “Pastors and Elders of Christs Church in New-England and the Rest of the Faithfull” on May 24, 1642.¹⁴

Philip Bennett carried the letters to New England. He arrived in the fall of 1642, and John Winthrop, governor of Massachusetts, recorded his appearance in Boston. The request for ministers probably affirmed Winthrop’s unfounded notions that in Virginia the ministers were incompetent and usually drunk. This request must have been particularly rewarding for the people of New England. It indicated that Puritanism had taken root in the royal colony of Virginia, and they had the opportunity to “advance the kingdom of Christ in those parts.” Bennett arrived “with letters from many well disposed people of the upper new farms in Virginia to the elders here,” wrote Winthrop, “bemoaning their sad condition for want of the means of salvation, and earnestly entreating a supply of faithful ministers, whom, upon experience of their gifts and godliness, they might call to office, etc.” The letter to which Winthrop referred was signed by Richard Bennett, Daniel Gookin, John Hyll, and sixty-eight other “Inhabitants of the County of the upper Norfolk.” It was an official request from the residents of the county for three Puritan pastors to fill the three vacant ministerial positions in the county.¹⁵

This letter reveals much of the religious sentiment that characterized the inhabitants of the Nansemond region. It was a request by Virginians who were “as ‘Puritan’ as the New Englanders to whom they were writing,” wrote historian Jon Butler. The phrasing and tone of the request seem to be of one Puritan flock writing to another for support and guidance. The Virginians clearly implied that they wished Puritan ministers who met the approval of the leaders of New England:

Wee have therefore for this very end, still resolved to Commend our necessities to your Christian and serious Consideration, and doe by these letters earnestly desire to be supplied from you by such Pastors as shall be selected, nominated and Commended to us by you.... And in especiall manner we Commend this matter and ourselves Likewise to your Care over us in that which Concerne us soe highly resting in the expectation of Returne of your answere which wee hope to receive by the presence of those whom you shall send unto us, in whom likewise wee shall behold Gods Goodnes and your Christian Love to us.¹⁶

The letter made clear, however, that the ministers would be offered permanent positions, “provided that being tryed they be found faithfull in purenes of doctrine, and integrity of Life.” This caveat reveals two important things about the Virginia Puritans. First, it affirmed the congregationalist beliefs of the Virginia petitioners. Each parish church reserved the right to assess for itself the merits of its minister, a defining characteristic of Puritan ecclesiastical structure. Second, it established that the Nansemond Puritans, while in dire need of ministers, felt secure in their own stature as an independent Puritan settlement.¹⁷

A personal letter from William Durand to John Davenport, pastor of a church at Quinniepiac, later named New Haven, accompanied the formal letter of request.

Durand was one of the forty people Richard Bennett brought to Virginia in 1635. Durand was only eighteen years old in 1642, but he had heard Davenport preach at St. Stephen's Church in London and had taken extensive notes. He wrote to Davenport to convey some sense of the religious environment in Virginia. The colony, declared Durand, was marked by "much corruption and false worship, and nothing done as it should bee." His description of the needs of the Virginians is a valuable insight into the theological beliefs of the Virginia Puritans.¹⁸

The letter establishes beyond all doubt that the Virginians were seeking Puritan ministers rather than men of any other temperament. Durand wrote that his colleagues considered sending directly to England to request the ministers but were concerned that the English "have had there enough such as we have had already; and therefore our intentions maybe considered as having a further ayme than to seeke after any pastors, then such as onely the lord himself prepareth and sendeth to his people." The Virginia Puritans were seeking men of their own creed to minister to them.

Perhaps the most striking quality of the letter is its conveyance of the intensity of the religious faith and spirituality of the author. Durand's faith was firm and unwavering; it can even be described as visionary. "The lord hath visited me in this place," he wrote, revealing a sort of piety historians have commonly found in New England but rarely in Virginia. He believed that God had condemned "many poore soules in Virginia" for their ungodly conduct. In a particularly revealing passage, he wrote:

Many in this place having in England lived under the meanes, and bin wrought upon are here scattered in the cloudy and darke day of temptation, beeing fallen from their first love...yet the keepes covenant and mercy forever, commandeth us agayne to turn to him from whom we have fallen by our iniquities, and promiseth unto us that he will not cause his anger to fall upon us, and surely it is for no other cause but his mercifulnesse, for if ever the lord had cause to consume the cittyes of Sodom and Gomorrah he might as justly and more severely execute his wrath upon Virginia, swoln so great with the poison of sin, as it is become a monster and ready to burst.

His language is quite revealing. First, it is clear that Durand's strain of spirituality, his sense of his relation to God, was utterly Puritan. Secondly, Durand's letter shows the extent of the separatism of the Virginia Puritan settlement. After having been in the colony for over seven years, Durand's Puritan sentiments were not less intense but rather seem to exhibit a ferocity that had probably grown over that span of time. By 1642, Durand saw Virginia as "desolate place" inhabited by "sinners and backsliders."¹⁹

Much of Durand's frustration came from his perception of the quality of the ministers in Virginia. "If we continue under these wreched and blind Idoll shepards the very bane of this land," he complained, "we are like to perish." He described Thomas Faulkner, a minister in neighboring Isle of Wight County, as "a wicked priest of Baal, who is even hated of all that have any good in them, even as he hateth good men." Insufficient evidence remains of Faulkner's life for us to evaluate Durand's assessment, but clearly Durand and other inhabitants of the Nansemond region were seeking better pastors—in their estimation—to serve in their parish churches. The official letter of request mentioned an unnamed minister who had been preaching in the Nansemond region, but, "the present Incumbent having fully

determined to leave us,” the Virginia Puritans decided to search abroad for men to replace him. Durand’s powerful language, ringing of utter despair for the religious wellbeing of the region, suggests that this “present Incumbent” had not been satisfactory.

These complaints regarding the competence of the ministry speak to some larger issues in seventeenth-century Virginia. There were too few ministers for the region. Darrett Rutman estimates that in 1650, Massachusetts had thirty-seven practicing ministers, one for every 415 people. Virginia at this time had only six ministers, one for every 3,329 persons. Further, the quality of ministers of any persuasion in Virginia was never deemed high. The dispersal of the population made the problem even worse. The size of the average parish was so large that a pastor could hardly find time or energy for study. To ministers in Virginia, it must have seemed that they were forced to choose between knowing their congregation and educating them. The ministry in mid-seventeenth-century Virginia was almost nonexistent and virtually powerless.²⁰

The New England Puritans quickly decided to grant the Virginians’ request and sent three ministers to Virginia. Based on Durand’s letter and the comments of John Winthrop upon the arrival of Philip Bennett, it is apparent that the dispatch of Puritan ministers to Virginia was an evangelical mission. Durand wrote that the Virginia petition must have been the answer to Davenport’s prayers, since it made possible the “conversion of such as abide in the shadowes of death, and chaynes of darkness.” John Winthrop described the pastors dispatched “as seed sown, which would bring us in a plentiful harvest, and we accounted it no small honor that God

had put upon his poor churches here, that other parts of the world should seek us for help in this kind.” Yet this is evangelism in a peculiar sense. Winthrop recorded in the same diary entry that the Massachusetts elders also received a similar petition from the people of “Barbadoes and other islands in those parts.” The religious doctrine of the people there, wrote Winthrop, was “infected with familism, etc.,” a fanatical religious doctrine of the day, and therefore the elders rejected the proposal to send ministers to the islands. Thus, there was an intriguing ambiguity in the decision to send ministers to Virginia. On one hand, the New England Puritans seem to have been more than willing to work toward “the advancement of the kingdom of Christ” by sending missionaries abroad. At the same time, they felt obliged to evaluate the sincerity and godliness of the petitioners before dispatching those missionaries. The Nansemond residents seem to have met their criteria, providing further evidence of the strength of the Puritanism in southern Virginia.²¹

The most significant portion of Durand’s letter outlined the reasons he thought that the New England ministers ought to come to Virginia, his “land of darknesse,” and to counsel the people there. In this section, he presented Davenport with four arguments encouraging an affirmative response to the Virginia petition. First, he addressed the notion that Virginians, who were used to “so much corruption and false worship,” would not be willing to submit themselves to the Puritan ministers. Durand considered this objection probably the most significant concern that could be raised and seemed ashamed of his fellow Virginians when addressing it. “I know not well how to answer it fully,” he wrote, “but we are resolved to submit ourselves to the word of god for our direction.”²²

Durand further argued that, because of the Puritan sympathies of the English Parliament and the members' successes in pushing their agenda against the wishes of Charles I, there would be no better time to attempt to preach Puritanism in the colony of Virginia.

We have good hope that the lord will set up the true profession and practise of religion to which we are induced by the hope he hath given, to all christians, by the prosperous proceedings of the present parliament in England; and we trust it shall not be safe nor easy for any wretched opposite to hinder or seek to abolish that which god and the state in which we live shall*

The Virginia Puritans, then, were not only aware of the Puritan rise to power in London, but were taking that fact into account in their decision to promote the teaching of Puritanism in Virginia.²³

Durand's third argument was that the Puritans expected no vocal opposition to their practices in Virginia. "This our project hath beene long in hand and knowen throughout the whole land of Virginia," wrote Durand, "and noe man openeth his mouth to hinder it or speake agaynst it" but for one man, Thomas Faulkner, minister in Isle of Wight County, Durand's "priest of Baal." Their previous years in the colony showed no sign of having been marred by religious persecution or intolerance. The Puritan settlers at Nansemond had no idea that the arrival of Puritan ministers in Virginia would evoke any resentment. In his fourth point, Durand assured Davenport that the citizens of Nansemond County desired only Puritan ministers.²⁴

* Sentence incomplete in manuscript.

When analyzed as a whole, the letters Philip Bennett carried to Boston in 1643 reveal that Puritanism was strong, even thriving, in the Nansemond region. The Virginians seemed to enjoy a relative sense of security in the colony, exhibiting no fear of government interference in their worship. The Nansemond community met the standards of the elders in Massachusetts and was able to offer financial support to three ministers, one for each of its newly created parishes. Although there would be a great deal of division and religious strife in the years to come, in the early 1640s, Puritans had a strong and relatively uncontroversial presence in the Old Dominion.²⁵

** 2 **

Once the decision was made to send aid to their brethren in Virginia, the Massachusetts elders had to decide which ministers to part with. Fortunately, New England had plenty of ministers to go around. In fact, Winthrop noted that a number of the churches had two ministers, one of whom acted as a teaching elder, and it was from these churches that the Massachusetts leadership decided to make their selection. After some deliberation, it was decided that William Thompson, John Knowles, and Thomas James would travel to Virginia to serve in the parishes at Nansemond. John Knowles, “a godly man and a prime scholar,” had been educated at Oxford and had served in Massachusetts since 1639. He held the respect of his colleagues; later in life, he was proposed as a candidate for the presidency of Harvard College. Thomas James was not quite as well established in New England.

He had left Massachusetts in 1636 after some conflict with his congregation. He then spent some time with Roger Williams in Providence, Rhode Island, and later took a post in Connecticut in 1640, where he remained until departing for Virginia. William Thompson, a self-professed “very melancholic man,” was a remarkably well-respected man of God in New England. He was an Oxford graduate and had collaborated with Richard Mather on several books. After the three men set sail for Virginia, they were stranded on shore at least twice and were even forced to acquire a new ship midway through their eleven-week voyage.²⁶

Upon arriving in Virginia, the men began their ministry and by all accounts enjoyed great success. Contemporary chronicler Edward Johnson recorded that the men, “upon arriving there in safety, preached openly unto the people for some good space of time, and also from house to house exhorted the people daily, that with full purpose of heart they would cleave unto the Lord; the harvest they had was plentiful for the little space of time they were there.” According to the reports read aloud in Boston, it was deemed that “God had greatly blessed their ministry there.” The achievements of the Puritan ministers were remarkable. But their success should have come as no surprise.²⁷

The people of Virginia were without satisfactory religious instruction. The firmly Puritan settlers were no doubt pleased to have such well-respected and well-educated pastors. Winthrop wrote that, upon arrival in Virginia, the dispatched ministers “found very loving and liberal entertainment...by some well disposed people who desired their company.” It was not only the Puritan men and women who sought the counseling of the New England pastors; they ministered to the

populace at large and gained many converts. The people's hearts, testified Knolles, "were much inflamed with desire" to hear them.²⁸

Records kept by Thomas Shepard, a minister at Cambridge, Massachusetts, help to reveal the reasons behind this great success in Virginia. He recorded in a notebook the "public relations" of the religious experiences of candidates for membership in the church. Two of these candidates were Daniel and Mary Gookin, settlers in the Nansemond region and recipients of the ministry of William Thompson. Daniel Gookin had been brought up in a Puritan family, but he had experienced in his moments of introspection a "state of misery" and had felt as if he were without God. In Virginia, Gookin told Shepard, he had "sent with others for means," referring to his signature on the Nansemond petition. "Mr. Tompson came to my family," he recalled, and "was suitable for my soul." Gookin then explained why. "I was desirous of any rather than him," he told Shepard, suggesting that the shortage of ministers in Virginia had had an effect. Gookin was searching for a religious influence—"any" would do—and was met and converted by Thompson. Mary Gookin, Daniel's wife, was also converted in Virginia. "The Lord first began to work on my heart by Mr. Tompson," she told Shepard, "by which I saw more of [my] heart's wretchedness." The various accounts of the New England missionaries show that the Gookins were not alone in their religious transformation. The lack of substantial religious influence in Virginia made possible these successes of the Puritan ministry.²⁹

The extent of Puritanism in Virginia's southern counties, the recent advancements of the Puritan-led Parliament, and the success of the Puritans'

evangelical efforts lead to the conclusion that Virginia Puritanism in the early 1640s was not only strong but was growing stronger. In both Lower Norfolk and Nansemond, the Puritans seemed to be having it their own way. It took official action from the Jamestown government to alter this course, and the man who led the effort was Governor William Berkeley.

** 3 **

Berkeley was sent to Virginia to assume the governorship in 1642. He was a well-connected man, a scholar, and a playwright. He arrived in Virginia a “proud young cavalier” with great ambitions. According to historian David Hackett Fischer, Berkeley played “the leading role” in the formation of Virginia society. “The cultural history of an American region,” wrote Fischer, “is in many ways the long shadow of this extraordinary man.” The future of Virginia Puritanism certainly fell under this shadow.

William Berkeley was born in 1606, a younger son in a distinguished family. He was educated at Oxford and had spent two years at the royal court. His loyalty to Charles I at this time of growing civil conflict in England was firm, and he transplanted this devotion to his post in Virginia. Although it has recently been argued that Berkeley “and a few of his royalist friends were probably the only die-hard cavaliers in the colony,” his own loyalty is beyond doubt. Opposition to the king found no sympathy in William Berkeley.³⁰

When dispatched to Virginia, Berkeley had been ordered to oppose any and all religious nonconformity within the colony. His commission was accompanied with the instruction “that in the first place you be carefull Almighty God may be duly and daily served according to the forme of Religion Established in the Church of England.” In fact, the royal instructions to Berkeley had thirty-one parts, and, notably, the first part was devoted to the matter of conformity to the church. Any ministers who refused to take “the oath of allegiance” were to be sent home. Berkeley’s orders were clear and his loyalty to the king was beyond doubt. It is no surprise that he acted quickly to silence the Puritan ministers.³¹

Upon their arrival, the New England pastors provided letters of introduction to Governor Berkeley and members of his Council. The elders in Massachusetts had ordered Winthrop to “commend [the ministers] to the governor and council of Virginia, which was done accordingly.” But the governor did not welcome them, Winthrop records, and he quickly took action to see them out of the colony.³²

Within a short period, Edward Johnson wrote, “the Governour and some other malignant spirits” ordered the men out of the colony. Under Berkeley’s leadership, the Assembly had convened and agreed to legislation ordering their expulsion.

Ffor the preservation of the puritie of doctrine and unitie of the church, It is enacted that all ministers whatsoever which shall reside in the collony are to be conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England, and the laws therein established, and not otherwise be admitted to teach or preach publicly or privatly, And that the Gov. and Counsel do take care that all nonconformists upon notice of them shall be compelled to depart the collony with all conveniencie.

This legislation had the immediate goal of ending the ministry of the New England pastors, but it would later be used to silence the “native” Puritan settlers of southern Virginia as well.³³

Following the passage of this legislation, all three ministers seem to have stayed for some time, continuing their evangelism in the private homes of members of their congregations. By the end of 1643, though, they “were forced to return to N[ew] E[ngland] again.” William Thompson remained the longest, making numerous converts. Cotton Mather described his success: “When reverend Knowles and he sail’d hand in hand, / To Christ espousing the Virginian *land*, . . . A *constellation* of great *converts* there, / Shone round him, and his *heavenly glory* were.” Knowles arrived back in Boston in June 1643 and reported that the colonial authorities had attempted to silence him and his colleagues for their nonconformity but that they had remained for some time to minister to the Virginians. Nonetheless, before the year was out, all three ministers left Virginia for the security of New England. Berkeley had prevailed.³⁴

Some of the Nansemond Puritans followed the ministers back to New England. Daniel Gookin and his family traveled to Massachusetts following the pastors’ expulsion, and Gookin later became the colony’s superintendent of Indian affairs. Gookin told Thomas Shepard that after Thompson had left Virginia, there was “no public ministry” available to the people. Gookin took his family to New England, where Thompson “hath been faithful” to him, and remained there to the end of his life.³⁵

About a year after the expulsion of the Puritan ministers, Indians under the leadership of Opechancanough attacked English settlements in Virginia. Several hundred Virginians were killed in the April 1644 attack, and some Puritans were convinced that the Indian uprising was an act of God in retaliation for the Virginians' treatment of the New England pastors. Edward Johnson told his readers, "This cruel and bloody work of theirs put period to the lives of five or six hundred of these people" who had rebuked the Puritan pastors and chose "the fellowship of their drunken companions...who could hardly continue so long sober as till he could read them the reliques of mans invention in a common prayer book." When the Indians had neared the "little flock" of Virginia Puritans, Johnson recounted, the attack was "discovered and prevented from further proceeding." Divine retribution for the treatment of the New Englanders, wrote Johnson, was the cause of the Indian attack.

But John Winthrop suggested a more tangible reason for the attack. In noting the 1644 conflict in his journal—a massacre of "three hundred at least"—he remarked that a passengers on a ship from Virginia had quoted an Indian captive to the effect that the natives had attacked because the English had taken up "all their lands from them." The Indians, by this account, had chosen this moment to attack because they "understood that they [the English] were at war in England, and began to go to war among themselves, for they had seen a fight in the river between a London ship which was for the Parliament and a Bristol ship which was for the king." The war in England had, it seems, come to Virginia, even if only on a small scale, and the native inhabitants took that opportunity to attempt to reclaim their lands. Another writer had the same impression as Winthrop: "Their great King was

by some English informed, that all was under the sword in England, in their Native Countrey, and such divisions in our Land; That now was his time or never, to roote out all the English.” Winthrop also saw the hand of God in the attack, writing that “this evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them.”³⁶

Divinely inspired or not, the Indian attack quite possibly averted a further division in Virginia—a serious conflict between the Puritans and the Berkeley camp. A letter printed in the London newspaper *Mercurius Civicus* described the tension between these parties because of “Sir William Barclay’s” attempt to compel religious dissenters to testify to their allegiance to the royal government. The author of the letter argued

the massacre (though a judgment) did divert a great mischief that was growing among us by Sir William Barclay’s courses; for divers of the most religious and honest inhabitants, were mark’t out to be plundered and imprisoned for the refusall of an Oath that was imposed upon the people, in referrence to the King of England... Those few that tooke it did it more for feare then affection; so that it is the opinion of judicious men that if the Indians had but forborne for a month longer, they had found us in such a combustion among our selves that they might with ease have cut off[f] every man if once we had spent that little powder and shot that we had among our selves.

The letter, whether accurate in its prediction or not, reveals a high level of tension between the Puritan and Anglican settlers. The 1644 uprising, because it presented the colonists with a common threat, certainly ended any idea of internecine conflict. Perhaps, as the author of the *Mercurius Civicus* letter suggests, the Indian attack actually prevented a civil war from erupting in the colony. The simple fact that

contemporaries felt that it was a possibility suggests the depth of religious nonconformity in Virginia.³⁷

**** 4 ****

The conflict in Virginia over the Puritanism of the southern counties reveals a number of important aspects of the colony in the 1640s. The extent of the Puritan influence has often been underestimated, but it is clear that the extensive settlements south of the James were firmly Puritan in their sentiments. The response of Berkeley and the Assembly to the arrival of Puritan pastors who began to gain additional converts was quick and decisive. Because of the Indian uprising of 1644, popular reaction to the governor's policies did not have a chance to develop. But some contemporaries thought that, had the attack not come, fighting among the English might have broken out.

As it was, the Puritans still living below the James after 1644 continued to worship as they saw fit. Thomas Harrison, whose Puritanism was not yet apparent to the Jamestown government, served faithfully in Lower Norfolk County. Within a year, however, he was at the center of a heated controversy there. Nansemond County residents, in the absence of constituted pastors, often resorted to lay preaching and occasionally to Harrison's ministry. The Puritanism of the southern counties was strong enough to survive the initial attacks of Governor Berkeley. But the pressure continued, and some men living below the James who had tolerated Puritanism in the early 1640s would, by the middle of the decade, no longer support

the nonconformists. The early years of this conflict show that the Puritanism to which Berkeley reacted was, not an insignificant aspect of Virginia life in the seventeenth century, but rather was a central feature of it. The influence of Puritanism, it seems, would have grown more substantial, due in large part to the lack of zealous Anglican ministrations in the region, had it not been for the efforts of Governor Berkeley on behalf of his king and his church.

II

During the 1640s, the Indians and the English settlers continued their fight for the coastal land of the Chesapeake. The conflict peaked in 1644, with the attack initiated by Opechancanough as a last-ditch effort to retain control of the region. The repulse of the uprising by the colonists led to an official settlement in 1646. By October of that year, the fighting had ended, and the Indians were removed by treaty from the James River basin below the rapids. About five hundred colonists had died in the initial attack of 1644, leaving some eight to fifteen thousand English men and women scattered along the waterways of Virginia. The fighting devastated some areas of the colony. Certain parishes could no longer support their ministers by means of standard tithes because “they had become very small by reason of the said massacre.” But by the end of the decade, although Anglo-Indian relations remained tense along the northern upper Rappahannock frontier, the English had secured their position as permanent residents of the Chesapeake.³⁸

Meanwhile, the English Civil War was raging on the other side of the Atlantic, and echoes of that struggle reached the colony. Internal divisions among Virginia settlers on the issue of the king’s struggle against the parliamentary leaders were deep and pronounced. When Governor Berkeley pushed for the settlers to take an oath of allegiance to King Charles, “the people murmured, and most refused to take it.” John Winthrop, writing from Boston, noted that Virginia “was like to rise in parties, some for the king, and others for the parliament.”³⁹

The outbreak of hostilities in England in 1639 had a large effect on the stability of Virginia, particularly in the religious friction of the 1640s. Berkeley's vehement response to the arrival of Puritan pastors in his colony, which can easily be attributed to his 1642 orders to preserve the Church of England, was strengthened by what he had seen happen in England. The government at Jamestown would not have acted so quickly and decisively to ensure the continued preeminence of the Anglican Church in the colony had colonial leaders not feared a threat to its position.

Berkeley's policies appear to have been wholly political in origin, arising out of his perception of growing opposition within Virginia. He had been ordered to maintain the established Church of England, and, having come from the royal court in 1642, he knew that Puritans posed a serious threat to the church and to the royal government.

But Berkeley was not the only source of trouble for the Puritans. Men who had tacitly endorsed Puritan pastors in the early 1640s no longer did so in the second half of the decade. Having gained a sense of strength from the official colonial policies of Berkeley, some vestry leaders, in Lower Norfolk County especially, began to voice their opposition to Puritan religious leadership. Thus, the seeds of religious conflict in mid-seventeenth-century Virginia were not all sewn by the political exigencies of the English Civil War. The most intense disputes between devout Puritans and those who supported the established church occurred from 1644 onward, carried out within county courts and church vestries. Political maneuvering was not the chief motivation in those conflicts. In large part, the disputes appear to have been almost wholly theological in nature. The men and women who wished to

worship outside the accepted conventions of the Anglican church did not do so as a means of political protest. Likewise, those men who acted as the official wardens of the church and carried out their assigned task of maintaining “the puritie of doctrine and unitie of the church” did so not only out of a sense of legal and political obligation, but because of their own religious beliefs.⁴⁰

** 1 **

The county of Lower Norfolk was the site of much of the religious conflict of the 1640s. It had been divided into two parishes known as Elizabeth River and Lynnhaven, each with its own vestry and minister. Over the course of the decade, the congregation at Elizabeth River became, according to James Horn, “the scene of a bitter struggle between Puritans and Anglicans for control of the parish.” Certain leading individuals in the area were clearly of Puritan beliefs, desirous of worship according to their interpretation of the Bible, without the trappings of the Anglican church. Other influential men at Elizabeth River were unwilling to allow what they perceived as blatant nonconformity to go on within their parish. Although the struggle occurred in full view of Governor Berkeley and he occasionally intervened, the prime actors were the leading men of the Elizabeth River parish.⁴¹

On April 15, 1645, the struggle for control of the parish appeared for the first time in the public records, where it remained until 1649. The parish vestry, despite their unanimous approval of Harrison in 1640, was composed of men with different ideas regarding worship and the church. But, excepting one vestry member’s

signature on the 1642 Nansemond petition, there were no signs of divisive differences of religious opinion at Elizabeth River preceding the occasion of April 1645 when Thomas Harrison was accused of nonconformity. The religious differences among the men might have been great, but until 1645 they had lived together without conflict. After the colonial government began actively to enforce religious conformity, conflict within the parish began to surface.⁴²

The April session of the county court was held at the house of William Julian, a man who had been in Virginia since 1608. Sitting with Julian were Thomas Lambert, Mathew Philips, and Captain John Sibsey. After settling a number of cases between debtors and creditors, the court heard the charge against Harrison. Mathew Philips and Thomas Ivey, church wardens for the Elizabeth River parish, “exhibited their presentment against” Harrison “for not reading the booke of Common Prayer and for not administering the sacrament of Baptisme according to the Cannons and order p[re]scribed and for not Catechising on Sunnedayes in the afternoone according to Act of Assembly.”⁴³

The three charges against Harrison are revealing of the nature of the dispute in the parish. His apparent refusal to use the *Book of Common Prayer* in his ministry is indicative of his Puritan piety and discipline. Puritans were highly critical of the *Book of Common Prayer*, with its scripted ceremonies for every religious occasion. Edward Johnson called its dictates the “reliques of mans invention,” and Puritans everywhere criticized the use of the religious ceremonies laid out in the text. The “purification” of the church that the Puritans were endorsing was in large part the removal of the ceremonies included in the *Book of Common Prayer*. By the same

token, Harrison's refusal to use the text was a violation of Virginia statute. In March 1643, during the same session in which Berkeley and the Assembly ordered that all ministers in the colony be "conformable to the orders and constitutions of the church of England," the use of the "booke of common prayer" had also been required "for the administering of the word and sacrament." The debate over the use of the *Book of Common Prayer* ended in England in 1645, when an act of the Long Parliament dated January 3, 1645, had abolished the prayer book. Unfortunately for Harrison's case, the colonial government of Virginia had not followed suit. In 1647, in fact, the Assembly strengthened the law that ordered all ministers to preach from the *Book of Common Prayer*. Berkeley remained intent on preserving the Church of England even as his superiors in Parliament were abandoning it, providing firm evidence of Berkeley's royalist beliefs.⁴⁴

The second charge against Harrison also rested on a theological dispute. Phillips and Ivey accused Harrison, not of a failure to perform baptism, but of failing to perform the sacrament "according to the Cannons and order p[re]scribed." This presentment most likely stemmed from the first charge. The *Book of Common Prayer* lays out the exact order of the ceremony for baptism, and Harrison's noncompliance with the prescribed arrangement undoubtedly stemmed from his distaste for the Anglican ceremonies contained in the book. There are any number of aspects of the baptismal ritual in the *Book of Common Prayer* that Harrison might have found objectionable. Puritans in his day were often critical of lengthy, prepared services. More particularly, one of the assigned tasks—the use of the sign of the cross on the infant—was frequently criticized by Calvinists of the seventeenth

century. To some, it meant the doctrine of baptismal regeneration, a doctrine that went against the idea of salvation by the grace of God. The sign of the cross is a step in the *Book of Common Prayer*'s "Ministration of Baptism to Be Used in the Church" that Harrison was probably not willing to perform. Thus, the charge of the failure to perform the sacrament of baptism "according to the Cannons and order p[re]scribed" fit Harrison's religious beliefs and was likely true. By all appearances, the issue at hand was genuinely one of religious interpretation.⁴⁵

The same is true of the third and final charge presented against Harrison. According to his accusers, Harrison was guilty of not "Catechising on Sunnedayes in the afternoone according to Act of Assembly." The act to which the court referred had been passed initially in 1641 and recently continued by the Assembly in 1644. "All ministers," the act read, "should preach in the forenoon and catechise in the afternoon of every Sunday." The catechism, as it was practiced in the Anglican church, was a series of questions and answers taught to children as they prepared for confirmation. Unlike in the Roman Catholic Church, Anglicans did not believe that confirmation was a sacrament necessary to salvation. Catechism and confirmation remained after the Church of England's separation from the Catholic Church, but the Anglicans did not believe that confirmation was a means of grace. To Puritan reformers, the whole process was anathema; the catechisms contained in the *Book of Common Prayer* were simply holdovers from the Catholic Church. Harrison, it appears, fell into this latter school of thought. Even when the Assembly passed an act mandating ministers to catechize on Sunday afternoons, Harrison would not.⁴⁶

The Lower Norfolk county court was at this time composed of four justices. Mathew Phillips, one of the four, was also one of the churchwardens presenting the three charges against Harrison. The court ruled that Harrison was to be given notice and “bee summoned by the sherriffe to make his p[er]sonnal appearance at James Citty before the Governor and Councell...to answer to the said presentment.” Unfortunately, there are no extant records that give any information regarding this encounter. There is evidence of Harrison’s presence in the Elizabeth River parish as late as November 1646, and Harrison was not ordered to leave the colony until 1648, a full three years after his case ended.⁴⁷

Historians have tried to give some sort of explanation for this apparent leniency on the part of Governor Berkeley toward Harrison. Babette Levy suggested that Berkeley “allowed him this leeway of three years” in the hope that “such a brilliant preacher might be brought to conform.” Jon Butler contended that Harrison had met with Berkeley and agreed to “abide by Anglican church canons.” The truth is that there is no satisfactory answer to this question. For a time, the friction in the colony of Virginia between the Puritan settlers and those unwilling to tolerate their religious practices was simply not a major issue, but there is no obvious reason why. Possibly it had to do with the Indian uprising of 1644. When the colonial government sent delegates to seek aid from other colonies, they sent Cornelius Lloyd, a burgess from Lower Norfolk who was later charged with nonconformity, to New England. In select instances, it seems, the Jamestown government could make use of Puritanism.⁴⁸

After the mid-1640s, the religious schism became increasingly evident. The tension between the two factions in the Elizabeth River parish, which was hidden from view before the 1645 Harrison case, did not go away. Harrison, it appears, decided to leave the parish for neighboring Nansemond County sometime in 1647. Most likely he simply would not yield to the demands of the county court and the Jamestown government. In 1648, the vestry attempted to determine what to do with the “proffitts of the Glebe Land ever since Parson Harrison hath desented [deserted] his Ministeriall office and denyed to administer ye Sacraments etc. to us and the inhabitants.” After Thomas Harrison left for the more welcoming locale of Nansemond, the Elizabeth River parish was without an official minister for some time.⁴⁹

In November 1647, Harrison moved west to neighboring Nansemond County and began ministering to the people there. By all indications, Nansemond had been without any religious instruction since the New England pastors had been banished from the colony a few years earlier. Harrison’s reception by the people of the county was apparently warm, and his religious teachings were quite effective. In November 1647, Harrison reported to John Winthrop that all was going well in Nansemond. The “Prince of Peace himselfe,” Harrison wrote, “hath not suffered the least cold aire or breathing of any opposition as yet to fall upon us,” which was “a matter of noe small admiration, considering where we dwell, even where Satan’s throne is.” Not only had the opposition to his ministry become invisible for a time, but Harrison was actively gaining converts in Nansemond: “74 have joined here in fellowship, 19 stand propounded, and many more of great hopes and expectations,” he informed

Winthrop. In his short stay in Nansemond, Harrison became a much-loved figure in the county.⁵⁰

** 2**

Although the conflicts at Elizabeth River had been fought and resolved on a local level, it is clear that Berkeley and his Council had by no means grown apathetic toward the presence of nonconformists in the colony. The struggle between Anglicans and reform-minded Puritans over the course of the 1640s had been increasingly centered in county governments and church vestries. Berkeley's government built upon this trend and, rather than continuing to work toward religious uniformity from the capital, relegated the enforcement of religious uniformity to the individual counties and parishes. An act in 1646 ordered clergymen who would not catechize the children of the parish to pay a fine of five hundred pounds of tobacco "to be disposed off by the vestry for the use of the parish." More significant was an act of November 1647 that reinforced the mandate that all ministers read from the *Book of Common Prayer* and allowed parishioners of nonconforming ministers to withhold their tithes.

Upon divers informations presented to this Assembly against severall ministers for their neglects and refractory refuseinge after warning given them to read common prayer or divine service upon the Sabboth dayes contrary to the canons of the church and acts of parliament therein established, for future remedie hereof: Be it enacted by the Gov'r. Council and Burgesses of this Grand Assembly, That all ministers...upon every Sabboth day read such prayers as are appointed and prescribed unto them by the saide booke of common prayer,

And be it further enacted as a penaltie to such as have neglected or shall neglect their duty herein, That no parishioner shall be compelled either by distresse or otherwise to pay any manner of tythes or dutyes to any unconformist as aforesaid.

Berkeley had found an ideal means of enforcing Anglican authority throughout the colony. As historian Jon Kukla noted, these laws “allowed the governor to promote religious uniformity at a distance through parsimonious vestrymen and parishioners.” Puritan pastors continued to minister in some Virginia parishes, despite Berkeley’s best efforts to oust them. The governor undercut these Puritans’ support by preventing the Puritan majority in a vestry from collecting tithes from everyone. These measures can be seen as moderate attempts to make the region less attractive to nonconformists and thereby to maintain religious uniformity without social conflict, but the effect of the acts was explosive. In Elizabeth River, the struggle for control of the parish was about to erupt in a flurry of litigation.⁵¹

Early in 1648, after the departure of Thomas Harrison, a number of the people of Elizabeth River began to gather on Sunday mornings to hear the lay preacher William Durand. Members of the county leadership deemed the meetings to be “contrary to the lawes and Government of the colony.” The split in the parish, it seems, had widened. On Sunday, May 28, 1648, Richard Conquest, the “high Sherriffe of the County of Lower Norfolke,” accompanied by John Sibsey and Thomas Ivey, “being requested and required in the name of our Sovereigne Lord the King,” gave

publique Notice to the Inhabitants of Elizabeth River in the Said County, to forbear and desist from their frequent meetings and usuall assembling themselves together...and thereupon...did fynd one named William Durand with much

people (men women and children) assembled and mett together in the Church or Chappell of Elizabeth River...and wee did see the said William Durand goe into and sett in the Deske or Reading place of the said Church; where as also in the pullpitt hee hath customarily by the space of these three moneth last past, upon several sabboth dayes (as by certaine and credible informacon to us given) preached to said people.

William Durand had assumed the position of minister to the Puritan inhabitants of the Elizabeth River parish. Lacking formal training, Durand was probably only serving as a temporary substitute. Durand's letter to John Davenport of New England, which accompanied the Nansemond petition of 1642, reveals that he had taken extensive notes on the sermons of Davenport while they both resided in London. According to Durand, the notes "in this desolate place are noe little stay to my wretched and miserable condition." It is likely that these notes, taken initially "for helpe of memöry," aided Durand in his early preaching efforts. The content of the sermons, however, was not the issue. The county's high sheriff had come to order the people to disperse, having, apparently, already determined that the people were meeting "contrary to the laws and Government of the Colony."⁵²

With the departure of Harrison from Elizabeth River following his criminal accusation, the lines between the nonconformists and the firmly Anglican leaders of the parish became more clearly demarcated, and the struggle for control reached a new level of intensity. According to a statement made in court by Conquest, Sibsey, and Ivey, the followers of Durand were a distinct group, apparently quite large, that could best be termed a "faction." Leading figures of the county who were clearly also of a Puritan temperament came to Durand's aid following his arrest. Cornelius Lloyd, one of the four delegates from Lower Norfolk to the House of Burgesses, and

his brother Edward, a former member of the Assembly, along with one “John fferinghaugh” and “divers others (whose names are not yet certaynly to us knowne) were Mayneteynors and Embraceors of the faction of William Durand aforementioned, and abettors to much sedition and Mutiny.” The county officials met a great deal of opposition in their attempt to silence Durand. Some men, including Cornelius and Edward Lloyd,

not onely denied and refused to ayde and assist the said high Sherriffe to suppress the said faction and Sedition, they being in his Ma[jesties] name requested and required thereunto, but they also...indeavored and did goe about to rescue the said William Durand, from and after arrest, hee the said Durand being apprehended at the suite of our said Dread Sovereigne Lord the King.

Even influential men like the Lloyds could not protect Durand for very long. The resistance in Lower Norfolk to his presence, or, more accurately, the resistance in the county to nonconforming religious doctrines as a whole, had become increasingly intense. The move to crack down on the Puritans continued to gain momentum.⁵³

Berkeley became involved when the charges against Durand were presented to the governor and his Council late in 1648. The decision was entirely in favor of Durand’s accusers, granting them over five thousand pounds of tobacco out of his estate. Further, these charges were the last straw for Governor Berkeley. Just as he had done a few years earlier with the visiting pastors from New England, Berkeley had the nonconforming ministers banished from the colony. Sometime in the summer of 1648, Durand was ordered to leave. At the same time, Berkeley finally banished Thomas Harrison; he was told to depart “by the third ship at furthest.”⁵⁴

Debate in England regarding Harrison and Durand's banishment reveals the depth of Berkeley's desire to eliminate nonconformity in Virginia. After Harrison's expulsion, the people of Nansemond petitioned Parliament for his reinstatement, calling him "an able man of unblameable conversation." He had been banished for his refusal to use the *Book of Common Prayer* in his services, the petition claimed, and, since that book had been banned by act of Parliament, his dismissal was unjust. The Council of State, or Privy Council, which received the petition, ruled on October 11, 1649, that, as "the Governor cannot be ignorant that the use of it [the *Book of Common Prayer*] is prohibited by Parliament, he is directed to permit Mr. Harrison to return to his ministry, unless there is sufficient cause approved by Parliament." By this time, Harrison had relocated to New England, and nothing ever came of the parliamentary order.⁵⁵ There is no evidence that Berkeley ever received the decision of the Privy Council, and there is no reason to believe he would have paid it any mind if he had. Berkeley and his Assembly published in London a reaction to the political developments in England. The address made clear the royalist sympathies of the Virginia government and referred to the forced departure of Harrison and Durand without apology. "Concerning the differences in *England*, our lawes keep them in better awe than to dare to speak against the Protector of them: 'Tis true indeed, Two, chose rather to leave the Country than to take the Oathes of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, and we acknowledge that we gladly parted with them." Berkeley was outspoken in his defense of his actions and in his flagrant refusal to acknowledge that, over the course of the 1640s, he, not Harrison or Durand, had become the outlaw. Although he initially had been ordered to preserve the Church

of England, by 1645, acts of Parliament had changed matters substantially. And yet he still ousted ministers from their pulpits based on their use of the now-forbidden *Book of Common Prayer*.⁵⁶

Harrison arrived in Boston in October 1648. His reception was gracious, and he immediately began to “take advice of the magistrates and elders” regarding the future of the Puritan congregation he had left in Virginia. According to John Winthrop’s journal, Harrison reported to Winthrop and the other leaders in Boston that “their church has grown to one hundred and eighteen persons, and many more looking towards it, which had stirred up the governor there, Sir William Berkley, to raise persecution against them, and he had banished their elder, Mr. Durand, and himself.”⁵⁷

After Harrison related the episode of his banishment, he asked for the advice of the magistrates on whether the Puritan congregation in Virginia “ought not to remove, upon this persecution.” The New England men recommended to Harrison that the Puritans remain in Virginia, relying on his surprisingly positive account of the religious environment of the region. “There was so great hope of a far more plentiful harvest at hand,” Winthrop recorded, “many of the council being well inclined, etc., and one thousand of the people by conjecture.” The magistrates decided that “they should not be hasty to remove, as long as they could stay upon any tolerable terms.” Harrison and the magistrates further discussed possible places to which the congregation should remove to “if necessitated.” After discussing a potential site in the Bahamas for some time, the discussion ended. The Virginia congregation was advised to stay in Virginia for the time, and Harrison himself

remained in Boston. He eventually traveled to England and played an important role as a Puritan religious leader, serving under Henry Cromwell, son of Oliver Cromwell. In 1652 he petitioned the Privy Council on behalf of “some well-affected inhabitants of Virginia and Maryland.” He had left Virginia some four years earlier, but it is clear that his congregation was never far from his thoughts.⁵⁸

** 4 **

The situation in the Elizabeth River parish did not improve following the banishment of Durand and Harrison. By the following year, in May 1649, the parish vestry hired a new minister. “Upon much debate and Serious Consideracon,” the vestry agreed upon Sampson Calvert and decided to pay him thirty pounds of tobacco for every “tithable p[er]son in ye parish yearly.” Sitting on this vestry were men who clearly differed in opinion on the subject of religious services. Cornelius Lloyd, for instance, served with Richard Conquest, the man who had earlier charged him with a crime for interfering on behalf of William Durand. John Hill, one of the signers of the Nansemond petition, served with Thomas Ivey and Mathew Phillips, the individuals who filed the charges against Harrison for nonconformity in 1645. The tension in the vestry meetings was undoubtedly thick, and the potential for explosive conflict was only growing.⁵⁹

Sampson Calvert obviously did not meet the needs of some of the Puritan inhabitants of the parish. Three months after his services were procured by the vestry, on August 15, 1649, eight men, including Edward Lloyd, were charged in the

county court by Sheriff Richard Conquest as “Seditious Sectuaries for not repairing to their parish Church and for refusing to hear Comon prayer.” The eight men were ordered “to Conforme themselves” to the laws of the colony and given until the first of October to do so. The penalty for disobedience was left unclear: “Such order then to be taken...as shall be thought ffit.”⁶⁰

In Conquest’s full report to the county court, he described the offense of the eight men in detail. The “Seditious Sectuaries,” reported the high sheriff, “with divers other (Schismatics) Inhabitants of Eliz[abeth] River parish within this country...whose names hereafter shall be presented” to the court,

did not repair to their parish Church at Eliz[abeth] River afores[ai]d nor to any Church, Chappell, or usuall place of Comon prayer, and then there abide during ye time of common prayer, but all and every the sd persons above named doe obstinately refuse and have wholly and altogether Willfully forborne ye Same, for ye terme or space of three moneths afores[ai]d

The eight defendants had apparently stopped attending church on the day Sampson Calvert was hired. The county court, consisting of men such as John Sibsey who had played leading roles in every court case against members of the Puritan congregation throughout the 1640s, ruled that the eight men were to stand trial for their crime. On October 1, 1649, the eight were ordered to “enter into bond with good Security for their p[er]sonall appearance Att James Citty the 8th day of this octob[er] Court to answer the pmisses before the Gouvernr and Counsell.” They never showed up.⁶¹

** 5 **

Beginning in the fall of 1649, many members of the Puritan congregations of Lower Norfolk and Nansemond Counties departed for Maryland, where William Durand had fled following his banishment the previous year. In many ways this exodus marked the end of Puritanism in Virginia. After the “reduction” of Virginia and Maryland in 1651 and 1652, the colonies were ruled by delegations approved by the government in power in England. Richard Bennett, a leading Puritan of Nansemond who had signed the petition of 1642, even assumed the governorship of the colony for a period in the 1650s. But, following the departure of the Puritans from the south side of the James River beginning in 1649, there were no congregations in Virginia that could rightfully be called Puritan.⁶²

The reasons for the migration of the Puritans to Maryland are not at all difficult to comprehend. The persecution of their religious practices, both on a local level and at the hands of the Berkeley government, had grown intense, and relocation became the preferred solution to the problem. Maryland was deemed an ideal place, due to its policy of religious toleration. William Stone had been appointed governor of Maryland in August 1648. In April of the following year, “An Act concerning Religion” was adopted by the Maryland government that codified the doctrine of religious freedom by which the colony had been governed all along.⁶³

The involvement of the Virginia Puritans in Maryland politics had begun years before their removal to the colony of Lord Baltimore. In fact, Puritans under the leadership of Richard Bennett had acted as mercenary army in the winter of

1646-1647, returning Leonard Calvert to the governorship after a mutiny had left him powerless and exiled in Virginia. After “comeing upp out of Virginia” with his army, Calvert met little opposition and the government was restored. William Stone was named the third proprietary governor of the colony after the death of Calvert, and he therefore owed a great deal to the men who had reestablished the government. Not all men were grateful to Bennett and his soldiers, but they did have the official support of the colonial government. James Johnson of Maryland was whipped and fined two thousand pounds of tobacco for saying that “Rich: Bennett, and all tht came up wth the late Governor from Virginea (meaning the soldiers) were Rogues.” In short, the Virginia Puritans were persecuted by the government in Virginia and praised and protected by a government in Maryland they had helped to protect. It is not surprising, then, that the colonists decided to move.⁶⁴

Further, Governor Stone was an active agent in the removal of the Puritans to Maryland. They were “invited and encouraged by Captain Stone” to move to the colony, the Puritans recorded in a petition to the Maryland government drafted in 1653. According to John Hammond, writing in 1656,

Mary-land (my present subject) was courted by them as a refuge, the Lord Proprietor and his Governor solicited to, and severall addresses and treaties made for their admittance and entertainment into that province, their conditions were pittied, their proposition were harkened to and agree on, which was that they should have convenient portions of land assigned them, libertie of conscience and priviledge to choose their owne, and hold courts within themselves. All was granted them, they had a whole County of the richest land in the province assigned them.

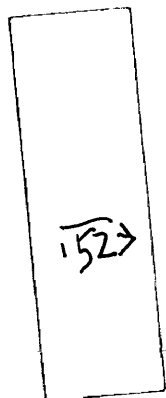
The Maryland government, then, took an active role in persuading the Virginia Puritans to settle in their region. An additional reason for these enticements might have been the desire of the Maryland government to appear to be a pro-Puritan colony at a time when the Puritans in England were establishing control. Land and freedom of worship were given to them as well as the authority to choose their own officers and to create and maintain their own courts.⁶⁵

According to the Puritans who left Virginia, the primary reason for going to Maryland was “the promise of enjoying the liberty of our Consciences in matter of religion, and all other priviledges of English Subjects.” The move to Maryland required “great cost, labor, and danger,” they wrote, as well as the added expense of the “great charges in building and clearing.” It is clear that the exodus from Virginia was not an easy transition for the Puritans that made the journey. The impetus for leaving Virginia, however, was strong. The best evidence of this is the number of men and women that left the James River basin for Maryland. In 1653, seventy-eight men signed a petition to the Commonwealth government from the inhabitants of “Severne, alias Ann Arundel County,” the region to which the Puritans had relocated. Babette Levy extrapolated from this number of freemen and concluded that somewhere around three hundred men, women, and children probably made the journey from Virginia to Maryland where they founded a town called Providence. Whatever the exact figure, it is clear that a large number of Virginians were willing to pick up and move to another colony to escape the intolerant religious environment of Berkeley’s Virginia.⁶⁶

Once in Maryland, the men and women of this Puritan congregation held firmly to their desire to grow closer to lead righteous lives and be “in Christ.” Theologically, there was some division on a variety of matters, according to a letter sent to John Cotton in New England by Robert and Mary Burle from the Providence settlement sometime around 1650. The Burles, a husband and wife and two sons, moved to Maryland from Virginia in 1649. They reported that there were “differences in Judgment amongst us here at Providence” that had left them “in a very sadd condition.” The fact that the Burles sought help from New England, possibly from John Cotton in particular, is again confirmation that they thought of themselves as Puritans. Interestingly, however, the disagreements, on such matters as the necessity of praying for forgiveness of sin and the “singing of psalmes,” are evidence of some beliefs among the settlers at Providence that would have been unwelcome in New England. The Burles also reiterated the beliefs of many of the members of their congregation—they missed the ministry of Thomas Harrison and told their readers in New England that they prayed to God “to send us our Pastour and his ordinces again.” The losses of the Virginia Puritans included not only their land and their homes but their spiritual leadership.⁶⁷

But, in many ways, the lives of the men and women who sailed out of Virginia were greatly improved. The Puritan settlers now ran their own local government and courts and, as a consequence, held a great deal more power over their own lives than they had previously. The leaders of their local government, centered in Providence, were formerly men who had been charged as criminals for their nonconforming actions. Edward Lloyd, one of the “Seditious Sectuaries” of

Lower Norfolk, became the commander of Anne Arundel County. William Durand served as a justice in the county and was asked in 1654 by the Commissioners representing the English Commonwealth to serve as a Commissioner “for the well Ordering, Directing, and Governing the Affairs of Maryland.” Several other men, branded as criminals in Virginia, became leading figures in the settlement at Anne Arundel. Although Virginia was clearly a haven for many sorts of men and women who wished to begin anew in the New World, the colony offered a cool reception to Puritans throughout the early- and mid-seventeenth century. Eventually forced to leave in search of a more welcoming environment, the Puritan settlers of Virginia, and the controversy spawned by their presence, were an important part of the development of the Old Dominion.⁶⁸



Conclusion

When one thinks of Puritans in the New World, New England immediately comes to mind. The New England way of life has become our image of the Puritan lifestyle. In reality, historians are beginning to realize that Puritanism was an important feature of the development of various regions throughout the Americas. Karen Kupperman's work on the Providence Island Company provides a vivid example of another Puritan settlement, this one off the coast of Nicaragua in the early seventeenth century, that shows the varied goals and ambitions of Puritans in the New World. Massachusetts just happened to become the center of American Puritanism; early American society could have developed differently. Eleven years before the Plymouth colony was even founded, controversies were springing up in Virginia regarding the presence of a Puritan minister. Puritanism might have been a Virginia phenomenon had the trend been set early enough.⁶⁹

As it happened, the trend in Virginia became one of intolerance toward Puritans. William Berkeley assumed a leadership role in this drive, due in part to specific orders given to him by his superiors to maintain the established Anglican church—but his efforts to preserve the Church of England continued even after the orders were rescinded. His determination to drive out religious dissent also stemmed from his background in England, where, in his ardent support for the king during the outbreak of civil war, he saw the dangers that nonconformity posed to political stability.

Over the course of the 1640s, Berkeley's role in the persecution of reform-minded Puritans grew less important. But the events in the Elizabeth River parish, however, show that religious conflicts did not abate. Instead, the decentralization of political authority, which included granting additional powers to county courts and parish vestries as well as laws passed by the Berkeley government against nonconformity, began to be used as tools in the struggle between fervent Anglicans and their equally determined rivals, Puritan men like Thomas Harrison and William Durand. The struggle for control of the parish at Elizabeth River was, in large part, a theological dispute centered on a variety of issues, such as the proper ritual of baptism or the use of scripted ceremonies out of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

The Puritans were unable to win any ground in the struggle in the parish, due primarily to the legislative and political opposition centered in Jamestown. There were men sympathetic to the plight of the Puritan congregations at Nansemond and Lower Norfolk in the colonial government, most notably Richard Bennett, who sat on Berkeley's Council, and various burgesses such as Edward and Cornelius Lloyd. But the political strength of the colony rested in the hands of Berkeley and his supporters, and the Puritans chose to leave.

But what if they had held on a little longer? With Berkeley's capitulation to Parliament in 1652, the political climate changed dramatically. After the Restoration in 1660, when Berkeley returned to power, he had pretty much lost control of the parish vestries. Who knows what might have happened if the thriving nucleus of Puritans below the James had remained and been allowed to grow. Perhaps Virginia's history would have been dramatically different.

But the Puritan colonists did manage to find a way to preserve their religious beliefs, although they had to leave Virginia to do it. In Maryland they found a more tolerant environment. The Virginia Puritans were no longer willing to participate in a losing battle for control. Their exodus out of the colony was an attempt to begin anew.

Notes to the Text

¹ Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 108-111. See also Jack P. Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 8-15; James Horn, *Adapting to a New World: English Society in the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake* (Chapel Hill, 1994), 334-335, 382; Robert Cushman, "Discourse" of Dec. 9, 1621, quoted in Ralph Barton Perry, *Puritanism and Democracy* (New York, 1944), 247.

² Perry Miller, "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia" in *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), 105; William Waller Hening, ed., *The Statutes at Large; Being a Collection of all the Laws of Virginia from the First Session of the Legislature in 1619*, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1809), I, 58, 69; Patricia U. Bonomi, *Under the Cope of Heaven: Religion, Society, and Politics in Colonial America* (New York, 1986), 15-16; Thomas J. Curry, *The First Freedoms: Church and State in America to the Passage of the First Amendment* (New York, 1986), 29-30.

³ Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 69, 123. Emphasis added.

⁴ William H. Seiler, "The Anglican Parish in Virginia" in James Morton Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History* (Chapel Hill, 1959), 122-125; Edward Lewis Goodwin, *The Colonial Church in Virginia* (Milwaukee, 1927), 76-77; Hening, ed., *Statutes of Virginia*, 240-241; George MacLaren Brydon, "Religious Life of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century: The Faith of Our Fathers,"

in E.G. Swem, ed., *Jamestown 350th Anniversary Historical Booklets*, No. 10 (Williamsburg, 1957), 14-15.

⁵ Darrett B. Rutman, *American Puritanism: Faith and Practice* (Philadelphia, 1970), 13; Seiler, "Anglican Parish in Virginia," in Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America*, 123; Donald K. McKim, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith* (Louisville, Kent., 1992), 308-311; Philip Alexander Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York, 1910), I, chap. 23.

⁶ Bruce, *Institutional History*, I, 252; J. Beaulieu to William Trumbull, November 30, 1609, Trumbull MSS, Berkshire Record Office, Colonial Records Project, Virginia State Library, Richmond, quoted in Rutman, *American Puritanism*, 49-50.

⁷ W.G. Stanard, "Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, III (1895), 54-55, quotation on 54; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 55-56, 164-166, 389, quotation on 55; Babette M. Levy, "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies," *American Antiquarian Society, Proceedings*, LXX (1960), 122; Nell Marion Nugent, comp., *Cavaliers and Pioneers: Abstracts of Virginia Land Patents and Grants*, 2 vols. (Richmond, 1934, 1977), I, 23, 66, 150; George Carrington Mason, "The Colonial Churches of Nansemond County, Virginia," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941), 37.

⁸ George Carrington Mason, "The Colonial Churches of Norfolk County, Virginia," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941), 139; Mason, "Colonial Churches of Nansemond County," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941) 37; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 321.

⁹ Mason, "Colonial Churches of Norfolk County," *WMQ*, 2d Ser. XXI (1941), 144; Mason, "Colonial Churches of Nansemond County," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941), 37;

R.G., *Virginia's Cure; or, An Advisive Narrative concerning Virginia* (1662), in Peter Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers, Relating Principally to the Origin, Settlement, and Progress of the Colonies in North America*, 4 vols. (1836-1846, Gloucester, Mass., 1963), III, no. 15, 4-5; Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990), 45; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 389.

¹⁰ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, I, 27; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 388; Mason, "Colonial Churches of Nansemond County," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941), 37-38; Mason, "Colonial Churches of Norfolk County," *WMQ*, 2d Ser., XXI (1941), 139-142.

¹¹ Lower Norfolk County, Virginia, Minute Book, transcript of Wills and Deeds A, 2 vols. (1637-1646), I, fols. 1-5, 18, 27, 50, quoted in Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 388-389.

¹² Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, 277; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 46-47; W. Noel Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660* (London, 1860), 330; Edmund Calamny, quoted in Francis Burton Harrison, "Commentaries on the Ancestry of Benjamin Harrison," IV, "The Reverend Thomas Harrison, Berkeley's 'Chaplain,'" *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LIII (1945), 305.

¹³ Alice Granbery Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Court Records: Book "A" 1637-1646 & Book "B" 1646-1651/2* (Baltimore, 1994), Book "A," 28.

¹⁴ Jon Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters from Virginia Puritans," Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, LXXXIV (1972), 99-109.

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- ¹⁵ James Kendall Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal: "History of New England," 1630-1649*, 2 vols. (New York, 1908), II, 20-21, 73, quotations on 73; Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 105. For argument that Virginia ministers were *not* usually drunk, see James P. Walsh, "'Black Cotted Raskolls': Anti-Anglican Criticism in Colonial Virginia," *VMHB*, LXXXVIII (1980), 21-36.
- ¹⁶ Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 47; Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 105-106.
- ¹⁷ Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 105.
- ¹⁸ Nugent, *Cavaliers and Pioneers*, 23; Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, 266; Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 102-103, quote on 108.
- ¹⁹ Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 107-109.
- ²⁰ Rutman, *American Puritanism*, 49, 51; Goodwin, *Colonial Church in Virginia*, 266; Walsh, "Anti-Anglican Criticism in Colonial Virginia," *VMHB*, LXXXVIII (1980), 26, 28-29.
- ²¹ Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 107; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 73-74, quotations on 74.
- ²² Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 108-109.
- ²³ *Ibid.*, 109. For a description of the successes of Parliament in the early 1640s, see C.V. Wedgwood, *The King's War, 1641-1647* (New York, 1959), 18-20, and Brian Manning, *The English People and the English Revolution, 1640-1649* (London, 1976), chaps. 4-5.

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- ²⁴ Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters," MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 109.
- ²⁵ Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 388-394, quotation on 389.
- ²⁶ Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 17, 73, 94; Levy, "Early Puritanism," AAS, *Procs.*, LXX (1960), 124-125.
- ²⁷ Edward Johnson, *The Wonder Working Providence of Sion's Savior, a History of New England from the English Planting in the Yeare 1628 until the Yeare 1652*, ed. J. Franklin Jameson (New York, 1910), 265-267; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 94.
- ²⁸ Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 94-95.
- ²⁹ Mary Rhinelander McCarl, ed., "Thomas Shepard's Record of Relations of Religious Experience, 1648-1649," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., IIL (1991), 432-466, quotations on 452, 458.
- ³⁰ David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), quotations on 207-208; Marcia Brownell Bready, "A Cavalier in Virginia—The Right Hon. Sir William Berkeley, His Majesty's Governor," *WMQ*, 1st Ser., XVIII (1910), 116-117; Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (White Plains, N.Y., 1986), 49-52. For critiques of Fischer's assessment, see Warren M. Billings, "Sir William Berkeley—Portrait by Fischer: A Critique," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., IIL (1991), 598-607; James Horn, "Cavalier Culture? The Social Development of Colonial Virginia," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., IIL (1991), 238-245; Steven D. Crow, "'Your Majesty's Good Subjects': A Reconsideration of Royalism in Virginia, 1642-1652," *VMHB*, LXXXVII (1979), 158-173, quotation on 172.

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- ³¹ Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975), 51; Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, 1574-1660*, 321.
- ³² Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 94.
- ³³ Johnson, *Sion's Savior*, 265-267; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 277.
- ³⁴ Johnson, *Sion's Savior*, 265-267; Bruce, *Institutional History*, I, 254-255; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 94-95. For Mather's poetical eulogy on the death of William Thompson, see Mather, *Magnalia Christi Americana; or, The Ecclesiastical History of New England...* (1792; rpt., Hartford, Conn., 1855), I, 440.
- ³⁵ McCarl, "Thomas Shepard's Record of Relations," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., IIL (1991), 437-438, quotations on 455.
- ³⁶ Johnson, *Sion's Savior*, 265-267; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 168; "A Perfect Description of Virginia: Being a Full and True Relation of the Present State of the Plantation...", in Force, ed., *Tracts and Other Papers*, II, no. 8, 11.
- ³⁷ Joseph Frank, ed., "News from Virginny, 1644," *VMHB*, LXV (1957), 84-87, quotations on 85-86.
- ³⁸ Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 149; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 328; Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 175; "A Perfect Description of Virginia," in Force, comp., *Tracts and Other Papers*, II, no. 8, 3; Michael J. Puglisi, "Revitalization or Extirpation: Anglo-Powhatan Relations, 1622-1644," (M.A. thesis, College of William and Mary, 1982).

³⁹ Frank, ed., “News from Virginy, 1644,” *VMHB*, LXV (1957), 85; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop’s Journal*, II, 163; Crow, ““Your Majesty’s Good Subjects”” *VMHB*, LXXXVII (1979), 158-173.

⁴⁰ Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 277.

⁴¹ Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 389.

⁴² Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Court Records*, Book “A,” 28; J.D. Warfield, *The Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland: A Geneological and Biographical Review from Wills, Deeds, and Church Records* (Baltimore, 1905), 5-30; Butler, ed., “Two 1642 Letters,” *MHS, Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 99-109. Twelve men signed the document that laid out the tithing arrangements for Harrison in May of that year. Of those twelve, four would later flee Virginia to settle in Maryland. One, John Hill, had signed the original petition from the citizens of Nansemond County requesting three Puritan pastors from New England. Conversely, men such as John Sibsey and William Julian, who would later participate in the attack on Harrison and his followers, charging them with nonconformity, also signed the 1640 document.

⁴³ Horn, *Adapting to a New World*, 339; Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Court Records*, Book “A,” 167.

⁴⁴ J. Franklin Jameson, ed., *Johnson’s Wonder-Working Providence, 1628-1651* (New York, 1910), 266; C.W. Dugmore, et al., *The English Prayer Book, 1549-1662* (London, 1963), 48, 62; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 241, 277, 342.

⁴⁵ Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Court Records*, Book “A,” 167; Henry Offley Wakeman, *An Introduction to the History of the Church of England From the*

Earliest Times to the Present Day (London, 1904), 354; E.J. Bicknell, *A Theological Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, Third Edition, Revised (London, 1929), 374; John E. Booty, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer, 1559: The Elizabethan Prayer Book* (Washington, D.C., 1976), 275.

⁴⁶ Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Court Records*, Book “A,” 167; Wakeman, *History of the Church of England*, 354.

⁴⁷ Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Court Records*, Book “A,” 167; Thomas Harrison to John Winthrop, September 2, 1646, in Allyn Bailey Forbes, ed., *Winthrop Papers, 1645-1649* (Boston, 1947), V, 116-117.

⁴⁸ Levy, “Early Puritanism,” *AAS, Procs.*, LXX (1960), 127; Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith*, 47. For Cornelius Lloyd, see H. R. McIlwaine and John Pendleton Kennedy, eds., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond, Va., 1905-1915), 1619-1658/59, 71. Incidentally, the Virginians’ request for aid from the New Englanders—which Winthrop records as a request simply for “powder and shot”—was denied. The powder exploded in a fire less than a year later, in part, Winthrop records, because they had refused to help their “countrymen” in Virginia (Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop’s Journal*, II, 194, 221).

⁴⁹ Walter, comp., *Lower Norfolk County Court Records*, Book “B,” 76; Forbes, ed., *Winthrop Papers, 1645-1649*, V, 116.

⁵⁰ Thomas Harrison to John Winthrop, November 14, 1647, in Forbes, ed., *Winthrop Papers, 1645-1649*, V, 198.

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- ⁵¹ Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 312, 341-342; Jon Kukla, "Order and Chaos in Early America: Political and Social Stability in Pre-Restoration Virginia," *American Historical Review*, 90 (1985), 292.
- ⁵² Edward W. James, ed., *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No. 1, Part 1 (New York, 1951), 14-15; Butler, ed., "Two 1642 Letters, MHS, *Procs.*, LXXXIV (1972), 107.
- ⁵³ James, ed., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No.1, Part 1, 15; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 289, 323, 340.
- ⁵⁴ James, ed., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No.1, Part 1, 62; Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 351.
- ⁵⁵ Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, I, 330.
- ⁵⁶ William Berkeley, *The Speech of the Honourable Sr. William Berkeley...to the Burgesses in the Grand Assembly at James Towne on the 17. of March 1651*. (Hagh, 1651), 10.
- ⁵⁷ Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 351.
- ⁵⁸ Hosmer, ed., *Winthrop's Journal*, II, 351; Sainsbury, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1574-1660*, I, 386.
- ⁵⁹ James, ed., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No.1, Part 1, 62-63.
- ⁶⁰ James, ed., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No.1, Part 1, 83-84.
- ⁶¹ James, ed., *Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, No.1, Part 1, 84-85.
- ⁶² Nathaniel Claiborne Hale, "The Reduction of Virginia and Maryland by the Puritans," *Historical Publications of the Society of Colonial Wars in the*

Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, VII, No.6 (1953); Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, I, 363-365.

⁶³ J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Maryland from the Earliest Period to the Present Day*, 3 vols. (1879; rpt. Hatbora, Pa., 1967), I, 174-176.

⁶⁴ William Hand Brown et al., eds., *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883-), I, 209, 217, 226-227. 238-239, 339, III, 321-322 (quotation on III, 321). For an outstanding overview of the complicated situation in Maryland government in the 1640s, see J. Frederick Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds: Anglo-Indian Interest Groups and the Development of the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1988), 47-91. For a brief biography of William Stone, who initially settled on Virginia's Eastern Shore, see Susie M. Ames, ed., *County Court Records of Accomack-Northampton, Virginia, 1640-1645* (Charlottesville, Va., 1973), xii-xiii. Interestingly, Richard Bennett, as a representative of the Commonwealth in 1652, stripped the proprietary government of much of its authority. It seems that he promoted whichever side offered him and his partners the best chance for economic success (David W. Jordan, "Maryland's Privy Council, 1637-1715," in Aubrey C. Land, Lois Green Carr, and Edward C. Papenfuse, *Law, Society, and Politics in Early Maryland* [Baltimore, 1977], 69).

⁶⁵ *Virginia and Maryland, Or the Lord Baltimore's Printed Case Uncased and Answered* (1655), in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684*, Original Narratives of Early American History (New York, 1910), 218; John Hammond, *Leah and Rachel; or, The Two Fruitfull Sisters Virginia and Maryland*

(1656), in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 301-302; Fausz, "Merging and Emerging Worlds," in Carr, Morgan, and Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society*, 79-80.

⁶⁶ *Virginia and Maryland, Or the Lord Baltimore's Printed Case*, in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 218-219; Levy, "Early Puritanism," AAS, *Procs.*, LXX (1960), 133.

⁶⁷ Robert and Mary Burle to "Ministers of Jesus Christ in N England," [1649-1652?], in Sargent Bush, ed., "The Correspondence of John Cotton" (Chapel Hill, N.C., forthcoming). William Durand is noted as the man who "delivered among them" the doctrines of which the Burles "question the truth." For the arrival date of the Burle family, see Gust Skordas, ed., *The Early Settlers of Maryland: An Index to the Names of Immigrants Compiled from Records of Land Patents, 1633-1680...* (Baltimore, 1968), 72.

⁶⁸ *Virginia and Maryland, Or the Lord Baltimore's Printed Case*, in Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland*, 228; Warfield, *Founders of Anne Arundel and Howard Counties, Maryland*, 7-10, 37-40.

⁶⁹ Karen Ordahl Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (New York, 1993); J. Beaulieu to William Trumbull, November 30, 1609, quoted in Rutman, *American Puritanism*, 49-50.

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